μετα παντων των αγιων αμην

בראשית ברא אלהים

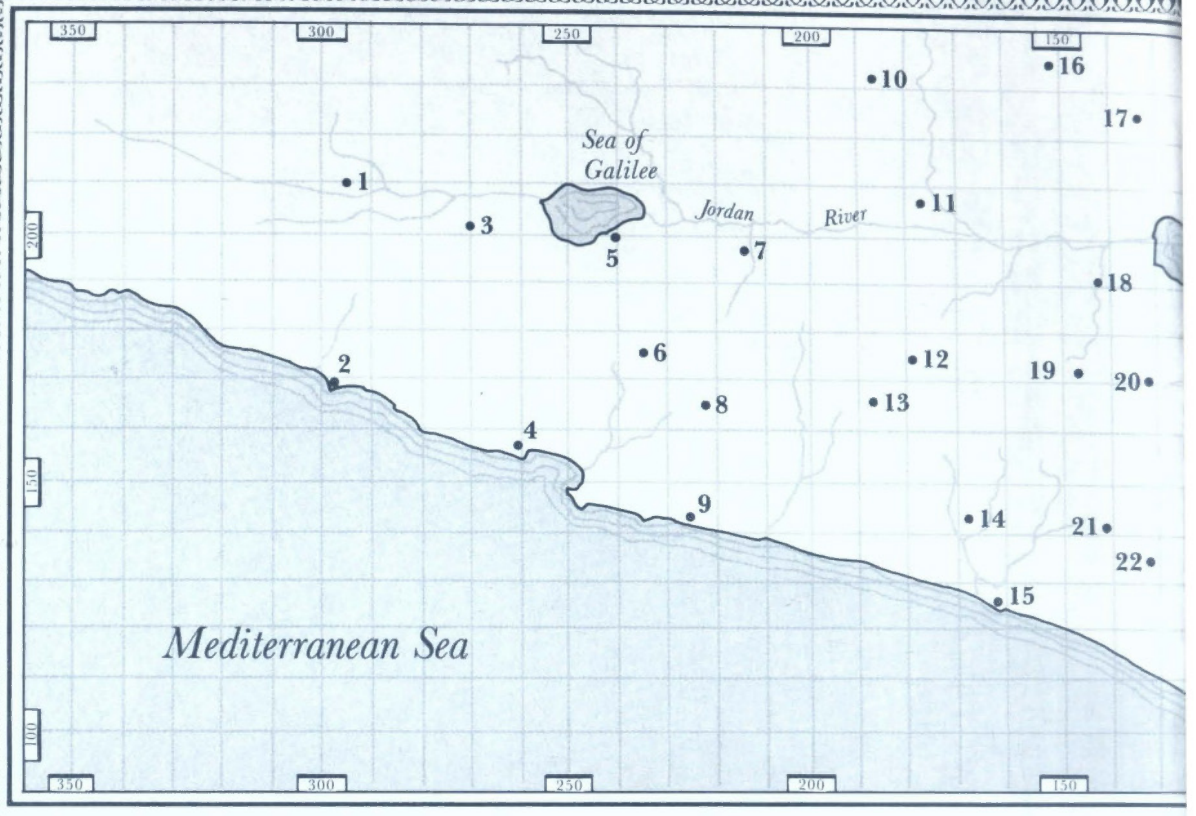
THE ANCHOR BIBLE DICTIONARY

VOLUME 6

Si–Z

בראשית ברא אלהים

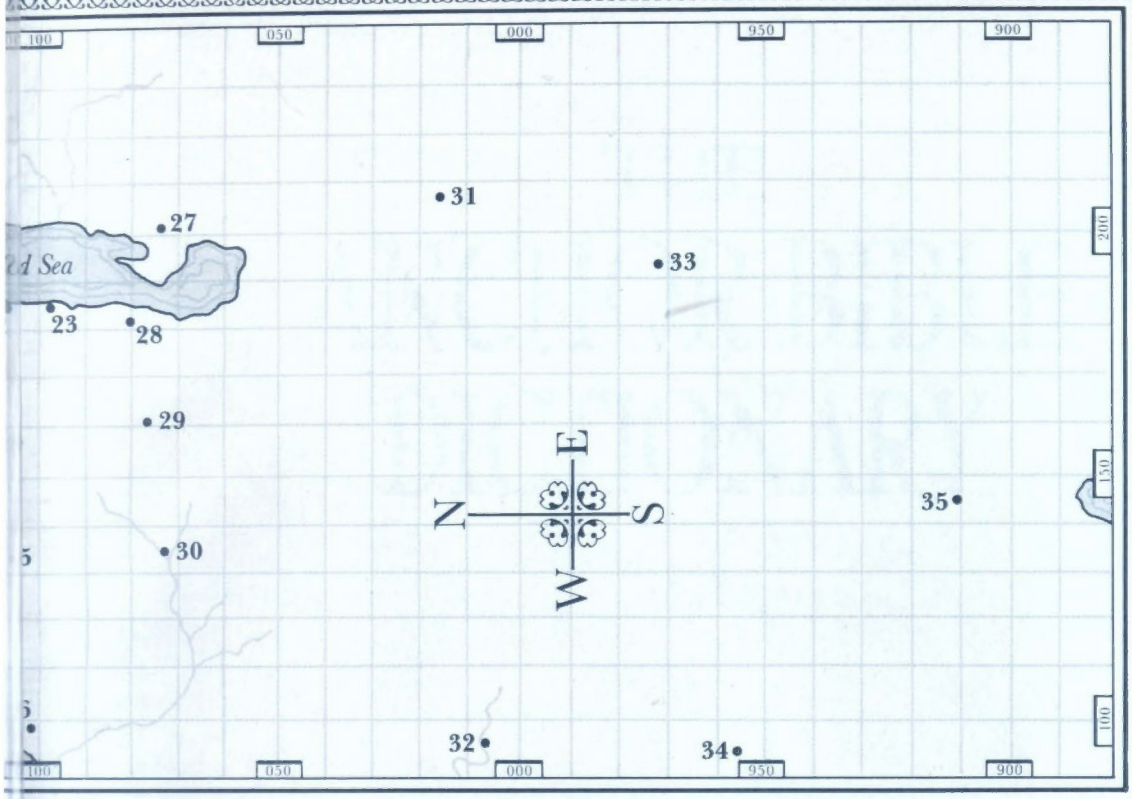
μετα παντων των αγιων αμην



1 **Dan** (211294)
2 **Tyre** (168297)
3 **Hazor** (203269)
4 **Acco** (158258)
5 **Tiberias** (201242)
6 **Nazareth** (178234)
7 **Beth-shan/ Scythopolis** (197212)
8 **Megiddo** (167221)
9 **Dor** (142224)
10 **Gerasa** (234187)
11 **Deir ᶜAlla** (209178)
12 **Shechem** (176179)
13 **Samaria** (168187)
14 **Wadi Rabba** (144167)
15 **Joppa** (126162)
16 **Rabboth-ammon/ Philadelphia** (238151)

ARCHAEOLOGICAL

PALEOLITHIC	25,000–10,000 B.C.E.
MESOLITHIC	10,000–8000 B.C.E.
PRE-POTTERY NEOLITHIC A (PPNA)	8000–7000 B.C.E.
PRE-POTTERY NEOLITHIC B (PPNB)	7000–6000 B.C.E.
POTTERY NEOLITHIC A (PNA)	6000–5000 B.C.E.
POTTERY NEOLITHIC B (PNB) (EARLY CHALCOLITHIC)	5000–3800 B.C.E.
CHALCOLITHIC (LATE CHALCOLITHIC)	3800–3400 B.C.E.
EARLY BRONZE I	3400–3100 B.C.E.
EARLY BRONZE II	3100–2650 B.C.E.
EARLY BRONZE III	2650–2350 B.C.E.
EARLY BRONZE IV	2350–2000 B.C.E.
MIDDLE BRONZE I	2000–1800 B.C.E.
MIDDLE BRONZE II	1800–1650 B.C.E.
MIDDLE BRONZE III	1650–1550/1500 B.C.E.



Heshbon (226134)
Jericho (192142)
Ai (174147)
Jerusalem (172131)
Gezer (142140)
Ekron (136131)

23 **En-gedi** (187096)
24 **Hebron** (159103)
25 **Lachish** (135108)
26 **Gaza** (099101)
27 **Bab edh-Dhra**[c] (202074)
28 **Masada** (183080)

29 **Arad** (162076)
30 **Beer-sheba** (134072)
31 **Bozrah** (208016)
32 **Kadesh-barnea**[c] (096006)
33 **Petra** (192971)
34 **Kuntillet** [c]**Ajrud** (094954)
35 **Timna**[c] (145910)

DS IN PALESTINE

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ATE BRONZE IIB	1300–1200 B.C.E.
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RON AGE IB	1100–1000 B.C.E.
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RON AGE IIB	800–722 B.C.E.
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OMAN PERIOD	37 B.C.E.–324 C.E.
YZANTINE	324–640 C.E.

THE ANCHOR BIBLE DICTIONARY

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VOLUME 6

Si–Z

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1 Apoc. Jas.	*First Apocalypse of James* (NHC V,3)
1 Chr	1 Chronicles
1 Clem.	*1 Clement*
1 Cor	1 Corinthians
1 En.	*1 Enoch (Ethiopic Apocalypse)*
1 Esdr	1 Esdras
1 John	1 John
1 Kgdms	1 Samuel (LXX)
1 Kgs	1 Kings
1 Macc	1 Maccabees
1 Pet	1 Peter
1 Sam	1 Samuel
1 Thess	1 Thessalonians
1 Tim	1 Timothy
1Q, 2Q, 3Q, etc.	Numbered caves of Qumran, yielding written material; followed by abbreviation of biblical or apocryphal book
1QapGen	*Genesis Apocryphon* of Qumran Cave 1
1QH	*Hôdāyôt (Thanksgiving Hymns)* from Qumran Cave 1
1QIsa$^{a, b}$	First or second copy of Isaiah from Qumran Cave 1
1QM	*Milḥāmāh (War Scroll)*
1QpHab	*Pesher on Habakkuk* from Qumran Cave 1
1QS	*Serek hayyaḥad (Rule of the Community, Manual of Discipline)*
1QSa	Appendix A *(Rule of the Congregation)* to 1QS
1QSb	Appendix B *(Blessings)* to 1QS
1st	first
2 Apoc. Jas.	*Second Apocalypse of James* (NHC V,4)
2 Bar.	*2 Baruch (Syriac Apocalypse)*
2 Chr	2 Chronicles
2 Clem.	*2 Clement*
2 Cor	2 Corinthians
2 En.	*2 Enoch (Slavonic Apocalypse)*
2 Esdr	2 Esdras
2 John	2 John
2 Kgdms	2 Samuel (LXX)
2 Kgs	2 Kings
2 Macc	2 Maccabees
2 Pet	2 Peter
2 Sam	2 Samuel
2 Thess	2 Thessalonians
2 Tim	2 Timothy
2d	second
3 Bar.	*3 Baruch (Greek Apocalypse)*
3 Cor.	*3 Corinthians*
3 En.	*3 Enoch (Hebrew Apocalypse)*
3 John	3 John
3 Kgdms	1 Kings (LXX)
3 Macc.	*3 Maccabees*
3d	third
3Q15	Copper Scroll from Qumran Cave 3
4 Bar.	*4 Baruch*
4 Ezra	*4 Ezra*
4 Kgdms	2 Kings (LXX)
4 Macc.	*4 Maccabees*
4QFlor	*Florilegium* (or *Eschatological Midrashim*) from Qumran Cave 4
4QMess ar	Aramaic "Messianic" text from Qumran Cave 4
4QPhyl	Phylacteries from Qumran Cave 4
4QPrNab	Prayer of Nabonidus from Qumran Cave 4
4QTestim	*Testimonia* text from Qumran Cave 4
4QTLevi	*Testament of Levi* from Qumran Cave 4
5 Apoc. Syr. Pss.	*Five Apocryphal Syriac Psalms*
5 Macc.	*5 Maccabees*
11QMelch	*Melchizedek* text from Qumran Cave 11
11QtgJob	*Targum of Job* from Qumran Cave 11
A	Codex Alexandrinus
ÄA	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen
AA	*Archäologischer Anzeiger*, Berlin
AAL	*Afroasiatic Linguistics*, Malibu, CA

AANLM	*Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Memorie, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche,* ser. 8
AANLR	*Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche,* ser. 8
AARAS	American Academy of Religion Academy Series
AARASR	American Academy of Religion Aids for the Study of Religion
AARCRS	American Academy of Religion Classics in Religious Studies
AARSR	American Academy of Religion Studies in Religion
AARTT	American Academy of Religion Texts and Translations
AASF	Annales Academiae Scientarum Fennicae, Helsinki
AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament
AAWLM	*Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur Mainz*
AB	Anchor Bible
ABAW	Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
AbB	Altbabylonische Briefe in Umschrift und Übersetzung, ed. F. R. Kraus. Leiden, 1964–
abbr.	abbreviated, abbreviation
ABD	*Anchor Bible Dictionary*
ABIUSJH	*Annual of Bar-Ilan University Studies in Judaica and the Humanities*
ABL	*Assyrian and Babylonian Letters,* 14 vols., ed. R. F. Harper. Chicago, 1892–1914
ABLA	M. Noth. 1971. *Aufsätze zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde,* ed. H. W. Wolff. Neukirchen-Vluyn
ʿAbod. Zar.	*ʿAboda Zara*
ʾAbot	*ʾAbot*
ʾAbot R. Nat.	*ʾAbot de Rabbi Nathan*
Abr	Philo, *De Abrahamo*
ABR	*Australian Biblical Review*
ABRMW	H. Graf Reventlow. 1985. *The Authority of the Bible and the Rise of the Modern World.* Trans. J. Bowden. Philadelphia
AbrN	*Abr-Nahrain*
absol.	absolute
AcApos	*Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha.* 3 vols. Hildesheim, 1959
ACF	*Annuaire du Collège de France,* Paris
ACNT	Augsburg Commentary on the New Testament
AcOr	*Acta orientalia*
AcOrASH	*Acta orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*
ACR	*American Classical Review*
AcSum	*Acta Sumerologica*
act.	active
Acts	Acts (or Acts of the Apostles)
Acts Andr.	*Acts of Andrew*
Acts Andr. Mth.	*Acts of Andrew and Matthias*
Acts Andr. Paul	*Acts of Andrew and Paul*
Acts Barn.	*Acts of Barnabas*
Acts Jas.	*Acts of James the Great*
Acts John	*Acts of John*
Acts John Pro.	*Acts of John (by Prochorus)*
Acts Paul	*Acts of Paul*
Acts Pet.	*Acts of Peter*
Acts Pet. (Slav.)	*Slavonic Acts of Peter*
Acts Pet. 12 Apost.	*Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles* (NHC VI,*1*)
Acts Pet. Andr.	*Acts of Peter and Andrew*
Acts Pet. Paul	*Acts of Peter and Paul*
Acts Phil.	*Acts of Philip*
Acts Phil. (Syr.)	*Acts of Philip (Syriac)*
Acts Pil.	*Acts of Pilate*
Acts Thad.	*Acts of Thaddaeus*
Acts Thom.	*Acts of Thomas*
ActSS	*Acta Sanctorum*
ACW	Ancient Christian Writers
A.D.	*anno domini* (year)
ad loc.	*ad locum* (at the place)
ADAIK	Abhandlungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Kairo
ADAJ	*Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*
Add Dan	Additions to Daniel
Add Esth	Additions to Esther
ADFU	Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka
adj.	adjective
ADOG	*Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft,* Berlin
ADPV	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
adv.	adverb
AE	*L'année épigraphique* [cited by year and no. of text]
AEB	*Annual Egyptological Bibliography*
Aeg	*Aegyptus: Revista italiana di egittologia e papirologia*
AEHE IV	*Annuaire de l'École pratique des Hautes Études,* IV^{e} section, Sc. hist. et philol., Paris
AEHE V	*Annuaire de l'École pratique des Hautes Études,* V^{e} section, Sc. relig., Paris

AEHL	*Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. A. Negev. Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1980
AEL	M. Lichtheim. 1971–80. *Ancient Egyptian Literature*. 3 vols. Berkeley
AER	*American Ecclesiastical Review*
AESH	B. Trigger, B. J. Kemp, D. O'Connor, and A. B. Lloyd. 1983. *Ancient Egypt: A Social History*. Cambridge
Aet	Philo, *De aeternitate mundi*
Aev	*Aevum: Rassegna di scienze storiche linguistiche e filologiche*
ÄF	Ägyptologische Forschungen
AFER	*African Ecclesiastical Review*, Eldoret, Kenya
AfL	*Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft*, Regensburg
AFNW	*Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen*, Cologne
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*, Graz
AfrTJ	*Africa Theological Journal*, Arusha, Tanzania
AgAp	Josephus, *Against Apion* (= *Contra Apionem*)
ʾAg. Ber.	*ʾAggadat Berešit*
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
Agr	Philo, *De agricultura*
AGSU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Spätjudentums und Urchristentums
AH	*An Aramaic Handbook*, ed. F. Rosenthal, 2 vols. Wiesbaden, 1967
Ah.	*Ahiqar*
AHAW	Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften
AHG	B. Albrektson. 1967. *History and the Gods*. ConBOT 1. Lund
AHR	*American Historical Review*
AHW	*Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, ed. W. von Soden. 3 vols. Wiesbaden, 1965–81
AI	Arad Inscription [cited according to Y. Aharoni. 1981. *Arad Inscriptions*, Jerusalem]
AION	*Annali dell'Istituto orientali di Napoli*
AIPHOS	*Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves*
AIR	*Ancient Israelite Religion: Essays in Honor of Frank Moore Cross*, ed. P. D. Miller, P. D. Hanson, and S. D. McBride. Philadelphia, 1987
AIS	I. Finkelstein. 1988. *The Archaeology of the Israelite Settlement*. Jerusalem
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AJAS	*American Journal of Arabic Studies*
AJBA	*Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology*
AJBI	Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute, Tokyo
AJP	*American Journal of Philology*
AJSL	*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*
AJT	*American Journal of Theology*
Akk	Akkadian
AKM	*Abhandlungen zur Kunde des Morgenlandes (Leipzig)*
AL	*The Assyrian Laws*, ed. G. R. Driver and J. C. Miles. Oxford, 1935
ALBO	Analecta lovaniensia biblica et orientalia
ALGHJ	Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des hellenistischen Judentums
Allogenes	*Allogenes* (NHC XI,*3*)
Altertum	*Das Altertum*, Berlin
ALUOS	Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society
Am	*America*, New York
AmBenR	*American Benedictine Review*
AMI	Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran
Amos	Amos
AMT	R. C. Thompson. 1923. *Assyrian Medical Texts*. Oxford
AN	J. J. Stamm. 1939. *Die akkadische Namengebung*. MVÄG 44. Berlin
AnBib	Analecta Biblica
AnBoll	*Analecta Bollandiana*
AncIsr	R. de Vaux, 1961. *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions*. Trans. J. McHugh. London. Repr. New York, 1965
ANE	Ancient Near East(ern)
ANEP	*Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament*, 2d ed. with suppl., ed. J. B. Pritchard, Princeton, 1969
ANET	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 3d ed. with suppl., ed. J. B. Pritchard, Princeton, 1969
ANF	The Ante-Nicene Fathers
Ang	*Angelicum*, Rome
ANHMW	*Annalen des Naturhistorische Museum in Wien*
Anim	Philo, *De animalibus*
Anon. Sam.	*Anonymous Samaritan Text*
AnOr	Analecta orientalia
ANQ	*Andover Newton Quarterly*
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, ed. H. Temporini and W. Haase, Berlin, 1972–
AnSt	*Anatolian Studies*
Ant	Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* (= *Antiquitates Judaicae*)
AntCl	*L'antiquité classique*

ANTF	Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung
ANTJ	Arbeiten zum Neuen Testament und Judentum
Anton	*Antonianum*
Anuario	*Anuario de Filología*, Barcelona
ANVAO	Avhandlinger utgitt av det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo
AO	Der Alte Orient
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AOATS	Alter Orient und Altes Testament Sonderreihe
AÖAW	*Anzeiger der Österreichischer Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Vienna
AOB^2	*Altorientalische Bilder zum Alten Testament*, 2d ed., ed. H. Gressman. Berlin and Leipzig, 1927
AOBib	Altorientalische Bibliothek
AoF	*Altorientalische Forschungen*
AOS	American Oriental Series
AOSTS	American Oriental Society Translation Series
AOT	*The Apocryphal Old Testament*, ed. H. F. D. Sparks. Oxford, 1984.
AOT^2	*Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament*, 2d ed., ed. H. Gressman. Berlin and Leipzig, 1926
AP	*L'année philologique*
Ap. Ezek.	*Apocryphon of Ezekiel*
Ap. Jas.	*Apocryphon of James* (NHC I,*2*)
Ap. John	*Apocryphon of John* (NHC II,*1*; III,*1*; IV,*1*)
APAACS	American Philological Association American Classical Studies
APAPM	American Philological Association Philological Monographs
APAT	*Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, 2 vols., ed. E. Kautzch. Tübingen, 1900. Repr. 1975
APAW	*Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaft*
APEF	*Annual of the Palestine Exploration Fund*
APNM	H. B. Hoffman. 1965. *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts*. Baltimore
Apoc. Ab.	*Apocalypse of Abraham*
Apoc. Adam	*Apocalypse of Adam* (NHC V,*5*)
Apoc. Dan.	*Apocalypse of Daniel*
Apoc. Dosith.	*Apocalypse of Dositheus*
Apoc. El.	*Apocalypse of Elijah*
Apoc. Ezek.	*Apocalypse of Ezekiel*
Apoc. Messos	*Apocalypse of Messos*
Apoc. Mos.	*Apocalypse of Moses*
Apoc. Paul	*Apocalypse of Paul* (NHC V,*2*)
Apoc. Pet.	*Apocalypse of Peter* (NHC VII,*3*)
Apoc. Sedr.	*Apocalypse of Sedrach*
Apoc. Thom.	*Apocalypse of Thomas*
Apoc. Vir.	*Apocalypses of the Virgin*
Apoc. Zeph.	*Apocalypse of Zephaniah*
Apoc. Zos.	*Apocalypse of Zosimus*
Apocr.	*Apocryphal, Apocrypha*
Apol Jud	Philo, *Apologia pro Iudaeis*
Apos.	Apostolic, Apostles
Apos. Con.	*Apostolic Constitutions and Canons*
APOT	*Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, 2 vols., ed. R. H. Charles. Oxford, 1913
Ar	Arabic
AR	Archaeological Reports
ʿArak.	*ʿArakin*
Aram	Aramaic
ArbT	*Arbeitzen zur Theologie*, Stuttgart
Arch	*Archaeology*
ArchEleph	B. Porten. 1968. *Archives from Elephantine*. Berkeley
ArchPal	W. F. Albright. 1960. *The Archaeology of Palestine*. 3d rev. ed. Harmondsworth. Repr. Gloucester, MA, 1971
ARE	*Ancient Records of Egypt*, 5 vols., ed. J. H. Breasted. Chicago, 1906. Repr. New York, 1962
ARET	Archivi reali di Ebla, Testi
ARG	*Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*
ARI	W. F. Albright. 1968. *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*. 5th ed. Baltimore
Aris. Ex.	*Aristeas the Exegete*
Aristob.	*Aristobulus*
ARM	Archives royales de Mari
ARMT	Archives royals de Mari: transcriptions et traductions
ARNA	*Ancient Records from North Arabia*, ed. F. V. Winnett and W. L. Reed. Toronto, 1970
ArOr	*Archiv orientální*
art.	article
Art.	*Artapanus*
ARW	*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*
AS	Assyriological Studies
ASAE	*Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Egypte*
ASAW	*Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Leipzig*
Asc. Jas.	*Ascents of James*
Ascen. Is.	*Ascension of Isaiah*
Asclepius	*Asclepius 21–29* (NHC VI,*8*)
ASNU	Acta seminarii neotestamentici upsaliensis
ASORDS	American Schools of Oriental Research Dissertation Series

ASORMS	American Schools of Oriental Research Monograph Series
ASP	American Studies in Papyrology
ASS	*Acta sanctae sedis*
AsSeign	*Assemblées du Seigneur*
ASSR	*Archives des sciences sociales des religions*
Assum. Mos.	*Assumption of Moses*
Assum. Vir.	*Assumption of the Virgin*
Assur	*Assur*, Malibu, CA
ASTI	*Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute*
ASV	American Standard Version
ATAbh	Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen
ATANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
ATAT	Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
ATDan	Acta theologica danica
ATG	*Archivo Teológico Granadino*, Granada
ATJ	*Ashland Theological Journal*, Ashland, OH
ATR	*Anglican Theological Review*, Evanston, IL
Aug	*Augustinianum*, Rome
AulaOr	*Aula Orientalis*, Barcelona
AuS	G. Dalman. 1928–42. *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina.* 7 vols. BFCT 14, 17, 27, 29, 33, 36, 41. Gütersloh, 1928. Repr. Hildesheim, 1964
AusBR	*Australian Biblical Review*
AUSS	*Andrews University Seminary Studies*, Berrien Springs, MI
Auth. Teach.	*Authoritative Teaching* (NHC VI,3)
AUU	Acta universitatis upsaliensis
AV	Authorized Version
AW	*The Ancient World*, Chicago
AWEAT	Archiv für wissenschaftliche Erforschung des Alten Testaments
B	Codex Vaticanus
b. (Talm.)	Babylonian (Talmud) = "Babli"
B. Bat.	*Baba Batra*
B. Meṣ.	*Baba Meṣi'a*
B. Qam.	*Baba Qamma*
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist*
Bab.	Babylonian
BAC	Biblioteca de autores cristianos
BAEO	Boletín de la asociación españala des orientalistas
BAfO	*Beihefte zur Archiv für Orientforschung*, Graz
BAGD	W. Bauer, W. F. Arndt, F. W. Gingrich, and F. W. Danker. 1979. *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament.* 2d ed. Chicago
BAIAS	*Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society*, London
BANE	*The Bible in the Ancient Near East*, ed. G. E. Wright. Garden City, NY, 1961. Repr. Winona Lake, IN, 1979
Bar	Baruch
BAR	*Biblical Archaeologist Reader*
Bar.	*Baraita*
BARev	*Biblical Archaeology Review*
BARIS	British Archaeological Reports, International Series
Barn.	*Epistle of Barnabas*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BASORSup	BASOR Supplement
BASP	*Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*
BASPSup	Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists Supplement
BAss	Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft
BAT	Die Botschaft des Alten Testaments
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BBC	Broadman Bible Commentary
BBET	Beiträge zur biblischen Exegese und Theologie
BBLAK	*Beiträge zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde*, Stuttgart
B.C.	before Christ
BC	Biblical Commentary, ed. C. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch. Edinburgh.
B.C.E.	before the common (or Christian) era
BCH	*Bulletin du correspondance hellénique*
BCNHE	Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi Section Études
BCNHT	Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi Section Textes
BCPE	*Bulletin de Centre Protestant d'Études*, Geneva
BDB	F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs. 1907. *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament.* Oxford
BDF	F. Blass, A. Debrunner, and R. W. Funk. 1961. *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature.* Chicago
BDR	F. Blass, A. Debrunner, and F. Rehkopf. 1984. *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch.* 16th ed. Göttingen
BE	*Bulletin epigraphique*, ed. P. Gauthier. Paris
BE	Bibliothèque d'étude (Institut français d'Archéologie orientale)
BEFAR	Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome
Bek.	*Bekorot*
Bel	Bel and the Dragon
Bened	*Benedictina*, Rome

BeO	*Bibbia e oriente*, Bornato
Ber.	*Berakot*
Berytus	*Berytus*, Beirut, Lebanon
BES	*Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar*, Chico, CA
Beṣa	*Beṣa (= Yom Ṭob)*
Beth Mikra	*Beth Mikra*, Jerusalem
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium
BEvT	Beiträge zur evangelischen Theologie
BFCT	Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie
BGBE	Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Exegese
BGU	*Berlin Griechische Urkunden*
BHG	*Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*. Brussels, 1909
BHH	*Biblisch-Historisches Handwörterbuch*, ed. B. Reicke and L. Rost. Göttingen, 1962
BHI	J. Bright. 1981. *A History of Israel*. 3d ed. Philadelphia
BHK	*Biblia hebraica*, 3d ed., ed. R. Kittel
BHNTC	Black's/Harper's New Testament Commentaries
BHS	*Biblia hebraica stuttgartensia*
BHT	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
BIATC	*Bulletin d'information de l'Académie de Théologie Catholique*, Warsaw
Bib	*Biblica*, Rome
BibAT	*Biblical Archeology Today: Proceedings of the International Congress on Biblical Archaeology, Jerusalem, April 1984*. Jerusalem, 1985
BibB	Biblische Beiträge
BibBh	*Biblebhashyam*, Kerala, India
bibliog.	bibliography
BibOr	Biblica et orientalia
BibS(F)	Biblische Studien (Freiburg, 1895–)
BibS(N)	Biblische Studien (Neukirchen, 1951–)
BIES	*Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society (= Yediot)*
BIFAO	*Bulletin de l'institute français d'archéologie orientale*, Cairo
Bij	*Bijdragen: Tijdschrift voor Filosofie en Theologie*, Amsterdam
Bik.	*Bikkurim*
BiMes	Bibliotheca Mesopotamica
BIN	*Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies*, New Haven, 1917–54
BiOr	*Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Leiden
BIOSCS	*Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*
BJPES	*Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society (= Yediot;* later *BIES)*
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BK	*Bibel und Kirche*, Stuttgart
BK	E. Bresciani and M. Kamil. 1966. Le lettere aramaiche di Hermopoli. *AANLM* 12/5: 357–428
bk.	book
Bk. Barn.	*Book of the Resurrection of Christ by Barnabas the Apostle*
Bk. Elch.	*Book of Elchasai*
Bk. Noah	*Book of Noah*
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar: Altes Testament
BLE	*Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*, Toulouse
BLe	H. Bauer and P. Leander. 1918–22. *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache*. Halle, Repr. Hildesheim, 1962
BLit	*Bibel und Liturgie*, Klosterneuburg
BMAP	E. G. Kraeling. 1953. *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri*. New Haven. Repr. 1969
BMMA	*Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*
BMQ	*British Museum Quarterly*
BMS	*The Bible in Modern Scholarship*, ed. J. P. Hyatt. Nashville, 1965
BN	*Biblische Notizen*, Bamberg
Bo	Unpublished Boğazköy tablets (with catalog number)
BOSA	*Bulletin on Sumerian Agriculture*, Cambridge
B.P.	before (the) present (time)
BR	*Biblical Research*, Chicago
BRev	*Bible Review*
BRevuo	*Biblia Revuo*, Ravenna
BRL	K. Galling. 1937. *Biblisches Reallexikon*. Tübingen
BRM	*Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan*, ed. A. T. Clay, New York, 1912–23
BSac	*Bibliotheca Sacra*
BSAW	*Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, phil.-hist. Kl.
BSC	Bible Study Commentary
BSFE	*Bulletin de la Société française d'égyptologie*
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
BSOS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*
BTAVO	Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients
BTB	*Biblical Theology Bulletin*
BTF	*Bangalore Theological Forum*, Bangalore

BTNT	R. Bultmann. 1955. *Theology of the New Testament.* 2 vols. Trans. K. Grobel. New York and London
BToday	*Bible Today,* Collegeville, MN
BTrans	*Bible Translator,* Aberdeen
BTS	*Bible et terre sainte*
BTZ	*Berliner Theologische Zeitschrift*
BU	Biblische Untersuchungen
BuA	B. Meissner. 1920–25. *Babylonien und Assyrien.* 2 vols. Heidelberg
Burg	*Burgense,* Burgos, Spain
BurH	*Buried History,* Melbourne, Australia
BVC	*Bible et vie chrétienne*
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BWL	W. G. Lambert. 1960. *Babylonian Wisdom Literature.* Oxford
ByF	*Biblia y Fe,* Madrid, Spain
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift,* Paderborn
BZAW	Beihefte zur *ZAW*
BZNW	Beihefte zur *ZNW*
BZRGG	Beihefte zur *ZRGG*
BZVO	Berliner Beitrage zum Vorderen Orient
C	Codex Ephraemi
C&AH	*Catastrophism and Ancient History,* Los Angeles
ca.	*circa* (about, approximately)
CaByr	*Cahiers de Byrsa*
CAD	*The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*
CaE	*Cahiers Evangile,* Paris
CAH	*Cambridge Ancient History*
CahRB	Cahiers de la Revue biblique
CahThéol	Cahiers Théologiques
CaJ	*Cahiers de Josephologie,* Montreal
Cant	Song of Songs (or Canticles)
CaNum	*Cahiers de Numismatique,* Bologna
CAP	A. E. Cowley. 1923. *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* Oxford [cited by document number]
CAT	Commentaire de l'Ancient Testament
Cath	*Catholica,* Münster
Cav. Tr.	*Cave of Treasures*
CB	*Cultura biblica*
CBC	Cambridge Bible Commentary on the New English Bible
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly,* Washington, DC
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CBSC	Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges
CC	*Cross Currents,* West Nyack, NY
CCath	Corpus Catholicorum
CCER	*Cahiers du Cercle Ernest Renan,* Paris
CChr(.SL)	Corpus Christianorum(–Serie Latina)
CD	Cairo (Genizah), Damascus Document [= S. Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries,* vol. 1, *Fragments of a Zadokite Work,* Cambridge, 1910. Repr. New York, 1970]
CdÉ	*Chronique d'Égypte,* Brussels
C.E.	common (or Christian) era
Cerinthus	*Cerinthus*
cf.	*confer,* compare
CGTC	Cambridge Greek Testament Commentary
CGTSC	Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools and Colleges
CH	*Church History*
CH	Code of Hammurabi [cited according to G. R. Driver and J. C. Miles, eds. 1952–55. *The Babylonian Laws.* 2 vols. Oxford]
CHAL	*A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament,* ed. W. L. Holladay. Grand Rapids, 1971
chap(s).	chapter(s)
CHB	*The Cambridge History of the Bible,* 3 vols., ed. P. R. Ackroyd, G. W. M. Lampe, and S. L. Greenslade. Cambridge, 1963–70
CHD	Chicago Hittite Dictionary
Cher	Philo, *De cherubim*
CHI	*Cambridge History of Iran*
CHJ	*The Cambridge History of Judaism,* ed. W. D. Davies and L. Finkelstein. Cambridge, 1984–
CHR	*Catholic Historical Review*
CHSP	*Center for Hermeneutical Studies Protocol Series,* Berkeley, CA
CIG	*Corpus inscriptionum graecarum*
CII	*Corpus inscriptionum indicarum*
CIJ	*Corpvs inscriptionvm ivdaicarvm,* ed. J. B. Frey. Sussidi allo studio delle antichità cristiane, pub. per cura del Pontificio istituto di archeologia cristiana 1, 3. Vatican City, 1936–52
CIL	*Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*
CIS	*Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum*
CiuD	*Ciudad de Dios,* Madrid
CJ	*Concordia Journal,* St. Louis, MO
CJT	*Canadian Journal of Theology*
CL	*Communautés et Liturgies,* Ottignies, Belgium
CL	Code of Lipit-Ishtar [R. R. Steele. 1948. The Code of Lipit-Ishtar. *AJA* 52: 425–50]
Cl. Mal.	*Cleodemus Malchus*
CLA	*Canon Law Abstracts,* Melrose, Scotland
cm	centimeter(s)

CMHE	F. M. Cross. 1973. *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic.* Cambridge, MA
CMIB	*Canadian Mediterranean Institute Bulletin,* Ottawa
CNFI	*Christian News From Israel,* Jerusalem, Israel
CNS	*Cristianesimo nella Storia,* Bologna, Italy
CNT	Commentaire du Nouveau Testament
CO	*Commentationes orientales,* Leiden
Col	Colossians
col(s).	column(s)
Coll	*Collationes,* Brugge, Belgium
Colloquium	*Colloquium,* Auckland/Sydney
ColT	*Collectanea Theologica,* Warsaw
comp.	compiled, compiler
ComViat	*Communio Viatorum,* Prague
ConBNT	Coniectanea biblica, New Testament
ConBOT	Coniectanea biblica, Old Testament
Concilium	Concilium
Conf	Philo, *De confusione linguarum*
Congr	Philo, *De congressu eruditionis gratia*
conj.	conjunction; conjugation
ConNT	*Coniectanea neotestamentica*
constr.	construction; construct
ContiRossini	K. Conti Rossini. 1931. *Chrestomathia Arabica meridionalis ephigraphica,* Rome
COut	Commentaar op het Oude Testament
CP	*Classical Philology*
CPJ	*Corpus papyrorum Judicarum,* ed. A. Tcherikover. 3 vols. Cambridge, MA, 1957–64
CQ	*Church Quarterly*
CQR	*Church Quarterly Review*
CR	*Clergy Review,* London
CRAIBL	*Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*
CRBR	*Critical Review of Books in Religion*
CRINT	Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad novum testamentum
CRRA	*Compte Rendu de . . . Recontre Assyriologique Internationale*
Crux	*Crux,* Vancouver, BC
CS	*Chicago Studies,* Mundelein, IL
CSCO	Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium
CSEL	Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum
CSR	*Christian Scholars Review,* Houghton, NY
CT	*Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets . . . in the British Museum,* London, 1896–
CT	*The Egyptian Coffin Texts,* ed. A. de Buck and A. H. Gardiner. Chicago, 1935–47
CTA	A. Herdner. 1963. *Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit de 1929 à 1939.* MRS 10. Paris
CTAED	S. Ahituv. 1984. *Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents.* Jerusalem
CTH	E. Laroche. 1971. *Catalogue des textes hittites.* Paris
CThM	Calwer Theologische Monographien
CTJ	*Calvin Theological Journal,* Grand Rapids, MI
CTM	*Concordia Theological Monthly*
CToday	*Christianity Today,* Carol Stream, IL
CTQ	*Concordia Theological Quarterly,* Fort Wayne, IN
CTSAP	*Catholic Theological Society of America Proceedings,* New York
CTSSR	College Theology Society Studies in Religion
CU	Code of Ur-Nammu [J. J. Finkelstein. 1960. The Laws of Ur-Nammu. *JCS* 14: 66–82; F. Yildiz. 1981. A Tablet of Codex Ur-Nammu from Sippar. *Or* 58: 87–97]
CurTM	*Currents in Theology and Mission,* Chicago
D	"Deuteronomic" source; or Codex Bezae
DACL	*Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*
DAGR	*Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines d'après les textes et les monuments,* ed. C. Daremberg and E. Saglio. 4 vols. Paris, 1877–1919
Dan	Daniel
DB	*Dictionnaire de la Bible,* 5 vols., ed. F. Vigouroux. Paris, 1895–1912
DBAT	*Dielheimer Blätter zum Alten Testament*
DBM	*Deltion Biblikon Meleton,* Athens
DBSup	*Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément,* ed. L. Pirot, A. Robert, H. Cazelles, and A. Feuillet. Paris, 1928–
DBTh	*Dictionary of Biblical Theology,* 2d ed., ed. X. Léon-Dufour. Trans. E. M. Stewart. New York, 1973
DC	*Doctor Communis,* Vatican City
DD	*Dor le Dor,* Jerusalem
DDSR	*Duke Divinity School Review*
Dec	Philo, *De decalogo*
Dem.	*Demetrius (the Chronographer)*
Dem.	*Demai*
Deo	Philo, *De Deo*
Der. Er. Rab.	*Derek Ereṣ Rabba*
Der. Er. Zuṭ.	*Derek Ereṣ Zuṭa*
Deut	Deuteronomy

DH	Deuteronomistic History/Historian
DHRP	Dissertationes ad historiam religionum pertinentes
Diakonia	*Diakonia*, Vienna
Dial. Sav.	*Dialogue of the Savior* (NHC III,5)
Dial. Trypho	Justin, *Dialogue with Trypho*
Did	*Didaskalia*, Portugal
Did.	*Didache*
Diogn.	*Epistle to Diognetes*
Direction	*Direction*, Fresno, CA
Disc. 8–9	*Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth* (NHC VI,6)
DISO	C.-F. Jean and J. Hoftijzer. 1965. *Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'ouest.* Leiden
diss.	dissertation
div.	division
Div	*Divinitas*, Vatican City
DivT	*Divus Thomas*, Piacenza, Italy
DJD	Discoveries in the Judean Desert
DL	*Doctrine and Life*, Dublin
DMOA	Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui
DN	divine name
DÖAW	*Denkschriften der Österreichischer Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Vienna
DOSA	J. Biella. 1982. *Dictionary of Old South Arabic: Sabaean Dialect.* HSS 25. Chico, CA
DOTT	*Documents from Old Testament Times*, ed. D. W. Thomas. Edinburgh, 1958. Repr. New York, 1961
DRev	*The Downside Review*, Bath
DS	Denzinger-Schönmetzer, *Enchiridion symbolorum*
DTC	*Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*
DTT	*Dansk Teologisk Tidsskrift*, Copenhagen
DunRev	*Dunwoodie Review*
E	east(ern); or "Elohist" source
EA	Tell el-Amarna tablets [cited from J. A. Knudtzon, O. Weber, and E. Ebeling, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, 2 vols., VAB 2, Leipzig, 1915; and A. F. Rainey, *El-Amarna Tablets 359–379: Supplement to J. A. Knudtzon, Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, 2d rev. ed., AOAT 8, Kevelaer and Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1970]
EAEHL	*Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, 4 vols., ed. M. Avi-Yonah, 1975
EAJET	*East Africa Journal of Evangelical Theology*, Machakos, Kenya
EAJT	*East Asia Journal of Theology*, Singapore
EB	Early Bronze (Age); or Echter Bibel
EBib	Études bibliques
Ebr	Philo, *De ebrietate*
Ec	*The Ecumenist*, New York, NY
Eccl *or* Qoh	Ecclesiastes or Qoheleth
EcR	*The Ecumenical Review*, Geneva
Ecu	*Ecumenismo*, Ravenna, Italy
ed.	editor(s); edition; edited by
ED	Early Dynastic period
ʿEd.	*ʿEduyyot*
EDB	*Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. and trans. L. F. Hartman. New York, 1963
e.g.	*exempli gratia* (for example)
Eg	Egyptian
ÉgT	*Église et Théologie*, Ottawa
EHAT	Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament
EHI	R. de Vaux. 1978. *The Early History of Israel.* Trans. D. Smith. Philadelphia
EHS	Einleitung in die Heilige Schrift
EI	*Eretz Israel*
EJ	*Encyclopedia Judaica*, 10 vols., ed. J. Klutzkin and I. Elbogen. Berlin, 1928–34
EKKNT	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
EKL	*Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon*
El. Mod.	*Eldad and Modad*
EM	*Ephemerides Mexicanae*, Mexico City
Emm	*Emmanuel*, New York
EncBib	*Encyclopaedia Biblica*, ed. T. K. Cheyne. London, 1800–1903. 2d ed. 1958
EncBibBarc	*Enciclopedia de la Biblia*, ed. A. Diez Macho and S. Bartina. Barcelona, 1963–65
EncBrit	*Encyclopaedia Britannica*
EnchBib	*Enchiridion biblicum*
EncJud	*Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1971)
EncMiqr	*Entsiqlopēdiā Miqrāʾit-Encyclopaedia Biblica*, Jerusalem, 1950–
EncRel	*Encyclopedia of Religion*, 16 vols., ed. M. Eliade. New York, 1987
Eng	English
Entr	*Encounter*, Indianapolis, IN
EOS	*Eos. Commentarii Societatis Philologae Polonorum*
Ep Jer	Epistle of Jeremiah
Ep. Alex.	*Epistle to the Alexandrians*
Ep. Apos.	*Epistle to the Apostles*
Ep. Barn.	*Epistle of Barnabas*
Ep. Chr. Abg.	*Epistle of Christ and Abgar*
Ep. Chr. Heav.	*Epistle of Christ from Heaven*
Ep. Lao.	*Epistle to the Laodiceans*
Ep. Lent.	*Epistle of Lentulus*
Ep. Paul Sen.	*Epistles of Paul and Seneca*

Ep. Pet. Phil.	*Letter of Peter to Philip* (NHC VIII,*2*)
Ep. Pol.	*Epistles of Polycarp*
Ep. Tit. (Apoc.)	*Apocryphal Epistle of Titus*
Eph	Ephesians
Eph.	see *Ign. Eph.*
EphC	*Ephemerides Carmelitica*, Rome
Ephem	M. Lidzbarski. 1900–15. *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*. 3 vols. Giessen
EphLit	*Ephemerides Liturgicae*, Rome
EphMar	*Ephemerides Mariologicae*, Madrid
EPRO	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain
ER	*Epworth Review*, London
ErbAuf	*Erbe und Auftrag*
ERE	*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, 12 vols., ed. J. Hastings. Edinburgh and New York, 1908–22
ErFor	Erträge der Forschung
ErfThSt	Erfurter Theologische Studien
ErJb	*Eranos Jahrbuch*
ERT	*Evangelical Review of Theology*, Exeter
ʿErub.	*ʿErubin*
ERV	English Revised Version
Escr Vedat	*Escritos del Vedat*, Torrente
esp.	especially
EspVie	*Esprit et Vie.*, Langres
EstBib	*Estudios Bíblicos*, Madrid
EstEcl	*Estudios Eclesiásticos*, Barcelona
EstFranc	*Estudios Franciscanos*, Barcelona
Esth	Esther
EstTeo	*Estudios Teológicos*, São Leopoldo, Brazil
ET	English translation
et al.	*et alii* (and others)
etc.	*et cetera* (and so forth)
Eth	Ethiopic
ETL	*Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*, Louvain
ETOT	W. Eichrodt. 1961–67. *Theology of the Old Testament*. 2 vols. Trans. J. A. Baker. Philadelphia
ÉTR	*Études théologiques et Religieuses*, Montpellier, France
Études	*Études*, Paris
Eugnostos	*Eugnostos the Blessed* (NHC III,*3*; V,*1*)
EuntDoc	*Euntes Docete*, Rome
Eup.	*Eupolemus*
EV(V)	English version(s)
EvJ	*Evangelical Journal*, Myerstown, PA
EvK	Evangelische Kommentare
EvQ	*Evangelical Quarterly*, Derbyshire
EvT	*Evangelische Theologie*, Munich
EWNT	*Exegetisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, ed. H. Balz and G. Schneider
Ex	*Explor*, Evanston, IL
ExB	Expositor's Bible
Exeg. Soul	*Exegesis on the Soul* (NHC II,*6*)
Exod	Exodus
ExpTim	*Expository Times*, Surrey
Ezek	Ezekiel
Ezek. Trag.	*Ezekiel the Tragedian*
Ezra	Ezra
f(f).	following page(s)
FAS	Freiburger Altorientalische Studien
FB	Forschuung zur Bibel
FBBS	Facet Books, Biblical Series
FC	Fathers of the Church
fc.	forthcoming (publication)
fem.	feminine; female
FFNT	Foundations and Facets: New Testament
FGLP	Forschungen zur Geschichte und Lehre des Protestantismus
FGrH	F. Jacoby. *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. 2d ed. 3 vols. in 10 pts. Leiden, 1957–64 [cited by fragment no.]
FH	*Fides et Historia*, Grand Rapids
fig(s).	figure(s)
FKT	*Forum Katholische Theologie*, Aschaffenburg
fl.	*floruit* (flourished)
Flacc	Philo, *In Flaccum*
FoiVie	*Foi et Vie*, Paris
Fond	*Fondamenti*, Bresica
Forum	*Forum*, Bonner, MT
FOTL	Forms of Old Testament Literature
FR	Freiburger Rundbrief
Fran	*Franciscanum*, Bogotá
Frg. Tg.	*Fragmentary Targum*
Frgs. Hist. Wrks.	*Fragments of Historical Works*
Frgs. Poet. Wrks.	*Fragments of Poetic Works*
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
Frm.	*Fragments* (NHC XII,*3*)
FSAC	W. F. Albright. 1957. *From the Stone Age to Christianity*. 2d ed., repr. Garden City, NY
FTS	Freiburger Theologische Studien
FuF	*Forschungen und Fortschritte*, Berlin
Fuga	Philo, *De fuga et inventione*
Fund	*Fundamentum*, Riehen, Switzerland
Furrow	*Furrow*, Maynooth
FWSDFML	*Funk and Wagnall's Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend*
FZPT	*Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie*, Fribourg
GAG	W. von Soden. 1969. *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik samt Ergänzungsheft*. AnOr 33/47. Rome

Gaium	Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium*
Gal	Galatians
GARI	A. K. Grayson. 1972. *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions.* RANE. Wiesbaden
GB	D. Baly. 1974. *The Geography of the Bible.* 2d ed. New York
GBS	Guides to Biblical Scholarship
GCS	Griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller
Gem.	*Gemara*
Gen	Genesis
GesB	W. Gesenius. *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch,* 17th ed., ed. F. Buhl. Berlin, 1921
GGR	M. P. Nilsson. *Geschichte der griechische Religion.* 2 vols. 2d ed. Munich, 1961
GHBW	R. R. Wilson. 1977. *Genealogy and History in the Biblical World.* YNER 7. New Haven
Gig	Philo, *De gigantibus*
Git.	*Gittin*
GJV	E. Schürer. 1901–9. *Geschichte des jüdisches Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi.* Leipzig. Repr. Hildesheim, 1970
Gk	Greek
GK	*Gesenius' Hebräische Grammatik,* 28th ed., ed. by E. Kautzsch. Leipzig, 1909. Repr. Hildesheim, 1962
Gk. Apoc. Ezra	*Greek Apocalypse of Ezra*
GKB	G. Bergsträsser. 1918–29. *Hebräische Grammatik mit Benutzung der von E. Kautzsch bearbeiteten 28. Auflage von Wilhelm Gesenius' hebräischer Grammatik.* 2 vols. Leipzig. Repr. Hildesheim, 1962
GKC	*Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar,* 28th ed., ed. E. Kautzsch. Trans. A. E. Cowley. Oxford, 1910
GLECS	*Comptes Rendus du Groupe Linguistique d'Études Chamito-Sémitiques,* Paris
GM	*Göttinger Miszellen*
GN	geographical name
GNB	Good News Bible
GNC	Good News Commentary
GNS	Good News Studies
GNT	Grundrisse zum Neuen Testament
GO	Göttinger Orientforschungen
Gos. Barn.	*Gospel of Barnabas*
Gos. Bart.	*Gospel of Bartholomew*
Gos. Bas.	*Gospel of Basilides*
Gos. Bir. Mary	*Gospel of the Birth of Mary*
Gos. Eb.	*Gospel of the Ebionites*
Gos. Eg.	*Gospel of the Egyptians* (NHC III,2; IV,2)
Gos. Eve	*Gospel of Eve*
Gos. Gam.	*Gospel of Gamaliel*
Gos. Heb.	*Gospel of the Hebrews*
Gos. Inf.	*Infancy Gospels*
Gos. Inf. (Arab)	*Arabic Gospel of the Infancy*
Gos. Inf. (Arm)	*Armenian Gospel of the Infancy*
Gos. John (Apocr.)	*Apocryphal Gospel of John*
Gos. Marcion	*Gospel of Marcion*
Gos. Mary	*Gospel of Mary*
Gos. Naass.	*Gospel of the Naassenes*
Gos. Naz.	*Gospel of the Nazarenes*
Gos. Nic.	*Gospel of Nicodemus*
Gos. Pet.	*Gospel of Peter*
Gos. Phil.	*Gospel of Philip* (NHC II,3)
Gos. Thom.	*Gospel According to Thomas* (NHC II,2)
Gos. Trad. Mth.	*Gospel and Traditions of Matthias*
Gos. Truth	*Gospel of Truth* (NHC I,3; XII,2)
GOTR	*Greek Orthodox Theological Review,* Brookline, MA
GP	F. M. Abel. 1933. *Géographie de la Palestine,* 2 vols. Paris
GRBS	*Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies,* Durham, NC
Great Pow.	*The Concept of Our Great Power* (NHC VI,4)
Greg	*Gregorianum,* Rome
GSAT	*Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament,* Munich
GTA	Göttinger theologische Arbeiten
GTJ	*Grace Theological Journal,* Winona Lake, IN
GTT	*Gereformeerd Theologisch Tijdschrift,* Netherlands
GTTOT	J. J. Simons. 1959. *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament.* Francisci Scholten memoriae dedicata 2. Leiden
GuL	*Geist und Leben,* Munich
GVG	C. Brockelmann. 1903–13. *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen.* 2 vols. Berlin. Repr. 1961
ha.	hectares
Hab	Habakkuk
HAB	*Harper's Atlas of the Bible*
HÄB	Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge
HAD	*Hebrew and Aramaic Dictionary of the OT,* ed. G. Fohrer. Trans W. Johnstone. Berlin, 1973
Hag	Haggai
Hag.	*Hagiga*
HAIJ	J. M. Miller and J. H. Hayes. 1986. *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah.* Philadelphia
Hal.	*Halla*
HALAT	*Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament,* ed. W. Baumgartner et al.
HAR	*Hebrew Annual Review*

HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HAW	Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft
HBC	*Harper's Bible Commentary*
HBD	*Harper's Bible Dictionary*, ed. P. J. Achtemeier. San Francisco, 1985
HBT	*Horizons in Biblical Theology*, Pittsburgh, PA
HDB	*Dictionary of the Bible*, 4 vols., ed. by J. Hastings et al. Edinburgh and New York, 1899–1904. Rev. by F. C. Grant and H. H. Rowley, 1963
HDR	Harvard Dissertations in Religion
HDS	Harvard Dissertation Series
Hdt.	Herodotus
Heb	Hebrew; Epistle to the Hebrews
Heb. Apoc. El.	*Hebrew Apocalypse of Elijah*
Hec. Ab	*Hecataeus of Abdera*
Hel. Syn. Pr.	*Hellenistic Synagogal Prayers*
Hen	*Henoch*, Torino, Italy
Heres	Philo, *Quis rerum divinarum heres*
Herm	*Hermathena*, Dublin, Ireland
Herm. Man.	*Hermas, Mandate*
Herm. Sim.	*Hermas, Similitude*
Herm. Vis.	*Hermas, Vision*
Hermeneia	Hermeneia: A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible
Ḥev	Naḥal Ḥever texts
HeyJ	*The Heythrop Journal*, London
HG	J. Friedrich. 1959. *Die hethitischen Gesetze*. DMOA 7. Leiden
HGB	Z. Kallai. 1986. *Historical Geography of the Bible*. Leiden
HHI	S. Herrmann. 1975. *A History of Israel in Old Testament Times*. 2d ed. Philadelphia
HibJ	*Hibbert Journal*
HIOTP	H. Jagersma. 1983. *A History of Israel in the Old Testament Period*. Trans. J. Bowden. Philadelphia
Hist. Eccl.	Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiastica (= Church History)*
Hist. Jos.	*History of Joseph*
Hist. Jos. Carp.	*History of Joseph the Carpenter*
Hist. Rech.	*History of the Rechabites*
Hit	Hittite
HJP[1]	E. Schürer. *The History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, 5 vols., trans. J. Macpherson, S. Taylor, and P. Christie. Edinburgh, 1886–90
HJP[2]	E. Schürer. *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, 3 vols., ed. and trans. G. Vermes et al. Edinburgh, 1973–87
HKAT	Handkommentar zum Alten Testament
HKL	R. Borger. 1967–75. *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur*. 3 vols. Berlin
HKNT	Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
HL	Hittite Laws [*ANET*, 188–97]
HM	*Hamizrah Hehadash/Near East*, Jerusalem
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HNTC	Harper's NT Commentaries
HO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
Hokhma	*Hokhma*, La Sarraz, Switzerland
Hor	*Horizons*, Villanova, PA
Hor.	*Horayot*
Hos	Hosea
HPR	*Homiletic and Pastoral Review*, New York
HPT	M. Noth. 1981. *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions*. Trans. B. Anderson. Chico, CA
HR	*History of Religions*, Chicago
HS	*Hebrew Studies*, Madison, WI
HSAO	*Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient*. Wiesbaden, 1967
HSAT	*Die heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*, 4th ed., ed. E. Kautzsch and A. Bertholet. Tübingen, 1922–23
HSCL	Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature
HSCP	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Cambridge, MA
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HTKNT	Herders theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*, Cincinnati
Ḥul.	*Ḥullin*
Hymn Dance	*Hymn of the Dance*
Hyp. Arch.	*Hypostasis of the Archons* (NHC II,*4*)
Hypo	Philo, *Hypothetica*
Hypsiph.	*Hypsiphrone* (NHC XI,*4*)
IB	*Interpreter's Bible*
IBC	Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching
ibid.	*ibidem* (in the same place)
IBS	*Irish Biblical Studies*, Belfast
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IDB	*Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. G. A. Buttrick. 4 vols. Nashville, 1962
IDBSup	*Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible Supplementary Volume*, ed. K. Crim. Nashville, 1976
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*, Jerusalem
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*
IGRR	*Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*, ed. R. Cagnat, J. Toutain, et al. 3 vols. Paris, 1901–27. Repr. Rome, 1964

Ign. Eph.	*Ignatius, Letter to the Ephesians*
Ign. Magn.	*Ignatius, Letter to the Magnesians*
Ign. Phld.	*Ignatius, Letter to the Philadelphians*
Ign. Pol.	*Ignatius, Letter to the Polycarp*
Ign. Rom.	*Ignatius, Letter to the Romans*
Ign. Symrn.	*Ignatius, Letter to the Smyrnaeans*
Ign. Trall.	*Ignatius, Letter to the Trallians*
IGLS	Jalabert, L., and Mouterde, R. 1929–. *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie.* 6 vols. Paris.
IGSK	Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien
IJH	*Israelite and Judean History*, ed. J. Hayes and M. Miller. OTL. Philadelphia, 1977
IJT	*Indian Journal of Theology*, Calcutta
IKirZ	*Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, Bern
ILS	*Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*, ed. H. Dessau. 3 vols. in 5 pts. Berlin, 1892–1916. Repr.
Imm	*Immanuel*, Jerusalem
impf.	imperfect
impv.	imperative
inf.	infinitive
Inf. Gos. Thom.	*Infancy Gospel of Thomas*
INJ	*Israel Numismatic Journal*, Jerusalem
Int	*Interpretation*, Richmond, VA
Interp. Know.	*Interpretation of Knowledge* (NHC XI,*1*)
IOS	*Israel Oriental Studies*
IOTS	B. S. Childs. 1979. *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture.* Philadelphia
IPN	M. Noth. 1928. *Die israelitischen Personennamen.* BWANT 3/10. Stuttgart. Repr. Hildesheim, 1966
Iraq	*Iraq*
Irénikon	*Irénikon*
IRT	Issues in Religion and Theology
Isa	Isaiah
ISBE	*International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*, 2d ed., ed. G. W. Bromiley
ISEELA	*Instituto Superior de Estudios Eclesiasticos Libro Anual*, Mexico City
Istina	*Istina*, Paris
ITC	International Theological Commentary
ITQ	*Irish Theological Quarterly*, Maynooth
ITS	*Indian Theological Studies*, Bangalore
IvEph	*Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, ed. H. Wankel. 8 vols. IGSK 11–15
j. (Talm.)	Jerusalem (Talmud)
J	"Yahwist" source
JA	*Journal asiatique*
JAAR	*Journal of the American Academy of Religion*
JAC	*Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*
Jan. Jam.	*Jannes and Jambres*
JANES	*Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University*, New York
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, New Haven
JAOSSup	Journal of the American Oriental Society Supplement
JARCE	*Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, Boston
Jas	James
JAS	*Journal of Asian Studies*
JB	Jerusalem Bible
JBC	*The Jerome Biblical Commentary*, ed. R. E. Brown, J. A. Fitzmyer, and R. E. Murphy. 2 vols. in 1. Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1968
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JBR	*Journal of Bible and Religion*, Boston
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JDAI	*Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*
JDS	Judean Desert Studies
Jdt	Judith
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, London
Jeev	*Jeevadhara*, Kottayam, Kerala, India
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, London
JEnc	*The Jewish Encyclopaedia*, 12 vols., ed. I. Singer et al. New York, 1901–6
JEOL	*Jaarbericht Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Gezelschap "Ex Oriente Lux"*
Jer	Jeremiah
JES	*Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, Philadelphia
JESHO	*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Leiden
JETS	*Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*
JFA	*Journal of Field Archaeology*
JFSR	*Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, Atlanta
JHNES	Johns Hopkins Near Eastern Studies
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, London
JIBS	*Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*
JIPh	*Journal of Indian Philosophy*
JITC	*Journal of the Interdenominational Theological Center*, Atlanta
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*, Oxford
JLA	*The Jewish Law Annual*, Leiden
JMES	*Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*
JMS	*Journal of Mithraic Studies*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Chicago
JNSL	*Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*, Stellenbosch

Job	Job
Joel	Joel
John	John
Jonah	Jonah
Jos	Philo, *De Iosepho*
Jos. or Joseph.	Josephus
Jos. Asen.	*Joseph and Asenath*
Josh	Joshua
JPOS	*Journal of Palestine Oriental Society*, Jerusalem
JPSV	Jewish Publication Society Version
JPT	*Journal of Psychology and Theology*, La Mirada, CA
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JQRMS	Jewish Quarterly Review Monograph Series
JR	*Journal of Religion*, Chicago
JRAI	*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JRE	*Journal of Religious Ethics*
JRelS	*Journal of Religious Studies*, Cleveland, OH
JRH	*Journal of Religious History*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*, London
JRT	*Journal of Religious Thought*, Washington, DC
JSAI	*Journal of the Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*
JSHRZ	Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism*, Leiden
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*, Sheffield
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*, Sheffield
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JSP	*Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*, Manchester
JSSEA	*Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities*, Mississauga, Ontario
JSSR	*Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*
JTC	*Journal for Theology and the Church*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*, Oxford
JTSoA	*Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*, Cape Town, South Africa
Jub.	*Jubilees*
Judaica	*Judaica: Beiträge zum Verständnis . . .*
Judaism	*Judaism*, New York
Jude	Jude
Judg	Judges
JW	Josephus, *The Jewish War (= Bellum Judaicum)*
JWH	*Journal of World History*
K	Kethib
K	Tablets in the Kouyunjik collection of the British Museum [cited by number]
KAI	*Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*, 3 vols., ed. H. Donner and W. Röllig, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1962
Kairos	*Kairos*, Salzburg
KAJ	*Keilschrifttexte aus Assur juristischen Inhalts*, ed. E. Ebeling. WVDOG 50. Leipzig, 1927
Kalla	*Kalla*
KAR	*Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*, ed. E. Ebeling. WVDOG 28/34. Leipzig, 1919–23
KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament
KAV	*Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*, ed. O. Schroeder. WVDOG 35. Leipzig, 1920
KB	*Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, ed. E. Schrader. Berlin, 1889–1915
KB	L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner. 1953. *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros*. Leiden; *Supplementum ad Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros*. Leiden, 1958
KBANT	Kommentare und Beiträge zum Alten und Neuen Testament
KBo	*Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*. WVDOG 30/36/68–70/72– . Leipzig, 1916–23; Berlin, 1954–
KD	*Kerygma und Dogma*, Göttingen
KEHAT	*Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament*, ed. O. F. Fridelin, Leipzig, 1812–96
KEK	Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament
Kelim	*Kelim*
Ker.	*Keritot*
Ketub.	*Ketubot*
KG	H. Frankfort. 1948. *Kingship and the Gods*. Chicago. Repr. 1978
KHC	*Kurzer Handcommentar zum Alten Testament*, ed. K. Marti. Tübingen
Kil.	*Kil'ayim*
KJV	King James Version
KK	*Katorikku Kenkyu*, Tokyo, Japan
Klosterman	E. Klosterman. 1904. *Eusebius Das Onomastikon der Biblischen Ortsnamen*. Leipzig. Repr. 1966
KlPauly	*Der Kleine Pauly*, ed. K. Zeigler–W. Sontheimer, Stuttgart, 1964
KlSchr	*Kleine Schriften* (A. Alt, 1953–59, 1964 [3d ed.]; O. Eissfeldt, 1963–68; K. Ellinger, 1966)

KlT	Kleine Texte
km	kilometer(s)
KRI	K. Kitchen. 1968– . *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical.* 7 vols. Oxford
KRI	Y. Kaufmann. 1960. *The Religion of Israel.* Trans. M. Greenberg. New York
KTR	*King's Theological Review,* London
KTU	*Keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit,* vol. 1, ed. M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín. AOAT 24. Kevelaer and Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1976
KUB	Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Voderasiatische Abteilung (later Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft) *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi,* 1921–
LÄ	*Lexikon der Ägyptologie,* eds. W. Helck and E. Otto, Wiesbaden, 1972
L. A. B.	*Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*
Lad. Jac.	*Ladder of Jacob*
LAE	*The Literature of Ancient Egypt,* ed. W. K. Simpson. New Haven, 1972
L. A. E.	*Life of Adam and Eve*
Lam	Lamentations
Lane	E. W. Lane. 1863–93. *An Arabic-English Lexicon.* 8 vols. London. Repr. 1968
LAPO	Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient
LAR	D. D. Luckenbill. 1926–27. *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia.* Chicago
LÄS	Leipziger ägyptologische Studien
LAS	D. D. Luckenbill. 1924. *Annals of Sennacherib.* OIP 2. Chicago
LASBF	*Liber Annuus Studii Biblici Franciscani,* Jerusalem
Lat	Latin
Lat	*Lateranum,* Vatican City
Laur	*Laurentianum,* Rome
LavTP	*Laval Théologique et Philosophique,* Quebec
LB	Late Bronze (Age)
LB	*Linguistica Biblica,* Bonn
LBAT	*Late Babylonian Astronomical and Related Texts,* ed. T. G. Pinches and A. Sachs. Providence, RI, 1955
LBHG	Y. Aharoni. 1979. *The Land of the Bible,* 3d ed., rev. and enl. by A. F. Rainey. Philadelphia, 1979
LBS	Library of Biblical Studies
LCC	Library of Christian Classics
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LD	Lectio divina
LE	Laws of Eshnunna [A. Goetze. 1956. *The Laws of Eshnunna.* AASOR 31. New Haven; *ANET,* 161–63]
Leg All I–III	Philo, *Legum allegoriae* I–III
Leš	*Lešonénu*
Let. Aris.	*Letter of Aristeas*
Lev	Leviticus
Levant	*Levant,* London
LexLingAeth	A. Dillmann. 1865. *Lexicon linguae aethiopicae.* Leipzig. Repr. New York, 1955; Osnabruck, 1970
LexSyr	C. Brockelmann. 1928. *Lexicon Syriacum.* 2d ed. Halle. Repr.
LHA	F. Zorrell. 1966. *Lexicon Hebraicum et Aramaicum Veteris Testamenti.* Rome
Life	Josephus, *Life (= Vita)*
List	*Listening: Journal of Religion and Culture,* River Forest, IL
lit.	literally
Liv. Pro.	*Lives of the Prophets*
LL	*The Living Light,* Washington, DC
LLAVT	*Lexicon Linguae aramaicae Veteris Testamenti documentis antiquis illustratum.* E. Vogt. 1971. Rome
loc. cit.	*loco citato* (in the place cited)
Lost Tr.	*The Lost Tribes*
LPGL	G. W. H. Lampe. 1961–68. *A Patristic Greek Lexicon.* Oxford
LQ	*Lutheran Quarterly*
LR	*Lutherische Rundschau*
LS	*Louvain Studies,* Louvain
LSJM	H. G. Liddell and R. Scott. 1968. *A Greek-English Lexicon.* rev. ed., ed. H. S. Jones and R. McKenzie. Oxford
LSS	Leipziger Semitistische Studien
LTJ	*Lutheran Theological Journal,* Adelaide, S. Australia
LTK	*Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*
LTP	*Laval Théologique et Philosophique*
LTQ	*Lexington Theological Quarterly,* Lexington, KY
LUÅ	Lunds universitets årsskrift
Luc	Lucianic recension
Luke	Luke
LumVie	*Lumière et Vie,* Lyons, France
LumVit	*Lumen Vitae,* Brussels
LW	*Lutheran World*
LXX	Septuagint
m	meter(s)
MA	Middle Assyrian
Maarav	*Maarav,* Santa Monica, CA
Maʿaś.	*Maʿaśerot*
Maʿaś. Š.	*Maʿaśer Šeni*
MABL	*The Moody Atlas of Bible Lands,* ed. B. J. Beitzel. Chicago, 1985
Magn.	see *Ign. Magn.*
MaisDieu	*Maison-Dieu,* Paris

Mak.	*Makkot*
Makš.	*Makširin (= Mašqin)*
Mal	Malachi
MAL	Middle Assyrian Laws
MAMA	*Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, vol. 1, ed. W. M. Calder and J. M. R. Cormack. Publications of the American Society for Archaeological Research in Asia Minor. Manchester, 1928. Vol. 3, ed. J. Keil and A. Wilhelm, 1931. Vol. 4, ed. W. H. Buckler, W. M. Calder, W. K. C. Guthrie, 1933. Vol. 5, ed. C. W. M. Cox and A. Cameron, 1937. Vol. 6, ed. W. H. Buckler and W. M. Calder, 1939
Man	*Manuscripta*, St. Louis, MO
MANE	*Monographs on the Ancient Near East*, Malibu, CA
Mansrea	*Mansrea*, Madrid
MAOG	Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig
Marianum	*Marianum*, Rome
Mark	Mark
Marsanes	*Marsanes* (NHC XI, *1*)
MarSt	*Marian Studies*, Dayton, OH
Mart. Bart.	*Martyrdom of Bartholomew*
Mart. Is.	*Martyrdom of Isaiah*
Mart. Mt.	*Martyrdom of Matthew*
Mart. Paul	*Martyrdom of Paul*
Mat. Pet.	*Martyrdom of Peter*
Mart. Pet. Paul	*Martyrdom of Peter and Paul*
Mart. Phil.	*Martyrdom of Philip*
Mart. Pol.	*Martyrdom of Polycarp*
Mas	Masada texts
MÄS	Münchner Ägyptologische Studien
masc.	masculine
Matt	Matthew
May	*Mayéutica*, Marcilla (Navarra), Spain
MB	Middle Bronze (Age)
MB	*Le Monde de la Bible*
MBA	Y. Aharoni and M. Avi-Yonah. 1977. *The Macmillan Bible Atlas*. Rev. ed. New York
MC	*Miscelánea Comillas*, Madrid
MCBW	R. K. Harrison. 1985. *Major Cities of the Biblical World*. New York, 1985
McCQ	*McCormick Quarterly*
MD	E. S. Drower and R. Macuch. 1963. *Mandaic Dictionary*. Oxford
MDAIK	Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Kairo
MDOG	Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
MDP	Mémoires de la délégation en Perse
MedHab	Epigraphic Expedition, *Medinet Habu*. OIP 8 (1930), 9 (1932), Chicago
Meg.	*Megilla*
Me'il.	*Me'ila*
Mek.	*Mekilta*
Melch.	*Melchizedek* (NHC IX,*1*)
Melkon	*Melkon*
MelT	*Melita Theologica*, Rabat, Malta
Mem. Apos.	*Memoria of Apostles*
Menaḥ.	*Menaḥot*
MEOL	*Medeelingen en Verhandelingen van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Gezelschap "Ex Oriente Lux,"* Leiden
Mer	*Merleg*, Munich
MeyerK	H. A. W. Meyer, Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament
MGWJ	*Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*
mi.	mile(s)
Mic	Micah
Mid.	*Middot*
Midr.	*Midraš;* cited with usual abbreviation for biblical book; but *Midr. Qoh.* = *Midraš Qohelet*
MIFAO	Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire
Migr	Philo, *De migratione Abrahami*
MIO	*Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*, Berlin
Miqw.	*Miqwa'ot*
Mird	Khirbet Mird texts
misc.	miscellaneous
MM	J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan. 1914–30. *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament Illustrated from the Papyri and other Non-Literary Sources*. London. Repr. Grand Rapids, 1949
MNTC	Moffatt NT Commentary
ModChurch	*Modern Churchman*, Leominster, UK
Mo'ed	*Mo'ed*
Mo'ed Qaṭ.	*Mo'ed Qaṭan*
Month	*Month*, London
MPAIBL	*Mémoires présentés à l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*
MPAT	*A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts*, ed. J. A. Fitzmyer and D. J. Harrington. BibOr 34. Rome, 1978
MRR	*The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, ed. T. R. S. Broughton and M. L. Patterson. 2 vols. Philological Monographs 15. 1951–52. Suppl., 1960
MRS	Mission de Ras Shamra
ms (pl. mss)	manuscript(s)
MScRel	*Mélanges de science religieuse*, Lille
MSD	Materials for the Sumerian Dictionary
MSL	*Materialen zum sumerischen Lexikon*, Rome, 1937–

MSR	*Mélanges de Science Religieuse*, Lille
MSU	Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens
MT	Masoretic Text
MTS	Marburger Theologische Studien
MTZ	*Münchner theologische Zeitschrift*
Mur	Wadi Murabbaʿat texts
Mus	*Le Muséon: Revue d'Études Orientales*, Paris
MUSJ	*Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*
Mut	Philo, *De mutatione nominum*
MVAG	Mitteilungen der vorder-asiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft
N	north(ern)
n(n).	note(s)
NA	Neo-Assyrian
NAB	New American Bible
Nah	Nahum
NARCE	*Newsletter of the American Research Center in Egypt*
NASB	New American Standard Bible
Našim	*Našim*
NAWG	*Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*
Nazir	*Nazir*
NB	Neo-Babylonian
N.B.	*nota bene* (note well)
NBD	*The New Bible Dictionary*, 2d ed., ed. J. D. Douglas and N. Hillyer. Leicester and Wheaton, IL
NCBC	New Century Bible Commentary
NCCHS	*New Catholic Commentary on Holy Scripture*, ed. R. D. Fuller et al.
NCE	*New Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. M. R. P. McGuire et al.
NCH	M. Noth. 1986. *The Chronicler's History*. Trans. H. G. M. Williamson. JSOTSup 51. Sheffield [translates chaps. 14–25 of *ÜgS*]
NCIBC	New Clarendon Bible Commentary
NDH	M. Noth. 1981. *The Deuteronomistic History*. Trans. H. G. M. Williamson. JSOTSup 15. Sheffield [translates chaps. 1–13 of *ÜgS*]
NDIEC	*New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, ed. G. H. K. Horsley. Macquarie University, 1976– [= 1981–]
NE	northeast(ern)
NE	M. Lidzbarski. 1898. *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik*. 2 vols. Weimar
NEB	New English Bible, Oxford, 1961–70
NEBib	Neue Echter Bibel
Ned.	*Nedarim*
NedTTs	*Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift*, The Hague
Neg.	*Negaʿim*
Neh	Nehemiah
Neot	*Neotestamentica*, Stellenbosch
NETR	*The Near East School of Theology Theological Review*, Beirut
neut.	neuter
Nez.	*Neziqin*
NFT	New Frontiers in Theology
NGTT	*Nederduits Gereformeerde Teologiese Tydskrif*, Stellenbosch
NHC	Nag Hammadi Codex
NHI	M. Noth. 1960. *The History of Israel*. 2d ed. Trans. S. Godman, rev. P. R. Ackroyd. London
NHL	*The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, 3d ed., ed. J. M. Robinson. San Francisco, 1988
NHS	Nag Hammadi Studies
NHT	S. R. Driver. 1913. *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel*. 2d ed. Oxford
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
Nid.	*Niddah*
NIDNTT	*New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology*, 3 vols., ed. C. Brown. Grand Rapids, 1975–78
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NIV	New International Version
NJB	New Jerusalem Bible
NJBC	*New Jerome Bible Commentary*
NJPSV	New Jewish Publication Society Version
NKJV	New King James Version
NKZ	*Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*
NMES	Near and Middle East Series
no.	number
Norea	*The Thought of Norea* (NHC IX,2)
NorTT	*Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift*, Oslo, Norway
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*, Leiden
NovTG^{26}	*Novum Testamentum Graece*, ed. E. Nestle and K. Aland. 26th ed. Stuttgart, 1979
NovTSup	Novum Testamentum Supplements
NPNF	Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NRT	*La nouvelle revue théologique*
n.s.	new series
NSSEA	*Newsletter of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities*
NT	New Testament
NTA	*New Testament Abstracts*

NTAbh	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen
NTApocr	E. Henneke. *New Testament Apocrypha*, ed. W. Schneemelcher. Trans. R. McL. Wilson. 2 vols. Philadelphia, 1963–65
NTC	B. S. Childs. 1985. *The New Testament as Canon: An Introduction.* Philadelphia, 1985
NTCS	*Newsletter for Targumic and Cognate Studies*, Toronto
NTD	Das Neue Testament Deutsch
NTF	Neutestamentliche Forschungen
NTHIP	W. G. Kümmel. 1972. *The New Testament: The History of the Investigation of Its Problems.* Trans. S. M. Gilmour and H. C. Kee. Nashville
NTL	New Testament Library
NTM	New Testament Message
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus
NTS	*New Testament Studies*, Cambridge, MA
NTT	*Nieuw theologisch Tijdschrift*
NTTS	New Testament Tools and Studies
Num	Numbers
Numen	*Numen: International Review for the History of Religions*, Leiden
NV	*Nova et Vetera*, Geneva
NW	northwest(ern)
NWDB	*The New Westminster Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. H. S. Gehman. Philadelphia, 1970
OA	Old Assyrian
OAkk	Old Akkadian
OB	Old Babylonian
Obad	Obadiah
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
ÖBS	Österreichische biblische Studien
OBT	Overtures to Biblical Theology
OC	*One in Christ*, London
OCA	Orientalia christiana analecta
OCD	*Oxford Classical Dictionary*
OCP	*Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, Rome
Odes Sol.	*Odes of Solomon*
OECT	*Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts*, ed. S. Langdon, 1923–
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
OG	Old Greek
OGIS	*Orientis graeci inscriptiones selectae*, ed. W. Dittenberger. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1903–5
Ohol.	*Oholot*
OIC	Oriental Institute Communications
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OL	Old Latin
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OLP	*Orientalia lovaniensia periodica*
OLZ	*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, Berlin
OMRO	*Oudheidkundige Medeelingen uit het Rijks-Museum van Oudheden te Leiden*
Onomast.	Eusebius, *Onomasticon*
Op	Philo, *De opificio mundi*
OP	*Occasional Papers on the Near East*, Malibu, CA
op. cit.	*opere citato* ([in] the work cited)
Or	*Orientalia*
ʿOr.	*ʿOrla*
OrAnt	*Oriens antiquus*
OrBibLov	Orientalia et biblica lovaniensia
OrChr	*Oriens christianus*
Orig. World	*On the Origin of the World* (NHC II,*5*; XIII,*2*)
OrSyr	*L'orient syrien*
o.s.	old series
OstStud	*Ostkirchliche Studien*, Würzburg
OT	Old Testament
OTA	*Old Testament Abstracts*
OTE	*Old Testament Essays*, Pretoria
OTG	Old Testament Guides
OTG	*The Old Testament in Greek according to the Text of Codex Vaticanus*, ed. A. E. Brooke, N. McLean, and H. St. J. Thackeray. Cambridge, 1906–40
ÖTK	Ökumenischer Taschenbuch-Kommentar
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTM	Old Testament Message
OTP	*Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2 vols., ed. J. Charlesworth. Garden City, NY, 1983–87
OTS	*Oudtestamentische Studiën*
p	Pesher (commentary)
P	"Priestly" source
p(p).	page(s); past
PÄ	*Probleme der Ägyptologie*, Leiden
PAAJR	*Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, Philadelphia
Pal.	*Palestinian*
Pal. Tgs.	*Palestinian Targums*
PalCl	*Palestra del Clero*
par(s).	paragraph(s); (gospel) parallel(s)
Para	*Para*
Paraph. Shem	*Paraphrase of Shem* (NHC VII,*1*)
part.	participle
pass.	passive
passim	throughout
PBA	*Proceedings of the British Academy*, Oxford

PBS	University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, *Publications of the Babylonian Section,* Philadelphia
PCB	*Peake's Commentary on the Bible,* rev. ed., ed. M. Black and H. H. Rowley. New York, 1962
P.E.	Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica*
Pe'a	*Pe'a*
PEFA	Palestine Exploration Fund Annual
PEFQS	*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*
PEGLAMBS	*Proceedings of the Eastern Great Lakes and Midwest Biblical Societies*
PEGLBS	*Proceedings of the Eastern Great Lakes Biblical Society*
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly,* London
perf.	perfect
Pers	Persian
Pesah.	*Pesaḥim*
Pesiq. R.	*Pesiqta Rabbati*
Pesiq. Rab Kah.	*Pesiqta de Rab Kahana*
PG	J. Migne, *Patrologia graeca*
PGM	*Papyri graecae magicae,* 3 vols., ed. K. Preisendanz. Leipzig, 1928–41
Ph. E. Poet	*Philo the Epic Poet*
PhEW	*Philosophy East and West*
Phil	Philippians
Phil.-hist. Kl.	Philosophische-historische Klasse
Phld.	see *Ign. Phld.*
Phlm	Philemon
PHOE	G. von Rad. 1966. *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays.* Trans. E. Dicken. Edinburgh and New York
Phoen	Phoenician
PhönWest	*Phönizier im Westen,* ed. H. G. Neimeyer. Madrider Beiträge 8. Mainz, 1982
PhRev	*Philosophical Review*
PI	J. Pedersen. 1926–40. *Israel: Its Life and Culture.* 2 vols. Copenhagen
PIBA	*Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association,* Dublin
PIOL	Publications de l'Institut orientaliste de Louvain
PIR	*Prosopographia imperii Romani saec. I.II.III,* 3 vols., ed. E. Klebs, H. Dessau, and P. von Rohden. Berlin, 1897–98
PIR²	*Prosopographia imperii Romani saec. I.II.III,* 2d ed., ed. E. Groag, A. Stein, and L. Petersen. 5 vols. Berlin and Leipzig, 1933–
Pirqe R. El.	*Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer*
P. J.	*Paraleipomena Jeremiou*
PJ	*Palästina-Jahrbuch*
PL	J. Migne, *Patrologia latina*
pl.	plural
pl(s).	plate(s)
Plant	Philo, *De plantatione*
Plato Rep.	*Plato: Republic 588B–589B* (NHC VI,5)
PMR	Charlesworth, J. H. 1976. *The Pseudepigrapha and Modern Research.* SCS 7. Missoula, MT
PN	personal name
PN A	Pottery Neolithic A
PN B	Pottery Neolithic B
PNPI	J. K. Stark. 1971. *Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions.* Oxford
PNPPI	F. Benz. 1972. *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions.* Studia Pohl 8. Rome
PNTC	Pelican New Testament Commentaries
PO	Patrologia orientalis
Pol.	see *Ign. Pol.*
Post	Philo, *De posteritate Caini*
POTT	*Peoples of Old Testament Times,* ed. D. J. Wiseman. Oxford, 1973
POuT	De Prediking van het Oude Testament
PPN A	Pre-Pottery Neolithic A
PPN B	Pre-Pottery Neolithic B
Pr Azar	Prayer of Azariah
Pr. Jac.	*Prayer of Jacob*
Pr. Jos.	*Prayer of Joseph*
Pr Man	Prayer of Manasseh
Pr. Mos.	*Prayer of Moses*
Pr. Paul	*Prayer of the Apostle Paul* (NHC 1,*1*)
Pr. Thanks.	*The Prayer of Thanksgiving* (NHC VI,7)
Praem	Philo, *De praemiis et poeniis*
Praep. Evang.	Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica*
Pre. Pet.	*Preaching of Peter*
Presbyterion	*Presbyterion,* St. Louis, MO
Prism	*Prism,* St. Paul, MN
Pro	*Proyección,* Granada, Spain
Prob	Philo, *Probus*
Procl	Proclamation Commentaries
Proof	*Prooftexts: A Journal of Jewish Literary History*
Prot. Jas.	*Protevangelium of James*
Prov	Proverbs
Provid I–II	Philo, *De providentia* I–II
PRS	*Perspectives in Religious Studies,* Macon, GA
PRU	*Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit,* ed. C. F. A. Schaeffer and J. Nougayrol. Paris
Ps(s)	Psalm(s)
Ps-Abd.	*Apostolic History of Pseudo-Abdias*
PSAS	*Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies*
PSB	*Princeton Seminary Bulletin,* Princeton, NJ
PSBA	*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*
Ps-Clem.	*Pseudo-Clementines*

Ps-Eup.	*Pseudo-Eupolemus*
Ps-Hec.	*Pseudo-Hecataeus*
Ps-Mt.	*Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew*
Ps-Orph.	*Pseudo-Orpheus*
Ps-Philo	*Pseudo-Philo*
Ps-Phoc.	*Pseudo-Phocylides*
Pss. Sol.	*Psalms of Solomon*
PSt	*Process Studies*, Claremont, CA
PSTJ	*Perkins (School of Theology) Journal*, Dallas, TX
PT	*Perspectiva Teológica*, Venda Nova, Brazil
pt.	part
PThS	*Pretoria Theological Studies*, Leiden
PTMS	Pittsburgh Theological Monograph Series
PTU	F. Gröndahl. 1967. *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit.* Studia Pohl 1. Rome
Pun	Punic
PVTG	Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti graece
PW	A. Pauly–G. Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart, 1839–; supplements, 1903–56, 11 vols.; 2d series, 1914–48
PWCJS	*Proceedings of the . . . World Congress of Jewish Studies*
PWSup	Supplement to PW
Pyr	K. Sethe. 1908–32. *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte.* 4 vols. Leipzig. Repr. Hildesheim, 1969
Q	Qere; "Q"-source; Qumran texts (e.g., 4QTestim)
Qad	*Qadmoniot*, Jerusalem
QD	Quaestiones disputatae
QDAP	*Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*
QHBT	*Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text*, ed. F. M. Cross and S. Talmon. Cambridge, MA, 1975
Qidd.	*Qiddušin*
Qinnim	*Qinnim*
QL	Qumran Literature
Qod.	*Qodašin*
Qoh or Eccl	Qoheleth or Ecclesiastes
Quaes Ex I–II	Philo, *Quaestiones et solutiones in Exodum* I–II
Quaes Gen I–IV	Philo, *Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesin* I–IV
Ques. Ezra	*Questions of Ezra*
Quod Det	Philo, *Quod deterius potiori insidiari soleat*
Quod Deus	Philo, *Quod deus immutabilis sit*
Quod Omn	Philo, *Quod omnis probus liber sit*
R	H. C. Rawlinson. 1861–1909. *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia.* London
RA	*Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie orientale*, Paris
RAB	J. Rogerson. 1985. *Atlas of the Bible.* New York
Rab.	*Rabbah* (following abbreviation for biblical book: *Gen. Rab.* = *Genesis Rabbah*)
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, 10 vols., ed. T. Klauser, Stuttgart, 1950–78
RANE	Records of the Ancient Near East
RÄR	H. Bonnet. 1952. *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte.* Berlin
RArch	*Revue archéologique*
RasT	*Rassegna di Teologia*, Naples
RAT	*Revue Africaine de Théologie*, Kinshasa Limete, Zaire
RazFe	*Razón y Fe*, Madrid
RB	*Revue biblique*, Paris
RBén	*Revue bénédictine*, Maredsous
RBI	*Rivista biblica italiana*, Brescia
RBR	*Ricerche Bibliche e Religiose*
RCB	*Revista de Cultura Biblica*, São Paulo, Brazil
RCT	*Revista Catalana de Teología*, Barcelona, Spain
RDAC	*Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*, Nicosia
RdÉ	*Revue d'égyptologie*
RdM	*Die Religionen der Menschheit*, ed. C. M. Schröder, Stuttgart
RE	*Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, 3d ed., ed. A. Hauck. Leipzig, 1897–1913
REA	*Revue des études anciennes*
REAug	*Revue des études augustiniennes*, Paris
REB	*Revista Eclesiástica Brasileira*, Brazil
RechBib	Recherches bibliques
RefRev	*Reformed Review*, Holland, MI
RefTR	*Reformed Theological Review*, Melbourne
REJ	*Revue des études juives*, Paris
RelArts	Religion and the Arts
RelLond	*Religion*, London, 1971–
RelNY	*Religion*, New York
RelS	*Religious Studies*, London
RelSoc	*Religion and Society*
RelSRev	*Religious Studies Review*
Renovatio	*Renovatio*, Bonn
repr.	reprint, reprinted
RES	*Revue des études sémitiques*, Paris
RES	*Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique* [cited by number]
ResABib	Die Reste der altlateinische Bibel
ResQ	*Restoration Quarterly*, Abilene, TX
Rev	Revelation
Rev. Ezra	*Revelation of Ezra*

Rev. Steph.	*Revelation of Stephen*
RevExp	*Review and Expositor*, Louisville, KY
RevistB	*Revista Bíblica*, Buenos Aires
RevistEspir	*Revista de Espritualidad*, Madrid
RevQ	*Revue de Qumran*, Paris
RevRef	*La Revue Réformée*, Aix en Provence
RevRel	*Review for Religious*, St. Louis, MO
RevScRel	*Revue des sciences religieuses*, Strasbourg
RevSém	*Revue sémitique*
RevThom	*Revue thomiste*, Toulouse
RGG	*Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*
RGTC	*Répertoire géographique des textes cuneiformes*, 8 vols., ed. W. Röllig. BTAVO B7. Wiesbaden
RHA	*Revue hittite et asianique*
RHE	*Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, Louvain
RHLR	*Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses*, Paris
RHPR	*Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*, Strasbourg
RHR	*Revue de l'histoire des religions*, Paris
RIC	*The Roman Imperial Coinage*, ed. H. Mattingly et al. London, 1923–81
RIC^2	*The Roman Imperial Coinage*, 2d ed., ed. C. H. V. Sutherland and R. A. G. Carson. London, 1984–
RIDA	*Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité*
RIH	J. de Rouge. 1877–78. *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques copiées en Egypte*. 3 vols. Études égyptologiques 9–11. Paris
RivArCr	*Rivista di archeologia cristiana*, Rome
RivB	*Rivista biblica*, Bologna
RLA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, ed. G. Ebeling et al. Berlin, 1932–
RLT	*Revista Latinoamericana de Teologia*, San Salvador
RNAB	see *RAB*
RNT	Regenesburger Neues Testament
RocTKan	*Roczniki Teologiczno-Kanoniczne*, Lublin
Rom	Romans
Rom.	see *Ign. Rom.*
Roš Hš.	*Roš Haššana*
ROTT	G. von Rad. 1962–65. *Old Testament Theology*. 2 vols. Trans. D. M. G. Stalker. New York
RP	*Revue de philologie*
RQ	*Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte*, Vatican City
RR	*Review of Religion*
RS	*Ras Shamra*
RSLR	*Rivista di storia letteratura religiosa*, Turin
RSO	*Rivista degli studi orientali*
RSPT	*Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, Paris
RSR	*Recherches de science religieuse*, Paris
RST	*Religious Studies and Theology*, Edmonton, Alberta
RSV	Revised Standard Version
RT	*Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*
RTAM	*Recherches de Theologie Ancienne et Médiévale*
RTL	*Revue théologique de Louvain*
RTP	*Revue de théologie et de philosophie*, Lausanne
RUO	*Revue de l'université d'Ottawa*
Ruth	Ruth
RV	Revised Version
RVV	Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten
Ry	G. Ryckmans. 1927–59. Inscriptions sudarabes I–XVII. *Mus* 40–72 [cited by no. of text]
S	south(ern)
S. ʿOlam Rab.	*Seder ʿOlam Rabbah*
Šabb.	*Šabbat*
SacDoc	*Sacra Doctrina*, Bologna
SacEr	*Sacris Erudiri: Jaarboek voor Godsdienstwetenschappen*, Brugge, Belgium
Sacr	Philo, *De sacrificiis Abelis et Caini*
SAHG	A. Falkenstein and W. von Soden. 1953. *Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebete*. Zurich
SAK	*Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur*, Hamburg
Sal	*Salesianum*, Rome
Salman	*Salmanticensis*, Salamanca
Sam. Pent.	Samaritan Pentateuch
Sam. Tg.	*Samaritan Targum*
SamOstr	Samaria Ostracon/Ostraca
SANE	*Sources From the Ancient Near East*, Malibu, CA
Sanh.	*Sanhedrin*
SANT	Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization
Sap	*Sapienza*, Naples
SAQ	Sammlung ausgewählter kirchen-und dogmengeschichtlicher Quellenschriften
SAT	*Die Schriften des Alten Testaments in Auswahl*, ed. and trans. H. Gunkel et al. Göttingen
SB	Sources bibliques
SBA	Studies in Biblical Archaeology

SBAW	Sitzungsberichten der (königlichen) bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
SBB	Stuttgarter biblische Beiträge
SBibB	*Studies in Bibliography and Booklore*, Cincinnati, OH
SBJ	La sainte bible de Jérusalem
SBLABS	Society of Biblical Literature Archaeology and Biblical Studies
SBLAS	Society of Biblical Literature Aramaic Studies
SBLASP	Society of Biblical Literature Abstracts and Seminar Papers
SBLBAC	Society of Biblical Literature The Bible in American Culture
SBLBMI	Society of Biblical Literature The Bible and Its Modern Interpreters
SBLBSNA	Society of Biblical Literature Biblical Scholarship in North America
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLMasS	Society of Biblical Literature Masoretic Studies
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLNTGF	Society of Biblical Literature: The New Testament in the Greek Fathers
SBLRBS	Society of Biblical Literature: Resources for Biblical Study
SBLSBS	Society of Biblical Literature: Sources for Biblical Study
SBLSCS	Society of Biblical Literature: Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SBLSP	*Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers*
SBLSS	Society of Biblical Literature: Semeia Studies
SBLTT	Society of Biblical Literature: Texts and Translations
SBLWAW	Society of Biblical Literature: Writings of the Ancient World
SBM	Stuttgarter biblische Monographien
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SC	Sources chrétiennes
SCCNH	*Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians*, 2 vols., ed. D. I. Owen and M. A. Morrison. Winona Lake, IN, 1981–87
ScEccl	*Sciences ecclésiatiques*
ScEs	*Science et esprit*, Montreal
SCHNT	Studia ad corpus hellenisticum novi testamenti
Scr	*Scripture*
SCR	*Studies in Comparative Religion*
ScrB	*Scripture Bulletin*
ScrC	*Scripture in Church*, Dublin
ScrHier	*Scripta Hierosolymitana*, Jerusalem
Scrip	*Scriptorium*, Brussels
Scriptura	*Scriptura*, Stellenbosch
ScrT	*Scripta Theologica*, Barañain/Pamplona
SCS	Septuagint and Cognate Studies
ScuolC	*Scuola Cattolica*, Milan
SD	Studies and Documents
SDB	*Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. H. B. Hackett. Boston, 1880
SE	southeast(ern)
SE	*Studia Evangelica I, II, III* (= TU 73 [1959], 87 [1964], 88 [1964], etc.)
SEÅ	*Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok*
Search	*Search*, Dublin
Šeb.	*Šebiʿit*
Šebu.	*Šebuʿot*
sec.	section
Sec. Gos. Mk.	*Secret Gospel of Mark*
SecondCent	*Second Century*, Macon, GA
Sef	*Sefarad*, Madrid
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, ed. J. J. E. Hondius. Leiden, 1923–
SEL	*Studi epigrafici e linguistici sul Vicino oriente antico*
Sem	*Semitica*, Paris
Şem.	*Şemaḥot*
Semeia	*Semeia*, Chico, CA
SemiotBib	*Sémiotique et Bible*, Lyon
Semitics	*Semitics*, Pretoria
Sent. Sextus	*Sentences of Sextus* (NHC XII,*1*)
Šeqal.	*Šeqalim*
Seux	J. M. Seux. 1968. *Epithètes Royales Akkadiennes et Sumériennes*. Paris
SGL	A. Falkenstein. 1959. *Sumerische Götterlieder*. Heidelberg
SGV	*Sammlung gemeinverständlicher Vorträge und Schriften aus dem Gebiet der Theologie und Religionsgeschichte*, Tübingen
SHAW	Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften
Shep. Herm.	*Shepherd of Hermas*
SHIB	R. M. Grant and D. Tracy. 1984. *A Short History of the Interpretation of the Bible*. 2d ed. Philadelphia
Shofar	*Shofar*, West Lafayette, IN
SHR	Studies in the History of Religions
SHT	Studies in Historical Theology
SHVL	Skrifter utgivna av (k.) humanistiska vetenskapssamfundet i Lund
Sib. Or.	*Sibylline Oracles*

SICV	*Sylloge inscriptionum Christianorum veterum musei Vaticani*, ed. H. Zilliacus. Acta instituti Romani Finlandiae 1/1–2. Rome
SIDÅ	Scripta Instituti Donneriana Åboensis, Stockholm
SIDJC	*Service International de Documentation Judéo-chrétienne*, Rome
SIG^3	*Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, ed. W. Dittenberger. 3d ed. Leipzig
SII	*Studies in Islam*, New Delhi
sing.	singular
Sipra	*Sipra*
Sipre	*Sipre*
Sir	Ecclesiasticus *or* Wisdom of Jesus Ben-Sira
SIRIS	*Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Isiacae et Serapicae*, ed. L. Vidman. RVV 28. Berlin, 1969
SJ	Studia Judaica
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SJOT	*Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament*
SJT	*Scottish Journal of Theology*, Edinburgh
SkrifK	*Skrif en Kerk*, Pretoria
SLAG	*Schriften der Luther-Agricola-Gesellschaft* (Finland)
SLJT	*Saint Luke's Journal of Theology*, Sewanee, TN
SMEA	*Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici*
SMS	*Syro-Mesopotamian Studies*, Malibu, CA
SMSR	*Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni*
Smyrn.	see *Ign. Smyrn.*
SNT	Studien zum Neuen Testament
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SNTU	*Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt*, Linz
SNVAO	*Skrifter utgitt av det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo*
SO	Symbolae osloenses
SÖAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Österreichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*
Sobr	Philo, *De sobrietate*
Somn I–II	Philo, *De somniis* I–II
SonB	Soncino Books of the Bible
Sop.	*Soperim*
Soph. Jes. Chr.	*Sophia of Jesus Christ* (NHC III,4)
Sota	*Sota*
SOTSBooklist	*Society for Old Testament Study Booklist*
SOTSMS	Society for Old Testament Study Monograph Series
Sou	*Soundings*, Nashville
SPap	*Studia papyrologica*
SPAW	Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
SPB	Studia postbiblica
Spec Leg I–IV	Philo, *De specialibus legibus* I–IV
SPhil	*Studia Philonica*, Chicago
SPIB	*Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici*, Rome
SpT	*Spirituality Today*, Dubuque, IA
SQAW	Schriften und Quellen der alten Welt
SR	*Studies in Religion/Sciences religieuses*, Waterloo, Ontario
SS	Studi semitici
SSAOI	*Sacra Scriptura Antiquitatibus Orientalibus Illustrata*, Rome
SSEA	Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities
SSN	*Studia Semitica Neerlandica*, Assen
SSS	Semitic Study Series
St	*Studium*, Madrid
ST	*Studia theologica*
STÅ	*Svendk teologisk årsskrift*
StadtrChr	P. Lampe. 1987. *Die stadtrömischen Christen in den ersten beiden Jahrhunderten.* WUNT 2/18. Tübingen
StANT	*Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament*, Munich
StBT	*Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten*, Wiesbaden
StDI	Studia et Documenta ad Iura Orientis Antiqui Pertinenti
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
StEb	*Studi Eblaiti*, Rome
StEc	*Studi Ecumenici*, Verona, Italy
Steles Seth	*Three Steles of Seth* (NHC VII,5)
StFS	*Studia Francisci Scholten*, Leiden
STK	*Svensk teologisk kvartalskrift*, Lund
STL	Studia theologica Ludensia
StLtg	*Studia Liturgica*, Rotterdam
StMiss	*Studia Missionalia*, Rome
StOr	*Studia Orientalia*, Helsinki
StOvet	*Studium Ovetense*, Oviedo
StPat	*Studia Patavina*, Padua, Italy
StPatr	*Studia Patristica*
StPhilon	*Studia Philonica*
Str	*Stromata*, San Miguel, Argentina
Str-B	H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck. 1922–61. *Kommentar zum NT aus Talmud und Midrasch.* 6 vols. Munich
STT	*The Sultantepe Tablets*, 2 vols., ed. O. R. Gurney, J. J. Finkelstein, and P. Hulin. Occasional Publications of the British School of Archaeology at Ankara 3, 7. London, 1957–64

StTh	*Studia Theologica*
StudBib	Studia biblica
StudBT	*Studia biblica et theologica*, Guilford, CT
Studium	*Studium*, Madrid
StudNeot	Studia neotestamentica, Studia
StudOr	Studia orientalia
StudPhoen	Studia Phoenicia [I–VIII]
STV	*Studia theologica varsaviensia*
Sukk.	*Sukka*
Sum	Sumerian
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
suppl.	supplement
Sus	Susanna
SVF	*Stoicorum veterum fragmenta*, ed. J. von Arnim. 4 vols. Leipzig, 1903–24. Repr. Stuttgart, 1966; New York, 1986
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti pseudepigrapha
SVTQ	*St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, Tuckahoe, NY
SW	southwest(ern)
SWBA	Social World of Biblical Antiquity
SwJT	*Southwestern Journal of Theology*, Fort Worth, TX
SWP	*Survey of Western Palestine:* *SWP* 1 = C. R. Conder and H. H. Kitchener. 1881. *Galilee*. London. *SWP* 2 = C. R. Conder and H. H. Kitchener. 1882. *Samaria*. London. *SWP* 3 = C. R. Conder and H. H. Kitchener. 1883. *Judaea*. London. *SWP* 4 = E. H. Palmer. 1881. *Arabic and English Name Lists*. London. *SWP* 5 = C. Wilson and C. Warren. 1881. *Special Papers*. London. *SWP* 6 = C. Warren and C. Warren, 1884. *Jerusalem*. London. *SWP* 7 = H. B. Tristram. 1884. *The Fauna and Flora of Palestine*. London.
SymBU	Symbolae biblicae upsalienses
Syr	Syriac
Syr	*Syria: Revue d'Art Oriental et d'Archéologie*, Paris
Syr. Men.	*Syriac Menander*
SZ	*Stimmen der Zeit*, Munich
T. 12 P.	*Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*
T. Ab.	*Testament of Abraham*
T. Adam	*Testament of Adam*
T. Ash.	*Testament of Asher*
T. Benj.	*Testament of Benjamin*
T. Dan.	*Testament of Daniel*
T. Gad	*Testament of Gad*
T. Hez.	*Testament of Hezekiah*
T. Isaac	*Testament of Isaac*
T. Iss.	*Testament of Issachar*
T. Jac.	*Testament of Jacob*
T. Job	*Testament of Job*
T. Jos.	*Testament of Joseph*
T. Jud.	*Testament of Judah*
T. Levi	*Testament of Levi*
T. Mos.	*Testament of Moses*
T. Naph.	*Testament of Naphtali*
T. Reu.	*Testament of Reuben*
T. Sim.	*Testament of Simeon*
T. Sol.	*Testament of Solomon*
T. Yom	*Tebul Yom*
T. Zeb.	*Testament of Zebulun*
TA	*Tel Aviv*, Tel Aviv
Taʿan.	*Taʿanit*
TAD	B. Porten and A. Yardeni. 1986. *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*. Jerusalem *TAD* A = vol. 1, *Letters* *TAD* B = vol. 2, *Contracts* *TAD* C = vol. 3, *Literature and Lists* *TAD* D = vol. 4, *Fragments and Inscriptions*
TAik	*Teologinen Aikakauskirja*, Helsinki
Talm.	*Talmud*
TAM	*Tituli Asiae Minoris*
Tamid	*Tamid*
TAPA	*Transactions of the American Philological Association*
TAPhS	*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, Philadelphia
TBC	Torch Bible Commentary
TBei	*Theologische Beiträge*, Wuppertal
TBl	*Theologische Blätter*
TBT	*The Bible Today*, Collegeville, MN
TBü	Theologische Bücherei
TCGNT	B. M. Metzger. 1971. *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, United Bible Societies
TCL	*Textes cunéiforms du Musée du Louvre*, Paris, 1910–
TCS	Texts from Cuneiform Sources: TCS 1 = E. Sollberger. 1966. *Business and Administrative Correspondence Under the Kings of Ur*. Locust Valley, NY. TCS 2 = R. Biggs. 1967. *ŠÀ.ZI.GA: Ancient Mesopotamian Potency Incantations*. TCS 3 = Å. Sjöberg, E. Bergmann, and G. Gragg. 1969. *The Collection of the Sumerian Temple Hymns*. TCS 4 = E. Leichty. 1970. *The Omen Series šumma izbu*. TCS 5 = A. K. Grayson. 1975. *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*.

TD	*Theology Digest*, St. Louis, MO
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, 10 vols., ed. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich. Trans. G. W. Bromiley. Grand Rapids, 1964–76
TDOT	*Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*, ed. G. J. Botterweck, H. Ringgren, and H. J. Fabry. Trans. J. T. Willis, G. W. Bromiley, and D. E. Green. Grand Rapids, 1974–
TE	*Theologica Evangelica*, Pretoria
Teach. Silv.	*Teachings of Silvanus* (NHC VII,*4*)
Tem.	*Temura*
Temenos	*Temenos: Studies in Comparative Religion*, Helsinki
Ter	*Teresianum*, Rome
Ter.	*Terumot*
Test	*Testimonianze*, Florence
Testim. Truth	*Testimony of Truth* (NHC IX,*3*)
TEV	Today's English Version
TextsS	Texts and Studies
TF	*Theologische Forschung*
Tg. Esth. I	*First Targum of Esther*
Tg. Esth. II	*Second Targum of Esther*
Tg. Isa.	*Targum of Isaiah*
Tg. Ket.	*Targum of the Writings*
Tg. Neb.	*Targum of the Prophets*
Tg. Neof.	*Targum Neofiti I*
Tg. Onq.	*Targum Onqelos*
Tg. Ps.-J.	*Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*
Tg. Yer. I	*Targum Yerušalmi I*
Tg. Yer. II	*Targum Yerušalmi II*
TGI	K. Galling. 1950. *Textbuch zur Geschichte Israels*. 2d ed. Tübingen
TGl	*Theologie und Glaube*, Paderborn
Thal.	*Thallus*
ThArb	*Theologische Arbeiten*, Berlin
THAT	*Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament*, 2 vols., ed. E. Jenni and C. Westermann. Munich, 1971–76
ThEd	*Theological Educator*, New Orleans
ThEH	*Theologische Existenz Heute*, Munich
Them	*Themelios*, Madison, WI
Theod.	*Theodotus*
Theology	*Theology*, London
THeth	Texte der Hethiter
ThH	*Théologie historique*
THKNT	Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament
Thom. Cont.	*Book of Thomas the Contender* (NHC II,*7*)
Thomist	*Thomist*, Washington, D.C.
ThPh	*Theologie und Philosophie*, Freiburg
ThStud	Theologische Studien
Thund.	*The Thunder: Perfect Mind* (NHC VI,*2*)
ThV	*Theologische Versuche*, Berlin
ThViat	*Theologia Viatorum*, Berlin
TijdTheol	*Tijdschrift voor Theologie*, Nijmegen
Titus	Titus
TJ	*Trinity Journal*, Deerfield, IL
TJT	*Toronto Journal of Theology*
TLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung*
TNB	*The New Blackfriars*, Oxford
TNTC	Tyndale New Testament Commentary
Tob	Tobit
Ṭohar.	*Ṭoharot*
TOTC	Tyndale Old Testament Commentary
TP	*Theologie und Philosophie*
TPNAH	J. D. Fowler. 1988. *Theophoric Personal Names in Ancient Hebrew*. JSOTSup 49. Sheffield
TPQ	*Theologisch-Praktische Quartalschrift*, Austria
TQ	*Theologische Quartalschrift*
TR	P. Lucau. *Textes Religieux Égyptiens*, 1, Paris
Trad	*Tradition*, New York
Traditio	*Traditio*, New York
Trall.	see *Ign. Trall.*
TRE	*Theologische Realenzyklopädie*
Treat. Res.	*Treatise on Resurrection* (NHC I,*4*)
Treat. Seth	*Second Treatise of the Great Seth* (NHC VII,*2*)
Treat. Shem	*Treatise of Shem*
TRev	*Theologische Revue*
Tri. Trac.	*Tripartite Tractate* (NHC I,*5*)
Trim. Prot.	*Trimorphic Protennoia* (NHC XIII,*1*)
TRu	*Theologische Rundschau*, Tübingen
TS	*Theological Studies*, Washington, DC
TSK	*Theologische Studien und Kritiken*
TSSI	J. C. L. Gibson. 1971–82. *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*. 3 vols. Oxford
TT	*Teologisk Tidsskrift*
TTKi	*Tidsskrift for Teologie og Kirke*, Oslo, Norway
TTKY	*Türk Tarih Kurumu Kongresi Yayĭnlari*. Ankara
TToday	*Theology Today*, Princeton, NJ
TTS	Trierer Theologische Studien
TTZ	*Trierer theologische Zeitschrift*
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
TUAT	Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments
TV	*Teología y Vida*, Santiago, Chile
TvT	*Tijdschrift voor Theologie*, Nijmegen, The Netherlands

TWAT	*Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament*, ed. G. J. Botterweck, H. Ringgren, and H. J. Fabry. Stuttgart, 1970–
TWNT	*Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, 8 vols., ed. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich. Stuttgart, 1933–69
TynBul	*Tyndale Bulletin*
TZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift*, Basel, Switzerland
UBS	United Bible Society
UBSGNT	*United Bible Societies Greek New Testament*
UCPNES	University of California Publications in Near Eastern Studies
UCPSP	University of California Publications in Semitic Philology
UET	Ur Excavations: Texts
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen*
Ug	Ugaritic
UGAÄ	Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens
ÜgS	M. Noth. 1967. *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*. 3d ed. Tübingen
UNT	Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ʿUq.	*ʿUqṣin*
Urk. IV	*Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums*. Abt. IV, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, ed. K. Sethe and W. Helck. 22 fasc. Leipzig, 1903–58
US	*Una Sancta*
USQR	*Union Seminary Quarterly Review*, New York, NY
UT	C. H. Gordon. 1965. *Ugaritic Textbook*. AnOr 38. Rome; suppl. 1967
UUÅ	*Uppsala universitets Årsskrift*
v(v)	verse(s)
VAB	*Vorderasiatische Bibliothek*, Leipzig, 1907–16
Val. Exp.	*A Valentinian Exposition* (NHC XI,2)
VAT	Vorderasiatische Abteilung, Thontafelsammlung, Staatliche Musee zu Berlin
VC	*Vigiliae christianae*
VCaro	*Verbum caro*
VD	*Verbum domini*
VE	*Vox Evangilica*
VetChr	*Vetera Christianum*, Bari
VF	*Verkündigung und Forschung*
Vg	Vulgate
Vid	*Vidyajyoti*, Delhi
VigChrist	*Vigiliao Christianae*
VIO	Veröffentlichung der Institut für Orientforschung
Virt	Philo, *De virtutibus*
Vis. Ezra	*Vision of Ezra*
Vis. Is.	*Vision of Isaiah*
Vis. Paul	*Vision of Paul*
Vita	*Vita Adae et Evae*
Vita C	Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*
Vita Cont	Philo, *De vita contemplativa*
Vita Mos I–II	Philo, *De vita Mosis* I–II
VKGNT	*Vollständige Konkordanz zum griechischen Neuen Testament*, ed. K. Aland
VL	Vetus Latina
vol(s).	volume(s)
Vorsokr.	*Fragmente der Vorsokrater*, 4th ed., ed. H. Diels. Berlin, 1922
VR	*Vox Reformata*, Geelong, Victoria, Australia
VS	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der königlichen Museen zu Berlin
VSpir	*Vie spirituelle*, Paris
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*, Leiden
VTG	Vetus Testamentum Graecum
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum Supplements
W	west(ern)
WA	["Weimar Ausgabe," =] *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, ed. J. K. F. Knaake et al. Weimar, 1883–
Way	*The Way*, London
WbÄS	A. Erman and H. Grapow. 1926–31. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. 7 vols. Leipzig. Repr. 1963
WBC	World Bible Commentary
WBKL	Wiener Beitrage zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik
WbMyth	*Wörterbuch der Mythologie*, ed. H. W. Haussig, Stuttgart, 1961
WC	Westminster Commentaries, London
WD	*Wort und Dienst*
WDB	*Westminster Dictionary of the Bible*
Wehr	H. Wehr. 1976. *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, 3d ed., ed. J. M. Cowen. Ithaca
WF	Wege der Forschung
WGI	J. Wellhausen. 1878. *Geschichte Israels*. Berlin [see also *WPGI* and *WPHI*]
WHAB	*Westminster Historical Atlas of the Bible*
Whitaker	R. E. Whitaker. 1972. *A Concordance of the Ugaritic Literature*. Cambridge, MA
WHJP	*World History of the Jewish People*
Wis	Wisdom of Solomon
WLSGF	*The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman*, eds. C. L. Meyers and M. O'Connor. Winona Lake, IN, 1983
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WO	*Die Welt des Orients*

WoAr	*World Archaeology*
Wor	*Worship*, Collegeville, MN
WordWorld	*Word and World*, St. Paul, MN
WPGI	J. Wellhausen. 1895. *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*. 4th ed. Berlin
WPHI	J. Wellhausen. 1885. *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*. 2 vols. Trans. J. S. Black and A. Menzies. Edinburgh. Repr. Cleveland 1957; Gloucester, MA, 1973
WS	*World and Spirit*, Petersham, MA
WTJ	*Westminster Theological Journal*, Philadelphia, PA
WTM	J. Levy. 1924. *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim*. 5 vols. 2d ed., ed. L. Goldschmidt. Leipzig. Repr. 1963
WTS	E. Littmann and M. Höfner. 1962. *Wörterbuch der Tigre-Sprache*. Wiesbaden
WuD	*Wort und Dienst*, Bielefeld
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
WUS	J. Aistleitner. 1974. *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache*. 4th ed., ed. O. Eissfeldt. BSAW 106/3. Berlin
WuW	*Wissenschaft und Weisheit*, Mönchengladbach
WVDOG	*Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*
WW	*Word & World*, Fort Lee, NJ
WZ	*Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift*
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*
WZKSO	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens*
Yad.	*Yadayim*
Yal.	*Yalqut*
Yebam.	*Yebamot*
Yem. Tg.	*Yemenite Targum*
YES	Yale Egyptological Studies
YGC	W. F. Albright. 1969. *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan*. Garden City, NY. Repr. Winona Lake, IN, 1990
YJS	*Yale Judaica Series*, New Haven
YNER	Yale Near Eastern Researches
Yoma	*Yoma (= Kippurim)*
YOS	Yale Oriental Series
y. (Talm.)	Jerusalem (Talmud) = "Yerushalmi"
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*
Zabim	*Zabim*
ZAH	*Zeitschrift für Althebräistic*
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Berlin
ZB	Zürcher Bibelkommentare
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*
Zebaḥ.	*Zebaḥim*
Zech	Zechariah
ZEE	*Zeitschrift für evangelische Ethik*
Zeph	Zephaniah
Zer.	*Zeraʿim*
ZHT	*Zeitschrift für historische Theologie*
ZKG	*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*
ZKT	*Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, Innsbruck
ZMR	*Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft*
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*
Zost.	*Zostrianos* (NHC VIII,*1*)
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*
ZPKT	*Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Katholische Theologie*
ZRGG	*Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte*, Erlangen
ZST	*Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie*
ZTK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*
ZWT	*Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*
ZycMysl	*Zycie i Mysl*

Si

SIA (PERSON) [Heb *sî'ā'*]. Var. SIAHA. Head of a family of Nethinim (Temple servants) who returned from the Babylonian exile to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel and Jeshua, between 538 and 520 B.C.E. (Ezra 2:44; Neh 7:47; 1 Esdr 5:29 [Gk *Soua*]). The form of the name "Siaha" in Ezra, in contrast to Sia in Nehemiah, suggests a compilation of Hebrew (ending with an *h*) and Aramaic (ending with an *a*) versions of the name and supports a later date for Ezra's list. Neither version, however, sheds light on the name's origin and meaning. As members of the guild of Nethinim (Levine 1963), the family of Sia would have had a special role in the temple cult, perhaps assisting the Levites. The Nethinim have been construed as a guild of temple functionaries, originally of foreign descent. During the postexilic period they were considered neither foreigners nor slaves. Rather, like the Levites, they had been devoted to cultic service, the precise nature of which can no longer be identified. Like the Levites, the Nethinim as a group had signed the communal pledge (Neh 10:29). The size of Sia's family is not known. The family is reckoned together with 34 other families of Nethinim and 10 of Solomon's servants, constituting a contingent of 392 members (Ezra 2:58; Neh 7:60) or 372 (1 Esdr 5:35).

Bibliography

Levine, B. A. 1963. The Netinim. *JBL* 82: 207–12.

TAMARA C. ESKENAZI

SIBBECAI (PERSON) [Heb *sibbēkay*]. One of David's champions, a select class of warriors directly attached to the king for special assignments, named in the list of 1 Chr 11:10–47 (v 29). Although of high repute, he is distinguished from the more elite warriors (vv 11–25) listed before his grouping. He is noted for having killed Saph, one of the "sons" of Rapha (see McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 449–50), who were known for their stature and military prowess, during a battle with the Philistines (2 Sam 21:18; 1 Chr 20:4). Sibbecai, designated a Hushite, hailed from the village of Hushah in the Judean hills a few miles SW of Bethlehem.

In 2 Sam 23:8–39, a list of the champions which parallels that of 1 Chr 11:10–47, one finds "MEBUNNAI (Heb *mbny*) the Hushite" (v 27) instead of Sibbecai *(sbky)*. The form in 2 Samuel seems to have resulted from two errors in transmission: a confusion of *k* for *n* (the Lucianic Greek text reads the equivalent of *sbny*), followed by a confusion of *m* for *s* (McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 492).

The same Sibbecai appears to be mentioned in a list of commanders found in 1 Chr 27:1–15 (v 11), since this list mentions 11 other mighty men found in 1 Chr 11:10–47. Here Sibbecai the Hushite is further designated as "a Zerahite," a member of the family of Zerah in the tribe of Judah (Num 26:20; Josh 7:17). These commanders were each in charge of a monthly course of 24,000 men, or possibly 24 "units" rather than "thousands" (Myers *I Chronicles* AB, 183, 53, 98), in the armed service of the king; Sibbecai being in charge of the eighth month. This list of commanders and their functions is possibly a construct of its composer, since (1) no such monthly, conscripted, civilian army is mentioned elsewhere during David's reign; (2) the large number of 288,000 men, if the term is understood correctly, is improbable; and (3) one of the commanders, Asahel (v 7), was dead before David had rule over all Israel (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 174–75). However, the author/redactor's thesis, that David made preparations for the proper ongoing cultic and national life of Israel, as illustrated throughout chap. 23–27, draws on the fact that David took a census (cf. vv 23–24; chap. 21) which could have been utilized for designing a monthly plan of conscription, a plan which would have been analogous to Solomon's monthly courses for his provision (1 Kgs 4:7–19).

RODNEY K. DUKE

SIBBOLETH [Heb *sibbōlet*]. See SHIBBOLETH.

SIBMAH (PLACE) [Heb *śibmâ*]. Var. SEBAM. A Moabite town in the region dominated by Heshbon and given by Moses to the tribe of Reuben on the E side of the Jordan River (Josh 13:19). The name is incorrectly spelled Sebam (Heb *śēbām*) by the Masoretes in Num 32:3 (cf. LXX *Sebama*), though the spelling is corrected in Num 32:38 (also LXX *Sebama*) when the city is reportedly rebuilt by the tribe of Reuben. Based on references in the prophetic books (see below), it seems unlikely that Reubenites controlled the town over time.

Sibmah may have produced well-known fertile grape vineyards, since Isaiah prophesies against Sibmah's vines in an oracle against Moab (Isa 16:8–13). From Isaiah, Jeremiah borrows the same taunt against Sibmah in 48:32–33.

Wüst (1975: 160) and Kallai (*HGB*, 441) doubt the usual location of Sibmah at Khirbet Qarn el Qibsh because there

are no Iron Age ruins yet uncovered there. To fit a more linear course, Wüst would look for the site farther S on the plain of Medeba near Beth Baal Meon.

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PAUL NIMRAH FRANKLYN

SIBRAIM (PLACE) [Heb *sibrayim*]. One of the towns which forms the N border of the ideal vision of Israel in Ezek 47:16. Although the passage in Ezekiel suggests a general location between Damascus and Hamath, the precise location is still disputed. Citing the geographical notes of Honigmann (1923: 184–85), Zimmerli (*Ezekiel 2* Hermeneia, 529) suggests that it may have been on the site of ancient Euaroia (modern Hauwarin), a Roman town situated in Syria about 62 miles NE of Damascus. However, Honigmann does not mention such an equation, nor does Zimmerli produce any solid evidence for this identification. W. F. Albright (*ARI,* 220) and other scholars (cf. *LBHG,* 67 n. 33) have suggested that Sibraim is a variant spelling of Sepharvaim. Zadok (1976: 116) and other scholars, however, argue that Sibraim and Sepharvaim are two distinct towns. More data is needed to provide a definite location for Sibraim and Sepharvaim.

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HECTOR AVALOS

SIBYLLINE ORACLES. A collection of utterances of a prophetic character attributed to a female visionary figure of classical tradition called the sibyl. Some of the Sibylline oracles are of Jewish origin, and others were adapted or composed by Christians.

A. The Sibyl
B. The Standard Collection
  1. The Earliest Jewish Oracles: *Sibylline Oracles* 3
  2. Additions to *Sibylline Oracles* 3
  3. The Continuing Jewish Tradition: *Sibylline Oracles* 5
  4. *Sibylline Oracles* 4
  5. *Sibylline Oracles* 11
  6. Christian Adaptations of Jewish Oracles
  7. The Christian Compositions: *Sibylline Oracles* 6 and 7
  8. The Later *Sibyllines*
C. Other *Sibylline Oracles*
D. Significance of the Sibyls

A. The Sibyl

The sibyl was known in Greek legend as an ecstatic woman who uttered prophecies of a predominantly gloomy nature. The earliest reference, in the philosopher Heraclitus (ca. 500 B.C.E.) says that she reaches through thousands of years by the power of the god (Plut. *De Pyth. Or.* 6). She was apparently already a figure of hoary antiquity at that time. According to the Latin poet Ovid (who flourished at the turn of the era), the sibyl was granted by Apollo that she might live as many years as there were grains of sand on the seashore, but she neglected to ask for the gift of youth. So she remained for thousands of years a shriveled, shrunken old woman.

At first the sibyl was conceived as a single individual, and her association with different places was explained by the legend of her wandering. In the Hellenistic period, however, the word became generic and we hear of several different sibyls. Varro, a Roman writer of the 1st century B.C.E. listed ten sibyls: Persian, Libyan, Delphic, Cimmerian (in Italy), Erythrean, Samian, Cumean, Hellespontic (from Marpessus, near Troy), Phrygian, and Tiburtine (Varro, *Res Divinae,* preserved by Lactantius *Div. Inst.* 1.6.8–12). Other lists varied. The Hebrew sibyl was sometimes added as an eleventh, and sometimes identified with the Persian. The best-known sibyls were those of Marpessus and Erythraea in Asia Minor, and of Cumae in Italy. Both the Cumean and the Erythrean sibyls were associated with caverns. The Cumean sibyl was immortalized by Virgil, who describes her ecstasy in the *Aeneid* 6.77–102 and also refers to her in the *Fourth Eclogue.*

From early times, *Sibylline Oracles* were written down in Greek hexameters. The use of acrostics was thought to be a mark of authenticity. The most famous collection in antiquity was the official one at Rome. According to legend (recounted in the anonymous preface to the standard collection), the Cumean sibyl brought nine books of her own prophecies to Tarquinius Priscus, when he was ruler of Rome (ca. 600 B.C.E.). When he would not pay her price, she burned three of them. She then offered the remaining six for the same price. He refused again, so she burned three more. Finally he purchased the remaining three, and entrusted them to special keepers (first two men, then ten, finally fifteen) to be consulted only in time of crisis, by decree of the Senate. When the temple of Jupiter was burned down in 83 B.C.E., the Sibylline books were destroyed. When it was rebuilt in 76 B.C.E., oracles were collected from various places, especially Erythraea. These oracles were apparently preoccupied with prodigies and portents (Tibullus 2.5.66–78). One surviving example deals with the birth of an androgyne, while another prescribes rituals for the founding of the *Ludi Saeculares.* The last-known consultation of the books was in 363 C.E.

B. The Standard Collection

The standard collection of *Sibylline Oracles* is made up of two distinct manuscript collections. The first consists of two manuscript groups, which are usually referred to as *phi* and *psi,* and contain Books 1–8. Group *phi* also contains the anonymous preface. The second collection consists of a group of manuscripts known as *omega,* which contains Books 9–14. Books 9 and 10 merely repeat material from the first collection—Book 9 contains Book 6 and part of Book 8, and Book 10 is identical with Book 4. These books are consequently omitted in the editions, but the numbering of Books 1–8 and 11–14 is retained.

The first edition, by Sixtus Birken in Basel, 1545, contained only Books 1–8. Books 11–14 were first published at the beginning of the 19th century. The first complete

edition was by C. Alexandre (Paris, 1841, 1853). The major editions were done by A. Rzach (1891) and J. Geffcken (1902a).

1. The Earliest Jewish Oracles: *Sibylline Oracles* 3. The genre of *Sibylline Oracles* was first adapted by Jews for their own propagandistic purposes in the 2d century B.C.E., in Egypt. The oldest Jewish oracles are preserved in Book 3 of the standard collection, in vv 97–349 and 489–829 of that book. Within this corpus five oracles may be distinguished: (1) 97–161; (2) 162–95; (3) 196–294; (4) 545–656; and (5) 657–808. The first of these contains a euhemeristic account of history—i.e. it explains the pagan gods as famous men and women of ancient times. Even earth and heaven were "the first of articulate men." The oracle begins with the story of the tower of Babel, but most of it deals with Greek mythology—notably the birth of Zeus. The best parallel to this review is the *Theogony* of Hesiod. The oracle concludes by listing eight kingdoms, from Egypt to Rome. If we add the initial kingdom of Cronos (father of Zeus) and infer a final eschatological kingdom, we arrive at the usual Sibylline figure of ten. The second oracle also contains a rapid review of history beginning with "the house of Solomon." Most of the oracle, however, is concerned with "another kingdom, white and many-headed from the western sea"—i.e. Rome. The sibyl denounces Rome for injustice and homosexuality. It will endure until "the seventh reign when a king of Egypt, who will be of the Greeks by race, will rule" (192–93). Then "the people of the great God will again be strong."

The reference to the seventh king of Egypt is repeated in two other passages (vv 318, 608) and is the key to the provenance of these oracles. The king in question is either Ptolemy VI Philometor (who ruled 180–164, 164–145 B.C.E.) or his anticipated successor, Neos Philopator. In fact, Philometor's benevolence to the Jews was well known; Josephus (*AgAp* 2.49) claimed that Philometor entrusted his whole kingdom to the Jews. While this claim is exaggerated, it had some basis in the fact that two Jews, Onias and Dositheus, became generals in his army. Onias, legitimate heir to the high priesthood in Jerusalem, was then permitted to build a temple at Leontopolis. It is possible that the earliest Jewish *Sibylline Oracles* were written by a supporter of this Onias. (See Collins 1974: 28–32. Nikiprowetzky 1970: 215–16 identifies the seventh monarch as Cleopatra VII, the last queen of Egypt.)

The enthusiasm of the Sibyl for the Ptolemaic line found even stronger expression in vv 652–56. There we read that "God will send a king from the sun who will stop the entire earth from evil war." Egyptian kings were associated with the sun from the time of the Pharaohs, and the Ptolemies had appropriated the association (e.g. on the Rosetta Stone). The expression "king from the sun" was used in the *Potter's Oracle,* an Egyptian nationalistic composition from the Hellenistic age, to express the hope for the restoration of Egyptian kingship. In the Sibylline Oracle, the king from the sun must be identified with the seventh king of the other passages—i.e., Philometor or his heir. This passage makes clear that the Sibyl looked to the Ptolemaic house for deliverance, just as Second Isaiah had looked on Cyrus of Persia as a messiah. This political stance is understandable in the case of Jews like Onias and his followers, who found protection and patronage in Egypt when Judea was in turmoil in the Maccabean era. (For a contrary view, which identifies the "king from the sun" as a Jewish messiah, see Momigliano 1975: 1077–84.)

The opposition of the Sibyl to Rome is unusual in a Jewish work of this early period. The Maccabees formed an alliance with Rome, and looked on it as a potential ally against the Syrians. In Egyptian affairs, however, Rome supported the rival of Philometor, Euergetes II (Physcon) and the attitude of the Sibyl was formed in the Egyptian milieu. The Sibyl never refers to the Maccabean revolt. It has been suggested that vv 194–95 ("the people of the great God will again be strong") is such a reference (Momigliano 1975: 1081) but the suggestion is not warranted by the context.

In addition to the political endorsement of the Ptolemaic house, the earliest Jewish Sibyl had a religious message. This is expounded in the third oracle (vv 196–294) in a eulogy of the Jewish people and their law. Again, the fourth oracle (vv 545–656) exhorts the Greeks to turn from idolatry and offer holocausts "at the temple of the great God," and praises the Jews for avoiding idolatry and homosexuality. The final oracle (vv 657–808) speaks of an eschatological assault on the temple by the kings of the earth, which will be repulsed by divine judgment, with fiery swords from heaven. Then "the sons of the great God will live peacefully around the temple" (702–3) and God "will raise up a kingdom for all ages among men" (767–68).

The earliest Jewish *Sibylline Oracles* are eschatological prophecies. They look for the restoration of a Jewish kingdom around the Jerusalem temple. They evidently did not recognize the Maccabean restoration. The centrality of the temple supports the hypothesis that the oracles were written by a supporter of Onias the ousted high priest. The Ptolemaic king is expected to play a crucial role in bringing about this final state, but the judgment is expected to vindicate Jewish ethics, especially the avoidance of idolatry and homosexuality. While the oracles are eschatological, however, they are markedly different from the apocalyptic visions which were composed in Judea about the same time (e.g. Daniel) although they share some features (e.g. prophecy after the fact, periodization). The oracles make no mention of angels, which play a dominant role in the apocalypses, and do not envisage the resurrection of the dead. Instead their eschatology is closer to the traditional Jewish hope which we find, e.g., in Isaiah 2 and 11—the restoration of a kingdom around the Jerusalem temple. At the same time, the oracles are remarkably "progressive" in their attempt to relate to the gentile world. The choice of the Sibyl as a pseudonym and the mastery of epic hexameters show that the authors of these oracles saw no conflict between fidelity to Jewish religion and acceptance of Hellenistic culture.

2. Additions to *Sibylline Oracles* 3. The oracles from the time of Philometor were supplemented with various other oracles to make up the third book of the present collection. Some of these, vv 401–88, may well have been taken from the pagan Erythrean sibyl, for they speak of Homer and the Trojan war—allegedly themes of that sibyl (Lactantius *Div. Inst.* 1.6). An important oracle in vv 350–80 prophesies the vengeance of Asia on Rome. It is most plausibly associated with the campaign of Cleopatra in the 1st cen-

tury B.C.E. (The campaign of Mithridates earlier in that century has also been suggested—see Kippenberg 1983: 45). These oracles lack the ethical concerns of the earlier oracles and were presumably included because of their general political interest.

Sib. Or. 3:1–96 was most probably the conclusion of a different book. (Most manuscripts have the title "from the second book, about God.") Verses 1–45 are quite different from the rest of the book and are mainly concerned with monotheism and idolatry. The oracles in 46–62 and 75–92 were written after the battle of Actium and reflect the disillusionment of Egyptian Jews with Cleopatra. Verses 63–74 are later still, and refer to the coming of "Beliar from the line of the Augusti." The reference is most probably to Nero, who takes on demonic proportions in the later *Sibylline Oracles.*

3. The Continuing Jewish Tradition: *Sibylline Oracles* 5. The fifth Sibylline Oracle continues the Sibylline tradition of Egyptian Judaism. Like *Sibylline Oracles* 3, the book is made up of several oracles. The first, vv 1–51 is a summary of rulers from Alexander to Marcus Aurelius (the reference to the latter may have been added as a secondary update). The next four oracles, 52–110, 111–78, 179–285, 286–434, show a common pattern: (1) oracles against various nations; (2) the return of Nero as an eschatological adversary; (3) the coming of a savior figure; and (4) destruction, usually by fire. These oracles were probably written at the beginning of the 2d century C.E. on the eve of the great Diaspora revolt of 115–18. The final oracle of the book, 435–530, describes an elaborate battle of the stars which concludes bleakly with a starless sky.

While the earliest strand of the Jewish Sibyllines was already hostile to Rome, this hostility is greatly intensified in *Sibylline Oracles* 5. The most passionate denunciation of Rome is found in vv 162–78. The charge against Rome is partly moral—adultery and homosexuality—but more fundamentally that Rome destroyed the Jerusalem temple and set itself up as a god (cf. v 173). Rome is represented in *Sibylline Oracles* 5 by Nero. The Sibyl adapts the popular legend that Nero had survived and fled to the Parthians and prophesies his return from the ends of the earth. Like Rome, he is denounced as morally evil (a matricide), blamed for the destruction of Jerusalem (v 150) and accused of setting himself up as a god. The intensity of the oracles reflects the deterioration of relations between Rome and the Jews after the war of 66–70 C.E.

Unlike *Sibylline Oracles* 3, however, *Sibylline Oracles* 5 held no hope of aid from Egypt. The oracles show antipathy to Egypt throughout. The savior figure is no longer a human figure but a man from heaven (256, 414), a "king sent from God" (108). In vv 256–57 an original Jewish passage is modified by a reference to the crucifixion, so as to identify this figure with Christ, but this is the only trace of Christian redaction in the book. The hope for a heavenly savior figure brings *Sibylline Oracles* 5 closer to the thought-world of the apocalyptic writings, but belief in resurrection is still notably absent.

Like *Sibylline Oracles* 3, *Sibylline Oracles* 5 also has an ethical message, which consists of polemic against idolatry and sexual offenses, the standard themes of Jewish apologetic literature. The most striking aspect of the piety of these oracles, however, is their devotion to the temple, even though the actual temple had been destroyed for several years. Verses 492–501 prophesy the erection of a temple to the true God in Egypt, and this is viewed entirely positively, although it will again be destroyed. We may detect here an echo of the tradition of the temple of Leontopolis, which had itself been closed down by the Romans. The final state for which this Sibyl hoped was the earthly restoration of Jerusalem (249–55 and 420–27), with a wall extending to Joppa, while the shrines of Isis and Sarapis would lie in ruins. These aspirations may have been shared by the Jews who launched the Diaspora revolt in 115 C.E.

4. *Sibylline Oracles* 4. In sharp contrast to the prominence of the temple in *Sibylline Oracles* 3 and 5, *Sibylline Oracles* 4 declares at the outset that God does not have a house of stone but an invisible temple and declares those happy who "reject all temples . . . defiled with blood of animate creatures and sacrifices of four-footed animals" (27–29). This oracle must have come from a different source than *Sibylline Oracles* 5. *Sibylline Oracles* 4 is the most tightly structured of the Jewish Sibyllines. It gives an overview of history in four kingdoms and ten generations: Assyria (6 generations), Media (2), Persia (1), and Macedonia. After Macedonia, Rome is inserted out of numerical sequence. This suggests that an older anti-Macedonian oracle was updated in the Roman era. The Sibyl notes the destruction of Jerusalem and the eruption of Vesuvius (79 C.E.), and prophesies the return of Nero (138). The historical prediction concludes with the threat that "God will destroy the race of men at once by a great conflagration" (160–61). This threat, however, is conditional. The Sibyl appeals to "wretched mortals" to "wash your whole bodies in perennial rivers" (165) and repent. If not, God will destroy everything by fire, but there will be a resurrection and judgment. *Sibylline Oracles* 4 then comes closer to the typical eschatology of the apocalypses than do the other Jewish oracles.

The appeal for baptism as a way of forestalling eschatological destruction throws interesting light on the activity of John the Baptist and other baptist groups in the 1st century. The oracle is usually thought to have been composed in the Jordan valley not long after 79 C.E., which is the latest historical reference.

5. *Sibylline Oracles* 11. One other book of the Sibylline Oracles was probably a product of 1st century Judaism. *Sibylline Oracles* 11 is a review of history from the Flood to the death of Cleopatra. *Sib. Or.* 5:1–11 is a summary of *Sibylline Oracles* 11 (the summary is repeated at the beginning of *Sibylline Oracles* 12). It seems more probable that *Sibylline Oracles* 11 preceded *Sibylline Oracles* 5 than that the summary statement came first and that *Sibylline Oracles* 11 was expanded from it. Since *Sib. Or.* 11:232–35 contains a eulogy of Alexandria, we may presume that the book was written in that city. It lacks both the ethical concerns and eschatological perspective of Books 3 and 5. The oracle is negative in Cleopatra, but contains no criticism of Rome. Egypt will finally be destroyed because of its oppression of the Hebrews (308). *Sibylline Oracles* 11 then fits the general attitude of Alexandrian Judaism which was conciliatory to the overlords and hostile to the native Egyptians, but stands apart from the tradition of *Sibylline Oracles* 3 and 5.

6. Christian Adaptations of Jewish Oracles. In two cases

Jewish Sibylline oracles were adapted and incorporated in Christian books. These were Books 1–2 and Book 8.

The first two books of the standard collection are not separated in the manuscripts and should be read as a single book. The familiar Sibylline division of history into ten generations runs throughout. The first seven generations are preserved in 1:1–323. At this point a Christian passage on the life of Christ is inserted (1:324–400). The original sequence is resumed in 2:6–33), but there is no reference to the eighth or ninth generation. The tenth is introduced at 2:15. The remainder of *Sibylline Oracles* 2 describes eschatological crises and the last judgment. Several passages are clearly Christian, but 2:154–76 is surely Jewish since it refers to the universal rule of the Hebrews. *Sibylline Oracles* 2 contains a lengthy excerpt from the sayings of Pseudo-Phocylides (56–148), which is used to illustrate the criteria for the final judgment.

In view of the complicated redaction of the book, little can be said with confidence about the Jewish stage. The only reference to the destruction of Jerusalem is in 1:393–96 and it involves no recrimination against Rome. It is usually regarded as a Christian insertion, designed to bring the book up to date. If this is so, the Jewish oracle was written before 70 C.E. The only indication of provenance is that Phrygia is said to be the first land which emerged after the flood. *Sibylline Oracles* 1–2, then, may be a rare literary relic of the Judaism of Asia Minor, but its value is greatly reduced by the uncertainty of its original contents. The Christian redaction of the book, which may have been completed in the 2d century, is primarily concerned with the judgment. Martyrs and virgins are singled out for special honor (2:46–48). There is a catalogue of sins for which people are condemned (2:255–83) and the sufferings of the damned are described in lurid detail (285–310).

Sibylline Oracles 8 falls into two quite different sections. Verses 1–216 are made up of political prophecies, mainly directed against Rome. Verses 217–500, by contrast, are concerned with Christology, incarnation, and the praise of God. The authorship of vv 1–216 is disputed, and not necessarily uniform. The concluding description of the eschatological reign of a woman (194–216) appears to presuppose the book of Revelation and is therefore Christian. Verses 131–38, which are favorable to Hadrian, contrast sharply with other passages in the book and may be the work of a pagan sibyllist. Jewish authorship of the remainder of these oracles is supported by the animosity to Hadrian in vv 50–59, and the fact that Nero is said to destroy "the nation of the Hebrews" (141), but there is no conclusive evidence. Verses 65–74 envisage the return of Nero during the reign of Marcus Aurelius and must have been written before the death of that emperor in 180 C.E. There is nothing to indicate the place of origin. The importance of these oracles lies in their powerful indictment of Rome for greed and injustice, which is a valuable indication of Near Eastern sentiment in the 2d century C.E.

The Christian redaction was known to Lactantius in the late 3d century. Its most noteworthy feature is that it includes the only acrostic in the Jewish and Christian corpus (217–50), although acrostics were considered criteria for the authenticity of pagan Sibyllines.

7. The Christian Compositions: *Sibylline Oracles* 6 and 7. Only two books in the standard collection were clearly original Christian compositions. Book 6 consists of only 28 verses and is a hymn to Christ. It was known to Lactantius about 300 C.E. The hymn mentions the baptism of Christ in the Jordan, a theme also taken up in book 7, but there is no real evidence of its provenance.

Sibylline Oracles 7 is badly preserved and loosely structured. A passage on the Flood (7–15) is dependent on *Sibylline Oracles* 1. Much of the book is taken up with oracles against different nations and places, in no discernible order (1–6, 16–23, 40–63, 96–117). There is an eschatological passage in 24–39 which includes a conflagration and a messianic oracle. Another eschatological tableau predicts a conflagration, eternal punishment of sinners, and the restoration of the earth (118–51). The most distinctive doctrines of the book are found in 64–95. After a denunciation of Coele-Syria for failing to recognize the divinity of Christ at his baptism, the Sibyl prescribes that sacrifice be replaced with a ritual that recalls that baptism, in which a dove is released to heaven. The passage also prescribes a prayer to be recited over beggars.

Sibylline Oracles 7 then exhibits a somewhat unusual kind of Christianity. It has been labeled "Gnostic" and "Jewish Christian," but the few quasi-Gnostic references (e.g., to the Ogdoad in v 140) are isolated, without any Gnostic context, and the Jewish elements consist of associating Christ with the house of David (31) and a condemnation of those who claim to be Hebrews and are not (135, cf. Rev 2:9; 3:9). The prominence of the baptism has been taken to suggest an origin in Syria or the Jordan valley, but none of these suggestions is more than a possibility. The only evidence on the date is that the book was known to Lactantius.

8. The Later *Sibyllines*. The Sibylline collection concludes with three books which continue the political review of book 11. *Sibylline Oracles* 12 covers the period from Augustus to Alexander Severus (235 C.E.). It is noteworthy mainly for its summary appraisal of Roman emperors. Caligula and Nero are portrayed negatively but Augustus, Domitian, Hadrian, and Marcus Aurelius are praised. There are only two clear Christian passages, 30–34 and 232, and these may be insertions, but the positive treatment of Hadrian (164–75) would be remarkable in a Jewish work.

Sibylline Oracles 13 continues the review to about 265 C.E. The hero of the book is Odenath of Palmyra, who fought for the Romans against the Parthians. In a phrase reminiscent of *Sibylline Oracles* 3 he is called *hēliopemptos*, "sent from the sun" (151, 164). Again, it is uncertain whether this book is Jewish or Christian. Book 14 continues the review down to the Arab conquest of Egypt in the 7th century, but few of the references can be recognized and much of the book seems incoherent.

C. Other *Sibylline Oracles*

Two other Sibylline books enjoyed popularity in the Middle Ages: the Tiburtine and Erythrean Sibyls. Both were pseudo-prophecies of world history. The Tiburtine Sibyl was composed in the 4th century in Greek and speculates on the merits of various emperors before the coming of the antichrist. The Latin version contains an

important account of the Last Emperor. The Erythrean Sibyl survives in a 13th-century text, but the core of the work may be much older. It concludes with the combat with the antichrist and the end of the world (see McGinn 1979; Alexander 1967).

D. Significance of the Sibyls

The Sibyls exercised profound influence on millennarian thought in the Middle Ages, notably on Joachim of Fiore. The main reason why they were preserved in early Christianity, however, was that they were thought to give pagan testimony to the true religion and to Christ. In the words of Lactantius: "Therefore since all these things are true and certain, foretold by the harmonious prediction of all the prophets, since Trismegistus, Hystaspes and the Sibyl all uttered the same things, it is impossible to doubt that hope of all life and salvation resides in the one religion of God" (*Epitome Institutionum* 68 [73]). See further in *NTApocr* 2: 703–45; *HJP*^{2} 3: 618–54.

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JOHN J. COLLINS

SICKNESS AND DISEASE. Disease and illness are part of the fabric of human life and, as such, they play their part in the biblical literature. It should, therefore, not be a matter for surprise that it includes a vast amount of material of medical interest. This has long been recognized and has given rise to an extensive secondary literature. Much of it has been concerned with the apparently simple problem of establishing a diagnosis from the descriptions and circumstances of the text, but little of this literature deals with methodology. The best example of the problems that have repeatedly been dealt with in the secondary literature is the so-called biblical leprosy (which will be considered in some detail below). By far the greatest part of the medical interest in the Bible is contained in the OT and is usually presented in a historical context, while the NT descriptions are relatively few and presented in the context of miraculous cures.

A. Introduction
  1. Methodological Principles
  2. The Medical Historical Background
  3. The Geographical Background
B. Infectious and Communicable Diseases
  1. Fevers
  2. *Yerāqōn*
  3. Epidemics
  4. Parasitic Disease
C. Skin and Hair
  1. The Biblical "Leprosy"
  2. Job's Skin Disease
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  4. Miriam's Leprosy
  5. Naaman's Leprosy
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D. Diseases of the Nervous System
  1. Stroke
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E. Diseases of the Eyes and Ears
F. Psychological Disorders
G. Gynecology and Obstetrics
H. Deformity and Injury
I. Old Age

A. Introduction

The purpose of this account will be to outline some methodological principles on the basis of which the extensive secondary literature can be assessed, and to examine some specific examples from the biblical and apocryphal texts. It is, of course, impossible to do justice to an examination of even a significant part of the medical references in the biblical literature, nor is it possible to provide, in the space available, an exhaustive critique of the secondary literature. The medical aspects of the biblical literature have been exhaustively analyzed by Preuss (1978), and there are also numerous brief reviews (Hemer 1986; Sussman 1967; Wiseman 1986). This account will, therefore, in the main, be limited to (1) a consideration of the technical terms used to describe disease or its signs, (2) descriptions of disease, and (3) case histories in the literature under consideration. In each case the choice is made to indicate general principles that may find wider application. [General descriptions of specific diseases and disorders can be obtained from the standard encyclopedias (e.g., *EncBrit*). For more technical presentations of the epidemiology, pathogenesis, and clinical patterns of a particular disease/disorder, consult any of the standard textbooks of medicine (e.g., *Cecil Textbook of Medicine,* 18th ed., ed. by J. Wyngaarden and L. Smith, 1988 [hereafter abbreviated *Cecil*]).—Editor.]

The classical Jewish biblical commentaries should also properly be regarded as important sources of information. Though they frequently rely on the postbiblical Midrashic and Talmudic primary sources, they often provide insights

that have a long history in oral tradition. In particular, these commentaries may contain material of historical, lexical, and etymological importance.

In addition to the biblical and related literature, there is the very extensive Talmudic literature. This is, in a sense, an extension of the biblical literature because it sees itself as such. It was, however, written much later and in an entirely different historical and cultural environment, and its interpretations may, therefore, be less than reliable because of their exegetical intentions. Nevertheless, its insights cannot be entirely ignored. The Talmudic literature will, therefore, at times be referred to when a useful insight into the biblical literature is to be found there. Any detailed examination of the medical contents of the Talmud is, however, beyond the scope of this article. The medical aspects of the Talmudic literature have been considered methodically and in detail by Preuss (1978), and there is a brief general review of the subject by Sussman (1967).

1. Methodological Principles. Since the whole of the biblical literature is prescientific, the nature of disease and illness as described in it presents immense problems of interpretation. In each case there are large preliminary questions before interpretation can begin. Is the description an objective historical account or is it a nonobjective or tendentious account? The problem is not simplified by the fact that even some clearly tendentious references to disease (e.g., Lev 26:16) rely, at least to some extent, on empirical reality, as is clear from the expressions that are used (see B.1 below).

The approach here will be to attempt to interpret biblical descriptions and references to diseases and their symptoms in terms of modern medicine. The simplest interpretation and explanation, requiring the minimum of assumptions, will be regarded as leading to the best diagnosis ("Occam's razor"). Such an approach may provide a framework that can be applied to examples that cannot be dealt with here. It may also be a foundation on which the interpretation of new problems can be based and a yardstick against which the extensive secondary literature, often replete with speculation and of highly variable quality, can be assessed.

Throughout, the reader, as indeed the author, must remain acutely aware of the possibility and occasionally even the certainty of error. It is at times tempting to construct attractive explanations and diagnoses based on scanty textual information. In this connection it is well to remember that temptations to read a text too literally may lead to conclusions far from the ancient reality or, indeed, the author's intentions. Thus, references to the "hardening" of Pharaoh's heart (Exod 4:21; 7:3) have been taken literally as representing coronary arteriosclerosis (Cameron 1970). This must be an error resulting from the use of translations rather than the Hebrew text, where (Exod 4:21) *ʾaḥazeq* (from *ḥazaq* "to grow firm, strong") is used, suggesting that the reference is to Pharaoh's resolve rather than to heart disease. Confirmation for this conclusion may be found in Exod 7:3, where *ʾaqašeh* (derived from *qšh* "be hard or severe") is used to represent determination. An important methodological principle is, therefore, the careful analysis of the meaning of the crucial descriptive words used in the text. The use of these words in cognate languages and their use in connection with observable or well-known phenomena can also be helpful.

Thus, general methodological principles can be proposed in order to arrive at plausible diagnoses of biblical disease. These principles are only as good as they are for the interpretation of historical texts generally. It is first necessary to determine whether a given text contains a general reference or description of a disease *("formal description")* or whether it is a case-historical description of disease *("biographical description")*, i.e., where the fate of a named or intended individual is described.

Where *formal* references or descriptions of disease are concerned, an almost scientific approach becomes possible, depending on the extent, quality, and reliability of the text. In the first place, the likelihood of a given diagnosis can be measured against the well-known medical dictum, "Common things are common and rare things are rare." It is unlikely that rare diseases are justifiably identified when common symptoms and signs of disease are described. This is irrespective of the fact that rare diseases must then have existed, as they do now. Secondly, when assessing what might have been common in a particular setting, account must be taken of social, economic, cultural, and other factors that may influence the prevalence or the incidence of particular diseases, though usually the necessary specific information is lacking. A simple example is the likely association between gastrointestinal infections and the long-term storage of water, which can easily become polluted with sewage, particularly in settlements of high population density. In this connection, it is interesting to note that dysentery was regarded as endemic among the priests in Jerusalem (*j. Šeqal.* 5.2). Profound diarrhea is suggested in 2 Chr 21:15, and dysentery is referred to in Acts 28:8. Similarly, a knowledge of the season and hence the climate could make one or another diagnosis more or less likely.

When texts describe phenomena the significance of which were not at the time understood, but which accurately describe subsequently recognized syndromes, confidence in a diagnosis may be considerable, as in the case of Ps 137:5–6 (see D.1 below).

The findings of paleopathology may also be helpful. Thus, the pathological examination of finds at archaeological sites, including skeletal remains and artifacts, can yield direct evidence about the nature and distribution of disease. Brothwell and Sandison (1967) have provided an outstanding, authoritative source covering the whole subject of paleopathology that will provide the reader with detailed background information in relation to much of our subject. There is also an extensive literature on special aspects of paleopathology, such as diseases found in mummies (Cockburn and Cockburn 1980) and medicine in the Roman world (Jackson 1988). It should be remembered, however, that there are diseases, such as tuberculosis, which clearly existed in the ancient world (Morse et. al. 1964; Morse 1967) but of which there is no reliable trace in the biblical literature. Generally speaking, the critical application of modern medical knowledge together with the principles of epidemiology will often lead to a possible diagnosis or a number of possible diagnoses, with an assessable probability of their being correct.

Where *biographical* descriptions of disease are con-

cerned, the situation is much more complex. Thus, individuals may be described as suffering from a disease which, on the face of it, is uncommon or even rare, and the probability of a diagnosis being correct will be impossible to define. Furthermore, the description may be tendentious and embellished by wishful thinking about a fitting fate for unpopular persons. This element of the description can often be balanced against the possibility that a real case history has come down to us.

Finally, it is necessary to make the general point that an author or editor may have been describing not actual events but rather an interpretation of history in the light of his own experience.

2. The Medical Historical Background. The texts with which we are concerned span so long a period and so large a geographical area that a variety of medical traditions will have influenced the writers and editors. Some of the earliest relevant influences in the OT are likely to have been Egyptian (cf. Dawson 1967) and Mesopotamian (cf. Wilson 1967), while the later influences in the NT are Greco-Roman medicine (cf. Patrick 1967). Unfortunately, there has been no systematic or critical comparison or analysis to define precisely the nature or extent of these influences on the biblical texts. The interested reader is referred, in the first place, to general histories of medicine which include brief details of various aspects of the history of medicine in the ancient world (e.g., Garrison 1929; Mann 1984; Medvei 1982; Osler 1921). A much more extensive and epoch-making treatment of medicine in the ancient world has been provided by Siegrist (1951). It is a matter of continuing regret that Siegrist was not spared to discuss ancient Hebrew medicine as he had planned. In addition to histories based mainly on literary sources, there has been a great deal of work on paleopathology relevant to the period under consideration (e.g. Brothwell and Sandison 1967; Cockburn and Cockburn 1980; Jackson 1988). See also PALEOPATHOLOGY.

3. The Geographical Background. Allusion has already been made to the possible significance of the geographical setting for the incidence of diseases. This relationship is most obvious for certain communicable diseases which are particularly associated with tropical and subtropical climates. Particular examples are insect vector-transmitted diseases; gastrointestinal infections, such as typhoid (enteric) fever, and dysentery, and certain parasitic diseases. Most directly recognizable are the effects of a hot climate as, for example, in the incidence of sunstroke (see D.2 below) and drought, which may itself have consequences leading to disease.

B. Infectious and Communicable Diseases

It may be thought strange that infectious and communicable diseases can be spoken of in a biblical context. However, the Hebrew word *nega*ᶜ for "plague" or "pestilence" derives from the root *n*ᵍ*ᶜ*, "touch, reach, strike." This may represent an ancient tradition or recognition of the relationship between contact or proximity and the spread of disease. The use of the word *nega*ᶜ may suggest large-scale events, perhaps of an epidemic nature (Exod 9:14; Num 11:33; 2 Sam 7:14), including battle casualties in large numbers (*maggēpâ*, 1 Sam 4:17; 2 Sam 17:9; Num 18:7). The word *maggēpâ* was also used for epidemic disease (Num 14:37; 17:13–15; 25:8–19; 1 Sam 6:4, etc.).

Large-scale epidemics are mentioned on a number of occasions (e.g., Ezek 7:15), including epidemics in crowded cities (Lev 26:25). The 24,000 deaths after the contact between the Israelites and the Moabites (Num 25:9) are unlikely to have been due to sexually transmitted disease, as the text appears to suggest, but are more likely to have been due to some other infectious disease of which the Moabites were carriers, and thus immune, while the Israelites were susceptible. The discharge mentioned in Lev 15:2 has been identified as gonorrhea though there are no supporting details; however, the identification is plausible because of the related references to spermatorrhea (Lev 15:16) and menstruation (Lev 15:19–33), both genital discharges.

The deaths after the eating of the quails (Num 11:31–33) may have been due to food poisoning. Support for this suggestion may be found in the absence of any reference to deaths. The deaths among the returning Israelite spies (Num 14:37) could have been due to an imported travel-acquired infection.

1. Fevers. In the Pentateuchal passages of admonition (Lev 26:14–41; Deut 28:15–68), a number of terms are used that appear to be associated with diseases (Lev 26:16; Deut 28:22). Thus, *šaḥepet*, "wasting disease, consumption," comes from the root *šḥp* which, by comparison with Arabic cognates, suggests that a disease is meant in which the body becomes extremely emaciated. Though there is little doubt that tuberculosis existed in the ANE (cf. Morse et al. 1964), *šaḥepet* must be taken as any disease in which there is severe loss of weight. (On tuberculosis, see *Cecil*, 1682ff.) This could, of course, possibly include such chronic wasting diseases as tuberculosis, but it would also include a wide variety of other wasting diseases of an epidemic nature such as massive parasitic infestation and other acute intestinal infections that can lead to dramatic dehydration, which might be seen as a kind of weight loss. Thus, *šaḥepet* should be seen not as the *name* of a given disease but rather as a *sign* of disease. Similarly, *qadaḥat*, "fever," from the verb *qādaḥ*, "be kindled," is a general term for fevers of any kind. One can merely speculate as to what these might have been. Clearly, they are likely to have included the major epidemic fevers such as malaria and typhoid (enteric) fever. The association with *mehalôt* ᶜ*ēnayim*, "that consume the eyes" (Lev 26:16), suggests that some of the fevers referred to were accompanied by the sunken eyes that are so characteristic of extreme dehydration due to diarrhea. (On malaria and typhoid fever, see *Cecil*, 1641–42, 1857ff.)

Two further terms mentioned in Deut 28:22 are *daleqet*, from the verb *dālaq*, "burn," and *ḥarḥûr*, from *ḥārar*, "be hot." It is tempting to think that the various terms for fever are not simply tautologous but that they represent recognizably different types of fever, even if not separate diseases. Thus, the commentator Abraham ibn Ezra suggests (Deut 28:22 *ad loc.*) that *qadaḥat* represents quotidian fever while *daleqet* represents tertian or quartan fever. If this suggestion is correct, such distinctly periodic epidemic fevers are, of course, recognizable as malaria.

It is known that malaria was endemic in the E Mediterranean in the Roman period. Fever (Gk *pyretos*) is men-

tioned frequently in the NT (Matt 8:15; Mark 1:31; Luke 4:38–39; John 4:52; Acts 28:8). Since *pyretos* in the *Corpus Hippocraticum* is associated with marshes and is a recurrent fever, the NT references to this condition may safely be regarded as malaria, particularly because N Palestine, with which these references are associated, was until the early years of the present century associated with endemic malaria.

2. Yerāqōn. The Hebrew word *yerāqōn* (cf. *yārōq*, "herbs" or "green") is usually translated as "mildew" or "rust." It occurs six times in the OT (Deut 28:22; 1 Kgs 8:37; Jer 30:6; Amos 4:9; Hag 2:17; 2 Chr 6:28) and with the exception of Jer 30:6, it occurs in association with *šidapōn*, usually translated as "blast." Most medieval Jewish commentators (e.g. R. Solomon b. Isaac ["Rashi"] 1040–1105) regard *yerāqōn* as a disease of plants. In the Mishnah (*Taʿan.* 3:5) and the Babylonian Talmud (*Taʿan.* 19a; *Ketub.* 8b), they are regarded as epidemic diseases of man. In three Talmudic texts (*Šabb.* 134a; *Ḥul.* 47b; *t. Šabb.* 15:8) *yerāqōn* is used to describe the appearance of the newborn male infants in relation to his fitness to undergo circumcision. Rosner (1972) discusses the meaning of the word and, leaning heavily on Preuss (1923: 187), suggests that in the OT it probably refers to a disease of grain plants, while in Jer 30:6 it means palor, anemia (which in some cases gives the skin a greenish appearance and was called "chlorosis" by past generations of physicians), or jaundice, but Rosner regards the problem as unresolved. (On anemia and jaundice, see *Cecil*, 808ff., 817ff., 878ff.)

3. Epidemics. A variety of epidemics are mentioned in the OT. Thus, the description in Zech 14:12 is very reminiscent of Asiatic cholera, although there is no reliable evidence of this disease in epidemic form before the 19th century (see *Cecil*, 1651–53).

The word *deber*, "pestilence" (Exod 5:3; 9:15; Lev 26:25, etc.), is nonspecific. It certainly cannot be taken to be "plague," as it is commonly translated. The Mishnah (*Taʿan.* 3:4) defines pestilence as a death (presumably from the same perceived disease) occurring on three consecutive days in a town of 500 able-bodied men, but possible causes are not given. The relationship with famine is indicated in Ezek 7:15. Various other terms are used indistinguishably for epidemics (*magepāh* in Num 14:37; *negep* in Exod 12:13 [from *nāgap*, "to strike, smite"]; *negʿa* in Exod 11:1 [from *nāgʿa*, "to touch"). It must be assumed that these terms refer to epidemics with deaths and that the diseases involved included a variety of acute infections prevalent in tropical and subtropical zones.

a. The Fifth Plague of Egypt. This (Exod 9:3–6) was a sudden epidemic that affected a wide variety of domestic animals and followed immediately on a plague of flies (Exod 8:20–31). Various suggestions have been made of the nature of this epidemic. Jacoby (1963) concluded that the description best fits an epidemic of a virus disease such as foot-and-mouth disease or rinderpest. However, the wide variety of animals involved (Exod 9:3) are not susceptible to the causative viruses of these two diseases. Shimshony (1979; 1986) has, therefore, persuasively suggested that a better candidate is Rift Valley fever (*Cecil*, 1818–19), which is spread by flies and can infect all the animals named. A similar epidemic affecting humans, sheep, cattle, goats, and camels was reported in Egypt in 1977 (Anon. 1978). See also EGYPT, PLAGUES IN.

b. The Plague of the Philistines. The plague that struck the Philistines at Ashdod (1 Samuel 5 and 6) has frequently been diagnosed as an outbreak of hemorrhoids. This is, however, an unacceptable diagnosis. In the first place, hemorrhoids do not occur in epidemics, and secondly, the association with mice (1 Sam 6:5) may suggest an epidemic of an infectious disease. Preuss (1923: 175) argues powerfully that the text represents an account of bubonic plague. The word *ʿōpalim*, which has been translated as "emerods" (AV) or as "tumours" (JB), derives from the root *ʿpl*, "swell." If it is assumed that we are dealing with an objective account, then we have an epidemic of swellings associated with mice and a high mortality rate. The diagnosis of plague, however, requires the presence of rats, since it is the latter that carry the fleas that spread the infection from the rat to man (see *Cecil*, 1661–63). We must also, therefore, assume that the author either did not know the difference or did not distinguish between mice and rats. Another difficulty is that plague was not reliably reported in the ANE until much later than the OT period (McNiell 1976: 79). Shrewsbury (1964: 33–39) has suggested that the epidemic was one of a severe form of tropical dysentery.

c. Sennacherib. The cause of death of 185,000 soldiers of Sennacherib's army (2 Kgs 19:35 = Isa 37:36) is now impossible to identify with any degree of certainty. In his account, Herodotus (2.141) speaks of an associated plague of mice, reminiscent of the plague that struck the Philistines at Ashdod. It must have been a remarkably sudden epidemic in which those affected died very rapidly. The phrase *pĕgārîm mētîm*, (RSV "dead bodies"), which appears to be tautologous, may suggest (cf. verb *pāgar*, "be exhausted, faint") that, when found in the morning, the soldiers were not yet actually dead but *in extremis* and that the present participle *mētîm* suggests an ongoing process. A possible explanation, other than poisoning, might be very severe bacillary dysentery (see *Cecil*, 1646–48). This has, since time immemorial, been a scourge of armies in the field, where sanitation and hygiene leaves everything to be desired and where flies abound.

d. Hezekiah's Illness. The intriguing possibility has been suggested that the disease of Sennacherib's army spread to and affected Hezekiah (2 Kgs 20:1; Isa 38:1; 2 Chr 32:24) who had a "boil" *(šēḥin)*. This solitary lesion can be seen as a plague bubo, but such a diagnosis presents serious problems, as we have seen above. Since, from the account, it appears that Hezekiah was the only one affected, the simplest diagnosis would be that he had an abscess, which was treated with a poultice and was cured (2 Kgs 20:7).

4. Parasitic Disease. Parasitic diseases are common in hot climates and particularly where hygiene is poor and drinking water is polluted. It would be surprising, therefore, if there were no evidence of such conditions in the biblical literature. However, the clinical presentation of parasitic diseases is usually not sufficiently specific for them to be distinguished clearly from other conditions. Nevertheless, there is occasionally sufficient clinical and circumstantial evidence to suggest a diagnosis.

Herod (Acts 12:23) was eaten by worms and died. Ac-

cording to Josephus (*Ant* 19.8.2), this was associated with acute abdominal pain and death five days later. Preuss (1923: 211) does not accept that death was due to infection with worms followed by bowel perforation. He considered that the symptoms are more those of poisoning.

Antiochus (2 Macc 9:5–10) was also seized by severe abdominal pain. Later he fell from a chariot and sustained severe injuries. He was then carried on a litter (i.e, he was unable to move about by himself) and "his flesh fell off," worms swarmed from his body, and he emitted an objectionable odor. The abdominal pain cannot be plausibly connected with later events, except that the severity of it may have led to the fall. The subsequent events can then be accounted for by severe injuries and festering wounds. The worms, according to Preuss (1923: 210), were fragments of necrotic (dead) tissue.

a. The Fiery Serpents. The "fiery serpents" of Num 21:6–9 have long been thought to be the guinea worm *(Dranunculus medinensis).* (See *Cecil,* 1918–19.) Though the identification dates back to Thomas Bartholin (cited by Preuss 1923: 225–26), the case for the diagnosis has most recently been cogently and persuasively argued by Lee (1973). The adult worm, which may be up to one meter in length, occurs under the skin of the arms or, more usually, the legs. It arises not from a "bite" as the text suggests. Rather, the worm larvae are carried within a microscopic water flea *(Cyclops);* when infected water fleas are consumed in drinking water, digestion releases the larvae, which then migrate from the digestive tract to the skin, where the worm matures. An ulcer then develops, through which the worm discharges its eggs into the environment. The deaths (Num 21:6) are due to septicemia resulting from secondary infection of the skin ulcers. (On septic shock, see *Cecil,* 1538ff.)

b. The Abandonment of Jericho. Briefly, the story of the fall of Jericho begins with the discovery by the two Israelite spies that the inhabitants expected to be defeated by the advancing Israelite army (Josh 2:9–11). After the city had been captured, Joshua pronounced a curse (Josh 6:26) that anyone who would rebuild the city would do so at the cost of the life of his youngest son. Much later, in the days of Ahab, Hiel of Bethel lost his firstborn son when he attempted a rebuilding of the city (1 Kgs 16:34). Later again, during another attempt to recolonize the area, Elisha was asked to purify the well because the "water is bad" (2 Kgs 2:19), and this was done by adding salt (2 Kgs 2:20–22).

Archaeological evidence has shown that Jericho in the Bronze Ages was built of mud bricks, and that these were made with local water. Examination of the bricks has shown that these contained the intermediate host *(Bulinus truncatus)* of *Schistosoma haematobium,* the cause of genitourinary schistosomiasis. Hulse (1971) has argued, therefore, that schistosomiasis is a strong candidate for explaining certain ecological aspects of the history of the biblical city of Jericho. (On schistosomiasis, see *Cecil,* 1895ff., esp. 1898.)

C. Skin and Hair

Because abnormalities of the skin and hair are easily visible, they have a profound effect not only on the patient but also on the observer. This may be the reason why such conditions are frequently referred to and described in some detail in the OT. However, even in modern medicine, a scientific understanding, as opposed to a descriptive understanding, of the diseases of the skin is only comparatively recent. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the biblical descriptions of skin diseases are often problematic in the extreme. As we shall see (C.1 below), in the classical case of the biblical "leprosy," the problem arose from a mistaken translation. Elsewhere, it is necessary to determine the meaning of words in the text in relation to our contemporary knowledge of diseases of the skin.

The term *ṣāraʿat* (Lev 13:2) has long been translated as "leprosy" as if it were a generic term. Apart from the fact, discussed in detail below, that it does not represent leprosy as now known, Sawyer (1976) has argued cogently that *ṣāraʿat* is not a general term but rather a specific term describing a particular kind of skin lesion.

Several specific terms are used in connection with the delineation of *ṣāraʿat* in Leviticus 13 and 14. Thus *śēʾēt* (Lev 13:2) derived from the verb *nāśa,* "lift," suggests a raised lesion or a swelling. Contrasted with this in the same verse is *śapaḥat,* "eruption" or "scab." Though the meaning of the root *śph* is dubious, the use of derivatives of *śapiaḥ* (derived from the same or a similar root) may indicate a connection with the idea of "outgrowth" or "outpouring" (e.g. Lev 25:5; 25:11; Job 14:19) and may suggest that the lesion intended by this term is one in which there is something emerging or separating from the skin, such as a scab or weeping discharge. Another term used to describe the appearance of lesions (Lev 13:2) is *baheret* from *bhr,* "bright, shine." This may indicate a shiny lesion, perhaps where the skin is under tension, or an inflamed lesion. Finally, *neteq* (Lev 13:32) from the verb *nātaq,* "pull away," suggests a scaly lesion or eruption from which scales fall or can be pulled off.

1. The Biblical "Leprosy." Leprosy (Hansen's disease) is a chronic, slowly progressive, bacterial infectious disease due to *Mycobacterim leprae* (see *Cecil,* 1696ff.). It affects not only the skin but also other tissues but that may not be apparent to the uninformed observer. The biblical "leprosy" has been considered in detail by Hulse (1975) in a paper that must now be considered definitive; a useful discussion of the subject may also be found in Browne (1986). See also LEPROSY. The following summary leans very heavily on the work of Hulse (1975), which must be consulted for the details.

There is evidence neither from the available texts nor from paleopathology that leprosy was prevalent in the biblical world. The use, until recently, of "leprosy" to translate *ṣāraʿat* (Lev 14:2, etc.) follows from the use of Gk *lepra* in the NT and LXX. In the *Corpus Hippocraticum* the word *lepra* means an itchy, powdery or scaly thickening of the skin which probably represents psoriasis or certain fungal infections. There is, however, literary evidence that leprosy was prevalent in India ca. 600 B.C. and that it reached the Greco-Roman world much later and was called Gk *elephas* or *elephantiasis.* The first author to use *lepra* for true leprosy was John of Damascus (A.D. 777–857), who described lepromatous leprosy. This usage was adopted by some later Arabic writers and then by medieval European writers, who were thus responsible for the current name of the disease.

There are, of course, other good reasons for not regarding the biblical *ṣāraʿat* as leprosy. This biblical "disease" was seen in humans (Lev 14:2), buildings (Lev 14:34), and clothing (Lev 14:55), and could apparently progress quite quickly (Lev 13:5–8). None of this would apply to true leprosy. However, though *ṣāraʿat* could be long-lasting (e.g., in King Uzziah, 2 Kgs 15:5–7; 2 Chr 26:19–21), it was regarded as self-limiting or curable (Lev 14:3; 2 Kgs 5:1–27). It is also important to note that *ṣāraʿat* was not regarded as contagious in the biblical texts: it merely defiled ritually.

Hulse (1975) shows persuasively that *ṣāraʿat* was a long-standing, patchy skin condition associated with peeling or flakiness (desquamation) with underlying redness of the skin. Acute conditions which improved within seven days were not regarded as *ṣāraʿat*. We are, therefore, left with chronic, patchy, and scaly conditions such as psoriasis, fungal infections, seborrheic dermatitis, etc., as the sort of conditions of which the Bible speaks. (On psoriasis and seborrheic dermatitis, see *Cecil,* 2320–21, 2326–27.)

2. Job's Skin Disease. A variety of suggestions has been made about the identity of the disease Heb *šĕḥin* (from the root *šḥn,* "be warm, hot") from which Job suffered and which had earlier appeared in epidemic form in Egypt (Exod 9:10). Similarly, the association with *ṣārebet,* "scab, sore" (from the verb *ṣārab,* "burn" [Lev 13:23]) may suggest that Job's disease was an acute inflammatory condition.

Job complains of a broken and loathsome skin (Job 7:5); multiple lesions (9:17) which were hot (30:30), especially at night (30:17); bone pain (2:5; 19:20); insomnia (7:3–4); loss of appetite (30:20); and wasting (33:21). Levin (1970) has suggested that this is a description of yaws, an endemic disease due to the spirochete bacterium *Treponema pertenue,* which is prevalent in various parts of the world. (On yaws, see *Cecil,* 1723.) Preuss (1923: 390–92) emphasizes the severe itch (Job 2:8) and the "dust"-covered skin (scales?) (7:5) and sees Job's disease as *eczema universalis.* (On the various eczemas, see *Cecil,* 2318–22.) However, if according to our methodological principles, "Occam's razor" is applied to this subject, we are entitled to believe that the author was merely trying to convey that with Job's poverty came the skin diseases that so often, and so sadly, beset the poor, and which we now know are due to malnutrition and self-neglect. These widely differing interpretations of a detailed biographical description serve to underline the problems that beset the biblical diagnostician.

3. The White Hand of Moses. In Exod 4:6–7 Moses is told, "put your hand under your bosom" (under his cloak?), and when he removed it, it was "leprous," presumably white, as snow. Then, when he returned his hand under his cloak and withdrew it a second time, the skin was once again normal. It has been suggested by Davis (1982) that this was an example of Raynaud's phenomenon, a condition in which the small blood vessels of the extremities contract inappropriately in response to a fall in temperature, leaving fingers and toes bloodless and white (see *Cecil,* 374ff.). In the case of Moses, his hand would have been warm and pink while close to his body under his cloak. Then, when withdrawn from his cloak, the hand would cool and the blood vessels would go into spasm, leaving the hand cold and white. Then, when returned under his cloak, the hand would once again become warm and pink by the time it was withdrawn again. This is an appealing explanation for the miracle, but the evidence is tenuous.

4. Miriam's Leprosy. After Miriam and Aaron had spoken slanderously about Moses' Ethiopian wife, Miriam's skin became "white as snow." The suddenness of the change makes it unlikely that it was the result of a structural change in the skin. Davis (1985) has suggested that the blanching was due to changes consequent upon rapid shallow breathing (hyperventilation) associated with the shock of the dramatic events of the appearance of the divinity at the entrance to the sanctuary. If this is thought to be farfetched, a simpler explanation for the extreme pallor might be simple fear, which is associated with the release of the hormone adrenalin and which causes very rapid contraction of the blood vessels of the skin and hence pallor. We are left with a need to explain the use of the word *ṣāraʿat* in connection with Miriam's skin changes.

5. Naaman's Leprosy. Naaman is described (2 Kgs 5:1) as suffering from the skin disease *ṣāraʿat.* He bathed in the Jordan seven times and was cured. Once again, this could not have been leprosy, and must have been a condition susceptible to rapid recovery. It is tempting to suggest that Naaman's rash was eczema or, perhaps, of allergic origin and that the change in lifestyle alluded to at the end of the account was accompanied by removal of the source of the allergy and that a "cure" followed. Interestingly, Gordis (1975) has analyzed this story as an example of a classical physician-patient relationship.

6. Baldness. Loss of hair (alopecia) is a common condition and not usually regarded as a disease, but in the OT it is often regarded as a curse (Isa 3:24; Ezek 7:18; Amos 8:10). Elisha was bald (2 Kgs 2:23). Complete baldness (total alopecia) and even the common male-type baldness disqualified priests from service in the sanctuary (Lev 13:40–41). On occasion, baldness may be part of a disease process in the skin, and such seems to be described in Lev 13:42.

D. Diseases of the Nervous System

Paralysis or palsy is frequently mentioned in the NT (Matt 8:5–8 with pain; 9:2–8; Mark 2:2–11; Luke 5:18–26). The man at the Pool of Bethesda (John 5:2–9) had been crippled with paralysis for 38 years, and Aeneas at Lydda (Acts 9:32–35) was healed after being bedridden for 8 years. The nature of the paralysis in these cases can only be guessed at, but it has been suggested that the cause was poliomyelitis. In that case, excluding miracles, reversal of the paralysis is impossible, particularly in the long-standing cases. The cures could, however, be rationally explained if the paralysis was of hysterical origin or if it was feigned—a condition not unknown among, for example, beggars in the East. (On poliomyelitis, see *Cecil,* 2198ff.)

1. Stroke. Stroke, which describes the suddenness of the event, is the name given to motor and/or sensory changes resulting from brain damage due either to bleeding from or blockage of blood vessels of the brain (cerebrovascular accident). Though this pathogenesis was not understood, there are clear descriptions of stroke in the OT and apocrypha. Thus, Nabal (1 Sam 25:36) became paralyzed after being drunk, and he died ten days later. It is told of

Alcimus (1 Macc 9:55) that his "mouth slipped" (paralysis of the facial muscles)—he became paralyzed, could not speak, and later died in pain. Similarly, Philopater (*3 Macc.* 2:22) lay on the ground motionless, paralyzed, and unable to speak.

Depending on the particular part of the brain that is damaged in a cerebrovascular accident, specific clinical pictures may be observed. Occasionally it is possible to recognize these with reasonable certainty, indicating that the description has not been modified by legend or license. We may have an example in Ps 137:5–6: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning; let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth . . ." Benton (1971) has pointed out that this description conforms to the specific syndrome of paralysis of the right side of the body (right hemiplegia) and loss of speech (motor aphasia). It is noteworthy that this particular combination of signs, which is due to damage to the left side of the brain, was not recognized as such by physicians until the middle of the 19th century.

2. Sunstroke. The son of the Shunammite (2 Kgs 4:18–20) complained of a headache and "died after a few hours." Since the child was resuscitated (2 Kgs 4:34), a reversible event must be assumed, and this may have been sunstroke, though this is said to be unusual in children.

Manasseh, the husband of Judith (Jdt 8:3), died in the days of the barley harvest. He had stood in the field supervising the workers and "heat came on his head" and he became ill and died. This is as clear a description of heatstroke as is needed for a definitive diagnosis (see *Cecil,* 2382ff.).

3. Epilepsy. Epilepsy (grand mal) is due to electrical disturbances in the brain and usually presents with major fits (convulsions). (See *Cecil,* 2217ff.) These are so striking that they are likely to be accurately described by observers. In the ancient world epilepsy was regarded as *morbus sacer et divinus,* and sufferers were regarded as holy, divine messengers (perhaps because of the similarity of the fits to behavior during trances). The patient falls to the ground, foams at the mouth, and clenches (and perhaps grinds) his/her teeth. This is precisely the case in some NT accounts (Luke 9:39; Mark 9:17–18). Similarly, the description in Matt 17:15 is consistent with epilepsy.

a. King Saul and Balaam. In the OT the verb *nāpal,* "fall," is used in descriptions of epilepsy. Thus, in 1 Sam 19:23, King Saul removes his clothes "and he fell *(wayippōl)* naked, all that day and all that night." Epilepsy can occur as an isolated event, usually in the course of another disease, and then not recur. However, Balaam describes himself (Num 24:4) as "fallen *(nōpel)* with open eyes." To describe himself in this way may suggest that he had fits over a long period.

b. Paul. The apostle Paul must have had a chronic illness (Gal 4:13); he complains (2 Cor 12:7) that he has a "thorn in his flesh" to prevent him from becoming too "elated," and he expresses pleasure (Gal 4:14) that he was not scorned because of his poor health. On his way to Damascus (Acts 9:3) he saw a bright light, fell to the ground, and heard a voice. He was then blind for three days and neither ate nor drank. Though the description is not diagnostic, it is consistent with an attack of epilepsy. The light is consistent with the aura that some epileptics experience just before an attack, and the visual disturbance can be accounted for by some disturbance of the circulation of the blood in the brain.

E. Diseases of the Eyes and Ears

Of all the diseases of the organs of special sense, diseases of the eyes and particularly blindness have a special place in the biblical literature. To be overtaken by blindness is the ultimate disaster because with it comes total dependence on others; thus, blindness is from earliest times associated with special injunctions of care (Lev 19:14), though the deaf are also given protection.

Among the disabilities that disqualify priests from service in the sanctuary (Lev 21:20) are *gibēn,* which is usually translated as "crook- or hump-backed," *daq* ("dwarf"), and *tēbalul* ("blemished in the eyes"). In the rabbinic tradition each of these terms is taken to be an abnormality of the eyes. Thus, according to the Mishnah (*Bek.* 7:2), *gibēn* is either absence of the eyebrows or presence of only one eyebrow, although Hanina ben Antigonos *(loc. cit.)* insisted that it meant duplication of the backbone (an interpretation more in keeping with the conventional translation). The Mishnah (*Bek.* 6:2) regards *daq* as a membrane covering the pupil of the eye, probably cataract, and *tēbalul* (cf. verb *bālal,* "mingle, confuse") is regarded as an abnormality in which the black of the pupil extends into the iris (or *vice versa*).

In the case of the blind man in Mark 8:22–26, Jesus spat in his eye and laid hands on him. When he could see again, the man reported that, "I see men; they look like trees but they walk about." Jesus then laid hands on him again and he began to see things clearly. After removal or displacement of the lens, the retinal image is markedly increased so that people will look much taller (Fraser 1973). In very advanced cataracts the lens may become displaced out of the line of sight, either spontaneously or by a very minor blow or disturbance. This suggests that Jesus may have cured the man's cataract by rubbing the eyes and so displacing the lenses. With the return of sight, the man will have been surprised that people should seem so tall. The final recovery will then simply have been due to adaptation of the sight to its new characteristics.

It is clear that, then as now, blindness is common in the Middle East. Much of this will have been due to trachoma, a chlamydial infection of the conjunctiva and cornea, transmitted by poor hygiene and flies, which commonly leads to blindness and lid deformities (see *Cecil,* 1734ff.). It remains the commonest cause of blindness in the world, particularly in the Middle East and Africa. It is interesting, therefore, that the Babylonian Talmud warns of the danger of flies and their association with eye disease (*Ketub.* 77b).

Congenital deafness or loss of hearing early in life is associated with speech defect because the learning of speech is heavily dependent on mimicry. In the NT deafness and mutism are clearly related (Matt 11:5; Acts 8:32–33). The case in Mark 7:32 was a man with deafness and an associated speech defect short of mutism, possibly suggestive of incomplete but severe loss of hearing early in life.

F. Psychological Diseases

References to mental diseases in the biblical literature, as elsewhere in the ancient world, are likely to be more affected by notions of the causes of these conditions than is the case for physical diseases. Thus, the *šigāʿōn,* madness (Deut 28:28), derives from the root *šgʿ*, which in the Arabic and Assyrian cognates suggests various noises and may suggest that sufferers made strange (animal?) noises. Mental disturbance was associated with evil spirits (e.g., 1 Sam 16:14), and *šigāʿōn* was the punishment for recalcitrance (Deut 28:28, 34; Zech 12:14).

In the NT the mentally disturbed are usually men, but women, including Mary Magdalene, were also occasionally affected (Luke 8:2–3). The picture of mental disturbance in the Gospels consists mainly of going about naked, self-mutilation, living in tombs (Luke 8:2; Mark 5:2), and violent behavior (Matt 8:28). Some cases are dumb (Matt 9:32) and blind (Matt 12:22). From these descriptions, which include possession by devils, a diagnosis is impossible, though they sound psychotic, and the associated references to exorcism are uninformative. It is significant that, in spite of references to Jewish exorcists (Acts 19:13), nothing of this kind is known in the Talmudic literature (Sussman 1967: 217). It is also striking that possession is unknown in the OT.

1. Saul. King Saul suffered from paranoia with homicidal and suicidal tendencies accompanied by severe depression (1 Sam 16:14–16) and other psychotic components (1 Sam 19:24). The successful use of music to soothe Saul (1 Sam 16:23) is interesting but does not help in arriving at a diagnosis, unless it points to a reactive depression. In that case, the homicidal tendencies can be ascribed to the prevailing political circumstances, but the psychotic elements are then more difficult to accommodate, except as the psychosis that may be part of severe depression. Preuss (1923: 356) argues in detail for a diagnosis of epilepsy in Saul (see below).

2. Nebuchadnezzar. Daniel's prediction and Nebuchadnezzar's illness (Dan 4:32–33) are suggestive of a psychosis with subsequent recovery. The self-neglect may suggest an associated deep depression.

G. Gynecology and Obstetrics

Normal menstruation is referred to in the OT (Lev 18:19) in relation to ritual cleanliness, but there is no reference to abnormalities as in the NT where the women with hemorrhage (Matt 9:20; Mark 5:25; Luke 8:43) was almost certainly suffering from menorrhagia (excessive menstrual flow). In tribal, nomadic, and agricultural communities particularly, the birth of children was regarded as one of the greatest of blessings (Gen 1:27; Ps 128:3). Conversely, infertility was regarded as a curse (Gen 16:2). The pain of childbirth was used as a paradigm of severe pain (Isa 42:14; Hos 13:13), and maternal death in labor must have been well known (Gen 35:16 see below).

1. The Birth of Benjamin. Briefly, the text (Gen 35:16–19) tells us that Rachel was in labor, that the gender of Benjamin was apparent before labor was completed, and that Rachel died in labor. It is clear that, under the conditions described, for the gender of the infant to be apparent we are dealing with a breech delivery (Blondheim and Blondheim 1982). The cause of Rachel's death may then have been due to any of the complications of breech delivery and prolonged labor.

2. Twins. Both Rebecca (Gen 25:24) and Tamar (Gen 38:27) were delivered of twins. In the case of Tamar there is evidence of a complicated delivery (Gen 38:28–30) and Preuss (1923: 501) has discussed in detail the alternative obstetric diagnoses that might account for the details reported in the text. Nevertheless, it is difficult to avoid the suspicion that the account was devised to substantiate a claim to the rights of the firstborn for Zerah.

H. Deformity and Injury

1. Giants. It has been traditional to identify as giants the sons of Anak (Num 13:22 and 13:28) encountered by the Israelite spies in the region of Hebron (cf. Josh 15:14; Judg 1:20). The Hebrew word *ʿanaq* as used in Prov 1:9 suggests a necklace. Taub (1965), in an exegetical-type interpretation, takes the view that there is no paleopathological support for the existence of unusually tall individuals in the region, and that some other diagnosis must be found for the description of these individuals as *ʿanaqîm.* He suggested that because they had grossly enlarged necks due to endemic goiter, the "necklace" description was used. This exegetically skillful diagnosis is not persuasive, partly because there is no evidence that this condition was prevalent in the Middle East. Wiseman (1986), however, accepts that giant skeletons with a height of 3.2 meters (over 9 feet) have been found in the Middle East. Though current clinical experience suggests that this is impossibly tall, such a height is consistent with the account in 1 Sam 17:4 of Goliath's height of "six cubits and one handbreadth" which approximates to 2.8 meters (over 8 feet tall). Interestingly, the pituitary abnormalities associated with giantism and acromegaly are, in fact, associated with goiter. It may be that our texts give a clue to accurate observation. (On goiter, see *Cecil,* 1338–39; on acromegaly, see *Cecil,* 1300ff.).

2. King Og. Taub (1965 has also suggested that Og (Deut 3:11), whose bed (sarcophagus?) was unnaturally large, was a sufferer from acromegaly. Straightforward giantism is probably a better diagnosis, as it is in Lev 21:18. Goliath was a giant (1 Sam 17:4) but it must be regarded as unlikely that he had true acromegaly. The giants referred to in 2 Sam 21:18–20 were probably not acromegalic either, but one of them was the brother of Goliath and the other may also have had an inherited abnormality, as is suggested by the fact that his son had additional fingers and toes.

3. Dwarfs. The stunted type also mentioned in Lev 21:18 is likely to have suffered from dwarfism as a result of pituitary deficiency in childhood.

4. Deformities. Deformities, both congenital and acquired, have been the subject of comment throughout history. In the OT they are listed in relation to disqualification from priestly service (Lev 21:18–20) and they include lameness (*pāseaḥ,* "limper," from *pāsaḥ,* "to limp," Neh 3:6; 1 Chr 4:12; Ezra 2:49 = Neh 7:51), limb damage, dwarfism, deformity of the back, and abnormality of the testicle (? varicocele *mārōaḥ,* from *rāwaḥ,* "enlarged"). Lameness can also be associated with paralysis (Prov 26:7). Mephibosheth became lame after being dropped by his nurse (2 Sam 4:4) and the likely cause was damage to the

spinal cord, perhaps from fracture or dislocation of the backbone. In the case of Jacob (Gen 32:26), the result of his wrestling was damage to an intervertebral disk with a resulting deformity (*ṣōlēʿa*, "limp" from the verb *ṣālʿa* "curved") and limp (Gen 32:32).

The bent woman in Luke (13:10–17) may have had a developmental abnormality of the spine such as kyphosis or scoliosis. (See *Cecil*, 2257–58.) Alternatively, if she was elderly, she may have had a collapsed spine due to postmenopausal osteoporosis, in which bones become brittle as the result of calcium loss. Similarly, it is now impossible to diagnose with any degree of certainty what was wrong with the man who had a "withered" (Gk *xeros*) hand (Matt 12:10–13; Mark 3:1–5; Luke 6:6–10). The description would fit anything from a congenital abnormality through a spastic limb to muscle atrophy following poliomyelitis.

5. Injury. Injury usually results from a blow, sometimes from or with an object, or a fall, hence the use of *makah* ("blow" or "wound," from the verb *nakah*, "smite"). The word was also used for intentional injury leading to death (e.g., Exod 21:12). Wounds were generally regarded as severe (Jer 10:19; Nah 3:19) or incurable. Another term is *peṣʿa*, "bruise, wound," from the verb *pāṣʿa*, "bruise." In no case, however, are there details of the site or nature of the wound. Occasionally, a blow will lead to bone fracture, and in this case the verb *šābar*, "break," is used in conjunction with the limb (e.g., Ezek 30:21). The splinting of fractures is known from Egyptian sources and it may be that the practice is hinted at in the OT (Ezek 30:21).

I. Old Age

It is impossible to know at this distance in time what the life expectancy was in the biblical period, but it must have been much less than the proverbial "three score years and ten." Nevertheless, as would be expected, some individuals did reach a very advanced age and passing references to such individuals are common (e.g. Gen 24:1; 1 Kgs 1:1). See also OLD AGE. Old age brings with it a variety of problems of degenerative disease. Thus, it is reported of King Asa (1 Kgs 15:23–24) that he developed a disease of his feet in his old age and that he died two years later (2 Chr 16:12). In the Babylonian Talmud (*Sanh.* 48b; *Soṭa* 10a) his condition is identified as Gk *podagra* (*pod* "foot" + *agra* "seizure"), a term used to describe gout in the feet, but the grounds for the talmudic diagnosis are not given (Rosner 1983). However, it is unlikely that gout alone, even in an old man, can cause death over as short a period as two years. It is much more likely that the cause was degeneration of the blood vessels of the limbs (peripheral vascular disease), which is common in old persons. Degeneration of the blood vessels can in time lead to gangrene, particularly in diabetics, which in Asa's days would rapidly have been fatal (see DeVries and Weinberger 1975).

The well-known allegory in Eccl 12:3–6 has often been taken as a representation of old age. Thus, figuratively, v 3 refers to limb tremor, bowed legs, and tooth loss; v 4 lists failing sight, the fallen-in edentulous mouth, insomnia, and voice changes, while v 5 speaks of breathlessness associated with heights. The "wheel broken at the cistern" may refer to the difficult micturition associated with enlargement of the prostrate gland, and the "pitcher broken at the fountain" may be heart failure.

A detailed biographical account of old age is that of Barzillai in 2 Sam 19:33–38. It describes the loss of the special senses of taste and hearing accompanied by thoughts of eternity.

See also PALEOPATHOLOGY; MEDICINE AND HEALING; DISCHARGE.

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MAX SUSSMAN

SICYON (PLACE) [Gk *Sikyōn*]. City in Achaia, on the S shore of the Gulf of Corinth, about 25 km W of Corinth, between the mouths of the Helisson and Asopus rivers (38°01′ N; 22°45′ E).

A major city of archaic and classical Greece, it flourished under the tyranny of the Orthagorids in the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. and was the home of important painters and sculptors in the 4th century B.C. Captured by Demetrius Poliorcetes in 303 B.C., the city was moved from its earlier location near the sea to an elevated site about 3 km inland. In the 3d century B.C., under Aratus, Sicyon played a leading role in the Achaian League in its military operations against the Aetolians, the Spartans, and Antigonus. Archaeological excavations at the site of the Hellenistic city have revealed an orthogonal street plan, several sanctuaries, a theater, an agora with gymnasium, fountain houses, bouleuterion, and stoa, as well as a Roman bath building and two Christian churches, one in the agora and one near the port. Comments by Pausanias (2.7.2–2.11.2) indicate that around A.D. 160 the city was already in decline, but still boasted a number of interesting buildings.

Sicyon is mentioned (1 Macc 15:23) as one of the cities to receive a letter from Lucius Caecilius Metellus, Roman consul in 142 B.C., instructing them to send political fugitives back to Judea. Sicyon is the only mainland city mentioned, except for Sparta: this is appropriate, for Sicyon was at the time one of the most important cities in Achaia. The Romans had appointed the Sicyonians arbiters of a dispute in 155 B.C. (between Athens and Oropus), and after the Romans destroyed Corinth in 146 B.C., Sicyon took over much of Corinthian territory and prerogatives, including the presidency of the Isthmian games (Pausanias 2.2.2; Strabo 8.381 = 8.6.23, 25).

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SIDDIM, VALLEY OF (PLACE) [Heb *ᶜēmeq haśśiddîm*]. This place name occurs only in Genesis 14. According to vv 3 and 8, the kings of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboiim, and Bela (Zoar) joined forces in the Valley of Siddim to give battle to the invading army of Chedorlaomer and his allies, but were defeated (vv 10–11). In v 3, the valley is identified with the Salt Sea (Dead Sea). According to v 10, the valley was full of bitumen pits, into which the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah fell when they fled from the battlefield.

Śiddîm is a hapax in the OT, and both ancient and modern interpreters have had difficulties in explaining it. LXX rendered it "gorge of salt," Josephus *Ant* 1.9 §174, "valley called 'Bitumen Pits' " (both from the context), Vg, for reasons unknown, "wooded valley," Syr "valley of the Sodomites," *Tg. Onq. mêšar ḥaqlayā* "plain of fields," *Tg. Neof. myšr prdsy*ᵓ "plain of gardens," *Tg. Ps.-J.* same, with the note "this is the place that produces streams of water and pours them into the Sea of Salt" (confusion with the Valley of Shaveh, which is also called *myšr prdsy*ᵓ in *Tg. Neof.*). However, 1QapGen was on the right track in its translation *ᶜmqᵓ dy sdy*ᵓ "valley of furrows" (Syriac *sadā* or *sedā*), and so was the relatively early *Gen. Rab.* which explained that the place was so called "because it was made up of *śiddîm,* (that is) *telāmîm* (furrows)." In our time, KB, 915, 916 derived *śiddîm* from the root *śādad,* (usually translated "harrow" but more probably meaning "draw furrows," as in LXX and by comparison with Akk *šadādu*), explained it as "border furrows," and connected it with Ug *šd,* Akk *šiddu,* and the aforementioned Syriac *sedā.* This etymology is better founded than such interpretations of the place name as "Valley of the Spirits" (reading *šēdîm* for *śiddîm*), Winckler 1900: 33 and n. 1.

Why did the author of Genesis 14 give such a name to the place of defeat of the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah? The reason lies in his acquaintance with, and reworking of, the "Chedorlaomer texts." See CHEDORLAOMER. The Babylonians considered certain constellations as celestial prototypes of earthly lands, rivers, cities, and temples. The celestial counterpart of Babylon was the constellation Pegasus, which the Babylonians called *Ikû* (a unit of area equal to 59.4 m², ca. 0.9 acre). One of the "Chedorlaomer texts" (Sp. 158 + 11,962:obv.15), describing the invasion of Babylon by Kudur-Naḫḫundu (the prototype of Chedorlaomer), says that "against *Ikû* . . . he advanced." Here the terrestrial Babylon is designated by the name of its celestial counterpart, a stylistic device also used elsewhere in these texts (cf. Astour 1966: 104). In land transactions at Ugarit, the highest unit of area is *ikû* in Akk texts and *šd* (*šd* II, **šiddu*) in Ug texts; hence Ug **šiddu* was identical with Akk

ikû (Dietrich and Loretz 1969: 61–62 must be corrected accordingly). In later times, Syriac *sedâ* "furrow," as a unit of length, was equated with one third of a stade; applied to the Olympic-Attic stade, this would amount to 59.4 m, thus a *sedâ* square would be exactly equal to the Babylonian *ikû*. The author of Genesis 14, using the West Semitic equivalent of *ikû*, transferred the astral name of Babylon to the region of Sodom and Gomorrah, just as he did with the invasions of the four kings in the same "Chedorlaomer texts."

Gen 14:3 is the only place in the Bible to state that the Dead Sea was once a valley, with the implication that Sodom and Gomorrah were submerged after the events described in the chapter. Since the Dead Sea is part of the great Syro-Palestinian rift that formed millions of years before the advent of man, many authors proposed to limit the assumed catastrophe to the southern, shallow bay of the Dead Sea, S of the al-Lisān peninsula (Harland 1942, 1943; Speiser *Genesis* AB, 101). However, all the other, quite numerous, passages referring to the destruction of SODOM AND GOMORRAH know nothing about the submersion of those cities and their territories. They only speak about their "overthrow," and the more explicit passages (Gen 19:24–25; Deut 29:23; Zeph 2:9) make it clear that the area in question was burned out and changed forever into a waste—a genuine etiological story explaining the sterility of the shores of the Dead Sea. The idea that the Valley of Siddim was overflown with water is an innovation of the author of Genesis 14. Having moved the place of action of the "Chedorlaomer texts" from Babylon to the area of Sodom and Gomorrah, he also transferred there the persistent motif of "flooding Babylon with water" in those texts which was inspired by the actual method of destroying Babylon by Sennacherib and which was also evoked by Jewish prophets in Babylonia of the exilic period (cf. Isa 14:23 "And I will make it . . . pools of water," and Jer 51:42 "The sea has come up on Babylon, she is covered with its tumultuous waves").

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SIDE (PLACE) [Gk *Sidē*]. A town on the S coast of Asia Minor (36°45′ N; 31°23′ E; now known as Selimiye) which, along with several other cities, received communication from Lucius, consul of the Romans (perhaps Lucius Calpurnius Piso, consul 140–139 B.C.; Johnson 260, rev. ed. 1973), affirming the alliance of the Romans with the Maccabees (1 Macc 15:15–24).

The town was located in a large bay called the Sea of Pamphylia and was about halfway between Syria and the W end of Turkey, and derived a significant part of its wealth and reputation from seafaring. During the conflict between Antiochus the Great and the Rhodians, ships from Side and Aradus formed one wing of Antiochus' fleet. During the early 1st century B.C., it was one of the chief ports of Cilician pirates, but their dominance was suppressed by Pompey in 67 B.C.

The harbor complex of Side was well known (McComiskey 1975: 546), and consisted of a triangular promontory with double harbors protected by an artificial mole or sea wall. The entrance into the harbor was only 10 m wide. The sea wall can still be traced, but is now filled with sand. Keeping the harbor cleared of sand demanded constant attention and led to a proverb, "a harbor of Side," which referred to a job that needed to be done over and over.

Side was founded in 1405 B.C. and settled by colonists from Aeolian Cyme in the 7th–6th centuries and issued its own coins in the 5th century B.C. The city was subject to the political vicissitudes of the area and came under the control of the Lydians, Persians, Greeks (and Seleucids), and became a Roman province in 74 A.D.

During the period of the Maccabees, Pamphylia and Side were part of the Seleucid Empire. One of the Seleucid kings, Antiochus VII Euergetes (138–129 B.C.), had been raised in Side and was sometimes popularly called "Sidetes" (Goldstein *1 Maccabees* AB, 512). Goldstein (*1 Maccabees* AB, 499) calls Side "an independent city" of Pamphylia, while Banks (*ISBE* [1939 ed] 4: 2785) describes it as a metropolis. The fact that the letter of the Roman consul was sent to Side (1 Macc 15:23) has caused some to infer the presence of Jews in the city, but the text provides no indication of this. There was, however, an extensive Jewish population in Side in the Byzantine period.

The site of Side is marked by the very extensive ruins, which were excavated in 1947–1966 (see Bean 1976 for bibliography). Greco-Roman type city walls protected the N side of the city (2d century B.C. and later). In this wall was a gate which was protected with round towers. Portico-covered streets led from the N main city gate to the harbors. Near the harbors were three theatres, the largest of which dates from the 2d century A.D. A gymnasium (2d century A.D.) has also been excavated. Several deities were honored with temples—Dionysius (1st century A.D.), Tyche, Athena, Apollo (all 2d century A.D.)—and monuments were erected to honor the Roman emperors. A 5th–6th-century basilica and martyrium may be the remains of a Christian church.

The Romans built a 20-mile-long aqueduct into the city and a nymphaeum outside the N gate in the 2d century A.D. and a bath in the 5th century. Outside the city gate to the E was a street lined with sarcophagi and tombs, now mostly destroyed.

The city flourished during the first centuries of Roman rule, but declined under attacks by barbarians from Isauria in the 3d and 4th centuries. The Moslem invasions in the 7th century brought final decline.

A still-undeciphered script and dialect has been found in three inscriptions and continued to appear on coins down to 300 B.C. The people of Side had a poor reputation

and Stratonicus called them the most rascally of mankind, though they submitted to Alexander without a fight in 333 B.C. (Bean 1970: 986; 1976: 835–36).

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HENRY O. THOMPSON

SIDON (PERSON) [Heb *ṣîdōn*]. The firstborn son of Canaan, according to the genealogical scheme of the Table of Nations (Gen 10:15). Sidon is used as a place name in the same context (Gen 10:19; both verses are attributed to J), implying that the name in v 15 is an eponym. Sidon is likewise listed as the firstborn of Canaan in the opening chapter of the Chronicler's work (1 Chr 1:13), which used Genesis 10 as a source. See CHRONICLES, BOOK OF, 1–2.

PHILIP C. SCHMITZ

SIDON (PLACE) [Heb *ṣîdōn*]. SIDONIAN. A city of ancient Phoenicia. The Greek geographer Strabo mentions Sidon as one of the most ancient of the Phoenician cities (16.2.22). Situated on the E Mediterranean coast about 25 miles N of Tyre, Sidon (modern Saïda, 33°32′ N; 35°22′ E) was prominent from a very early period. The city is paired with Tyre in the Epic of Kirta from Ugarit (*KTU* 1.14.IV.35, 39 *[ṣdynm]*), a composition that is probably centuries older than the extant copy dated about 1345 B.C.E. A Hittite incantation from early in the 14th century B.C.E. mentions Sidon ahead of Tyre in a list of cities and regions (*ANET*, 352). In the Amarna correspondence, Sidon appears repeatedly as a leader of the anti-Egyptian coalition of city-states (on the chronology, see Katzenstein 1973: 29–45).

No Phoenician city is mentioned in the campaign lists of the 18th–Dyn. Egyptian pharaoh Thutmosis III, but Thutmosis IV apparently visited Sidon (EA 85.70; Katzenstein 1973: 26). A satirical Egyptian letter of the 19th Dyn., Papyrus Anastasi I, mentions Sidon in a N-S itinerary that includes Beirut, Zarephath, and Tyre (20.8; *ANET* 477). During the 21st Dyn., the report of Wenamun (ca. 1090–1080 B.C.E.) indicates that Sidon was a member of a trading corporation employing 50 coastal vessels in commerce between Egypt and Phoenicia (*ANET*, 27; *AEL* 2: 226).

The invasion of the Levantine coast by the SEA PEOPLES may have marked the rise of Sidon. Justin's epitome of Pompeius Trogus, probably dependent on the Greek historian Timaeus, relates that the Sidonians, some years after their defeat by the king of the Ascalonians, embarked in ships and founded the city of Tyre shortly before the fall of Troy (Justin 18.3.5). While this narrative must refer to a refoundation (Tyre being of extreme antiquity), it perhaps preserves a memory of the disruption following after Sea Peoples swept down the coast of Phoenicia. Ugarit to the N was destroyed; Tyre was apparently destroyed or severely reduced (the account by Tiglath-pileser I of his campaign to the Lebanon [ca. 1100 B.C.E.] mentions Sidon but not Tyre [*ANET*, 275]), while Sidon managed to recover more rapidly from the invasion. (On the date of this refoundation, see TYRE).

The role of Sidon as the mother city of Tyre was recalled on Seleucid coins of Sidon bearing the legend *ʾm ṣr* "mother of Tyre" (Hill 1910: 155–56). Other colonies associated with Sidon are Kition (in Cyprus), Hippo, and Carthage (in Cyprus?).

The names "Sidon" and "Sidonian" came to stand for Phoenicia generally. The "Ethbaal king of the Sidonians" mentioned in 2 Kgs 16:31 was, according to the citation of Menander of Ephesus provided by Josephus (*Ant* 8 §324), the ruler of Tyre. The Homeric epics contain ample reference to Sidon and Sidonians (17x total: *Il.* 6.290–91; 23.743–44; *Od.* 4.83, 84, 618; 13.272, 285; 14.288, 291; 15.118, 415, 417, 419, 425, 473), but no reference to Tyre or the Tyrians. (The dates of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are controversial.) The same metonymy is attested in contemporary inscriptions. An Akkadian inscription of Tiglath-pileser III (747–727 B.C.E.) mentions Hiram king of Tyre (not the biblical figure); this same Hiram is named in a Phoenician inscription from Cyprus (*CIS* I 5 = *KAI* 31), where his name and title are *ḥrm mlk ṣdnm* "Hiram king of the Sidonians."

During his campaign in the West in 701 B.C.E., Sennacherib deposed Luli king of Sidon, who had been part of an anti-Assyrian coalition (*ANET*, 288). Josephus, citing Menander (*Ant* 9.14.2 §283–85), gives the king's name as Elulaios, king of Tyre (it seems unlikely that one sovereign jointly held both thrones, as accepted by, e.g., Elayi 1978: 28). Sennacherib replaced Luli with Ittobaal, whose successor Abdimilkutti again revolted against Assyria. Esarhaddon suppressed the revolt in 677 B.C.E. The city was destroyed to its foundations, and Abdimilkutti beheaded. A new city of Assyrian foundation, Kar-Asarhaddon ("Esarhaddon's Quay"), became the center of the middle zone of Assyrian administration of the area. (The succeeding decades are discussed by Elayi 1983.)

The literary difficulties of Isaiah 23 are many, but it is reasonably clear that the oracle refers to events during these years from 701 to 677 B.C.E., at least in vv 1–4 and 12. Its tone was provoked by the success of the Phoenician cities, whether Sidon or Tyre, as centers of trade (Isa 23:2, 4, 12; on Phoenician trade, see Frankenstein 1979; on its economic character, Snodgrass 1983).

Sidon was never part of the territory of ancient Israel (Judg 1:1). The city served as a fixed point with respect to which the territory of Canaan could be reckoned (Gen 10:19; on this text, see Simons 1948). Distinctive Sidonian customs (Judg 18:7; O'Connor *NJBC*, p. 135) and deities (Judg 10:6; 1 Kgs 11:5; 2 Kgs 23:13) were recognized. See PHOENICIAN RELIGION. The books of the major prophets include denunciations of Sidon in their respective oracles against foreign nations.

The precise status of Sidon after its submission to Nebuchadnezzar is unknown. Its conquest or submission is

indicated by mention of the king of Sidon together with kings of Tyre and Gaza (*ANET,* 308). A Sidonian exile bore a Babylonian name at Erech in 580/79 B.C.E. (Zadok 1978: 60), perhaps indicating that he was already a second-generation resident. (Tyre submitted to the Neo-Babylonian Empire in 573/72 B.C.E.)

Jeremiah calls the "kings of Sidon" together with other monarchs (Jer 24:22) to drink from the "cup of the wine of wrath," of Babylonian oppression. (Jeremiah 27:3 indicates that the plural "kings" in 24:22 is rhetorical; there was only one king of Sidon at the time.) Ezekiel is aware of the maritime supremacy of Sidon (Ezek 27:8) and predicts judgment on the city (28:21–22).

In the Persian period, Sidon remained an important administrative center of the empire. Sidonian fleets were crucial in the Persian strategy against Greece (see Kelly 1987). The funerary inscriptions of kings of Sidon from the Persian period were discovered early in the 19th century (see *KAI* 13–16), and together with other epigraphic and numismatic evidence permit nearly complete reconstruction of the royal succession in this era (on the problems involved, see Henige 1986; a comprehensive historical statement is Elayi 1989).

In the postexilic prophets (Joel 4:4—Eng 3:4; Zech 9:2), and in the Apocrypha (2 Esdr 1:11) and NT (e.g., Matt 11:21; Acts 12:20), the merism "Tyre and Sidon" serves as a geographical designation of the southern Phoenician territory (note Jdt 2:28: "Sidon and Tyre").

The archaeological investigation and excavation of Sidon and its environs has been intermittent (a useful list of excavations and publications is to be found in *ISBE* 4: 501). In the latter half of this century urban growth and warfare have prevented archaeological progress.

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SIEGE MOUND. See WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS OF WARFARE.

SIGLOI. See COINAGE.

SIGMA. The eighteenth letter of the Greek alphabet.

SIGNET. See JEWELRY, ANCIENT ISRAELITE; SEALS, MESOPOTAMIAN.

SIGNS/SEMEIA SOURCE. The hypothetical document comprising accounts of Jesus' miracles and held by a number of scholars to underlie the narratives in chapters 1–12 of the Fourth Gospel ("John"). Quite unlike the Synoptics, this gospel characteristically refers to the miracles performed by Jesus as "signs" (in Greek, *sēmeia*): that is, demonstrations of his messiahship, even his divinity. The evangelist would have derived this use from a distinctive narrative source (= *Quelle* in German; hence the conventional siglum: SQ [for *Sēmeia Quelle*]).

A. The Hypothesis and Its Advantages
B. Grounds for Reconstructing SQ
C. History and Variations of the Hypothesis
D. Major Objections

A. The Hypothesis and Its Advantages

This theory seeks to account for the many roadblocks facing the reader of the gospel's narratives. These so-called aporias (inconsistencies, sudden shifts, minor contradictions [lit., impasses]), extremely rare in the Synoptics, are due to the fact, the hypothesis holds, that this gospel's narratives—which in the first half of the gospel are comprised solely of miracle stories—were not written at one time by a single author, but in at least two major stages reflecting quite different times and circumstances. SQ, then, is the earlier written stage in the development of the present miracle stories and was used by the evangelist, the later author/redactor, in creating a very different work, virtually the gospel in its present form. SQ, it is held, is palpably distinctive within the canonical gospel and, in the face of the changes that were required, must have held such authority as to rule out any extensive rewording of it. Just this literary tension would have produced the aporias that so distinguish this gospel. A similar document, a Passion Source, is widely held to underlie the remaining narratives of the gospel in chaps. 11–13, 18–20.

The bulk of the gospel not based on these two narrative sources—that is, the dialogues and discourses now interspersing the miracle stories, and to a lesser extent the passion story, and found in purest form in chaps. 14–17

(Jesus' "Farewell Discourse")—would be of a different origin. Undoubtedly based in some way on a tradition of Jesus' teaching and possibly even on sources, nevertheless this material is far more extensively evolved than the narratives and reflects perhaps more directly the viewpoint and creative activity of the evangelist.

Such a view of the derivation of the gospel holds that the evangelist cannot simply have adapted these narratives loosely from one or more of the Synoptics, even when they are parallel to stories found there (cf., for example, 4:46–54 with Matt 8:5–13 = Luke 7:1–10), for then the aporias remain unexplained. Given the many gratuitous differences in the stories in the Fourth Gospel as compared with the Synoptics, proponents of SQ maintain, there can be no question of a direct literary dependence such as must prevail among the Synoptics themselves. Nor does the theory that the parallels are due to a late assimilation of the gospel to the Synoptics adequately account for the aporias. On the contrary, the connection of the Fourth Gospel to the Synoptics is to be explained by SQ's dependence on pre-Synoptic tradition—or even by dependence of the Synoptics themselves on SQ [Cope 1987].)

Further, the theory makes unnecessary the relatively unmanageable view that in the narratives the author redacted a still fluid tradition (as perhaps did "Mark") or that they developed gradually over many stages, as by a Johannine "school." Two discrete literary stages—best labeled "pre-Johannine" and "Johannine," respectively—are necessary and sufficient to account for the narratives' aporias, which in effect are the "seams" where earlier written material is adapted, without recasting, into a later format. (Aporias as such [e.g. 14:31b] are rare in this gospel's sayings material, which instead displays doublets, even flatly contradictory assertions, and considerable confusion of order and logic.) The nearest analogue to this kind of narrative redaction is not to be found in the widespread solution to the Synoptic Problem, according to which both "Matthew" and "Luke" rewrote Mark and Q, leaving those sources all but unrecoverable, but rather in the long-standing view of the way earlier written accounts of the national epic of Israel were combined in the completed Pentateuch, with all the resulting aporias.

Finally, although Bultmann only implicitly recognized it, the reconstruction of SQ, so far as that is possible, then allows for a systematic redaction-critical investigation of the gospel (Nicol 1972; Fortna 1988). See SYNOPTIC PROBLEM.

B. Grounds for Reconstructing SQ

Unlike the hypothetical Synoptic sayings source, Q, whose existence and reconstruction are supported by the comparison of two documents (Matthew and Luke), all evidence for SQ is found entirely in the text of the Fourth Gospel, so that it must be reconstructed solely on evidence internal to that gospel. And the aporias, so common there as compared to the Synoptics, make this possible: The seams indicate points of juncture between source and redaction, where a choice can usually be made in assigning one of the colliding elements to the Johannine and the other to the pre-Johannine layer. How is this done?

As SQ's title indicates, it was first of all the word "sign" that suggested the survival of an older layer in the text of the present gospel. On the one hand, this term—and particularly its connection with faith—is used only rarely and negatively in the Synoptics and there never of the miracles Jesus has performed; and on the other hand, in the Fourth Gospel also "signs-faith" sometimes comes in for criticism (e.g., 4:48; 6:26) but at other points—presumably pre-Johannine—is to be understood in an entirely positive sense.

Further, in the first part of the gospel there are what seem to be vestiges of a pattern of numbering the signs (2:11; 4:54). In fact, it is these miracle stories and others now unnumbered, together with Jesus' dialogues and long monologues ("discourses") now growing out of them, that alone comprise his public activity. What in the other gospels, and in far more diverse form, has been called his "ministry" can only be described in this gospel as his self-presentation in the performing of signs and in extended talk about them.

Thus, to many scholars there has seemed to lie behind the present text a protogospel that presented only Jesus' signs, and a series of them, and did so wholly affirmatively. They were significations (that is, demonstrations) of his messianic status, on the basis of which his first disciples and then many others believed in him; those who "came and saw" (1:39) immediately recognized him as the one so long hoped for in Jewish expectation.

In their present order in the gospel (if not originally in SQ's—see C below), the following deeds of Jesus, less the Johannine insertions they now contain, would have comprised the bulk of SQ: changing water into wine (2:1–11), healing an official's son (4:46–54) and a lame man (5:2–9), feeding the multitude (6:1–14)—probably together with crossing the sea (6:15–25), giving sight to a blind man (9:1–8), and raising Lazarus (11:1–45). (Some would also include the catch of fish now found at 21:1–14.) An articulated series emerges from the reconstruction, not merely a gathering of miracle stories, and a few other passages are also to be included: part of chap. 1 (at least the gathering of the first disciples in vv 35–49) as introduction and, as conclusion, 20:30–31a, and perhaps also part of 12:37–41.

C. History and Variations of the Hypothesis

R. Bultmann, from the very first edition of his great commentary (1941 [MeyerK]), gave the classical statement to the Signs Source hypothesis (together with both another prose source, that recounting the passion of Jesus, and a highly artificial poetic Revelation-Sayings Source). Especially in the case of SQ Bultmann acknowledged several precursors, most notably Faure (1922). He nowhere spelled out the criteria for his separation of a pre-Johannine source from the Johannine gospel, nor did he precisely or systematically indicate what the source contained. This lack was filled, so far as possible, by others, e.g., Smith (1965), and more briefly, Van Belle (1975). Some aspects of Bultmann's outline of SQ have been less convincing than others. Thus, on the basis of 1:35–37, he held that the audience for such a source would very likely have been members of the Baptist sect; not many have agreed (but cf. Smith 1976a). And Bultmann also included material that is not so confidently attributed to SQ (e.g., the pericope of Jesus and the Samaritan woman of chap. 4, or

material that now connects the miracle stories to their Johannine elaboration and that is usually regarded as purely Johannine [such as 7:1–13, 19–24; 10:40–41—but cf. Attridge 1980 on chap. 7 and Bammell 1965 on chap. 10]). However, no one who has worked subsequently on the SQ hypothesis has been able to ignore Bultmann's ground-breaking work, and in principle it won wide acceptance, particularly in Germany and the United States.

The first major work following that of Bultmann on the history of the gospel's composition was produced by Wilkens (1958). He accepted the existence of a signs source, calling it a "Signs Gospel," but maintained that it, like his two later stages in the gospel's evolution (its *Entstehungsgeschichte*), was already Johannine (a *Grundschrift,* reviving a view little held since the first years of the century). Consequently, he attributed to it still more than Bultmann of what subsequent advocates of SQ would consider posterior to the pre-Johannine source.

Major commentaries by Schnackenburg (1965–84) and Brown (*John* AB, [1966, 1970]) began to appear in the mid-1960s, and each in a way accepted the SQ hypothesis (Brown less explicitly, but note his later discussion [1979]), fitting it into their conception of how the Johannine literature as a whole (that is, including the Epistles) originated. (In the first two volumes of his work, Schnackenburg is more confident of the possibility of identifying a source behind the present text than in vol. 3, despite the widespread acceptance of Bultmann's relatively uncontroversial passion source.)

Apart from Smith's exposition of Bultmann's original hypothesis in 1965, the first major attempt to examine and refine it was made by Fortna (1970, now updated [Fortna 1988: fine-print subsections of Part One]). His major innovations were an explicit consideration of method, particularly the choice of valid criteria for identifying the source (notably, "contextual" ones); at some points a curtailment of what Bultmann assigned to SQ (e.g., transitional matter—see above), at others an expansion (e.g., 1:6–7, 19–34; 21:1–14), and the discovery of an ordering of the series of signs with a geographical consistency (cf. 2:12; 4:46; [21:1]; 6:1; etc.); above all, the combining of SQ with a revised form of Bultmann's passion source (on the latter, cf. Dauer 1970), resulting in a rudimentary gospel, a "Gospel of Signs," as basis for the present text; and application of the stylistic tests of the source's integrity (see D below) and reproduction of the putative Greek text of the source. Fortna further held that the respect evidently shown the pre-Johannine source in the Johannine gospel demonstrates both what degree of authority SQ must have acquired by the time it was redacted by the Johannine author and the depth of crisis that nevertheless demanded its radical adaptation. Among factors accounting for such a crisis, the most critical would have been the expulsion of Christian Jews from their synagogue—thus from their spiritual home—that J. L. Martyn (1979) has shown to lie behind the present gospel. This crisis also defines the milieu in which SQ would have existed and suggests both the continuity and discontinuity of the later Johannine context with it. (See further Martyn 1970, and now many others such as Robinson 1971; Reim 1974; Kysar 1975; 33–37; Smith 1976a, 1976b; Corsani 1983; and Cope 1986, 1987.)

There shortly appeared Nicol's brief but important study (1972), which refined both Fortna's criteria (by the more explicit use of form criticism for the identification of pre-Johannine tradition) and the stylistic tests, and introduced a sketch of the Johannine redaction of the source. (See further Fortna 1974; Richter 1977.) Subsequently Temple (1974) and Teeple (1974) produced extensive variations on the theory by including material that most proponents could not accept as pre-Johannine. Temple reduces SQ to the two Cana signs (his 1962 article) and proposes a host of other sources. Teeple uses chiefly minute stylistic criteria (e.g., anarthrous personal names). It has been increasingly recognized, however, that stylistic criteria are the weakest of the handful available and that in any case one must look for an intersection of as many different criteria as possible to locate an aporia and assign strata.

In 1977 Boismard and Lamouille published their highly complex theory of the composition history of the gospel, involving a number of stages and dependence both on a source of five signs ("Document C") and on subsequent assimilation with the Synoptics ("Jean II-A"), when the two remaining signs (of chaps. 5 and 6) were included. Their theory is extraordinarily subtle, attempting to do justice to all the loose ends that any simpler reconstruction of the gospel's evolution inevitably leaves. It is not easily falsified, but neither is it convincing to many. (See Neirynck et al. 1979.)

The most faithful follower of Bultmann has been Becker, who in his 1970 article and now in his two-volume commentary (1984–85) has reasserted the original theory with relatively little change (only adopting from Fortna the inclusion of the Baptist pericope [1:19–34] at the head of SQ and a kind of rearrangement, to display a consistent itinerary connecting the signs, but rejecting Fortna's combination of SQ and passion source).

A curtailed version of the hypothesis was proposed by Heekerens (1984; cf. Temple 1962), who holds that only the three still numbered miracles (those of chaps. 2, 4, and 21) comprised the signs source. This more cautious approach would be valid if it weren't for the considerable evidence that the evangelist has extensively rearranged the miracle stories, necessitating a loss of any original enumeration beyond (strictly) the first two, the second retainable only via a contrived addition ("when he had come from Judea to Galilee"). (For more extended summaries of this history, see further: Teeple 1974: 1–116; Kysar 1973; 1975; 1985; Bittner 1987: 2–14; above all, the forthcoming revision of Van Belle 1975.)

D. Major Objections

Despite wide acceptance, the hypothesis has never been universally accepted. A number of dissenters from the theory either resist working backward from the present text for conservative reservations (e.g., Ruckstuhl 1951; Morris *John* NICNT; Carson 1978) or, especially in Britain, seem to be antipathetic toward anything Bultmannian (e.g., Lindars 1971: 22–23, 28–42 [a frontal attack on Fortna .1970, despite his own theory (1972) of a fixed tradition analogous to SQ]). In both groups there appears not infrequently the overly cautious phrase that it would

be "unsafe" to assume the theory (even as working hypothesis, apparently).

An increasing number of theorists (esp. the Leuven school), rejecting the wide consensus since Gardner-Smith 1938, maintain that this gospel is dependent either directly on one or more of the Synoptics (Neirynck 1977; 1983; 1984) or on a looser body of tradition (Busse and May 1980), so that no hypothetical source is needed to account for the (mostly) narrative parallels among the four gospels. Another group, making a fundamental assumption unnecessary in the view of exponents of SQ, holds that the gospel is the product of a long process of development by a "Johannine school" and so cannot be seen as the product of two principal phases (esp. Schnelle 1987: 168–82 ["Arguments against accepting a 'Sēmeia-Source' "]). Richard (1988: 197) cannot accept that the "creative fourth evangelist [would] employ at length and in detail such an uncongenial source."

Some (e.g., Haenchen 1980) have accepted the possibility of SQ but view its reconstruction as precarious at best, despite the aporias unique to this gospel. A more radical appraisal holds the aporias to be illusory, so that what is taken by others to be the collision of pre-Johannine and Johannine is simply the complexity of the author's subtle way of writing or of adapting a lengthy and no longer recoverable tradition (Schnelle 1987: 168; Carson 1987).

Others object, probably rightly, to the subjectivity of any reconstruction of a source based chiefly on stylistic criteria (such as that by Teeple). Indeed, already in 1939 Schweizer proposed a test of the validity of source hypotheses: by identifying a list of Johannine style characteristics and applying them to a source, its stylistic distinctiveness can be tested. (On this basis, he cast several earlier hypotheses into doubt.) Ruckstuhl (1951) adopted this method, with a refined table of characteristics, to demonstrate, if that were possible, the "literary unity" of the gospel and hence the invalidity of all source theories, Bultmann's in particular (and, in 1977, Fortna's). (See further Schnelle 1987: 171–77.)

Finally, the similarity of SQ to the format of Mark is said to betray Johannine dependence on the Synoptics. In fact, the similarity is rather loose: a Galilean period of Jesus' activity, followed by a Judean. (The hypothesis of a "Signs Gospel," with an apologetic passion narrative appended to the end of the signs, also bears little resemblance to Mark, where the theme of Jesus' passion is integrated with his deeds from the beginning and the passion is no longer apologetic [in contrast to Mark's underlying passion tradition].)

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ROBERT T. FORTNA

SIHON (PERSON) [Heb *sîhôn*]. Amorite king defeated by Moses and the Israelites prior to their entrance into Canaan. Following God's instructions to avoid conflict with Edom and Moab (Deut 2:4–9), Israel's exodus route took them NE toward the Kingdom of Sihon. King Sihon's land stood between Israel and the Jordan river. Moses requested that the Amorite king grant the Israelites passage through his territory. Sihon promptly refused and gathered his army at Jahaz where Moses met and defeated him. The victory over Sihon opened to the Israelites all the territory to the Jabbok river and to the boundaries of Og, King of Bashan. Sihon's defeat inspired Israel to possess all of Transjordan prior to crossing Jordan.

The Amorite kingdom extended E from the Jordan and bounded on the N by the Jabbok and on the S by Wadi Hesban, the southernmost of the E tributaries of the Jordan. At the time of the exodus, Sihon had extended his control S to the Arnon river in Moabite territory (Judg 11:22). This area is popularly known as S Gilead and was the allotment by request of the two tribes of Reuben and Gad (Num 32:33; Deut 3:12). Deuteronomy also associates Sihon with Og, King of Bashan, since these two Transjordanian kings were defeated in succession allowing Israel to occupy all of Transjordan, from the Arnon river to Mount Hermon (a distance of 130 miles).

Sihon is identified as the King of Heshbon, his capital city (Deut 2:26, 30). In addition, his territory encompassed many villages and towns (Num 21:25). Heshbon was the first major city conquered by the Israelites under Moses. The modern site is Tell Hesbân (M.R. 226134), a fifty-acre site 17 miles SE of Amman (Jordan) and 6 miles N of Medeba. The destruction of Heshbon, Sihon's capital, is preserved in a poem in the Numbers narrative (21:27–30). This event, because of its monumental significance, is also remembered often in Hebrew literature (Josh 12:2, 5; 13:10, 21, 27; Judg 11:12–18; 1 Kgs 4:19; Neh 9:22; Pss 135:11; 136:19–20; Jer 48:24).

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JOEL C. SLAYTON

SILAS (PERSON) [Gk *Silas*]. Var. SILVANUS. The person called "Silas" in Acts is undoubtedly the same person named "Silvanus" in Paul's letters. Silas was a Jewish Christian and possibly a Roman citizen (see Acts 16:37). Along with Judas called Barsabbas, Silas was a leading member, emissary, and prophet of the Jerusalem church (Acts 15:22, 32), one who risked his life "for the sake of the Lord" (Acts 15:26). He was a travel companion and fellow missionary with Paul (Acts 15:40–18:5), one of the evangelizers in Corinth (2 Cor 1:19), and a co-sender, along with Paul and Timothy, of the Thessalonian correspondence (1 Thess 1:1; 2 Thess 1:1). Many interpreters also see the appelation "apostles of Christ" (1 Thess 2:6) as including Silas along with Paul (and Timothy).

Silas would have been his Jewish family name and may represent the Aramaic form of the Hebrew name Saul. Alternatively, Silas may also be a Greek shortened form of Silvanus (like Epaphras for Epaphroditus). The name Silvanus is a Roman cognomen, a Latinized form of Silas. Derived from the Latin *silva,* meaning "wood," Silvanus is also the name of a Roman deity, who represents the life-giving force of nature.

Silas is first mentioned in Acts 15 where he along with Judas is identified as one of the "leading men among the brethren" (Acts 15:22). Both Silas and Judas were chosen by the Jerusalem leaders as their official delegates and emissaries to accompany Paul and Barnabas to Antioch. Their mission was to deliver and explain verbally a letter addressed "to the brethren who are of the gentiles in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia" (Acts 15:23), which contained the decision reached in Jerusalem about entrance requirements for the gentiles. Circumcision was not required but the observance of some Jewish customs was (15:28–29). The sending of Silas, also identified as a prophet (15:32), indicates first that he was a reliable and respected representative of the Jerusalem leaders, and secondly, that he had the ability to function persuasively in a gentile community. Evidently Silas' own views were favorable to the gentile mission, and thus he was a fitting choice for the task at hand. According to Acts Silas and Judas were successful in their mission for the letter was well received; the community "rejoiced at the exhortation" (15:31).

After this Luke narrates that "they" (Silas and Judas) were sent back to Jerusalem (15:33); however, some manuscripts try to harmonize this verse with v 40, which puts Silas in Antioch, by adding v 34: "But it seemed good to Silas to remain."

Following an irreconcilable disagreement between Paul and Barnabas over John Mark (15:36–39), Paul chose Silas

to accompany him through Syria and Cilicia (15:40). Silas had in hand the Jerusalem letter which was also directed to the gentiles in these provinces (15:23). The choice of Silas was certainly astute, since it had the diplomatic advantage of placing the Pauline mission under the auspices of Jerusalem. The presence of Silas could be interpreted by those who knew his Jerusalem stature as a personal legitimation of the Pauline Gospel.

Luke reports that after Timothy joined the mission in Lystra, the group (Paul, Silas, Timothy) went through Phrygia, Galatia, and attempted to go into Bithynia, but, as the result of a vision, they traveled down to Troas instead, then to the port of Neapolis in Macedonia and finally to Philippi (Acts 16:6–12). There, persuaded by Lydia, the travelers stayed at her home (16:15, 40). In Philippi Silas suffered the same fate as Paul: they were both dragged before the magistrates, beaten, and imprisoned (16:19–24; 1 Thess 2:2). Freed by an earthquake, the prisoners were taken by the jailer into his house, where he washed their wounds and fed them. Then, according to the narrative, Paul identified both himself and Silas as Roman citizens, *Romanoi* (16:37), after which they were released (16:39). Surprisingly, Paul says nothing about this incident, nor does he mention Silas, in his letter to the Philippians (but see 1 Thess 2:2).

Silas is also mentioned in Acts as being with Paul in Thessalonica where both of them (and Timothy) were expelled after an uprising by Jews and rabble-rousers of that city (17:1–9). The missionaries were then sent away by the brethren to Beroea at night (17:10), where opposition was again encountered from Jews of Thessalonica. Then Paul departed for Athens, but Silas and Timothy remained, although they were commanded to join Paul as soon as possible (17:15). Yet according to the Acts narrative they do not meet Paul until he is in Corinth (18:5). On the basis of Paul's writing, Timothy did join him in Athens (1 Thess 3:1–2), but the whereabouts of Silas remains unknown. Did he stay behind in Beroea to supervise activities there or did he travel with Timothy to Athens? If Silas did go to Athens then he may have collaborated in the decision with Paul (and Timothy?) to send Timothy back to Thessalonica (cf. "*we* sent. . . ," 1 Thess 3:2).

While it is uncertain whether Silas actually went to Paul in Athens, Luke reports that he did join Paul in Corinth (18:5), having arrived with Timothy from Macedonia, possibly carrying a gift from the Macedonians so that Paul no longer had to ply his trade in Corinth (cf. 2 Cor 11:9). While in Corinth Silas evangelized. This Paul affirms when he reminds the Corinthians that Silas preached "the Son of God, Jesus Christ" (2 Cor 1:19). Silas is also named as a co-sender along with Paul and Timothy of the Thessalonian correspondence (1 Thess 1:1; 2 Thess 1:1), written from Corinth. Whether Silas had a hand in the composition of the letters themselves is debated (see Bruce *1–2 Thessalonians* WBC, xxxii). How long Silas remained there and whether he returned to Jerusalem is unknown. Nothing further is said about his association with Paul after Corinth.

The person named Silvanus in 1 Pet 5:12 is probably to be identified with the Silas/Silvanus known to Paul. The association of Silvanus with the tradition of Peter in 1 Peter is not unexpected since the two certainly knew each other in Jerusalem. The author of 1 Peter says that the letter has been written "by Silvanus" (*dia* with the genitive). This may mean 1) that Silvanus was the bearer of the letter (cf. Acts 15:22) [Elliott 1980: 263], or 2) that Silvanus was the amanuensis of the letter, indicating either that he simply took dictation or that he had a more active part in its composition. According to Elliott, Silvanus is mentioned in 1 Peter not because he is a representative of Paul and would give the letter a "Paulinist" cast, but because he represents to the addressees in Asia Minor what he stood for earlier in Jerusalem: "the universal dimension of God's grace" [1980: 264]. See TIMOTHY (PERSON).

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JOHN GILLMAN

SILLA (PLACE) [Heb *sillā'*]. A street or neighborhood below and S of the Millo in the City of David (2 Chr 32:5) during the reign of Joash (836–798 B.C.E.). The name is only mentioned in the account of Joash's assassination (2 Kgs 12:20–21) as he was lying (severely wounded, 2 Chr 24:25–26) in his Millo house on the way that descended to Silla. Some have concluded that Silla is the name of a street or way that led down the ridge of the City of David because of Thenius' conjecture that *mĕsillâ* means "highway" (BDB, 698). If the root *sl'* lends any understanding, it may indicate a commercial district or city entrance where weights, measures and payments were determined. Except for the Fuller's Field to the S of the City of David, we have neither texts (such as the goldsmiths of Neh 3:31) or archaeological evidence that there was any commercial activity that would have been characterized by the name, "Silla."

DALE C. LIID

SILOAM INSCRIPTION. The Siloam inscription is an inscription of six lines written in archaic Hebrew dating from the 8th century B.C. This inscription, which was discovered in 1880 and since its removal in 1890 has been on deposit in the Imperial Museum in Istanbul, was carved on the E wall 10 m inside the S end of the tunnel that conducts the waters of the Gihon spring in the valley E of the City of David to the Pool of Siloam at its SE corner. The tunnel was dug from both ends at once; the joining at midpoint was an engineering feat. The inscription describes the event which demonstrated the head engineer's skill and success.

1. *]hnqbh.wzh.hyh.dbr.hnqbh.bʿwd[.hḥṣbm.mnpm.]*
2. *hgrzn.ʾš.ʾl.rʿw.wbʿwd.šlš.ʾmt.lhn[qb.wyšm]ʿ.ql.ʾš.q*
3. *rʾ.ʾl.rʿw.ky.hyt.zdh.bṣr.mymn.[wmšm]ʾl.wbym.h*
4. *nqbh.hkw.hḥṣbm.ʾš.lqrt.rʿw.grzn.ʿl.[g]rzn.wylkw[.]*
5. *hmym.mn.hymwṣʾ.ʾl.hbrkh.bmʾtym.wʾlp.ʾmh.wm[ʾ]*
6. *t.ʾmh.hyh.gbh.hṣr.ʿl.rʾš.hḥṣbm[.]*

1. [ ] the tunneling, and this was how the tunneling
2. was completed: as [the stonecutters wielded]
3. their picks, each crew toward the other, and while
4. there were still three cubits to g[o], the voices of the
5. men calling
6. each other [could be hear]d, since there was an increase (in sound) on the right [and lef]t. The day the
7. breach was made, the stonecutters hacked toward
8. each other, pick against pick, and the water
9. flowed from the source to the pool [twel]ve hundred
10. cubits, even though the
11. height of the rock above the heads of the stonecutte[rs] was a hundred cubits!

It is the nearly unanimous view of historians that the Siloam tunnel is Hezekiah's conduit, and that the inscription in it was written shortly before 701 B.C.E. The form of its script agrees with this dating. According to the Deuteronomist and the Chronicler, Hezekiah had the waters of the Gihon spring outside the city walls diverted to a reservoir inside the walls by means of a conduit, as part of his fortification of Jerusalem to withstand the anticipated siege by Sennacherib in 701 B.C.E. (2 Kgs 20:20; 2 Chr 32:30; cf. Isa 22:11; Sir 48:17). The construction of the tunnel from both ends at once, multiplying the difficulties in engineering, reflects the haste forced upon Hezekiah by the threat of Sennacherib.

The word translated "increase (in sound)" in line 3 *(zdh)* is regarded by most scholars as obscure. Since the well attested Hebrew and Arabic meaning "increase" has not seemed fitting, other suggestions have been made from context: crack, fissure, overlap, excitement, meeting, and others. These guesses are not necessary. The jumble of directional changes in the tunnels during the last few meters substantiates the inscription's point that it was their voices that finally brought the crews together, while those same changes also attest to the difficulty of locating the direction of sounds coming through the rock seemingly from all sides.

However, the remarkable achievement was not that the crews met over the last meter and a half, but that they ever came that close to each other in the first place. The tunnel follows not a straight line but a ragged s-shaped curve. See Fig. DAV.04 and Fig. JER.09. Whatever the purpose of this intentionally winding path—long a puzzle to investigators—it vastly complicated the survey required by the head engineer, and hence magnifies his accomplishment. When each crew was between 40 and 45 m from the eventual meeting-point, the engineer initiated a series of at least four highly accurate corresponding corrections in both tunnels that brought the crews within shouting distance. Evidence suggests these corrections were performed by use of a method similar to "plane table surveying" as developed by the Romans. The successful joining of the tunnels demonstrated the engineer's proficiency with the primitive means at his disposal. The satisfaction evinced by the inscription may reflect as well the realization that if the crews had not met, the engineer's life would doubtless have been forfeit.

The success of the moment enabled and induced the engineer to commemorate the event by an inscription. It appears that his commemoration was more private than public, as it was clearly not intended for public notice and makes no mention of the ruler of the city or its god, the political crisis that necessitated the construction, nor even of the master excavator himself, at least in the present form of the inscription. The inscription occupied the lower half of a prepared surface; it is probable that the upper half was intended for a relief showing the joining of the tunnels, with possibly the name of the engineer inscribed thereon. Suggestions that the inscription was written by the stonecutters themselves or that it records an excerpt from annals have not found wide acceptance.

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ROBERT B. COOTE

SILOAM, POOL OF (PLACE)

[Gk *kolumbēthra tou Silōam*]. Siloam, and its related forms (Heb *silōaḥ* [Isa 8:6]; *šelaḥ* [Neh 3:15]) probably applied originally to the earliest reservoir, and later to any other reservoirs which collected water from the channels or aqueducts on the W side of the Kidron valley. It also referred to an area apparently near the reservoirs as reflected in "the tower in Siloam" (Luke 13:4). The modern village, Silwan, located opposite the City of David, carries the name.

A. Siloam before Hezekiah

The GIHON Spring (1 Kgs 1:33, 38, 45), later known as the Virgin's Fountain, was the major source of water for the one or more pools which carried variants of the name

Siloam; water also was channeled from the intermittent supply of water from the valley bed itself. Traces of a partially covered and partially open aqueduct or channel exist which passes southward from the Gihon along the W side of the Kidron valley. This channel was called Canal II by early explorers and excavators at the turn of the 20th century. The canal had a number of openings in its E wall to allow water to irrigate the gardens on the floor of the valley (Simons 1952: 175–77). See KING'S GARDEN. This aqueduct may have carried the water referred to in Isa 8:6 as "the gently flowing waters of Shiloah"; the vertical descent is only a few feet from the Gihon to the lower (Siloam) Old Pool (Isa 22:9–11; now known as Birket el Hamra) below the City of David (Mare 1987: 106). "The aqueduct of the Upper Pool" (2 Kgs 18:17; Isa 7:3; 36:2) may be identified with the present Pool of Siloam (i.e., Birket es Silwan), located about 100 feet NW of the Lower Pool.

B. Siloam in Hezekiah's Time

The threat of a siege by Sennacherib prompted Hezekiah to secure Jerusalem's water supply and to rob the Assyrians of a water supply. He therefore "stopped all the springs and the brook that flowed through the land" (2 Chr 32:4) and "closed the upper outlet of the waters of the Gihon" (2 Chr 32:30a); and "directed them [i.e., the waters] down to the west side of the city of David" (2 Chr 32:30b). The redirection of the water was accomplished by tunneling through the rock under the city to the SW corner of the City of David. 2 Kgs 20:20 summarizes how Hezekiah "made the pool" (the Pool of Siloam) and the tunnel (Hezekiah's Tunnel) by which he brought water into the city (see also Sir 48:17–19). Kenyon (1965) has argued that the pool of Hezekiah was originally an underground cistern inside the city walls.

From Gihon, the tunnel (with an average width of 2 feet and an average height of 6 feet) was cut in a circuitous course, with a length of ca. 1,750 feet (a direct route of ca. 1,090 feet) to the Pool of Siloam (possibly the Upper Pool). For the construction and technical details of Hezekiah's tunnel, see DAVID, CITY OF, section E, and Shiloh, 1984. See also SILOAM INSCRIPTION. The statement in 2 Chr 32:30 that Hezekiah "blocked the upper outlet of the Gihon spring and channeled the water . . ." may imply that, besides the use of the new tunnel to store water in the Upper Pool (i.e., the present Pool of Siloam; 2 Kgs 18:17; Isa 7:3; 36:2), the king may have camouflaged the old Canal II and allowed it also to deliver water down to the earlier Old or Lower Pool (cf. Isa 22:9–11), thus providing an additional source of water when under siege (although procuring water from the Lower Pool might present considerable danger). Ben Sira's statement that Hezekiah "built *pools* for water" (Sir 48:19) seems to indicate that there were additional water sources. An alternate view suggests that Hezekiah's tunnel actually emptied into another pool in the Kidron valley, a pool about 360 feet E of the Pool of Siloam, and that this old pool was forgotten when Empress Eudocia in the 5th century A.D. identified the present Pool of Siloam as the reservoir for the water of Hezekiah's tunnel. This view is somewhat problematic because it would put Hezekiah's pool outside the city walls on the E slope and would be at variance with 2 Chr 32:30 which states that Hezekiah directed the water to the W side of the City of David (i.e., toward the modern Pool of Siloam). The majority of scholars believe that the water of Hezekiah's tunnel emptied into the modern Pool of Siloam (Mare 1987: 105).

After the Exile, the Old or Lower Pool in Hebrew was called Shelah, translated Pool of Siloam in the NIV; Neh 3:15), and was probably still used as a reservoir for the waters coming down from the Gihon through the Kidron valley through Canal II, and for the overflow of water coming from the newer Upper Pool fed from Hezekiah's tunnel.

C. Siloam in the Roman Period

Of the two references to Siloam in the NT, John 9:7 simply states that Jesus sent the blind man to "wash in the Pool of Siloam," giving the impression that the pool was a well-known landmark. Josephus (*JW* 5.4.2 §145) specifically calls Siloam a *pēgē*, a "fountain," [not a spring; Siloam received its water from the Gihon] and indicates it was at the S end of the Tyropoeon valley. This would place it in the vicinity of either the Lower, Old (earlier) Pool or at the nearby Upper Pool which Hezekiah made, the modern Pool of Siloam. There is, however, a difference of opinion as to which pool Josephus means. In the other reference, Luke 13:4, we are told that there was a tower in a place called "the Siloam" (Gk *tōi Silōam*), with the implication that everyone knew of its location. Presumably it was built on the S end of the ridge of the old City of David, just above the pool of the same name.

At the Lower, Old Pool some remains of a Herodian bath have been found. The Talmud (*Sukk.* 4.9) states that at the Feast of Tabernacles, water was taken in a golden vessel from the Pool of Siloam to the Water Gate and carried in the procession up to the Temple and the altar. In reference to the ceremonies at the Feast of Tabernacles in John 7:37–38 Jesus, in speaking about his dispensing "streams of living water," may be comparing his activity with this ceremony of carrying the water from the Pool of Siloam to the Temple.

D. Siloam in the Byzantine Period

The Bordeaux Pilgrim (A.D. 333; CChr.SL, 175.16) states that there was a four-sided colonnade above the Pool of Siloam, but says nothing about a church. But in the 6th century A.D., Antoninus Martyr (CChr.SL, 175.142) describes the pool and a church, which is also depicted on the Madaba Map (A.D. 575), a structure built by the Empress Eudocia (ca. A.D. 440). The ruins have been investigated by archaeologists and consist of a central apse, a nave, and atrium; these were built over the N part of the colonnade (Mare 1987: 241–43).

E. The Pool of Siloam Today

The remains of the Lower, Old Pool are called the Birket el Hamra (the "red pool") and is dry. The Upper Pool (modern Pool of Siloam) is NW of the Old Pool. The S end of Hezekiah's tunnel, conveying water from the Gihon spring, empties into the reservoir, and the water is still used by the local residents. A mosque now stands on the remains of the Byzantine church.

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SILVANUS (PERSON) [Gk *Silouanos*]. See SILAS (PERSON).

SILVANUS, TEACHINGS OF (NHC VII,*4*). See TEACHINGS OF SILVANUS (NHC VII,*4*).

SILVER. See JEWELRY, ANCIENT ISRAELITE.

SILVERSMITH, DEMETRIUS THE. See DEMETRIUS (PERSON).

SIMEON (PERSON) [Heb *šimᶜôn*]. SIMEONITE. **1.** The second son of Leah and Jacob and the full brother of Reuben, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulun, and Dinah. Simeon is also the eponymous ancestor of the tribe whose territory is found within the S limits of Judah. The etymology is obscure, but some suggest the name refers to an animal, perhaps a hyena (Westermann 1985: 473; BDB, 1035). Noth (*NHI,* 58) argues that it originally was a personal name, as found in Ezra 10:31. In Genesis 29 the popular etymology is explained as coming from the verb *šmᶜ*. Leah, who became Jacob's wife because of her father's deception, is unloved by her husband who prefers his more beautiful wife, Leah's sister Rachel. Although Leah suffers from this situation, she, not Rachel, is granted abundant fertility. When she bears Simeon she exclaims that God has given him to her "because the LORD has heard *(šāmᶜa)* that I am hated" (Gen 29:33).

The most striking account of Simeon occurs in Genesis 34, the narrative of the rape of Dinah and the revenge of Simeon and Levi. Dinah is violated by Shechem, prince of the city which bears his name. After this act, however, Shechem comes to love Dinah, and he and his father Hamor ask permission from Jacob and his sons for Shechem to marry Dinah. The brothers agree on one condition: that the townsmen of Shechem agree to be circumcized. The brothers, however, are not sincere and use the circumcision as an excuse to attack the townsmen. Their violence is extreme: They not only kill the men of Shechem, but capture the women, children, and animals. Although the historicity of the account is doubted, the narrative may explain Simeon's difficulty in obtaining its own territory. Some scholars (*IDB* 4: 356; *NHI,* 70–71) think the account indicates that Simeon's original tribal allotment was in the Palestinian highlands. Gottwald (1979: 252–53), who considers the specific references to Simeon and Levi in vv 25 and 30 interpolated, argues nevertheless that the account demonstrates that Simeon needs to take refuge in Judah in the face of some situation of threatened annihilation.

Simeon also plays a small but interesting role in the account of Joseph in Egypt and in his brothers' encounter with him. After Joseph is sold into Egypt and rises to a position of power in the government, his brothers, unaware of his identity, come to him to request grain. In light of the account of Simeon's violence in Genesis 34, it is not surprising that he is the brother kept for ransom by Joseph when the remaining brothers go to retrieve Joseph's full brother Benjamin from Canaan (Gen 42:24). Simeon, along with Levi, is singled out for chastisement in Jacob's blessing. The poem laments Simeon's use of unbridled violence against people and animals; the tribe consequently will be scattered among Israel (Gen 49:5–7).

No separate tribal boundaries are given for Simeon. The list of cities included in Simeon's territory, found in Josh 19:1–9, probably reflect administrative concerns of the monarchy. These cities are found in the southernmost section of Judah's territory. Some surmise that Simeon had to seize the least settled areas, and was successful in occupying the Canaanite city Hormah (*LBHG,* 198). Aharoni (*LBHG,* 234–35) discusses a tribal covenant of Judah with Simeon, Caleb, Kenaz, Jerahmeel, and the Kenites centered at Hebron. Judges represents Judah and Simeon as forming a pact; both agree to cooperate in face of threats. Simeon does assist Judah in battles against "the Canaanites and the Perizzites" at Bezek (Judg 1:4) and at Zephath (Judg 1:17), yet there are no accounts of Judah defending Simeon, reflecting Simeon's dependency on Judah.

Not much else is known about the activities of Simeon. Simeon is portrayed as one of the tribes which represents the blessing over the people on Mt. Gerizim after they pass over the Jordan (Deut 27:12). Ezekiel hopes for the restoration of Simeon alongside Benjamin and Issachar (Ezek 48:24–25).

2. A man in Ezra's day who married a foreign woman (Ezra 10:31). Nothing else is known about him.

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3. A man living in Jerusalem who is recorded as offering a prayer and blessing for the infant Jesus (Luke 2:25, 34). The way in which Simeon is introduced in the biblical text makes it probable that he was unknown apart from this context and unlikely that he is any of the other Simeons suggested by later tradition or recent scholars. For example, *Prot. Jas.* 24:3–4 states that this Simeon was a high priest and the successor of Zechariah, John the Baptist's father; *Acts of Pilate* 17:1 makes mention of Jesus later raising Simeon's two sons from the dead; and Cutler (1966: 29–35) identifies this Simeon with Simeon the son of Hillel and father of Rabban Gamaliel the Elder, whose existence has been doubted (*HJP²,* 367–68).

Nevertheless, the commendable description of Simeon is to be noted. The same word, "righteous" (Gk *dikaios*), is used of him as is used of Zechariah and Elizabeth in Luke

1:6 and of Joseph in Matt 1:19, probably referring to his obedience to God's law, rather than some standard of personal holiness (see Fitzmyer *Luke 1–9* AB, 322). He is also commended as "devout" (Gk *eulabēs;* Acts 2:5; 8:2; 22:12, a Lukan word), referring possibly to his carefulness in performing religious duties (see Plummer *Luke* ICC, 66, who cites extrabiblical examples, including Plato *Politics* 311B; followed by Brown 1977: 438), although probably in light of later Greek evidence with reference to his reverence and awe for God (Creed 1930: 39–40; Fitzmyer *Luke 1–9* AB, 426). Simeon is further described as "looking for the consolation of Israel." Although this phase is obscure in its specific reference, it probably connotes the expectation in the postexilic period of a time of trouble relieved by the reestablishment of God's reign through the coming of the Messiah (Fitzmyer *Luke 1–9* AB, 427; Plummer *Luke* ICC, 66). The language is reminiscent of portions of Isaiah (40:1; 49:13; 51:3; 61:2; 66:13), and is apparently echoed at Luke 2:38 referring to Anna and Luke 23:50–51 referring to Joseph of Arimathea; later rabbinic writings refer to the messiah as "consoler" (see Str-B 1: 66). Lastly, of Simeon it is said, *pneuma ēn hagion ep auton,* which is variously interpreted. Plummer (*Luke* ICC, 66) argues that separation of the word for "spirit" (Gk *pneuma*) from the word for "holy" (Gk *hagion*) by the copulative verb, "was" (Gk *ēn*), makes the meaning "an influence which was holy was upon him," distinguished from reference to the Holy Spirit in the next verse (cf. D, where the word order is changed, probably for theological reasons, so that the reference is to the Holy Spirit). Brown (1977: 438), however, claims that reference to the Holy Spirit in v 26 "shows that Luke is thinking of the Holy Spirit" in v 25. Anarthrous use of "holy spirit is also found in Luke 1:15, 35, 41, 67.

In light of mention that it had been revealed to Simeon that he would not see death (a euphemism; see Trollope 1848: 57) until he saw the anointed (Christ) of the Lord, Brown (1977: 438) reasonably hypothesizes that Simeon was old at the time of his encounter with Jesus. When he enters into the temple "under the influence of the Spirit" (Plummer *Luke* ICC, 67), he sees Jesus there and takes the infant into his arms. Here the temple area is thought by most scholars to be either the court of the gentiles or the court of women, since Mary is present and Luke distinguishes between the sanctuary and the court of the temple (Brown 1977: 438–39). Simeon is recorded as reciting what is traditionally called the Nunc Dimittis. For recent and differing analyses of the origins of this prayer song, besides the standard commentaries and Brown, see Grelot (1986: 481–509) and Berger (1985: 27–39). Then Simeon is recorded as blessing Jesus and his parents, selecting Mary for special comments (see Marshall *Luke* NIGTC, 121–22 for possible reasons). Rather than the tone of expectation for salvation found in the Nunc Dimittis, the blessing forecasts pain and trouble. Since the blessing is priestly in nature (see Fitzmyer *Luke 1–9* AB, 429) some commentators have speculated that Simeon was a priest. As Brown (1977: 437–38) says, "Despite the close relationship that Simeon has to Levi in the patriarchal stories (Gen 29:33–34), there is nothing in Luke's account to favor the idea that Simeon was a levitical priest, although gentile Christians may have decided that from his blessing the parents in vs. 34."

In light of the events cited above, the language used of Simeon in relation to other NT figures, and the content of his two pronouncements, some recent commentators have drawn out the literary significance of Simeon in Luke's gospel. For example, Figueras (1978: 89–93; cf. Brown 1977: 451–54) equates Simeon with Moses, while Tannehill (1986: 38–44 esp. 44) sees Simeon's as a crucial voice used by the author of the gospel to express a tension in the world regarding the scope of God's salvation and human resistance.

4. The father of Levi and son of Judah, according to Luke's genealogy tying Joseph, the "supposed father" of Jesus, to descent from Adam and God (Luke 3:30). D omits Simeon, substituting a genealogy adapted from Matt 1:6–15 in Luke 3:23–31. Simeon the father of Levi occurs nowhere else in the biblical documents, including Matthew's genealogy, as a relative of Jesus, and appears here in a list of eighteen otherwise unknown descendants (Fitzmyer *Luke 1–9* AB, 501). Jeremias (1969: 296) believes that it is anachronistic for Luke to include this name here, since there is no record of its use after the patriarchal period until Ezra 10:31, although caution must be exercised in light of the limited nature of the available evidence. Kuhn (1923: 208–9) argues that two seemingly parallel lists of names—Luke 3:23–26 (Jesus to Mattathias) and 3:29–31 (Joshua/Jesus to Mattatha)—were originally identical, the first perhaps reflecting a Hebrew context and the second, an Aramaic context, tracing Mary's line of descent (since it does not mention Joseph as Jesus' father). Simeon, in the second list, corresponds to Melchi, in the first list. With no major textual variants for Simeon and Melchi to support confusion of the two in the NT, Kuhn's theory has little plausibility.

5. One of those listed, along with Barnabas and Saul, as a prophet or teacher in the church at Antioch (Acts 13:1). Simeon is said also to have been called Niger. An apparent example of a Jew with both a Latin name and a Hebrew name (cf. 12:12), the nature of his Latin name as led Bruce (1951: 252) to speculate that Simeon was an African. Apart from Barnabas and Saul, Simeon and the others mentioned here are otherwise unknown, although Smaltz (1952: 214–15) has equated this Simeon with the one in 15:14 (see **4.**), and Marshall (*Acts* TNTC, 214) notes that, since the name here precedes mention of Cyrenia, some have thought that Simeon was the Simon of Cyrene mentioned in Luke 23:26. Both proposals are without foundation.

6. Another possible name for Simon Peter, used once apparently of him in Acts 15:14 and in some texts in the introduction to 2 Peter. At 2 Peter 1:1 a number of versions read Gk *simeōn,* while one papyrus and other versions read Gk *simōn,* a fairly equally divided external attestation. Simeon probably was changed to the more common Greek form Simon in many texts, thus the odd juxtaposition of the names Simeon and Peter is to be preferred (see Metzger 1975: 699; the reading gets a C rating in the *UBSGNT*^{3} text). During the centuries on either side of Christ's birth Simeon apparently was a very common Jewish name, although Jews with the name often preferred to use the Greek form (see Bauckham *Jude, 2 Peter* WBC, 166, 165).

With respect to Acts, Conzelmann (*Acts* Hermeneia, 117) calls the form an Aramaism and says that it is archaic. Lake and Cadbury (1933: 15) note that Chrysostom equates this Simeon with the Simeon of Luke 2 and his speech with the Nunc Dimittis (see #3 above); Riddle (1940: 179–80) claims that Simeon/Simon is an early Christian leader to be distinguished from one named Peter; and Smaltz (1952: 214–15) has equated this Simeon with the one in 13:1, believing that Simon Peter is recorded in Acts 12:17 as having died. Lake and Cadbury argue that a more probable explanation is that choice of the name Simeon shows the author's sensitivity to appropriate wording. For the occasion, Peter was addressed by a Palestinian Jew by his Jewish name, and the Jewish spelling is used in the account. See also PETER (PERSON).

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SIMILE. See PSALMS, BOOK OF.

SIMON (PERSON) [Gk *Simōn*]. The name of a number of persons mentioned both in the Apocryphal literature of the OT as well as in the NT.

1. Simon Chosamaeus (Gk *Chosamaios*), who provided a list of those who were found to have married foreign wives (1 Esdr 9:32; cf. Shimeon in Ezra 10:31).

2. Simon I, the high priest (d. ca. 270 B.C.E.), son of Onias and grandson of Jaddua (high priest in the days of Nehemiah [Neh 12:11, 22]).

3. Simon II, high priest from ca. 219–196 B.C.E., grandson of Simon I, son of Onias II, and the father of Onias III.

4. Simon the Benjaminite chief administrator of the temple during the high priesthood of Onias III (2 Maccabees 3–4).

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5. The second son of Mattathias, also known as THASSI. He was the last of Mattathias' sons to lead the Jews against Seleucid rule. Though he was older than his predecessors Judas and Jonathan, he was the last to ascend to a position of leadership. Yet Simon was the real founder of the Hasmonean dynasty, which endured at least four generations after him.

We do not know why Simon was skipped over when Judas and then Jonathan were chosen to lead the revolt, but it seems that they were considered militarily more suitable for the task. He is praised in 1 Macc 2:65 as a man "wise in counsel" and second only to Judas. When Mattathias addresses his sons at his deathbed (1 Macc 2:49–70), Simon is mentioned even before Judas, and elsewhere he precedes his other brothers as second to Judas, sharing with him the rescue of the Jews in the country, when Judas went with Jonathan to Transjordan, and Simon went alone to Galilee (1 Macc 5:17, 20–23, 55).

Yet these and further references to Simon in 1 Maccabees only confirm the accepted view that 1 Maccabees was written to support among other things the Hasmonean dynastic claims, i.e., the legitimacy and position of Simon's descendants as rulers of Judea. See MACCABEES, BOOKS OF (FIRST AND SECOND MACCABEES).

When Simon took over leadership after Jonathan had been detained and then murdered by Trypho (142 B.C.E.), he did not lack experience either in military affairs or in diplomacy and administration. He had participated in the military exploits of Judas and of Jonathan and then shared in the aggrandizement of the position of Jonathan within the framework of the Seleucid Empire.

In addition to his leading the expedition to Galilee, defeating the enemy up to the gates of Ptolemais, and delivering the Jews (1 Macc 5:22–23), he was also entrusted with the siege of some fortresses in Idumea (2 Macc 10:19–20). His efforts were hindered because some of his men took bribes from those who had taken refuge in the towers. This story, however, is to be viewed keeping in mind the unfavorable attitude of 2 Maccabees towards Simon (cf. 2 Macc 14:17).

Later, Simon and Jonathan took their brother Judas' body after the battle of Elasa and buried it at Modein (1 Macc 9:19), and together fought for survival at the outskirts of Judea after Judas' fall (1 Macc 9:33, 37, 62). The defense of Bethbasi was entrusted to Simon by Jonathan, and he defended it successfully (1 Macc 9:65–68). To what extent these events are historically grounded, or whether are they merely efforts to enhance Simon's prestige, is hard to tell (cf. 1 Macc 10:74).

Yet the gradual promotion of Jonathan under the Seleucids brought in its wake the promotion of Simon too. He was appointed under Trypho governor (Gk *stratēgos*) of the

seacoast (1 Macc 11:59). Whether he was able to perform in this capacity is doubtful. When Jonathan went to fight the Seleucid generals who supported Demetrius II, he left Simon in Judea, and at that time he subjugated Beth-zur, and put his own garrison there (1 Macc 11:65–66). Shortly afterward, Simon entered the coastal region of which he was governor, took Joppa, and put a garrison there (1 Macc 12:33–34). He also built and fortified Adida NE of Lydda.

In the year 142 B.C.E. Trypho put Jonathan cunningly away and tried to overrun the Jews, who were deprived of leadership. This was Simon's time of trial, and he successfully filled the gap and took over his brother's position. He became the leader of the Jews and took the necessary military steps. Trypho, faced by unexpected Jewish resistance, began negotiations with Simon and got from him, in return for the promise to release Jonathan, money and Jonathan's two sons as hostages. Simon fulfilled his part of the deal but Trypho did not fulfill his (see 1 Macc 13:15–19, esp. vv 17–18, which are strongly apologetic). Then Trypho tried to invade Judea, but repulsed by Simon, he killed Jonathan and withdrew.

The break in relations with Trypho was complete and Simon approached Demetrius II to renew relations with him. Demetrius was anxious to give a positive response (1 Macc 13:36–40), and even freed Judea from taxes. This, along with Simon's success in finally subjugating the Akra and with Judaizing Gezer, brought Judea to the stage of independence and Simon was not slow to act accordingly. 1 Maccabees 13:41–42 takes this same year (142 B.C.E.) as the beginning of the independence of Judea.

A symbol of this newly gained independence was the dating of documents by the ruling years of Simon. Two years later, in 140 B.C.E., Simon was made high priest and ruler, and a decree in his honor was inscribed upon bronze tablets for all to see. The text of this decree is preserved in 1 Macc 14:27–45.

Once Judea had become independent of Seleucid rule, there was a need for a constitution and some kind of legitimacy for the ruler's house. Appointment by the Seleucid sovereign was out of the question, since his rule was no longer recognized. Divine sanction was also out of the question. One thing was left for Simon and that was to appeal for a national decree. But, this was also typical of Simon, who usually preferred stability over expansion. With this attitude he was able to achieve a broad consensus. That not all agreed to an appointment of him for an indefinite amount of time, and that some compromise was made with a certain opposition, is implicit in 1 Macc 12:41, where his appointment is limited ". . . until a true prophet shall arise."

After his aforementioned appointment, Simon ruled for about six years (140–134 B.C.E.). His policy was one of consolidation, not one of expansion (note the poem about Simon's glory in 1 Macc 14:4–15). His tour of inspection, which took place just before he was murdered, may be an indication of the attention he paid to the administration of Judea.

Simon was soon confronted with a real political challenge in the person of Antiochus VII Sidetes. Antiochus VII made a final effort to revive the Seleucid kingdom and to regain its lost territories. In the beginning of Antiochus' struggle for the Seleucid crown (against the usurper Trypho, and after his brother Demetrius II fell into Parthian captivity), in 139/38 B.C.E., he sent a friendly letter to Simon, recognizing what had already been granted to him by Demetrius II, and granting him the right to mint coins (1 Macc 15:6), which Simon never utilized. Afterwards Antiochus VII laid siege to Trypho at Dor. Simon sent military aid which was rejected. Antiochus dispatched a delegate, Athenobius, who demanded of Simon either the return of the territory conquered by the Jews or financial retribution. Simon proudly rejected this demand, saying that that which the Jews had conquered was their ancestral heritage (1 Macc 15:33–34), and that he was ready to give only a hundred talents to the king.

Sometime later, after taking Dor, Antiochus ordered Cendebeus, his new governor *(stratēgos)* of the coastal region, to harass the Jews. Simon sent his sons, Judas and John, against Cendebeus, and they defeated him somewhere on the W slopes of the Judean hills.

After this defeat, Antiochus resorted to a conspiracy in which Simon's son-in-law, Ptolemy, son of Abubos, played a role. Simon and two of his sons were murdered by Ptolemy on their way to visit him in Jericho, where he was governor. Although Simon and his two sons were murdered, John, another son of Simon, escaped the assassins sent to kill him and took over the government of Judea, even before Antiochus invaded the country.

So, even the last of Mattathias' sons did not die in peace, even though he was the one must prone to peaceful consolidation of the new Jewish state. But the foundations he laid down for this state served well for a few decades.

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6. The apostle Simon Peter, son of John (John 1:42; 21:15–17; Matt 16:1, 7). See PETER (PERSON).

7. One of the half-brothers of Jesus (Matt 13:55; and Mark 6:3).

8. A Pharisee who invited Jesus to a dinner (Luke 7:36, 40, 43–47).

9. A leper who was a resident of Bethany and in whose house Jesus was annointed by a woman with a costly ointment (Matt 26:6; and Mark 14:3).

10. The father of Judas Iscariot (John 6:71; 13:2, 26; 12:4).

11. A Jew from Cyrene who was compelled to carry Jesus' cross (Matt 27:32; Mark 15:21; and Luke 23:26).

12. Simon the Zealot, one of the Twelve (Acts 1:13). See ZEALOTS.

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13. A magician ("Simon Magus") who gathered a following in Samaria by presenting himself as "somebody great" (Acts 8:9–24). The Samaritans recognized him as "that power of God which is called great." It is reported that Simon and his followers were converted and baptized by Philip. However, Simon was rejected by the apostles Peter and John when he tried to buy the power of communicating the Holy Spirit. The story says little about Simon's person or teaching. The author's interests are in the spread of the Christian mission from Jerusalem to Samaria (cf. Acts 1:8) and the character of the Holy Spirit (Barrett 1979). The author does not even say whether Simon re-

pented. The charges of magic are part of the author's polemic against competing cults (cf. Acts 13:6–12; 19:13–20).

The title "Great Power" appears in several strands of Simon tradition and may go back to the historical Simon. Unfortunately, the phrase is not sufficient to determine the content of Simon's claim to be "somebody great" or even the background of his thought. Parallels have been found in Christian and Samaritan texts as well as pagan inscriptions, where the phrase designates God or a god. In Samaritan literature the phrase can also be applied to the chief angel of God. "Great Power" designates several types of being in various gnostic systems, and appears in magical papyri as an entity invoked in spells (Rudolf 1978: 320–28).

Later Christian sources regularly refer to Simon as a Magus ("magician"). Although this title could be used positively, it is used derisively of Simon. Both the heresiologists and the popular portrayals of Simon indicate that he and his immediate successors used magic for propaganda. While their great success is admitted, they are accused of defrauding people for the sake of worship or material gain.

Because the heresiologists sought to distinguish Simon's claims from those of their own faith, their accounts probably reveal more about Simonians of the 2d century than about Simon himself. Justin Martyr, writing near the middle of the 2d century, cites Simon as an example of the way in which demonic forces could mimic Christianity (*apol.* 1.26). He reports that Simon came from the Samaritan village of Gitta. During the reign of Claudius, Simon worked his wonders in Rome by means of demons. Justin says that Simon was accompanied by a former prostitute named Helen. She was identified as the first thought *(ennoia)* of the first god, namely Simon. Justin indicates that Simon had a large following in Samaria and that Simonians in Rome and other regions were called Christians. The Simonians in Rome were probably responsible for the interpretation of a recently erected statue as a dedication to Simon rather than to the Sabine god Semo Sancus who is actually named on the base (*apol.* 1.26, 56). This identification was probably aided by the fact that both Semo and Simon (as the "Great Power") could be identified with Zeus. The extent to which later heresiological accounts of Simon depend upon Justin's lost work *Against All Heresies* is debated.

Irenaeus, writing around 180 A.D., was the first to identify Simon as the source of all heresies (*haer.* 1.23–27). Irenaeus repeats most of what is found in Acts and Justin but explains that Simon's conversion was feigned. He notes that after his rejection Simon set out to learn more impressive magic tricks in order to contend with the apostles. According to Irenaeus, Simon claimed that "he was to appear among the Jews as Son, would descend in Samaria as Father, and would come among the other nations as Holy Spirit." While being the "Absolute Authority," he was willing to be called by whatever name men use. Irenaeus also amplifies the report concerning Helen, citing a myth similar to early forms of the Sophia myth among Valentinians (a gnostic group). The first thought of the father created the angelic powers, who then trapped her in the world. Having passed through many incarnations, including Helen of Troy, she finally appeared in the brothel in Tyre from which Simon rescued her. Similarly, Simon rescues his followers by his grace, although it is not clear whether faith in Simon or self-recognition was required (Rudolf 1978: 349). Irenaeus also reports that the Simonians worshiped images of Simon and Helen in the form of Zeus and Athena. They were libertines and rejected the prophets since they believed that the world is ruled by misguided angels. These accusations are commonplaces of heresiology.

Hippolytus' *Refutations* 6. 2, 4–15, written around 230 A.D., adds a description of Simon's death according to which Simon had himself buried with a promise that he would raise himself on the third day, but he did not reappear, "for he was not the Christ." The tale is a polemic portrayal of Simon as a false Christ. The most intriguing parts of Hippolytus' report on Simon are the extracts from the *Apophasis Megale,* which is attributed to Simon himself. Hippolytus' source was probably an interpretive paraphrase of the original (Frickel 1968). The tract presents the revelation of the "Standing One," which can refer to either God or an angel. The tract apparently presented a relatively primitive gnostic system based in allegorical interpretations of the OT with a philosophical overlay, similar to the *Exegesis on the Soul.* It is unlikely that the original document goes back to Simon. Even its relationship to Simonian gnosis has been disputed. In the 4th century, Eusebius quoted Justin *apol.* 1.26, referred to Irenaeus, and added vague charges of immorality (*Hist. Eccl.* 2.13.1–8). Epiphanius attributed features of many gnostic systems to Simon (*haer.* 21.2.4).

While the heresiologists concentrated on the systems and behavior of Simon and his followers, popular Christian literature portrayed Simon as a charlatan, opponent of the apostles, and anti-Christ. The *Acts of Peter,* from the second half of the 2d century, reports a miracle contest between Simon and Peter in Rome. It also mentions a statue erected in Simon's honor in Rome. The climax comes when Simon, the standing one, flies above the city of Rome, but is caused to fall by the prayer of Peter. The use of titles like "Power of God," "Name of God," "Standing One," and "Angel (of Satan)" shows an awareness of Simonian—perhaps Samaritan—traditions. However, the main interest is in Simon as a foil for the apostle's successful preaching.

In the Pseudo-Clementine literature of the 3d century, Simon is presented as a disciple of John the Baptist. After wresting leadership from Dositheus, elsewhere known as a heretical Samaritan, Simon attracts a large following through his teaching and magic. Peter follows Simon from Caesarea to Antioch, refuting his teachings and outdoing his magic. Their conflict becomes the vehicle for debating philosophy and the interpretation of scripture. Simon's use of the title "Standing One," his claim to be the Christ, and the presence of Helen link this material to the heresiological tradition. Later Christian portrayals of Simon seem to depend on the *Acts of Peter* and the *Pseudo-Clementines.* An independent Samaritan tradition treats Simon as a heretical Samaritan, who practiced magic (Fossum 1989: 357).

Because the earliest evidence, Acts, represents Simon as a magician without any clear traces of gnostic speculation,

Beyschlag (1975) argued that Simon's association with gnostic ideas is secondary, and Simonian gnosis is derived from fully developed Christian gnostic systems. However, the passage is not intended as an exposition of Simon's thought and there is no incompatibility between gnosis and magic. Lüdemann (1975) arrived at the radically different conclusion that Simon himself was a gnostic whose speculation was rooted in Greek thought. The Christian elements were added to the original worship of Simon and Helen under the names of Zeus and Athena. The association with magic was created by Christian polemic. More recently Lüdemann (1987) has argued that the sophisticated wordplay elsewhere in Acts 8:5–24 suggests that the mention of Simon's intent *(epinoia)* is a veiled reference to his female companion *(ennoia)*, which would show the author's awareness of Simonian gnosis.

The review essays by Meeks (1977) and Rudolf (1978) show that the study of Simon and Simonian gnosis remains far from consensus. Nevertheless, it is probably safe to suggest that Simon was a contemporary of the apostles who established a syncretistic sect in Samaria. Simonianism was rooted in a mixture of Greek and biblical thought that characterized Samaria. The movement was influenced by Christianity and developed into a gnostic sect by early in the 2d century. Simon's following was dying out by the time Origen wrote in the early 3d century (*Cels.* 1.57). In later times his name was given, on the basis of the story in Acts, to the sin of Simony (the act of purchasing ecclesiastical position). Simon's story continued to develop within the medieval Faust legends.

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14. A tanner from Joppa who lived on the seashore and with whom Peter lodged (Acts 9:43; 10:6, 7, 32).

15. Simon the son of Clopas, the second bishop of Jerusalem and successor of James, the half-brother of Jesus.

16. The name of one of the Emmaus road disciples according to Origen (see Origen *Cels.* 2:62, 68; and *hom. 20 in Jer.; Jo.* 1.5.8; and Cod. S on Luke 24:18 marginal note).

17. Simon ben Kosiba, a messianic king during the reign of Hadrian during the Bar Kokhba Rebellion. See BAR KOKHBA.

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SIMON PETER (DISCIPLE). See PETER (PERSON).

SIN [Heb *śin*]. Alternate form of *šin*, the twenty-first letter of the Hebrew alphabet.

SIN, SINNERS. This entry explores the concept of sin—of human deviation from the expressed will and desire of God—as it is developed and presented in the OT and NT.

OLD TESTAMENT

The elaborate conception of sin in the Hebrew Bible reflects the influence of Semitic culture and the strongly ethical-moralistic character of ancient Israelite religion. The complexity of sin as a doctrine in the Hebrew Bible is heightened because different literary genres depict sin in various ways. The richness of these ideas will be illustrated in the following sections:

A. Terminology
  1. The Term *ḥṭ'*
  2. The Term *pš'*
  3. The Term *'wn*
  4. Other Terms for Sin
B. Origins and Universal Extent of Sin
C. Cultic and Unintentional Sins
D. Sin as Disobedience
E. Sin without Conscience: The Sinner
F. Consequences of Sin
G. Removal of Sin

A. Terminology

Like Hittite, Sumerian, and Akkadian literature, Israelite literature draws upon a rich thesaurus for terminology relating to sin. One may count over fifty words for "sin" in biblical Hebrew, if specific as well as generic terms are isolated (*DBSup* 7: 407–71). The plethora of Hebrew terms and their ubiquitous presence in the Hebrew Bible testify to the fact that sin was a dominant concern of the Israelite theologians. Indeed, their highlighting of human failure, deficiency, or offense in the cultic, ethical, and moral spheres constitutes a central theme of OT theology. A survey of major Hebrew words for sin will illustrate how the Israelite writers conceived of sin in terms of their own language.

1. The Term *ḥṭ'*. The three most important Hebrew roots for sin *(ḥṭ', pš', 'wn ['wy/w])* have been studied in

detail by R. Knierim (1965). Of these, the root *ḥṭ'* is by far the most frequent, occurring some 595 times in the Hebrew Bible. The primitive sense of Heb *ḥṭ'*, as confirmed by Akkadian and other Semitic cognate evidence, is simply "to be mistaken, to be found deficient or lacking, to be at fault, to miss a specified goal or mark." Thus Judg 20:16 tells of Benjaminite archers who could sling stones at a hair and not "miss"; Prov 19:2 speaks of a hasty person who "misses" the correct road; Job 5:24 uses the verb of finding nothing "missing" among one's property; Prov 8:36 speaks of someone who "fails" to find wisdom. The root *ḥṭ'* frequently expresses the ethical failure of one person to perform a duty or common courtesy for another, as in the failure of a vassal to pay tribute to his overlord (2 Kgs 18:14; cf. Gen 31:36; 43:9; 44:32; Exod 5:16; Judg 11:27). The theological sense of *ḥṭ'* comes into play when the offense is committed against God, or when failure (even unconscious, inadvertent, or unavoidable) takes place in the sphere of the cult. Sin against God is of utmost seriousness, so that punishment and compensation (expiatory sacrifices) must be exacted. The close relationship between sin *(ḥṭ')* and its consequences is illustrated in the use of the nominal derivatives, which may signify "guilt," "punishment," or "sin/guilt offering" *(ḥēṭ'; ḥăṭā'â; ḥaṭṭā't);* similarly, two of the derived verbal conjugations may signify the purgative of sin, "to purify or cleanse from sin through sacrifice and ritual."

2. The Term *pš'*. A second Hebrew root for "sin" *(pš')* occurs about 135 times, and signifies willful, knowledgeable violation of a norm or standard. Normally it would not refer merely to "a[n inadvertent] mistake," as might be the case with *ḥṭ'*. The verb *pš'* is thus translated "to rebel, revolt, transgress." The meaning "revolt" is illustrated by the use of the verb in the realm of international politics, where *pāša'* signifies the breach of allegiance through violation of a covenant (1 Kgs 12:19; 2 Kgs 1:1; 8:20, 22). These political connotations were imported into the theological sense of the term to mean "rebellion" against Yahweh as Israel's suzerain (1 Kgs 8:50; Isa 1:2; Jer 3:13; Hos 7:13; 8:1). The noun *péša'* ("rebellion, revolt") is translated "transgression" in some modern versions of the OT, but this rendition fails to communicate the idea of "rebellious deeds" which is probably to be understood. Other terms for religious "rebellion" against God include *mārad* ("act insolent, rebel"; e.g., Num 14:9; Josh 22:19; Ezek 2:3), *mārâ* ("contend, revolt, rebel"; e.g., Num 20:24; Ps 105:28; Lam 3:42), and *sārar/sûr* ("be stubborn, rebellious"; e.g., Isa 30:1; Hos 9:15; Jer 6:28).

3. The Term *'wn*. A third important Hebrew term for "sin" is the noun *'awôn,* which finds some 229 attestations in the Hebrew Bible. Though the etymology of the presumed root *('wy/w)* is disputed, the general meaning of the noun "error, iniquity" is accepted. Hebrew *'awôn* is a deeply religious term, almost always being used to indicate moral guilt or iniquity before God (rarely, of guilt before a human: 1 Sam 20:1, 8; 25:24). Metonymic usages of the term illustrate clearly the relationship in Hebrew thought between "sin" and resultant "guilt" and "punishment," since *'awôn* may denote any of these three senses (or all three meanings) in a single passage. In Gen 4:13, for example, it clearly signifies "guilt" (forensic and psychological) or "punishment," (penal), and probably connotes both. When used in the plural, *'awôn* often refers to a person's iniquitous deeds or crimes against God (e.g., Job 13:23, 26; Dan 9:13). The distinction between the nuances (sin, guilt, punishment) is frequently difficult to ascertain in a specified instance of *'awôn.* In at least eight passages, *'awôn* is used alongside both *ḥṭ'* and *pš'* in simply designating "sins" (Knierim 1965: 229–35; *DBSup* 7: 339–40). In such cases, especially if the texts are late or liturgical, we may suppose that the individual terms have lost some of their crisp distinctiveness, and are employed as virtual synonyms.

4. Other Terms for Sin. The OT writers describe human evil or "sin" with a wide range of additional terms. The root *rš'* signifies criminal wrongdoing or wickedness; the substantival adjective *rāšā'* is a common word used collectively for "the wicked." Ethical and moral badness are designated by the root *r'*; various forms of the root indicate "evil, distress, injury, misery, calamity." The root *'br,* "cross over," may be used in the religious sense of transgressing divine statutes, hence "transgression." To disobey God is to "despise" him *(bāzâ),* "spurn" him *(n'ṣ),* "refuse" *(m'n),* or "reject" *(m's; znḥ)* his rule. The person who rejects religious values is "godless, profane" *(ḥānēp),* "wicked, base, irreverent" *(bĕlîyā'al),* or "wanton" *(nbl).* Sometimes sins are designated by words which describe how loathsome and abhorrent they are to God, and thus constitute terms for taboo *(tô'ēbâ; šiqqûṣ; ša'ărûrâ;* cf. Humbert 1960; L'Hour 1964). Criminal violence, dishonesty, treachery, oppression, and injustice were ceaselessly denounced by the prophets *(ḥms; šdd; zmm; bgd; 'rṣ; 'šq; lḥṣ; ynh; 'wl;* etc.). Such crimes against persons were judged as abominable and abhorrent to God as specifically cultic sins (Hallo 1985: 21–40). Religious apostasy was depicted in terms of sexual promiscuity *(n'p; znh).* Cultic inadvertences *(šgg/šgh)* and sacrilege *(m'l;* cf. Milgrom 1976a) were counted as serious sins even though they might result from negligence. Hebrew words for "trouble, calamity, sorrow" frequently overlap with sin, since in Hebrew thought sin inevitably leads to hardship and suffering (e.g., *'âwen; rā'â; 'āmāl*). The richness of the Hebrew lexicon in terms for sin (only sampled above) cannot fail to impress the reader that human failure in the religious realm was of central importance to the OT theologians.

B. Origins and Universal Extent of Sin

Israelite theologians shared with their 1st-millennium Hittite and Mesopotamian contemporaries several fundamental assumptions about sin. Of first importance: sin was a universal moral flaw, pandemic in the human race. A few citations from Mesopotamian religious texts will establish the context for Israelite thought on this doctrine. In an early Sumerian wisdom text we hear the penitent plead for leniency with his god: "Never has a sinless child been born to its mother, . . . a sinless workman has not existed from of old" (*ANET,* 590, lines 102–3). An Akkadian incantation for appeasing an angry god employs a similar argument: "Who is there who has not sinned against his god? Who that has kept the commandment for ever? All humans who exist are sinful" (Lambert 1974: 281–82, lines 132–43; Seux 1976: 207, lines 12–14). Rhetorical questions of this sort were popular forms of expression for this universally acknowledged dogma, reminding the

gods that they should not expect too much: "Mankind, as many as there are, Which one of them comprehends his faults? Who has not transgressed, and who has not committed sin? Which one understands the way of the god?" (Ebeling 1953: 72–73, lines 8–11; cf. Seux 1976: 170 and similarly, *BWL*, 40–41, lines 33–38); "Whoever was there so on his guard that he did not sin? Whoever was so careful that he did not incur guilt?" (Lambert 1959–60: 57, lines 105–6; Seux 1976: 176; CAD N/1: 3); "Where is the wise person who has not transgressed and [committed] an abomination? Where is he who has checked himself and thus not ba[ckslid]?" (Langdon 1927: 23, lines 15–18; cf. *BWL*, 16).

The ubiquitous nature of sin emerges with equal clarity from the OT, even on the most superficial reading: disobedience, punishment, and the forgiveness of sin constitute major themes in nearly every book from Genesis through Chronicles. Explicit declarations about universal sinfulness are encountered less frequently in the Hebrew Bible than in Mesopotamian sources, but are nevertheless clear. In the primeval history of Genesis 1–11, God himself is the first to accept this moral verdict against humankind. Having seen that the human race was "only evil continually," and having come to regret "that he had made humankind," God ordered a flood to destroy every living thing, resolving to start anew with the family of Noah (Gen 6:5–7). Yet the catastrophe did not alter the fundamental human problem (sin), as God later conceded: "I will never again curse the ground on account of man, though the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth" (Gen 8:21). The Israelite theologians never doubted that sin was an intrinsic character trait of the human species (Prov 20:9; Qoh 7:20, 29), for they frequently appealed to this fact in petitions for mitigated punishments or leniency. Thus we read in a lament psalm: "Enter not into judgment with your servant; for no person living is righteous before you" (Ps 143:2), or in the dedicatory prayer of Solomon, "If they sin against you—for there is no one who does not sin . . ." (1 Kgs 8:46 = 2 Chr 6:36). See similarly Pss 103:3; 78:38–39; 155:9–10 (= 11QPs^a column 24, lines 6–7).

What could be the cause and origin of this monstrous human evil? Though the problem of sin's "origin" did become a matter of theological speculation in the intertestamental period and afterward, it was apparently of little importance to the Israelite theologians. The tradition of the "fall" preserved in Genesis 3, which became so important in early Christian thought, was not alluded to in the classical Hebrew writings. Instead, human sinfulness was related merely to creatureliness. Humans were made of dusty chthonic substance (hence, frail and ephemeral), born of impure women in a tainting birth process (hence morally tainted) and made to inhabit a polluted, lower-than-celestial realm called earth (hence, having even more natural proclivity to sin than celestial creatures, who themselves all too frequently fall into error). The relationship of sinfulness to creatureliness is elaborated most fully in the book of Job, where it forms a literary topos (Job 4:17–21; 15:14–16; 25:1–6). The argument is found in the mouth of Job's friends, but no doubt would have represented a dominant Israelite belief (Lévêque 1970: 1: 259–77; Habel 1981: 373–92; Urbrock 1974: 1–33). Job himself agreed with the major premises of this argument (Job 14:1–6; esp. 14:1, 4) but disputed its relevance to his own outrageous "punishment."

The unrighteousness of humankind as a function of ephemeral makeup is argued syllogistically by Eliphaz in Job 4:17–21: If God's holy angels are not to be trusted and are occasionally charged with error, *a fortiori* "how much more those who dwell in houses of clay, whose foundation is in the dust?" Elsewhere in genres of lament and petition, Israelite poets appeal to human frailty and ephemerality (under the figures of dust, breath, grass, shadow) in an effort to elicit God's compassion, clemency, or intervention (Job 10:8–9; Pss 90:3–4; 89:47–49—Eng 89:46–48; 102:4–5, 12—Eng 102:3–4, 11; 39 and 103, passim; cf. Pss 78:38–39 and 130:3). These arguments from frailty and ephemerality are themselves linked to human mortality, as articulated in Gen 3:19, "Since you are mere dust, to dust you shall return." The implications of this poetic line, though not always appreciated in modern commentaries, were correctly perceived and exploited in Job 4:19: Human mortality, tragically, was poetically foretold in earthly human origin, so that human failing is a natural and inevitable concomitant of human frailty.

The notion of humans being "impure from birth" was even more easily understood in light of the laws of the Israelite cultus. The psalmist would confess, "Behold, I was brought forth in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me" (Ps 51:7—Eng 51:5). Eliphaz could employ cultic language to argue, "What is man, that he can be clean? Or he that is born of a woman, that he can be righteous?" (Job 15:14; cf. Job 25:4 and note Job's agreement, 14:1, 4). Levitical law and perhaps even earlier ritual customs stipulated mandatory expiatory sacrifices for the defilement of the woman incurred during parturition (Lev 12); every newborn, to that extent, had come into contact with impurity at birth, and hence had a sinful beginning. Biblical assertions about intrinsically sinful human character, such as those found in Ps 58:4—Eng 58:3 and Isa 48:8, are consistent with the explicit arguments in Job.

The argument for inherent human sinfulness found three times in Job might best be corroborated by the experience of Isaiah in his inaugural vision (Isa 6:1–7). The prophet was raptured into the divine assembly where his moral inferiority and sinfulness as merely human were immediately apparent. Only when the seraph (a heavenly creature) removed his guilt and sin with the burning coal could the prophet enter into the proceedings of the council and receive his commission as a prophetic messenger. Isa 6:5–7 is but one of many biblical passages where the lips are identified as the locus of sin, perhaps because the lips are the visible and audible gateway of the human heart (Prov 6:14) where evil originates (Gen 6:5; 8:21; Jer 17:9). At least one Mesopotamian poet thought along these lines, since the interlocutor in the "Babylonian Job" *(Theodicy)* concedes to the righteous sufferer in his final speech that societal injustices are irradicable, being part of the created world order: "Narru, king of the gods, who created humankind; And majestic Zulummar, who dug out their clay; And mistress Mami, the queen who fashioned them; Gave perverse speech to the human race; with lies, and not truth, they endowed them forever" (*BWL*, 88–89, lines 276–80).

It is highly doubtful, however, that the Israelite poets

even in the midst of theodicean struggle would have ascribed the intrinsic human sinfulness to the handiwork of God. They might accuse God of meting out punishment too harsh for frail humans to bear (Job 6:12; 10:4, 9); or accuse him of covenant disloyalty (Ps 89:29–46—Eng 89:28–45); or lament that he had created human beings for mere futility (Ps 89:48b—Eng 89:47b), but they stopped short of the claim that God personally endowed them with sinful tendencies. In fact, "sin" (*ḥaṭṭā't*) makes its first and only appearance in the primeval history at Gen 4:7, where it crouches like a lurking demon, ready to spring upon unwary Cain to dominate his will. The origin of the sin-demon in Genesis 4 is never told. Despite this shadowy appearance of sin, and despite the Israelite conviction that sin and sinfulness were congenital moral defects, it must also be stressed that the OT theologians never wavered in holding humans responsible for their sins. The spontaneous eruption (origin) of sin in the human heart became a much stronger theme in the oracles of Israel's writing prophets.

C. Cultic and Unintentional Sins

OT texts which treat sin as disobedience, rebellion, disloyalty, or crime are easily understood in modern Western culture where similar categories of ethics and jurisprudence render them immediately familiar. Yet, another vast domain of the biblical understanding of sin is foreign to modern Western religion, but critical to an appreciation of Hebrew religion. This is the Israelite conception of sin as cultic trespass, ritual impurity, sacrilege, and inadvertent sin. As with ancient Mesopotamian religious texts, the distinction in Israelite literature between sin as ethical-moral and sin as cultic-ritual is often difficult to specify. Cultic sins, like moral sins, were counted as grave offenses against the deity: similar punishments (including death) were exacted for both, and similar expiatory sacrifices were mandated for cultic and moral sins alike (e.g., the *ḥaṭṭā't* "sin offering" and *'āšām, 'ašmâ* "guilt offering"). Furthermore, in many cases it did not matter whether the sin/guilt were committed/incurred intentionally or unintentionally: the consequences, including death, would be the same.

As an approach to the cultic-ritual dimension of sin, we may summarize some representative Israelite laws which reveal the elaborate Hebrew conception of sin. The Kohathite-Levites were to be killed if they even unintentionally looked at or touched the sanctuary vessels (Num 4:13, 20). An animal raped by a human was to be judged guilty and subject to execution (Lev 20:16). The Nazirite who accidentally contacted a dead body (Num 6:9–11) was required to offer an expiatory sacrifice for his "sin." Death was decreed for the Israelite who would eat of the peace-offering on the third day (Lev 19:5–8), and likewise for the Israelite who ate of a sacrifice while in a state of ritual impurity (Lev 7:20–21). One priestly prescription called for the burning of a red cow (her burnt skin, flesh, blood, dung) and a mixing of her ashes with cedarwood, hyssop, scarlet cloth, and water; when applied to a corpse-contaminated Israelite, this concoction was said to "remove sin" (Num 19:1–11). In the same passage it is said that the contaminated person not cleansed with this mixture "has defiled the sanctuary of the Lord" (Num 19:20). An astonishing case is found in an instance of violating a ban: both Jonathan and his father Saul agreed to Jonathan's execution for the offense of "tasting honey" (1 Sam 14:24–44), even though Jonathan knew nothing of his father's temporary ban on eating. Ritual texts declare that anyone with a pelvic discharge (nocturnal emission, emission of semen during intercourse, regular menstrual flow; Lev 15:16–30) must subsequently offer expiatory sacrifices, or that such persons while "unclean" following such emissions should be removed from the camp (Num 5:1–4) or otherwise face death for "defiling the sanctuary of the Lord" (Lev 15:31). See UNCLEAN AND CLEAN.

The examples above are meant to illustrate that sin and guilt in Israelite religion were serious and complex religious problems, arising not merely from willful disobedience or malice. Sin and guilt in Hebrew terms might have nothing to do with volition, but might be as unavoidable as natural bodily function (see Toorn 1985: 23–36). Sin might come through the trespass of one of hundreds of taboos, which only priestly lore could hold in complete compendium. In the case of Jonathan given above (similarly with Jephthah, Judg 11), only superhuman awareness might have averted the transgression and mandatory death sentence which both father and son were prepared to accept. In the examples from Num 19:20 and Lev 15:16–31, the sanctuary is said to be "defiled" by the impure/guilty Israelite because ritual impurity from unatoned guilt is viewed as an aerial contaminant, mystically settling down over the community to pollute it, and most heinously, it comes into contact with the residence and property of God (Frymer-Kensky, *WLSGF*, 399–414).

These brief glimpses of the priestly perspective on sin, or guilt as it was understood in the Israelite cultus, are essential to a balanced understanding of Hebrew religion. If these religious assumptions and values seem odd to us in the modern West, we must remember that Hebrew culture, like other ANE cultures, was dominated by belief in the supernatural and by a clear separation of "sacred" and "profane." Hebrew conceptions of sin must be understood within a universe of thought that transcends the static, materialistic viewpoint of modern science. The Israelite understanding of cultic sin and ritual impurity is recorded mainly in the legal (priestly) sections of the Pentateuch, but also in Ezekiel and to a lesser extent in the Psalter and other prophetic books. The notion of sin as animate evil belongs to the realm of dynamistic thought (*ETOT* 2: 382) where divine punishment of a violated taboo might be instant and mechanical. In this clearly supernatural realm, the spoken or written word (oath, vow, blessing, cursing, execration, incantation) was nearly magic. Violations against the holiness of God had a potency of their own, so that the offense of one individual could pollute the land (Num 35:33; cf. Jer 3:1–2, 9; Isa 24:5; Ps 106:38) and bring the entire community under divine wrath. Though the dynamistic conception of sin receives relatively less representation than "sin as disobedience" in the canonical biblical corpus, it must have always been a powerful religious force. Similar notions of sin and impurity are found in religious literature of the Hittites, Sumerians, and Akkadians, where they provide a context within which Israelite laws may be understood.

It was within the framework of Israelite conceptions of sanctity that sin thus became a serious religious problem:

by polluting the land and defiling the temple sancta, sin rendered the entire nation susceptible to disease, injury, and direct punishment from God. The elaborate cultic system with its expiatory blood sacrifices, ritual ablutions and sacred rites was meant to counteract this form of evil. It must be stressed that the terms used for "sin" in the realm of the cult *(ḥaṭṭā't, 'āšām, 'awôn)* are the same terms used to denote "guilt," and sometimes "punishment" (for sin/guilt); the irrelevance of disobedient intent is thus evident even in the nomenclature. Similarly, the root *ṭm'* "be(come) impure/unclean/defiled/polluted" often had moral and cultic components which cannot be separated. In the priestly system of thought, it was this concomitant feature of defilement (through sin/guilt) which took on the most menacing and terrifying proportions. To quote Jacob Milgrom, apropos of the Hebrew *ḥaṭṭā't,* (the sin/guilt offering):

> The *ḥaṭṭā't* as the authorized purgative of the sanctuary echoes with a familiar ring for students of ancient Near Eastern cults in which temple purifications play so dominant a role. Impurity was feared because it was considered demonic. It was an unending threat to the gods themselves and especially to their temples, as exemplified by the images of protector gods set up before temple entrances (e.g., the *šedu* and *lamassu* in Mesopotamia and the lion-gargoyles in Egypt) and, above all, by the elaborate cathartic and apotropaic rites to rid buildings of demons and prevent their return. Thus for both Israel and her neighbors impurity was a physical substance, an aerial miasma which possessed magnetic attraction for the realm of the sacred . . . Israel thoroughly overhauled this concept of impurity in adapting it to its monotheistic system, but the notion of its dynamic and malefic power, especially in regard to the sancta, was not completely expunged from the Priestly Code (Milgrom 1976b: 392; cf. Milgrom 1983: 250–51 with documentation, and Wright 1987: 129–46).

Sin as a form of nonmoral or nonethical evil is also expressed clearly in the Hebrew conception of unintentional (unwitting, inadvertent, unconscious) sin. Sins committed in ignorance were of grave concern to ancient priests and penitents, as the following excerpts from three Mesopotamian prayers will illustrate. In a bilingual *eršaḫunga* prayer, the sufferer admits his proclivity to sin, but does not know which infractions have incited the god's wrath: "I know not what taboo of my god I have violated; I know not how I have encroached upon the sancta of my goddess . . . The crime I've committed, I know not; The sin I have sinned, I know not; The taboo I have violated, I know not; The sacrilege I have committed I know not . . . Humans are stupid, and know nothing; People, whoever they might be, what do they know? Whether they've offended or done well, they know not at all; [So] O Lord, do not reject your servant . . ." (Langdon 1927: 40–43, obverse lines 32–35; 42–47; reverse 29–36; cf. Seux 1976: 140–42, lines 19–20; 26–29; 51–54). In an incantation for the appeasing of the angry god *(DINGIR.ŠÀ.DIB.BA)* the worshiper queries: "Ea, Šamaš, Marduk, what are my iniquities? . . . [Though] my iniquities are many, I do not know what I did" (Lambert 1974: 274–75, lines 1; 29; cf. 278–79, lines 71–79; 284–85, lines 10–17). In a literary prayer to Marduk, the priest reminds the deity: "People don't know their [faults], they don't see them at all; A god reveals what is good and what is abhorrent; He who has a god, his sins are warded off; He who has no god, his sins are many; When you [Marduk] are at his side, his utterances are choice and his words propitious" (Lambert 1959–60: 57, lines 107–12; cf. Seux 1976: 176, lines 107–12). In other ritual texts, the sick or suffering penitent confesses a long list of potentially relevant offenses, moral and cultic, recognizing that one or more of them must lie at the basis of his punishment by the deity (Reiner 1956: 137, lines 88–95; 143, lines 38'–59'; Reiner 1958: 13–16, lines 1–128; Mayer 1976: 114–15; Geller 1980: 181–92). In both Mesopotamian and Israelite thought, illness was sometimes thought to be related to unintentional or secret sin (Toorn 1985: 94–99; 67–87).

In the OT, guilt incurred through unintentional sin was of equal theological significance (Milgrom 1976b: 76–80 [79]) since it might have adverse consequences even for the community. Evidence may be drawn most readily from priestly materials, where "P accords completely with the historical sources that the principle of intention plays no part in violations of sacred taboos, e.g., Uzzah's touching the Ark (2 Sam. 6:6) and the Beth Shemeshites' viewing of it (1 Sam. 6:19) were not deliberate acts" (Milgrom 1970: 20). The Hebrew root *šgg/šgh* signifies sin by inadvertence, or unconscious, unwitting sin; see Leviticus 4–5; Lev 22:14; Num 15:22–29; Ezek 45:20 (where *mippᵉtî* means "from naivete"). Unwitting sin was of concern to the biblical psalmists as well; Ps 19:13—Eng 19:12 contains the confession and petition "But who can discern his errors *(šᵉgî'ôt)?* So clear me from hidden faults *(nistārôt)."* Punishment for unintentional or unconscious sin also underlies the thought in Gen 20:3–5; 26:10 (cf. Reiner 1956: 136–37, line 84); 1 Sam 26:18–19; 2 Sam 16:10; Job 1:5; 11:6 (Heb *tāᶜălūmôt*); cf. Num 22:34. The communal lament of Psalm 90, if not referring to the "sins of one's youth," contains the accusation in v 8: "You have set our transgressions right in front of you, and our hidden (*ᶜălūmîm,* = unwitting, unconscious) sins in the light of your face." From a cultic-ritual viewpoint, unconscious sin would have been dangerous: the menace of its contagion would continue to grow as long as the offense were undetected and unatoned.

In Israelite and Mesopotamian literature, the "sins of one's youth" are sometimes allied with sins of ignorance. Accurate account books were thought to be kept in the heavenly court, so that sins left unpunished and unexpiated from one's youth might later be "remembered" by the deity and brought forward as a basis for punishment. Thus an Akkadian penitential prayer to Šamaš reads: "[the sin(s) which I have commit]ted from my youth [until] adulthood—may they not pursue me. May they be removed 3600 'miles' from me" (Ebeling 1953: 54–55, lines 18–20; cf. Seux 1976: 287), or in a prayer to Marduk: "The sins which I have committed, known and unknown, from my youth up, please forgive . . . The grievous transgressions which I have committed since my youth, please absolve and forgive seven times" (Ebeling 1953: 72–73, line 18; 74–75, lines 36–37; Seux 1976: 170, 172). A confession of the following sort is not uncommon: "When

I was young and naive, I didn't know what sin I committed; Being young and sinful, I am sure to have transgressed the will of my god" (Mayer 1976: 115; cf. Seux 1976: 404).

The OT psalmist could pray similarly, "Do not remember the sins of my youth" (Ps 25:7), or "Cast far from me the sins of my youth, and may not my transgressions be remembered against me" (Ps 155:12 = 11QPs^{a} column xxiv, line 11). Job, though lacking the privileged viewpoint of the modern reader on the real cause of his suffering (a cosmic wager—known from the prologue), assumes that sins of adolescence might be brought up by God for reckoning: "You write harsh decrees against me, and make me to inherit the iniquities of my youth" (Job 13:26). Israelite literature preserves the parallel idea of children inheriting the punishment for their parents' sins—an idea once again shared by the Mesopotamian theologians (Lambert 1974: 280–81, lines 114–20; Seux 1976: 171, note 22 and lines 22–24). The idea of delayed penalty seems to be consistent with other notions of corporate (national) personality in the OT (Exod 20:5–6; 34:6–7; Num 14:18; Deut 5:9–10; Jer 32:18; cf. 1 Sam 15:2–3; 1 Kgs 21:28–29), but the application of delayed punishment to individuals was less readily accepted (Scharbert 1958: 22; 1957: 130–50). More than once the Israelites who bore the punishment for their "fathers' sins" were inclined to question the justice of such a principle (Jer 31:29; Ezek 18:2) and lamented its application: "Our fathers sinned, and (Heb Qere reading) now they have passed away; But (Heb Qere reading) *we* are the ones who bear their punishment!" (Lam 5:7). The individual application of delayed punishment (imputed guilt) may be seen in the psalmist's imprecation: "May the iniquity of his father(!) be remembered before the Lord, and let not the sin of his mother be blotted out; Let them be before the Lord at all times" (Ps 109:14–15a; see a similar imprecation and the singular usage of *ʾābôt* in Isa 14:21 [*HALAT* 1: 2 (#9, and Ps 109:14 and Isa 14:21)]). The importance for Israelite theology is that sin (guilt, punishment) would accumulate if not expiated and forgiven: it might be visited upon an individual later in life, or upon a subsequent generation.

D. Sin as Disobedience

If the priestly literature in the Hebrew Bible depicted sin in terms of injury to God's holiness and violation of cosmic order, with deleterious consequences for the community (contamination and contagion), Israel's prophets and historiographers more characteristically spoke of sin in terms of disobedience, rebellion, covenant disloyalty, and religious apostasy. Both conceptions are important in Israelite theology, for even the prophetic corpus shows concern for cultic-ritual sin. Sin as moral-ethical evil implicates the human being as a creature of choice in a contest of wills and allegiances: the autonomous will of the creature versus the authority and will of the Creator. Stated thus, sin is "comprehended as a *conscious and responsible act,* by which Man rebelled against the unconditional authority of God in order to decide for himself what way he should take, and to make God's gifts serve his own ego" (*ETOT* #2: 383). Students of the Bible frequently find the highest literary expression of this "contest of wills" in Genesis 3. In that profound and paradigmatic story, human curiosity, jealousy, and mistrust join with the desire for personal autonomy, leading finally to the overt act of hybris, rebellion, and disobedience. The conditions of sin inaugurated by these acts of disobedience immediately initiate the fracture of harmonious relationships within culture and the physical environment. In the remainder of the primeval history (Genesis 4–11), the reader encounters successive episodes of humans transgressing the limits established by divine revelation: fratricide (4:1–16); illicit sexual liaisons with divine creatures (6:1–4); pandemic societal violence (6:11–12); the assault of heaven itself in the building of the Babel tower (11:1–10). Described in such terms of rebellion and hybris, sin alienates humans from each other, from their earth, from its animal population, and from their Creator.

In the canonical flow of the OT, despite repeated demonstrations of divine grace in mitigated punishments, election, promise, covenants, and means of forgiveness, the propensity for human rebellion is never diminished. The covenants based upon human institutions (feudal systems of land grants, suzerainty treaties) were meant to heighten Israel's awareness of the demands for allegiance and obedience: since God had pledged his loyal love to the nation, he could legitimately expect their obedience to his commands. Yet the biblical theologians never tire of telling how Israel sinned great sins of infidelity: failing to trust their suzerain, violating the stipulations of their sworn agreement with him, and ever being lured away by the forbidden religious practices of their Near Eastern neighbors. Sin as covenant disloyalty permeates most of the Hebrew Bible, but particularly the theology of the Deuteronomistic historians (Weinfeld 1972) as found in the books of Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, 1–2 Samuel, 1–2 Kings. The prophets likewise found a basis for indictment in the covenants, but each added his personal imprint on the description of sin, "sometimes as ingratitude (Amos) or as inner aversion and hostility (Hosea), as arrogance and self-exaltation (Isaiah), or as deep-seated falsity (Jeremiah). But they all point in the same direction, namely toward an alienation from God which, because it is a voluntary abandonment of Yahweh, breaks the bond between God and Man, and can therefore be nothing other than disruption and destruction of the divine order" (*ETOT* #2: 387). The national religious leaders (notably the kings, prophets, priests) who by their divine election and spiritual qualifications might have restrained sin through exemplary leadership all too often, the biblical theologians tell us, actually led the Israelites in sins of religious apostasy (e.g., 1 Kgs 14:16; 15:26, 34; 16:2, 13, 19, 26; 21:22; 2 Kgs 21:11, 16). Sin at the national level (e.g., the book of Judges) or individual level (e.g., Jeroboam) could thus provide a controlling literary theme used to structure the composition or redaction of theological narrative in the Hebrew Bible (Mullen 1987: 212–32).

E. Sin without Conscience: The Sinner

The Israelite doctrine of universal sin (see section 2 above) poses a certain tension for modern readers who will also encounter texts making categorical contrast between the character and fate of "the righteous" as opposed to "the sinner." Psalm 1, for example, characterizes the "sinner" (vv 1, 5; also called "the wicked," vv 1, 4, 5, 6) as unstable and doomed to an early death, while promising

blessedness and triumphant fate for the "righteous" (v 6). If all people are indeed "sinners," how then may some be called "righteous"? The nouns and substantives used to designate the "wicked" as a class are derived from familiar Heb roots: "sinners" (*ḥaṭṭā'îm* = *qattāl* noun-of-occupation); "rebels" (*pôšᵉʿîm*); "godless" (*ḥănēpîm*); "evil" (*rāʿîm*); "wicked" (*rēšaʿîm* = unpardonably guilty), etc. The Wisdom Literature of the OT, in particular (Proverbs, Job, Qoheleth, many Psalms), contrasts the "wicked" and the "righteous" as categorical opposites. According to this conventional manner of speaking, the wisdom tradition affirmed that the "wicked" produce only evil deeds and face a calamitous end, while the "righteous" prosper under the blessing of God. According to other representatives of the wisdom tradition (Job, Qoheleth), empirical evidence shows that such optimism is naive; a major burden of theodicy (Job, Qoheleth, certain Psalms, sections of Jeremiah) was to explain the failure of this religious optimism when applied to the individual. But the prophets also spoke of those opposed to the rule of Yahweh as "the wicked," and they prophesied eschatological doom upon these "sinners" (e.g., Isa 1:28; 13:9). In the case of corporate punishment (national disaster), it was easier to see that the political agents of divine judgment might not discriminate between the guilty and the innocent. Despite such theological tensions, generalizations about "wicked" and "righteous" are made throughout most of the OT.

The use of such categorical distinctions recognizes on the one hand a natural proclivity to sin (inherent in humanness, and predicated of all people) and on the other hand an utterly lawless orientation to life which characterized sinners without conscience. Among the latter might be irreligious, impious, sacrilegious people who refused to accept religious norms; they also might be oppressive, violent, murderous people who behaved only according to selfish interest. The "wicked" of the Hebrew Bible might also be those whose religious faith was not purely Yahwistic, or whose religious practices were not approved by the official Jerusalem priesthood. It may therefore be suggested that these characterizations as "wicked" and "righteous" were sometimes moral judgments and at other times were more fundamentally sociological categories. The conscientious Yahwist might well be guilty of sin in many respects (Ps 51:3–11—Eng 51:1–9), but could be joyful only when confession, restitution and forgiveness had brought a restored relationship with God (Ps 51:12–19—Eng 51:10–17). The wicked, by contrast, were incorrigibly bad (Prov 9:7) and utterly refused to recognize the rule of Yahweh (Ps 94:7). It was in this light that Hebrew poets writing for the cult might include embarrassing declarations of innocence and unqualified claims of righteousness (Pss 7:9—Eng 7:8; 17:1–5; 18:21–25—Eng 18:20–24; 26:1–7, 11a) as well as deep confessions of sin (Pss 25:11, 18; 32:5; 38:4–5, 19—Eng 38:3–4, 18; 39:9—Eng 39:8; 40:13—Eng 40:12). It was this ambiguity of language which Job's friends artfully exploited to their advantage in the debate over Job's "sin." Job avowed his innocence (10:7a; 11:4; 13:23; 33:8–11) which the reader knows to be accurate from the prologue (1:1, 8), and he claimed to be *ṣaddîq* ("righteous"; see 12:4; 6:29; 27:6; 13:18–19); at the same time, Job admitted that in an absolute test for righteousness, no one could emerge *ṣaddîq* (9:2; cf. 9:29–31; 14:4). Job's friends clung desperately to this latter belief, affirming that some hidden sin must stand behind his suffering.

The tendency to identify "sinners" as a class became most pronounced when Israel's national security was threatened: the wicked were those who threatened God's rule, or who were responsible for the weight of guilt which brought the chastisement of God. In the Psalter these wicked "workers of iniquity" become the personal enemies of the king and of Yahweh. They are inveterate sinners and incorrigible criminals, whose wickedness takes on a demonic character. Israel's poets hurl vile imprecations against these godless, perverse, oppressive, and sacrilegious opponents of righteousness (Pss 69:23–29—Eng 69:22–28; 109:6–20; 137:7–9; 140:8–12—Eng 140:7–11; cf. Jer 20:7–12). Though the identity of the "enemies" has not been determined with precision, they are seen to be such a great menace that they are better dead than alive (Westermann 1981: 188–94; Birkeland 1955; Keel 1969). The prophets of Israel, though usually in less passionate and vitriolic language, likewise looked forward to the day when these "wicked" would be eradicated from the earth or reduced to impotence.

The categorical differentiation of "sinners/wicked" from "righteous" is found in several genres of Hebrew writing. Wisdom and prophetic literature display this feature, as do the Psalms and some other liturgical texts. If this simple categorization scheme appears unrefined, it must have nevertheless provided Israelites with a powerful incentive to behave in accordance with ethical norms. The catalogs and descriptions of behavior assigned to "sinners/wicked" reminded Israelite citizens that sinners weakened the moral stability of society, and that to violate ethical principles marked one as a treacherous person and a corrupting influence. It must be stressed that the "sinner" in these texts is one who falls under divine disapproval *primarily* for immoral or unethical conduct toward other human beings. In Proverbs, for instance, the catalog of "abominations" (*tôʿēbâ*) hated by the Lord lists mainly sins against persons: deceit, dishonesty, favoritism, devious plotting against another person, punishing of the innocent, inciting quarrels (Prov 6:16–19; 26:25; see also 3:32; 11:20; 12:22; 15:8, 9, 26; 17:15; Hallo 1985: 34–38; Toorn 1985: 10–23). The Psalms lament and denounce disloyal citizens who vilify neighbors and colleagues with slander, gossip, lies, false accusations, and sorcery (see Toorn 1985: 19–20). The Hebrew prophets indict as sinners those who selfishly abuse power and wealth to institutionalize social injustice, using political and economic oppression to maintain their own privileged positions. Thus, while "sin" as a relational concept usually sets the unethical, immoral or irreligious person against God, the specific "sins" which inform the categorization "sinner" are often violations of the dignity and rights of other persons. Toorn carefully documents a comparative study of sin in Israelite and Mesopotamian thought, clarifying how fundamental social and ethical concerns were in definitions of sin (Toorn 1985, esp. 13–23).

While some OT texts depict the wicked as unredeemably bad and unpardonably guilty, some writers held out hope for the sinner's reform. Reform was the usual outlook in Mesopotamian prayers: the punishment of sin in chastise-

ment and suffering (with ultimate healing) was meant to instruct other sinners to reverence the deity more faithfully. An Akkadian absolution ritual ("*lipšur* litany") thus contains the following petition: "[Through] all my sins, all my errors, all my crimes, may the unbeliever [lit., "he who does not fear god"] learn from my example, whoever was neglectful, whoever committed grievous sins against his god and his goddess" (Reiner 1956: 142–43, lines 50'–52'). The Babylonian "Righteous Sufferer" who has come through chastisement and healing admonishes his countrymen: "He who has done wrong in respect to Esagil (the Temple), let him learn from my example" (*BWL*, 56, line p; cf. Mayer 1976: 307–49, esp. 327–30). Israelite psalmists entertained the same hope, as expressed in Ps 51:15—Eng 51:13, "Then I will teach transgressors your ways, and sinners will be converted to you" (cf. Ps 25:8). The prophet Ezekiel likewise pleads with the "wicked" (*rāšāʿ*) of Israel to avert divine punishment by turning from evil (Ezek 18:21–23; 33:10–19).

F. Consequences of Sin

The consequences of sin, according to the Israelite theologians, were manifold and always grave. Sin ruptured the relationship between the creator and the creature, and set in motion a series of consequences which, if unchecked, would eventuate in the "death" of the individual sinner. The emotion first shown by God in response to sin is told in the primeval history: he felt regret and remorse for having created the human race (Gen 6:5–7). Within the framework of covenantal theology, God's response to sin was more commonly a visible display of "wrath" (*ʾap*) which "grew hot" (*ḥārâ*) against the sinner and led to punitive action (Considine 1969: 85–159). Human sin would awaken the righteous indignation of God, and his holiness demanded further response. Divine disapproval was automatic in the case of calculated and malicious acts. Yet, a study of divine wrath would show that violations of taboo and other cultic infractions were just as likely to kindle God's anger as were rapacious acts of violence (Lev 10:6; Num 1:53; 16:22; 18:5; Josh 22:20; 1 Sam 4:17; Qoh 5:5—Eng 5:6; cf. Milgrom 1970: 21 note 75). On other occasions, divine wrath in response to human error cannot be readily explained, and though it may appear as mere caprice, can be understood as essential to divine freedom (Num 22:20–22, 31–35; 2 Sam 6:6–8; 24:1, 10 [cf. the Chronicler's midrash in 1 Chr 21:1]; Exod 4:24). Sin is said to provoke God's "jealousy" (Heb *qnʾ*; verbal, adjectival and nominal forms); it is that which "irritates" (*kʿs, Hipʿil*) or "antagonizes" (*nsh, Piʿel*) him, and issues forth in divine "vengeance" (*nāqām, nĕqāmâ;* cf. Pitard 1982: 5–25).

The OT emphasis on divine wrath and vengeance has prompted modern theologians to ponder the problem of "injury" and "harm" being done to God through sin. If God is truly transcendent, why should he feel so threatened by human misbehavior, as though sin personally harms him or takes something from him? How can the sin against him be compensated through expiatory (substitutionary) sacrifices? The question of how God is injured by sin was already a matter of speculation in the story of Job: both Job and his friends, ironically, doubted that human sin should disturb the divine agenda significantly (Job 7:20, 12; 22:2–4; 35:6–8; cf. Jer 7:19). Perhaps on the deepest level neither ancient nor modern theologians have adequately answered this question. Yet all ancient religions of the Near East maintained as axiomatic the religious principle that the gods were duty-bound to uphold the moral order of the universe by rewarding righteousness and punishing sin. Societal stability depended upon the maintenance of its moral fabric, and this the gods had to insure. If the ancient poets employed anthropological language in describing divine emotions concomitant with the discharge of this divine obligation, they can surely be forgiven; would it be less troublesome theologically to have God mete out justice in the stoic, dispassionate and uncaring manner of an executioner?

According to what principles did the OT theologians envision the execution of divine punishment? If indeed there was a consistent Israelite dogma of talionic retributive justice, why are there so many apparent exceptions—including the major voices of dissent heard in the books of Job and Qoheleth which were also endorsed as canonical by official Judaism? Did God intervene by fiat to personally administer punishment, or did he employ agents, or did he merely maintain the balance of natural events which automatically bring the sinner his just due (so Koch 1955: 1–42)? Evidence for each of these modes of punishment may be found in the OT, and the narrative in 1 Kings 22 shows how convoluted schemes of divine punishment might become. However, the lack of scholarly consensus on these questions testifies to the fact that the diversity of viewpoint and the complexity of the problem even among ancient writers have not been fully appreciated. In the following broad canonical sweep we may survey some of the dominant and influential viewpoints on the topic of God's punishment of sin.

In the primeval history of Genesis 1–11, recurrent episodes of sin result in the alienation and estrangement of humankind from God. The first episode (Genesis 3) also leads to the fracture of human society and disruption of nature: hostility now dominates the relationship between the woman and the serpent, between the woman and the man, between the woman and her sons. The man and the ground from which he was taken become mortal enemies, each struggling to take life from the other, until the ground finally gains victory. Cain's sin (Gen 4:1–16) results in ostracism and exile; his expulsion from civilized, cultured society leads to the birth of a new restless, violent society apart from God (Gen 4:17–24; 5:28–29). Global violence and forbidden marriages with celestial potentates prompt God to decree global destruction (Gen 6:1–9:18), and even in the salvation of Noah's family, crime leads to the enslavement of one nation by another (Gen 9:17–27). Human hybris reaches its zenith at Babel: the assault of heaven is answered by God in the dispersion of races through the confusion of language (Genesis 11). In such pictures the epic narrator unveils sin and punishment in paradigmatic form: these episodes prefigure the character of sin and suffering which will reverberate throughout the canonical telling of Israel's history.

In the election of Israel as the covenant people of Yahweh, a new basis for the punishment of sin was established. Israel now became bound under oath to observe the terms of the covenant with Yahweh (Exodus 24), and Yahweh became the God who must uphold drastic forms

of punishment if Israel wavered in covenant fidelity (e.g., Deuteronomy 27–28). Thus the Deuteronomistic historians and the prophets would ceaselessly remind the wayward nation that the rise and fall of national fortunes was a direct function of covenant loyalty: When they were under the heel of foreign oppression, it was because Yahweh had abandoned them, allowing their enemies to exact a penalty for their sins.

The doctrine of retributive justice meted out mechanistically against human sin appears simplistic to a modern read of the OT. However, parallel literary genres of the Fertile Crescent suggest that ancient historiographers and theologians adopted this construct as a didactic literary convention. We may illustrate two episodes of Israelite history with contemporary Near Eastern parallels to show how pervasive this paradigm was. In 1 Samuel 21 the narrator tells of a three-year famine which had come upon the land of Israel for unclear reasons. When King David finally inquired of the Lord to ascertain the cause, Yahweh told him it was on account of Saul's murder of the Gibeonites, in violation of a sworn oath. Expiation for the crime was immediately made (through a reciprocal bloodbath of Saul's descendants) and the Lord relieved the famine. A strikingly similar story is told in the prayer of the Hittite king Mursilis to the Hattian storm god. He laments that a plague which had broken out during the reign of his father had continued unabated in his own reign. Upon inquiry, the storm god revealed through an oracle that violation of a sworn agreement with the Egyptians was the basis for the divine punishment. Restitution and confession were needed to expiate the crime perpetuated by the Hittites during his father's reign (*ANET*, 394–96; cf. Malamat 1955: 1–12). The assumption in both accounts was that national disaster was necessarily a consequence of sin (even if committed during the reign of a previous ruler); it was imperative that the sin of the fathers be identified and expiated so that divine wrath might be assuaged.

A second illustration of the pan-semitic doctrine of retribution may be drawn from the Israelite historians' account of the fall of Judah in 586 B.C. The Hebrew prophets leave no doubt that the destruction of the temple and the "seventy-year" exile are divine punishment for sin. A similar logic is found in Esarhaddon's report of the downfall of Babylon a century earlier (ca. 689 B.C.E.). Esarhaddon's account is found in several editions, all of which ignore the important political realities, viz., the destruction of Babylon by Sennacherib's armies; they offer instead a theological interpretation of the sequence of events (Brinkman 1983: 35–42). According to Esarhaddon's court historiographers, the Babylonians had become excessively evil: they constantly spoke lies and deceit to one another; they took bribes, abusing the weak and enriching the strong; they allowed murderers and oppressors to become established in the city; robbery became commonplace, as did disrespect for parents and disobedience of slaves; the Babylonians even plundered the temple treasury to make protection payments to the Elamites. The sins of the Babylonians finally became too much for Marduk their god: Marduk flew into a rage, ordering the destruction of the city through a violent flood and its return to a swamp. The gods flew up to heaven and the Babylonians themselves were sold as slaves among the foreign riffraff (Borger 1956: 12–15, episodes 1–10). Though Marduk originally decreed for his city seventy years of desolation, ultimately his mercy prevailed and he reversed the number ("turned it upside down"), authorizing Babylon's restoration in the eleventh year (*LAR*, 243). Though modern political historians would reconstruct the events quite differently, Esarhaddon's version conforms to an ancient (and biblical) perspective where causality in history can be reduced to the simple matter of sin and punishment (see in addition to Brinkman's article further examples discussed in *AHG*, 98–114).

An important contribution on the nature of divine punishment mirroring the sin has been published by P. D. Miller (1982). Miller demonstrated that judgment and punishment in the OT conform to a pattern of "poetic justice," where the penalty inflicted upon the sinner constitutes a matching repayment in kind for the harm done in the offense. Thus, the king who does "evil" (*rāʿâ*) will suffer "calamity" (*rāʿâ*) of his reign as punishment (e.g., 1 Kgs 21:17–19). While the general principle of commensurate talionic punishment was found in ANE treaty curses and law codes, the literary vehicle used in the Hebrew Bible employs of a poetic form of the talion, often achieved through paronomasia and other elaborate turns of phrase.

We have already discussed some of the consequences of sin in priestly thought (see section C above). The sinner incurs guilt through transgression, and is made to "carry" (*nś'; sbl*) the weight of guilt until it is removed through cultic rites and divine forgiveness. In the interim, depending upon the precise nature of the sin, the guilt-laden sinner may expect sorrow (*ʾáwen*), sickness (Pss 102; 107:17–18; cf. Seybold 1973) and other forms of suffering (*ʿāmāl*, etc.). Israelite theologians at some periods linked sin and suffering so closely that suffering apart from sin was inconceivable (Job; cf. John 9:2). For very serious offenses the sinner might expect the death sentence (at least according to the ideals of the Law). The death penalty might be carried out by the community as part of their judicial responsibility, or administered by God himself in the law of *karet* (Wold 1979; Milgrom 1970: 5–8; Knierim 1965: 48–50, 73). The "*karet* formula" ("[that person shall be] *cut off* [from my presence]"; Lev 22:3 and often) most often envisages death through direct divine intervention, and is consistent with the many passages which cite "death" as the consequence of sin (e.g., Num 18:22; 27:3; Deut 24:16; 21:22; 22:26; 2 Kgs 14:6; 2 Chr 25:4; Ezek 3:20; 18:4, 20; Amos 9:10). If a persistent sinner did not die physically as a result of sin, living under the threat of imminent death must have itself been a terrifying punishment. In the case of a capital crime, the sinner might still hope that repentance would move God to commute the sentence (e.g., 2 Sam 12:13) or delay it (e.g., 1 Kgs 21:28–29).

G. Removal of Sin

If the OT theologians spoke of sin's consequences in very grave terms, it must also be remembered that forgiveness of sin formed a vital doctrine in Israelite faith. Though the path to forgiveness through repentance and cultic ritual might be complicated, though compensation and expiation might be costly, and though some natural consequences of sin might be irreversible, the hope of

restored relationship with God found an equally important place in the Hebrew Bible. One Israelite poet's expression of this confidence in the *Miserere* (Psalm 51) provides a supreme and elegant display of such faith. On a national scale, even though punishment of sin should result in expulsion from the holy land of Israel, the exiled community could pray and hope for forgiveness and national return (1 Kgs 8:44–53). Nourished in the poems of Israel's psalmists and writing prophets, this promise of forgiven sin formed the basis of hope for permanent national identity which would live on in the hearts of Jewish believers for many centuries.

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ROBIN C. COVER

NEW TESTAMENT

Following Jewish usage, the NT authors consider "sin" to be an activity or a stance which is opposed to God. Since God loves humanity and commands that humans love their fellows, sins against humans are also sins against God. There are three distinguishable although partially overlapping views of sin and sinners: (1) a sin may be an individual wrong act; (2) a sinner may be a person who lives without regard to the will of God and who consequently sins by routine; (3) sin may be conceived as a "power"—some sort of active agent—which opposes God and which can capture humans and make them sinners.

A. Terminology
B. Sin as Transgression or Trespass
C. Sin as Complete Alienation from God
   1. Jesus and the Sinners
   2. Sinners in the View of the Early Church
D. Sin as an Enslaving Power

A. Terminology

1. *Hamartia* and its cognates, translated "sin," "to sin," and "sinners," are the most general terms and exhibit the widest range of meaning. In the OT and other literature known in both Hebrew and Greek (such as Ben Sira), *hamartia -tanein, -tōlos* translate *ḥāṭāʾ* ("sin," sometimes "impurity") and its cognates, which gives it a wide range, but

it also is used for Heb *pāša*ʿ, "transgress, rebel," and especially for *rāšā*ʿ, "wicked," and their cognates, as well as other words (for a list of translations in the Greek OT see *TDNT* 1: 267–71). We shall see the significance of this in section C below. In pagan Greek usage the meaning of *harmartia* is also quite wide. In early Greek literature "sin" can refer to almost any sort of error: missing the mark in throwing a javelin, committing a procedural mistake in sacrificing, or harming or disregarding others. In later Greek philosophy (from Plato to the Stoics and Cynics), "sin" was especially connected with ignorance: the person who really understands what he or she is doing and its consequences will do what is right (*TDNT* 1: 293–96, 296–302; Kaye 1979: 30–33).

2. *Paraptōma, parabasis* mean respectively "trespass" and "transgression" and thus refer to individual acts ("trespass": Matt 6:14–15; Rom 5:15–20 and elsewhere; "transgression": Rom 4:15; Gal 3:19; Heb 9:15 and elsewhere).

3. *Parakoē* is "disobedience" (Rom 5:19; 2 Cor 10:6; Heb 2:2; the verb in this meaning appears in Matt 18:17).

4. *Adikia* means "unrighteousness," usually against a fellow human (e.g., Luke 13:17, where it is translated "dishonesty").

5. *Asebeia* means "impiety," usually against God. *Asebeia* and *adikia* appear together in Rom 1:18, translated "ungodliness and wickedness." *Asebeia* and its cognates appear six times in Jude (vv 4, 15, 18).

6. *Kakia* and *ponēros* mean "wickedness" (e.g., 1 Pet 2:6) and "evil." *Ponēros* is very common in the gospels (e.g., Matt 5:11, 37, 39, 45).

7. *Opheiletēs* is a "debtor," and sometimes it and the cognate verb are used to refer to "debt" to God or the neighbor incurred by transgression (Matt 6:12; Luke 11:4; 13:4, translated "offenders"). This usage probably depends on the Aram and late Heb use of *hôb, hôbâh, hôbā*ʾ to mean both "debt" and "sin" or "guilt" (Black 1967: 140).

B. Sin as Transgression or Trespass

The general Jewish view, accepted throughout the NT, was that all people "sin" in the sense of "commit a sin at some time or other." According to Paul, "all have sinned and fall short of the glory of God" (Rom 3:23), and in Rom 5:12 he traces this situation back to Adam in a difficult passage which will occupy us below. He found it hard to think of anything which he himself had done wrong, save persecuting the Church (1 Cor 15:9; Phil 3:6), but he had to grant that at the judgment, God might find some flaw in his behavior (1 Cor 4:4). The assumption of universal sinfulness is also seen in the Lord's Prayer, where the disciples are told to say, "forgive us our debts" (Matt 6:12) or "forgive us our sins" (Luke 11:4). All four Gospels and Acts place early a passage which displays the assumption that all have sinned: "he [Jesus] shall save the people from their sins" (Matt 1:21); John the Baptist preached "a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins," and Jesus preached, "repent" (Mark 1:4, 15); Zechariah prophesied that his son John would "give knowledge of salvation to his people in the forgiveness of their sins" (Luke 1:77); John the Baptist said of Jesus that he "takes away the sin of the world" (John 1:29; on the assumption of universal sin in John, see Kümmel 1973: 290); at the conclusion of the first Christian sermon there is a call to all to repent and receive forgiveness of their sins (Acts 2:28). The assumption that all humans sin can be found in the major parts of the NT: the gospels, Acts, and Paul's letters. The same assumption is found in the other major divisions and books of the NT. In the Deutero-Pauline epistles, see Eph 2:1 (before conversion the readers were dead in their trespasses and sins); in the Catholic Epistles note James 5:16 (the readers should confess their sins to one another) and 1 Pet 2:24; 3:18. The view is reflected in Heb 2:17–18; 4:15 and Rev 1:5, and argued strongly in 1 John 1:8–10.

The passages just listed do not specify what the sins are which have been committed, but they are viewed as individual wrong thoughts or actions (for a fuller list of passages, see *TDNT* 1: 295). There would not have been much disagreement about what counted as "wrong," at least at a general level. Jewish sexual ethics differed in part from those of pagan society, but otherwise there was general agreement about right and wrong. In detail, of course, there would be differences from group to group. One group, for example, may have had stricter rules than another about what to do in the case of property left on deposit which was not reclaimed. Everyone would agree, however, that appropriating it for one's use before the set date was wrong. The general view that all people transgress would strike a responsive chord everywhere even without defining what counted as sin.

Sins (or trespasses, transgressions, and the like; see the list of terms in section A), since they are individual wrong thoughts or deeds, may be atoned for. The very call to repentance implies this, and it is stated explicitly in Matt 12:31, which gives an exception to the rule: blasphemy against the Holy Spirit will not be forgiven. In Judaism, sins were to be confessed to the priest and accompanied by a sacrifice. In the case of transgression against a fellow human, restitution should also be made (usually with an added fifth of the value of what was acquired dishonestly; see Lev 5:24—Eng 6:5). This view is continued in Matt 5:23–24, but the general Christian opinion was that the sacrificial system had been superseded. One should confess directly to God, or to other members of the Christian community, and thus obtain forgiveness. According to the book of Hebrews, forgiveness of sins requires the shedding of blood (9:22), but the sacrificial system is no longer effective (10:11). Forgiveness is obtained, rather, by the blood of Christ (9:14; 10:12). The connection between Christ's blood and forgiveness appears also in Matt 26:28; Rom 3:25; Eph 1:7; 1 John 1:7; Rev 1:5b; 7:14; cf. Rom 5:9; 1 Pet 1:18–19.

Some Christians thought that those in Christ should be empowered to live without transgression. Paul's view was that Christians had been freed from "the law of sin and death" (Rom 7:24–25; 8:1–8), and he urged his converts to live "blamelessly" or "without fault" (Phil 2:15; 1 Thess 5:23). The author of John could write as if those who accepted Jesus would have no sin (John 15:22, 24), and a member of the same school proposed that "no one who abides in [God] sins" (1 John 3:6). This could be stated in the positive: Those in whom God abides have love perfected in them, and this gives them "confidence for the day of judgment," apparently the assurance that if love abides in them sin does not (1 John 4:12, 17). The author

of Hebrews, thinking that sin requires atonement and that Jesus had offered "once and for all" the one satisfactory atonement (9:26), stated that those who sinned deliberately after conversion could not be forgiven (Heb 10:26–27; sexual immorality may be especially in mind: 13:4). But this ideal of perfection foundered on experience. Paul, as we saw, was not completely confident that he achieved blamelessness himself (1 Cor 4:4; cf. 1 Cor 9:27; Phil 3:11–12), and he had to reckon with quite serious transgression on the part of some of his converts (1 Cor 5:1–5, 11). The author of 1 John wrote that those who say they have not sinned make God a liar (1:10). While this possibly refers to pre-Christian sin, the perfect tense of the verb implies that the consequences of sin remain, and thus it appears that sin by Christians is granted, despite the theological principle that those who participate in Christ, who was sinless, are themselves sinless (1 John 3:5–6). Christian sin is also reckoned with in 1 John 2:1; 3:20; 5:16 (Kümmel 1973: 297).

The last passage refers to a sin which is not "mortal" *(pros thanaton)* and states that a sin by a Christian which is "mortal" may not be prayed for—that is, forgiven. It may be that nonmortal sin is unintentional, in which case 1 John agrees with Hebrews in the view that there is no forgiveness for Christians who sin intentionally (Heb 10:26). In OT and subsequent Judaism, there is a major and obvious distinction between intentional and unwitting transgression, and in view of this it is striking that NT authors do not make more use of it. See LAW (IN JUDAISM OF THE NT PERIOD). The other principal distinction in Jewish law—between sins against God and those against one's fellow—is not explicitly made in the NT (but cf. Luke 15:18, 21, "against heaven and before you"). Apart from the passages in Hebrews and 1 John just cited, the NT also does not rank sins as "heavy" or "light" (Bultmann *BTNT* 2: 234). For this distinction in Rabbinic literature see *Šebu.* 1:6; further, Sanders 1977: 157–60.

The standard Jewish view was that sin or transgression, if not atoned for in ways prescribed in the Bible, would be punished—either in this world, by sickness, suffering, or death, or in the world to come. This view was also inherited in at least some parts of Christianity. The connection between sin and sickness is seen in John 9:2 (attributed to the disciples) and 9:24 (attributed to Jews who did not follow Jesus). In a Synoptic passage Jesus heals a sick man by telling him that his sins are forgiven (Matt 9:2–6 = Mark 2:5–11 = Luke 5:20–24). Paul explains death and sickness among the Corinthians by saying that they ate the bread and drank the cup in an unworthy manner, and he continues by saying that the Lord "chastens"—that is, punishes—those who do not adequately judge their own actions. This chastening prevents their ultimate destruction, on the standard Jewish view that sins are punished only once (1 Cor 11:27–32; cf *2 Bar.* 13.10). Similarly the body ("flesh") of the man who was committing incest was to be destroyed *so that* his spirit would be saved (1 Cor 5:5): punishment in this world prevents punishment in the next. That sin results in death is indicated in Rom 1:32; 5:12; 6:16, 23 (Bultmann *BTNT* 1: 246). This assumption lies behind the view that Jesus' death atones—he died instead of the believer (Rom 3:25 and elsewhere)—and also behind the view that the believer, by "dying" with Christ and gaining a new life, escapes death (Rom 6:2–11; cf. 7:6).

Within the NT there is no development of a standard system of atonement for postconversion transgressions. Paul, we saw, urged perfection and thought that transgressions would be punished. He knew about repentance (2 Cor 7:9–10), but in his closing admonitions he does not urge repentance and the seeking of forgiveness, but rather "blamelessness." Even where repentance is emphasized, as in Acts, it usually refers to conversion (see section C), not to the correction of postbaptismal transgression. Since repentance, restitution, and sacrifice for transgression are major conceptions in Judaism, and were routinely expected to be offered by Jews who were generally upright and only occasionally transgressed, the relative unimportance of postbaptismal repentance in the NT must be explained. We have already seen that the emphasis was on perfection, and probably this idealism prevented the early authors from spending much time and energy on coping with transgressions by Christians. Secondly, many of them expected the Lord soon to return, and thus they were not motivated to work out a system of pastoral care for straying members of the Church. The stark position of Hebrews—no forgiveness for intentional postconversion sin—is explained by this view: Jesus offered the sacrifice for sins "once for all at the end of the age" (9:26). As centuries passed, a denial of repeated forgiveness, even for intentional sins, was difficult to maintain. The hope for or expectation of Christian perfection, so prominent in the NT, has never disappeared entirely, though in most branches of the Christian faith postbaptismal transgressions are expected and provided for. The rite of penance was a major aspect of Christianity in the late antique and medieval periods, and one of Luther's most important views was that the Christian is at the same time "justified" in the sight of God and, in terms of actual performance, a sinner *(simul iustus et peccator)*. The heirs of these traditions give the correction of sin, and repentance for it, a prominent place in life and worship.

The Christian authors of the NT believed that Jesus came to save people from their sins, and consequently that faith in him was required for the remission of sin (e.g., John 1:29; Matt 1:21). John puts the matter strongly and seems even to equate nonbelief in Jesus with sin (John 16:8–9; cf. 8:21–24). Jesus' own view, however, was that "righteousness" was possible in the standard Jewish way: obedience to the Law. He did not come to call the righteous (Mark 2:17), but he did not deny that there were such. He did not disagree with the rich man who assured him that he had kept the commandments, though he told him that "perfection" required yet more: giving his possessions to the poor and following him (Matt 19:16–30 = Mark 10:17–31 = Luke 18:18–30). "Following," however, was not a general requirement which Jesus laid on all (Hengel 1981: 59). He proclaimed the nearness of the kingdom, and he urged people to prepare for it, but he did not limit "the righteous" to those who followed him, nor did he equate "sin" with refusing to do so. He saw himself, however, as having come especially to call people who were "sinners" in a worse sense than "occasional transgressors."

The early Christians—at least those who have left liter-

ary remains—considered all non-Christians to be sinners in this worse sense. They were of the view that others needed to be converted to faith in Jesus, and thus their view of universal or common sin became more radical than Jesus' own: all were "sinners" in the sense of "lost." We now turn to consider people who as such were "sinners."

C. Sin as Complete Alienation from God

While the verb "to sin" usually refers to an individual transgression, the noun "sinner" often (not always) indicates a worse state: a life which is not orientated around obedience to the will of God, but which is rather lived apart from him entirely. The cure for this condition is a change of one's life, sometimes indicated by the word "repentance" in the sense of "conversion."

"Sinners" as the enemies of God, and thus of the "righteous," are prominent in the Psalms, where Gk *hamartōloi,* "sinners," translates Heb *rešaʿim,* "the wicked." These are people who boast of the desires of their hearts, who think that there is no God, who believe that there is no retribution, whose mouths are "filled with cursing and deceit and oppression" (Psalm 10). They appear also in Ben Sira (e.g., 41:5–10), the *Psalms of Solomon* (e.g., 3 and 4), and elsewhere. There are lists of passages and explanations of terminology in Sanders 1977: 342–46 (Ben Sira); 398–406 *(Psalms of Solomon);* cf. also 352–58 (*1 En.* 91–104); 358–60 (some other sections of *1 Enoch*); *TDNT* 1: 320–24.

1. Jesus and the Sinners. It is sinners in this sense of whom Jesus was said to be the friend ("a friend of tax collectors and sinners," Matt 11:19 = Luke 7:34) and whom he came to call (Matt 9:13 = Mark 2:17 = Luke 5:32; Luke adds "to repentance"). John the Baptist came "in the way of righteousness" and was not accepted, except by "the tax collectors and prostitutes" (Matt 21:32).

The use of tax collectors to represent sinners is more of a puzzle than most scholars, at times including the present author, have granted. The tax or toll collectors of Galilee in Jesus' day were not servants of Rome, but rather of Herod Antipas. He paid tribute to Rome, but this does not necessarily mean that his toll collectors were seen as traitors, though this has often been said. It is more likely that they were regarded as dishonest and greedy. One may compare Philo's remarks on Capito, the tax collector of Judea, a poor man who became rich (*Gaium* 199). He was not a toll collector in semi-independent Galilee, but rather an administrator of taxes in the province of Judea, governed directly by Rome. While he may have been worse than the Galilean toll collectors, it is probable that all tax collectors were thought of as rapacious. That is not to say that, objectively considered, they were all wicked. John, a toll collector in Caesarea, joined together with the leading members of the Jewish community there to bribe Florus (the procurator) to protect access to the synagogue (*JW* 2.14.4 §285–88). He does not fit the image of "outcast" which one derives from the stories in the gospels. When he was collecting money, however, he may not have been seen as a pillar of the community.

At any rate the toll collectors constitute the one named group who represent "sinners" in the Synoptic Gospels, and once prostitutes are associated with them (Matt 21:32). The meaning is that their manner of life was basically antithetical to the will of God.

Luke contains many more references to both sinners and toll collectors than do Matthew and Mark, and the author was especially concerned to emphasize that those who accepted Jesus "repented" in the sense of "changed their lives." In Luke's version of the call of the first disciples, Peter at first tells Jesus to depart from him, since he was a sinner (Luke 5:8), an unworthy companion for a righteous person. Matt 5:46 criticizes toll collectors, but Luke uses "sinners" instead (6:32). In Luke 7:36–49 there is a story of a woman who was a sinner. She ministers to Jesus and he announces the forgiveness of her sins. The parables in Luke 15 are told in the presence of toll collectors and sinners (15:1), and they proclaim that God rejoices over a sinner who repents (15:7, 10). In the parable of the toll collector and the Pharisee, the former confesses himself a sinner and craves God's mercy (Luke 18:10–13). The most elaborate story is that of Zacchaeus, a toll collector who was considered by the crowd to be a sinner, and who made abundant restitution to those whom he had wronged (Luke 19:1–10).

It is probable that Luke has expanded the theme of Jesus' appeal to toll collectors and sinners, but the theme itself reflects the ministry of Jesus. The surest fact is that his call was accepted by one Galilean toll collector, who is called Levi in Mark and Luke, while in the first gospel he is named Matthew and is probably thought of as one of the twelve (Matt 9:9 = Mark 2:14 = Luke 5:27).

The gospels represent Jesus' association with sinners as being a subject of criticism (Matt 11:19; Mark 2:16). This was not seen as problematic so long as scholars supposed that most Jews, or at least the Pharisees, opposed the idea of God's grace and forgiveness. According to this interpretation, Jesus told sinners that if they repented God would forgive them. The Pharisees, hating grace, repentance, and forgiveness, and even more those who believed in them, decided to kill him (so Jeremias 1963: 124; 1969: 267; 1971: 108–21; Perrin 1967: 102–3; Schweizer 1971: 28–29). This school even proposed that the Pharisees thought that ordinary people were "sinners" in the extreme sense of "without hope in God's sight" (Jeremias 1969: 259; 1971: 112, 118; *TDNT* 1: 323, 328). When this is seen as historical fantasy in the service of theological anti-Semitism (e.g., Sanders 1985: 200–4; cf. 1987: 230–31), one is left with a question: what was the offense? Another way of asking the question is to focus on the material which is only in Luke. If Jesus' call of sinners meant that toll collectors repaid those whom they had cheated, who would have been aggrieved? One suspects that Luke's portrayal is too bland and that more was at stake. It is certain that Jesus favored honesty, especially in toll collectors, and that he would have liked for habitual sinners to change their lives. In that sense, Luke's stories are true to Jesus. They do not, however, answer the historical question: Who objected to Jesus' association with sinners and for what reason?

The prevalence of the fantasy mentioned above has left few possible answers from which to choose. The most probable is that Jesus' offense was that he said, or was understood to say, that even heinous sinners who followed him were acceptable to God, and that he did not require of them the standard acts of atonement which are provided for in the law (Sanders 1985: 204–8). It is to be

noted that in no instance is Jesus said to recommend confession to a priest and sacrifice. In this case the offense was his self-assertion rather than his belief in grace; more precisely, his connection of God's grace with response to himself (as in the story of the woman who was a sinner, Luke 7:36–50).

A striking use of "sinner" to mean one who habitually and willfully flouts God's law is seen in John 9, where Jesus is said to have been considered a "sinner" by some, since he did not keep the sabbath (John 9:16; cf. vv 24–25, 31). It is not to be accepted, however, that Jesus actually disregarded the sabbath. The stories in the Synoptic Gospels (e.g. Mark 2:23–28; 3:1–5) prove rather the contrary, and John here as elsewhere pushes to an extreme a theme which is also found in the Synoptics. It is unlikely that during his lifetime Jesus was viewed as a "sinner" himself; he was criticized for including them, not for being one of them.

2. Sinners in the View of the Early Church. Christians viewed all who did not accept their message as sinners, totally cut off from God. The use of "sinners" to mean non-Christians or pre-Christians is seen in Rom 5:8 ("while we were yet sinners Christ died for us"; cf. 1 Tim 1:15). That the fate of sinners is eternal death unless they convert is stated in James 5:20, where it is also implied that a "sinner" has committed a "multitude of sins." Those who had a role in Jesus' execution are described as sinners in Matt 26:45 = Mark 14:41 = Luke 24:7; Heb 12:3. We saw above that those who do not believe in Jesus are considered sinners in John 8:21–24; 16:8–9.

Acts does not have the noun "sinner," but repentance of sin and forgiveness are connected with baptism into the Christian faith. This is needed by all, both Jew and pagan, and thus these terms refer to conversion: Acts 2:38; 3:19; 5:31; 7:60; 10:43; 13:38; 22:16; 26:18. The first and last passages may be taken as representative. In Acts 2:38, Peter calls on the Jews to repent and to be baptized "in the name of Jesus Christ for the forgiveness of your sins." In 26:17–18, the risen Lord tells Paul that he is to open the eyes of the gentiles, "that they may turn from darkness to light and from the power of Satan to God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins and a place among those who are sanctified by faith in me."

In the categories thus far considered, sin is avoidable. If sin is an individual wrong action, a trespass (B), it is possible not to sin, even though all authors grant that humans, being weak, inevitably sin at some time or other. One who is a sinner in the sense of "wicked" (C) can change, as Zacchaeus is said to have done. In both these categories, atonement and change, rely on God's grace. In neither Judaism nor Christianity (at least in most forms of them) is it doubted that God loves those who sin and wishes to save sinners. The standard view in both is that atonement or conversion is always open and that God stands ready to welcome the wanderer back into the fold. A harsher view appears in Christian literature in Heb 10:26; I John 5:16; and in Jewish literature in *4 Ezra*, where virtual perfection is required, and in the Dead Sea Scrolls and *Jubilees*, where some sins are not forgivable (e.g., 1QS 7.16–17; *Jub.* 2.27; 15.34). Rather, the typical view is that of Pseudo-Philo, who attributed to God the attitude that "even if my people have sinned, nevertheless I will have mercy on them" (*L. A. B.* 31:2; cf. *Let. Arist.* 192; *Sib. Or.* 4.66–70; *T. Mos.* 4).

D. Sin as an Enslaving Power

In the letters of Paul there is a more radical view of sin: it is an active power. This is most clearly the case when the noun *hamartia*, sin, is the subject of a verb other than "to be." When *hamartia* is the subject of "to be," as in Rom 5:13, "sin was in the world," the same view may be implied; but the case is clearer in other passages. Outside the letters of Paul one sees this usage only in Heb 3:13, where it is said that Christians may be hardened "by the deceitfulness of Sin." Here Sin is the active agent.

The usage of "Sin" as power comes mostly in Romans 5–7. According to Rom 5:12, Sin "entered the world"; thereafter one reads that "Sin reigned in death" (5:21); that Sin may "reign" in one's body (6:12) or "have dominion" over one (6:14); that Sin found opportunity in the commandment and "wrought in me all kinds of covetousness" (7:8); that it "revived" (7:9); that it found "opportunity in the commandment, deceived me and by it killed me" (7:11); and that it "worked death in me through what is good" (7:13). Sin as power may be served (6:16–18), and thus it enslaves (6:20). It can be escaped only through "death" (6:2–11). Put another way, Sin is a "law" which lurks in one's members and prevents the fulfilling of the law of God (7:17–23). The only escape is to leave "the Flesh" (8:8), that is, to die with Christ. Christians have died with Christ and thus to Sin (6:6, 11), and they have thereby escaped not only Sin but also the Law (which condemns) and the "Flesh," the state of enmity toward God (7:4–6).

In this section of Romans, Sin is treated as a power which is not only alien to God but which is almost as potent; in fact, it often wins the struggle. This extreme conception of Sin in part explains Paul's not making much use of the idea of repentance: one does not escape bondage to an alien power by repentance. The radicalness of the problem corresponds to the radicalness of the solution, escape from the "Flesh" by sharing the death of Christ.

It is important to note that Paul does not offer an anthropological, theological, or cosmological explanation of this conception of Sin. In the Jewish view, God had created the world and declared it good. This doctrine is not easily reconcilable with the view that Sin is a power strong enough to wrest the Law from God's control or to render humans powerless to do what is good (Rom 7:11, 19). There are two principal passages which lead up to but do not account for the view that all humanity, apart from Christ, is under the power of Sin. In Romans 1–2 both gentiles and Jews are accused of gross transgression (homosexuality and "all manner of wickedness" on the part of gentiles, robbing temples and committing adultery on the part of Jews), and Paul draws the conclusion that all people, "both Jews and Greeks, are under sin" (Rom 3:9). The RSV here translates "under sin" as "under the *power* of sin," and this interpretation seems to correspond to Paul's meaning. The accusation is not only that people transgress, but that all are *under* Sin, governed by it. The charges of heinous immorality do not actually account for the conclusion, however, partly because they are exaggerated. Both the gentile and the Jewish worlds contained "saints," people whose lives were largely beyond reproach.

It is unlikely that Paul's conclusion—that all are under Sin—rests on empirical observation. Further, in the midst of the catalog of charges, comes the admission that some gentiles, though without the Law, nevertheless "do by nature what the Law requires," and these will be justified by their works in the judgment (Rom 2:13–14). The conclusion in 3:9 does not correspond to what leads up to it in any respect: the charges in chaps. 1–2 overstate the case and the conclusion is contradicted by 2:13–14. What this means is that Paul's conclusion, that all are under Sin, was not derived from the line of observation and reasoning he had presented in the previous two chapters.

The same is true of the second passage which argues for the universality of sin. Adam, states Paul, sinned, and this introduced sin and its consequence, death, into the world; "and so death spread to all people because all sinned" (Rom 5:12). This is followed by the statements that "sin is not counted where there is no law" and that "death reigned from Adam to Moses, *even over* those whose sins were not like the transgression of Adam" (5:13–14). In order to make the grip of sin universal, Paul wished to make Adam instrumental. Yet he had two problems: transgressions of the Law which preceded it should not count; not everyone sinned, as did Adam, by rebelling against God's commandment. Despite these problems, he asserted the consequence: "by one man's disobedience many were made sinners" (5:19). His anthropology did not include the conception of inherited sin, and thus he had no logical way of proving universal condemnation by appeal to Adam. He simply asserted it, while himself citing points which count against it.

What we see in both cases is a conclusion which is independent of the arguments which precede it. Adam's sin does not—in Paul's own statement of it—prove that all humanity is sinful and stands condemned. The heinous sins of some Greeks and Jews do not—even in Paul's own presentation of them—lead to the view that all humans are under Sin. This means that he held the conclusion as a fixed view and tried to bring forward arguments in favor of it, though without logical success. The conclusion, in other words, is not only independent of but is also more important than the arguments. (Some scholars still think that one must understand the human predicament in Paul's view before it is possible to understand his soteriology: e.g., Kümmel 1973: 173; others note the relative incoherence of the explanations of universal sin: e.g. Conzelmann 1969: 195–98.)

If the considerations put forward in Romans 1–2 and 5 do not explain the origin of Paul's conception of Sin, we can say where it came from? There are two principal possibilities. One is that Paul did not come to Christianity with a preformed conception of humanity's sinful plight, but rather deduced the plight from the solution. Once he accepted it as revelation that God intended to save the entire world by faith in his Son, he naturally had to think that the entire world needed saving, and thus that it was wholly bound over to Sin. His soteriology is more consistent and straightforward than his conceptions of the human plight, and thus may show that in describing sin he had to go in search of arguments which led up to a preformed conclusion. This explanation gives a good account of why Romans 1–2 and 5 are weak as reasoned arguments but lead to a definite conclusion. The conclusion that all need to be saved through Christ, to repeat, came by revelation, and so could not be questioned; the arguments in favor of universal bondage to sin are then seen as efforts at rationalization. (For the argument that Paul's thought ran "backward," from solution to plight, see Sanders 1977: 442–47; 474–75.)

The second possible explanation is that Paul had imbibed aspects of a dualistic world view, according to which the created order is at least partly under the control of the god of darkness. Iranian (Zoroastrian) dualism had penetrated the Mediterranean, and it can be seen in the Dead Sea Scrolls, for example, when they distinguish between the angel of darkness and the angel of light, the children of darkness and the children of light (e.g., 1QS 3.17–4.1). There are echoes of this terminology in Paul: Satan (standing in for the angel of darkness) could disguise himself as the "angel of light" (2 Cor 11:14). "This age" is governed by another "god" (2 Cor 4:4) or by other "rulers" (1 Cor 2:6). It is probable that Paul was influenced by dualism, especially since he considered the entire created order to be in need of redemption (Rom 8:19–23), though it could not have been guilty of sin. Paul, it must be emphasized, was not a dualist. He proposed that God himself had subjected the creation to "futility," and that he had done so "in hope," planning its redemption. Formally, there is no admission in Romans 8 of a second power, much less a second god. Yet Paul did believe in evil spiritual forces, "so-called gods" (1 Cor 8:5); "beings that by nature are no gods," as the RSV nicely translates a difficult phrase (Gal 4:8); "demons" (1 Cor 10:20); the "god" or "rulers" of "this age" (above). These non-gods could enslave (Gal 4:8), as could Sin (Rom 6:6).

When we add these references to evil spiritual beings to Paul's conception of Sin as a power, and further note that even the nonhuman creation needs redemption, it must be concluded that Paul was influenced by some form of dualism. By piecing together references to hostile demons, or gods, and Sin, one could even create a dualistic theology. Satan's deception of Eve (2 Cor 11:3) could be combined with Sin's deception of humanity in Rom 7:11 (taking the "I" in Romans 7 to represent humanity in general), and further with the fall of Adam (Rom 5:12–13), to draw a picture of a fully personified second power, which could also be seen in the reference to "the god of this age" (2 Cor 4:4). This second power then might be viewed as the referent of "Sin" throughout Romans 6–7. This, however, would be a false construction. Paul twice employed the word "deceive" from Gen 3:13 (*exēpatēsen* in Rom 7:11 and 2 Cor 11:3; *ēpatēsen* in Gen 3:13), he inherited Satan from biblical and Jewish tradition, and he accepted the existence of "beings that by nature are no gods"; but he did not put all these together to form a dualistic theology. We shall shortly see the dominance of monotheism in his thought about sin.

It is difficult to say, in fact, just how realistically Paul conceived of Sin as a power. Röhser (1987) argues that "superhuman being" is too strong, "only a metaphor" too weak, and he proposes "a certain form of hypostatizing," for which the term "personification" may be used. In this case, Sin in Romans 6–7 is approximately what Wisdom is in Sirach 24: personal attributes are assigned to a reality

whose presence in the world can be perceived, but the step of making the reality a Being is not taken.

If there is some truth in the suggestion that Paul was influenced by dualistic thought, there is more in the view that his discussions of sin are the reflex of his soteriology. The force of the latter is most fully seen if we pursue the question posed by our consideration of dualism: Did Paul think that there was an enemy power which enslaved the universe, human and nonhuman alike? In part, we have seen, he did. But this ran into competition with one of his basic theological views, a doctrine embraced in all the surviving Jewish literature of the period: God controls what happens, both in nature and in history. This view, applied to the issue of sin, means that *God intended human disobedience.* That is just what Paul thought, as he thought that it was God who subjected the creation to futility. (On *praedestinatio ad malum* see Räisänen 1972.) In Paul's view, God intended universal sin so that he could subsequently save everyone by grace. For this very reason he gave the law: "Scripture consigned all things to sin, *in order that (hina)* what was promised to faith in Jesus Christ might be given to those who believe" (Gal 3:22). "God consigned all people to disobedience, *in order that (hina)* he could have mercy upon all" (Rom 11:32). God "endured with much patience the vessels of wrath made for destruction [by him], *in order that (hina)* he could make known the riches of his glory for the vessels of mercy . . ." (Rom 9:22–23).

In these passages and others, which at first seem impious—charging God with creating transgression—we see the combination of Paul's twin convictions: the one God is the God of Hebrew Scripture, the one who created the world, who called Abraham and who gave the Law; and the same God always intended to save the world by faith in Christ. Thinking backward from the second point, he had to conclude that Creation, Election, and the Law did not save. In his black-and-white world, if they did not save, they did not even help; election and the Law were not stepping-stones to salvation in Christ. Yet God gave the Law. What is its result? Not salvation, therefore damnation. This meant that God intended the result, he "consigned all to disobedience." One might say that humanity was consigned to iniquity as the result of prior sin, which stirred God to wrath (Rom 1:18, 24). But in Romans 1 this is used only to account for gentile corruption, and it is the result of idolatry. The giving of the Law cannot be attributed to God's wrath in the same way. Paul's monotheism, which included the view that God controlled *everything* that happened, was braver than that. God intended all of human sinfulness, just as he intended the subjection of the nonhuman world to "futility" and "travail" (Rom 8:20, 22), but throughout the intended good (8:28): the salvation of the entire cosmos.

No form of ancient Judaism directly known to us (that is, possibly excluding Sadduceeism) considered "predestination" and "freewill" to be incompatible. In Qumran the members of the community were called both "the elect" and "the volunteers"; they were gravely warned not to disobey, but wickedness was also attributed to the "angel" who governed their "lot." Paul puts the two side-by-side as well. Most Jews, he wrote, did not accept Jesus because God "hardened" them; on the other hand, they did not "heed" (Rom 10:7, 16). When predestination and freewill are applied to sin, the result is both that God intended it and that humans are guilty of it. No ancient Jew, including Paul, worked out a consistent explanation of how human decision to sin relates to God's determination of all that happens. Paul at least dealt seriously with the problem, as Romans 9 shows. Dualism provides an alternative: there are two powers which have different intentions, and humans are pulled first one way then the other. In Paul (as in 1QS) we get all three. Sin is avoidable transgression, and it is therefore punishable; Sin is a power external to humanity which enslaves the entire creation; sin was intended by God in order to lead up negatively to salvation through his grace in Christ.

These conflicting views naturally lead to the search for some means of harmonizing them, and, failing that, for some way of defining the "heart" or "center" of Paul's thought, not just about sin, but about God, Christ, and the world, for these are all bound up together. Recent discussions include, in chronological order, Sanders 1977: 434–42; Hickling 1980; Beker 1980; Räisänen 1983; Sanders 1983: 4–10; Räisänen 1987: xi–xxxi. We cannot hope to solve the question of the center of Paul's thought here, but in the discussion of sin it should be noted that, despite his bravery, Paul was uncomfortable in holding that God gave the Law in order to condemn (Gal 3:22; cf. Rom 3:20; 4:15; 5:20), and that this view was temporarily retracted in Romans 7 (especially v 10), only to reappear (though without the word "Law") in Rom 11:32 (on the movement toward Romans 7 and the retraction of the previously stated view there, see Sanders 1983: 70–81). It was in trying to avoid laying the intention to condemn at God's door that Paul shifted to a modified dualism. Sin is an external power which can manipulate the Law (7:8), or it is a power within the flesh (7:18, 23)—in defiance of the goodness of creation. The presence of dualistic influence in Romans 6–7 cannot be denied, and it is confirmed by the passages about inimical non-gods. Yet in the discussion of sin there is a more powerful theology at work, one which is seen throughout his thought: God created the world and controls history; he will save the world through Christ; everything else, even sin itself, follows from his will but is subjected to it and used for his purpose.

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SIN, WILDERNESS OF (PLACE) [Heb *midbar sîn*]. A desert area located between Elim and Mount Sinai which the Israelites traversed in the Exodus (Exod 16:1; 17:1; Num 33:11, 12). It is one of the seven wildernesses (Shur, Etham, Sin, Sinai, Paran, Zin, Kadesh) crossed by Moses and the children of Israel. Here the children of Israel murmured against Moses and Aaron: "Would that we had died by the hand of the Lord in the land of Egypt, when we sat by the fleshpots and ate bread to the full" (Exod 16:3). The Lord responded by sending manna and quail (Exod 16:4–21). From the Red Sea the Israelites went to Elim then to the Wilderness of Sin (16:1), Rephidim (Exod 17:1), and finally arrived at the Wilderness of Sinai (Exod 19:1). According to Numbers the order is Elim-Red Sea-Wilderness of Sin-Dophkah-Alush-Rephidim-Wilderness of Sinai (Num 33:10–15).

The Wilderness of Sin is not to be confused with the Wilderness of Zin. While there is no distinction made in the LXX or the Vg between Heb *sîn* and *ṣin,* both of which are rendered "Sin," modern English translations uniformly render the distinction as Sin and Zin. The similarities of the words Sin (Heb *sîn*) and Sinai (Heb *sînay*) may suggest that Sinai is derived from Sin or that they are otherwise related.

The precise geographical location of the Wilderness of Sin, between the Red Sea and Mount Sinai, depends on where the other related stopping places and Mount Sinai are to be located. The location of all of these places is uncertain. Those who hold the view of the S location of Mount Sinai—either at Jebel Musa or in the vicinity—have identified likely locations for Elim at Wadi Gharandel, Dophkah at Serabit el-Khadem, Rephidim at Wadi Rafayid or the oasis at Feiran. This scenario would locate the Wilderness of Sin as a sandy plain, Debbet er-Ramleh, below Jebel Tih, or the plain of el-Markha—both on the SW fringe of the Sinai plateau (*GP* 2: 210–13; *GTTOT,* 252–53). Those who propose a N Exodus route would locate the Wilderness of Sin in the vicinity of various mountains argued to be Sinai in central Sinai, N Sinai, the Negeb, or the land of Midian. For a review of these views see Beit-Arieh 1988. See also DOPHKAH; ELIM; REPHIDIM; SINAI, MOUNT.

It is unlikely that the Wilderness of Sin is to be associated with Sin, also Heb *ṣin* (RSV Pelusium; LXX Syene), in Ezek 30:15–16, which probably derives from an Egyptian word *ṣin* and refers to an Egyptian stronghold in the NE corner of the Nile delta. See PELUSIUM.

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SINAI, MOUNT (PLACE) [Heb *sînay*]. The hill or mountain *(har)* in the wilderness of Sinai at which Israel entered into a covenant with Yahweh after the release from Egyptian bondage, and where Moses received laws and instruction for the people before continuing on the wilderness journey.

A. In the Bible

1. Names. Mount Sinai is mentioned fifteen times in the books of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers as the place where Yahweh met with Israel and revealed his law, and in three poetic passages it is more generally the place where Yahweh "dwells" or from which he comes (Deut 33:2; Judg 5:5; Ps 68:9—Eng v 8, note also v 18—Eng v 17). In Num 10:33 Sinai is called "the mountain of Yahweh" (elsewhere this name refers to Mount Zion in Jerusalem). In Deuteronomy 1–28 and some passages in Exodus (3:1; 17:6; 33:6) and elsewhere (1 Kgs 8:9; 19:8; 2 Chr 5:10; Ps 106:9; Mal 3:22) the name Horeb is used, apparently for the same place. Traditional source-criticism of the Pentateuch has regarded "Sinai" as the name used in the Yahwist (J) and Priestly (P) documents, while "Horeb" was found in the Elohist (E) and Deuteronomic (D) sources. This did not of course account for the poetic and other non-Pentateuchal occurrences. More recently it has been suggested that all occurrences of the name "Horeb" are Deuteronomic-Deuteronomistic or later (Noth *Exodus* OTL; Perlitt 1977). A few passages refer to "the mountain of God (or gods?)" (Exod 3:1, with "Horeb"; 4:27; 18:5; 24:13), which the present text of Exodus equates with Sinai/Horeb: a few scholars have held that a different mountain may originally have been meant (see Davies 1979b: 68–69 [bibl.]).

2. Traditions. The Sinai-complex occupies some sixty chapters in Exodus-Numbers (Exodus 18–40; Leviticus; Numbers 1–10), in addition to several passages in Deuteronomy (esp. 1:6–18; 4:9–14; 5:2–31; 9:8–10:11). The great majority of the chapters in Exodus-Numbers derives from the Priestly narrative and supplementary material of a similar character. After the arrival in the wilderness of Sinai (Exod 19:1), Moses ascends Mount Sinai, where the glory *(kābôd)* of Yahweh has settled (Exod 24:15–18), and remains there for forty days, during which he is given detailed instructions, chiefly about the construction of the tabernacle (or tent of meeting) and about the ordination of Aaron and his sons as priests (Exod 25:31). On his return to the people (Exod 34:29–35) arrangements are made for the building of the tabernacle and its furnishings, and when it is complete the glory of Yahweh takes up residence within it (Exodus 35–40). The consecration of Aaron and his sons follows (Leviticus 8–10), between the revelation of laws about sacrifice (Leviticus 1–7) and the

clean and the unclean (Leviticus 11–15) and the ritual for the Day of Atonement (*yôm hakkippurîm;* Leviticus 16). After this follows the varied collection of laws normally referred to as the Holiness (H) Code (Leviticus 17–26), additional laws about vows and redemption (chap. 27), arrangements for the first census of the Israelites, the layout of the camp and the duties of the Levites, and further laws (Numbers 1–6). Then the sacrificial altar is dedicated (chap. 7), the Levites are ordained to their office (chap. 8), the feast of the Passover is celebrated (9:1–14), and details of the procedure for continuing on the wilderness journey are given (9:15–10:28). Dates appear at various stages of the Priestly Sinai narrative, including arrival (Exod 19:1) and departure (Num 10:11–12); these imply that nearly a year was spent there, most of it apparently being occupied with the construction of the tabernacle and its furnishings (cf. Exod 40:17).

In Deuteronomy (the passages are assigned by some to the Dtr Historian(s) rather than the original lawbook; e.g., Mayes *Deuteronomy* NCBC, 41–47) the main Horeb narrative is incorporated in chaps. 5, 9, and 10 as part of the hortatory introduction to the laws. According to this, a covenant with lasting validity was made at Horeb on the basis of the Decalogue, which was inscribed on two stone tablets (5:2–22), and at the same time Yahweh delivered to Moses other laws (now contained in Deuteronomy) for transmission to the people (5:23–6:1). Following the apostasy of the golden calf, however, the tablets were broken, and only Moses' intercession saved the people and Aaron from destruction (9:8–29). Yahweh inscribed two new stone tablets, for which the ark was constructed as a container, and the Levites were appointed to carry it and act as priests (10:1–9). After this Yahweh sent the people from Horeb to enter the land promised to their forefathers, and Moses set up a system of judges to assist him and gave the people further instruction (10:10–11; 1:6–18).

Much of this account can be paralleled in the nonpriestly sections of Exodus, but there are also important differences there. The appointment of judges appears at the beginning, not the end, and arises out of the visit of Jethro, Moses' Midianite father-in-law (chap. 18). The Decalogue is preceded by a long description of preparatory rituals and the theophany itself (chap. 19), and is given in a different textual form (for details see Hossfeld 1982: 21–162). There follows a short legal passage (20:21–26) and a longer series of laws (21:1–23:33, the so-called Book of the Covenant) which are only loosely related to those in Deuteronomy. Next come two interwoven narratives describing an act of worship in which the leaders of Israel "see God" (24:1–2, 9–11) and the making of the covenant (24:3–8). Following Moses' ascent (with Joshua; 24:13) to receive the stone tablets, there is the episode of the golden calf (chaps. 32–34), in which some sections appear which (like the narrative in Exodus 3–4) establish Moses' authority as a spokesman of Yahweh (33:7–34:9). At the end a (new?) covenant is established on the basis of laws of a chiefly cultic character (34:10–27, the so-called Cultic Decalog).

The composition of these chapters and the extent to which the similarities to Deuteronomy are due to Deuteronomistic editing are hotly disputed questions (see, e.g., Beyerlin 1965; Perlitt 1969: 156–238; Childs *Exodus* OTL, 318–624; Nicholson 1986: 121–78); the Decalogue at any rate appears to be a later addition to its context (Nicholson 1977: 422–33; Hossfeld 1982: 163–213). On the other hand, it is likely that the themes of theophany, covenant, and law already appeared in the pre-Deuteronomic written account(s) of the Israelites' stay at Sinai; Exod 24:1–11 is of particular importance in this regard, and v 7 probably presupposes the presence of either 21:1–23:33 or 34:10–27 before it. Attempts have been made to identify elements of a treaty pattern in such an early narrative (e.g., Beyerlin 1965: 49–90), but a penetrating criticism of them was made by D. J. McCarthy (1978: 243–76; cf. Nicholson 1986: 56–82). Nevertheless it remains possible, as was first suggested by S. Mowinckel and G. von Rad, that the early Sinai-narrative(s), like the book of Deuteronomy, were shaped by the liturgy of a festival which celebrated the making of a covenant between Yahweh and Israel in ancient times (cf. Deut 31:10–13; Psalm 50).

B. Location

From early in the 4th century A.D. (Eusebius of Caesarea) Christian tradition has located Mount Sinai in the S massif of what is now known as the Sinai peninsula. The specific identification with Jebel Musa is clearly attested in the *Peregrinatio Egeriae* (381–384 A.D.), and already in her time a monastery existed at the foot of the mountain, which Justinian later rebuilt (Davies 1979b: 30–48). Possible evidence of this location exists in a 2d-century A.D. Jewish source (ibid., 23–26), but other early evidence is imprecise or points to a location closer to Palestine. There is, however, no foundation for the view that Paul knew a tradition which located Sinai in Saudi Arabia (see Davies 1972: 152–63). In modern times at least a dozen different sites have been proposed, including mountains in the N and W of the Sinai peninsula, in S Palestine, in Transjordan, and in Saudi Arabia. Some have thought that Sinai and Horeb were the names of different mountains, either close together or far apart. Recently archaeological and textual evidence have been claimed to support the identification of Sinai with Har Karkom, between Kadesh-barnea and Eilat (Anati 1984; see Davies fc.). The reason for the uncertainty lies partly in the conflicting indications in the biblical evidence and partly in the vagueness of much of it. The association with Midian and allegedly volcanic features in the theophany descriptions have suggested an easterly or southeasterly location, but their link with Sinai appears to be secondary. Poetic passages such as Deut 33:2 and Judg 5:4–5 are probably too vague to be of great use. The wilderness itinerary (Num 33:1–49, etc.) has seemed to some to point to a mountain in Saudi Arabia, but this view is less likely than that which relates it to routes in the Sinai peninsula. See WILDERNESS WANDERINGS. The most precise indication in the Bible is Deut 1:2, "It is eleven days' journey from Horeb by way of Mount Seir to Kadesh-barnea," and this tends to favor a location in the S of the Sinai peninsula (see Davies 1979a; and, for a more general review of the arguments for the different theories, Davies 1979b: 63–69).

C. History

Several arguments confirm that "there was from ancient times a special relationship between Yahweh and Mount

Sinai which was already in existence before the Exodus from Egypt" (Nicholson 1973: 63). Even in later poetry Yahweh is still said to come to Israel's aid "from Sinai" (Deut 33:2; Ps 68:18—Eng v 17). Sometimes other areas to the S of Palestine are mentioned (Judg 5:4; Hab 3:3), but the link with Sinai is particularly close. The phrase *zeh sînay* in Judg 5:5; Ps 68:9—Eng v 8 (RSV "yon Sinai") most probably means "the lord of Sinai" (NEB, NJPS, NIV; for this interpretation of *zeh*, see *HALAT*, 253). It is there that Yahweh's name is first revealed, according to Exod 3:14–15, and the previous sacredness of the mountain is implied by Exod 3:5 and 19:12–13. In view of this it is a priori likely that the traditions in Exodus 19ff. go back ultimately to a visit or visits to the mountain by an element or elements of early Israel, most probably including Moses, and that this was the origin of the identity of this group and of later Israel as the *ʿam yhwh*, "the people of Yahweh" (Judg 5:11, 13). It is difficult to separate this event, historically and traditio-historically, from the Exodus (Nicholson 1973: 53–84). Whether the term "covenant" was used already at this early stage to describe the relationship between Yahweh and Israel, and what, if any, obligations the worship of Yahweh was thought at first to imply, it is impossible to know with certainty. But the exclusiveness of later Yahwism must have been a feature of it from early times (Judg 5:8; Ps 81:9–11—Eng vv 8–10) and the ban on images and the observance of the sabbath may also be very ancient (see further *EHI*, 464–72). There is no positive evidence that Sinai was a place of pilgrimage in OT times (against Noth 1940) and from the beginning of the monarchic period at least the old desert-sanctuary of Yahweh ceased to be of any importance, apart from what seems to be an isolated narrative of a journey there by the prophet Elijah (1 Kings 19). The emphasis fell instead on sanctuaries within the land of Canaan (Exod 15:17), one of which even became known as "the mountain of Yahweh" (Isa 2:3; 30:29). But Sinai/Horeb retained its place in tradition and became the gathering point for an increasingly elaborate body of religious law and narrative which sought to define the essence of Yahwism.

D. Theology

The presupposition of the Sinai tradition as a whole is a God of majesty and holiness who demands from his people not only exclusive worship but a life regulated by justice. At the same time he is a God who has chosen to meet with and remain with his people; both the tent of meeting and the ark of the older tradition (Exod 33:7–11; Num 10:33–36) and the priestly tabernacle symbolize this commitment. It is a place where Yahweh allows himself (Exod 24:11; 33:18–23) or at least his "glory" (Exod 24:17) to be "seen" and reveals his own nature or "name" (Exod 34:5–7); it is also where he reveals his will in a succession of legal collections. It is also the place where the regular worship of Yahweh is inaugurated and regulated, and where a pattern of leadership, priestly and lay, is established. But it is above all the place of the making of a covenant between Yahweh and his people, though here as much as anywhere the divergent theologies embedded in the tradition need to be recognized. In Exodus 18–24 (and probably in 34:10–27 as originally composed) Yahweh establishes a covenant on the basis of a body of law (24:8), but while disobedience will be punished (22:24; 23:21, 33; cf. 34:7b), there is no hint that Yahweh will finally cast off his people. In Deuteronomy on the other hand, the observance of the covenant is expounded as a matter of "life and death, blessing and curse" (30:19), and the possibility of expulsion from the promised land and utter desolation is seriously reckoned with (28:15–68). Only in exilic additions is the covenant seen as the basis for the restoration of a penitent people (4:31; cf. 30:1–10), a theology which is also found in the conclusion of the Holiness Code (Lev 26:40–45). Finally, in Exodus 32–34 the redaction of older tradition has been shaped by a theology of a new covenant established through the mediatory intercession of Moses, a theology that is present in its essentials also in Deut 9:18–10:11 (Childs *Exodus* OTL, 557–58, 607–8; Moberly 1983).

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SINAITICUS, CODEX. See CODEX (SINAITICUS).

SINAITICUS, SYRUS. "Syrus Sinaiticus" denotes Codex Syriacus 30, a palimpsest, in St. Catherine's Monastery, which is at the foot of Jebel Musa (Mount of Moses, the traditional site for the revelation of the Ten Commandments) in the Sinai. The under writing preserves a late 4th- or early 5th-century Syr script and represents the oldest and best copy of the Old Syriac Gospels. The upper

writing is a copy of the *Lives of the Female Saints* and was written in 778 C.E.

Sometime between 1889 and 1892, J. Rendell Harris told Agnes Smith Lewis that in 1889 he had seen some unexamined and old Syr manuscripts in St. Catherine's Monastery. She resolved to travel to the monastery with her twin sister, Margaret Dunlop Gibson. The two of them arrived at St. Catherine's in 1892, found this famous manuscript with the help of the librarian, Father Galakteon, and photographed it. Gibson quotes her sister's words that the leaves "were mostly all glued together, and the least force used to separate them made them crumble. Some half-dozen of them we held over the steam of the kettle" (1893: 52–53). It was not until later in Cambridge that the text of the Gospels was correctly identified by Bensly as a copy of the Old Syriac Gospels similar to Codex Curetonianus in the British Museum (which was also found in Egypt, but in St. Mary Deipara in the Nitrian Desert).

Codex Syriacus 30 contains an upper and a lower writing. The upper is a clear black script of the *Lives of the Female Saints* (edited by Lewis in 1900). The obscured reddish brown lower script, the treasure in this codex, contains in Syriac the four canonical gospels, the *Acts of Thomas*, the *Transitus Mariae*, and in Greek portions of a gospel, a homily, and unidentified passages.

The critical edition of the Old Syriac Gospels is A. S. Lewis' *The Old Syriac Gospels, or Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* (1910), which contains the insights she obtained from numerous trips to the monastery. Her own photographs were never published. They were rediscovered in 1988 by the principal and librarian of Westminster College, Cambridge, and by J. H. Charlesworth. Copies are now preserved in Speer Library, Princeton Theological Seminary, and in Westminster College. Charlesworth, Bruce Zuckerman, and Ken Zuckerman have rephotographed the manuscript, thanks to the permission and assistance of the Holy Council of St. Catherine's Monastery, and especially the revered Archbishop Damianos. A new critical edition is being prepared by these scholars.

There are major variants in the gospel text of Codex Sinaiticus; note the following from Matthew: "Joseph—to whom Mary the Virgin was engaged—fathered Jesus, who is called the Christ" (Matt 1:16); "We have seen his star from the east" (Matt 2:2); and "Jesus Bar Abba" (not Barabbas) (Matt 27:16).

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SINITES [Heb *sînî*]. According to the Table of Nations (Gen 10:17) and the parallel genealogy in 1 Chr 1:15, the Sinites were the next generation after Canaan, son of Ham, Noah's son. They are one of eleven members of that generation. Descendants of some of these siblings are located on the Mediterranean coast (Sidon), Asia Minor (Hittites), or inland in Israel (Jebusites) and N Syria (Amorites, Hamathites). The Genesis reference seems to indicate this geographical dispersion as a later development, since the original Canaanite territory is said to stretch from Sidon in the N to Gaza in the S, and from the Mediterranean in the W toward the Dead Sea in the E (Gen 10:18–19). From the biblical understanding, the Sinites must have originated in this area.

A location close to this Canaanite locale is provided in Ugaritic and Neo-Assyrian texts. They speak of *syn* (Ugaritic; *VT* 3: 449) or Sianum (Neo-Assyrian; Parpola 1970: 308) on the coast S of Ugarit. This would be within the area of other names in the genealogies.

The only other biblical reference places the Sinites at some considerable remove from Canaan, if in fact the same group is intended. Isa 49:8–26 describes the joyful return of exiles from afar whom Yahweh restores to the land. They will come, some from the N, some from the W, and still others "from the land of the Sinites" (49:12; RSV "Syene"). This seems to indicate a far distant land either to the S or to the E. Both directions have received support.

A S location is favored by the reading of 1QIsa 49:12 where it is called "the land of the Syenites *(swnyym)*." This is apparently identical to Syene mentioned in Ezek 29:10 and 30:6 (cf. LXX 30:16). In these prophecies against Egypt, her power will be destroyed from one geographical extremity (Migdol, possibly a frontier fort on Egypt's N border) to the other (Syene). The latter is explicitly placed in the far S, toward the border with Cush (Ethiopia; 29:10). It probably is identical with Egyptian *swn* whose Greek form is Aswan. This is at the location of the first Nile cataract and thus the upper limit of river navigation (Strabo, *Geography* 17.1.3; Kraeling 1952: 50). It is on the Nile bank opposite Elephantine, an outpost of the Jews during the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. The prophecy against Egypt could be envisioning the repetition of an earlier conquest by Ashurbanipal. In the mid-7th century he had reached Thebes and possibly as far south as Aswan (Kitchen 1973: 392, n. 875).

An easterly direction for the location of the Sinites is suggested by the LXX of Isa 49:12 which instead of "Sinites" reads "the land of the Persians." Some have looked even further E to China, based on later Hebrew, Latin, and Greek identifications of that area as Sin (see the English form "Sino"). This proposal does not commend itself since Jewish settlement in that area occurs only later.

From the available evidence, there appears to have been two distinct locales with similar names. One of these was in N Canaan and was associated with the Genesis and Chronicles genealogies. The other was most likely in S Egypt, with a previously different form of the name which became corrupt in the MT, but was preserved by the Dead Sea Isaiah scroll.

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DAVID W. BAKER

SINUHE, TALE OF. The Tale of Sinuhe is considered the finest piece of literature to survive from pharaonic Egypt. The events and characters depicted date to the first two reigns of Dynasty 12 (Amenemhet I and Senusert I), i.e., to the 20th century B.C.; and two of the papyri preserving copies of most of the text date back to within perhaps a century of this time (certainly to the Middle Kingdom). The Tale (*ANET,* 18–22) is a posthumous autobiographical narration by one Sinuhe, a highly placed official in the court of Amenemhat I, who was attached to Neferu, Amenemhat's daughter and wife of Senusert. During an expedition Sinuhe somehow overhears a treasonous conversation following news of the old king's death. He flees to Syria-Palestine (the land of Retjenu), where he lives in voluntary exile for most of his life, divorced from his Egyptian roots, and slowly coming to terms with his apparent cowardice and defection. He recovers his dignity and self-esteem by proving both his courage and his loyalty to the royal house. In old age he is urged by Senusert, now king, to return to Egypt. He does so and is given a warm and genuine welcome by the royal family he had served, returned to his place in the inner circle of advisers, given all the appurtenances of advanced status, and held in the highest esteem until his death.

The Tale reflects the texture of Egyptian court circles ca. 2000–1900 B.C. and also gives a glimpse of conditions in the area which would some centuries later become the Holy Land. The now anonymous author's handling of the narrative elements of the Tale—characterization, plot, setting and atmosphere, etc.—is so skillfully accomplished that the piece (usually translated as prose but quite probably written in verse) is one of the high points of pre-Homeric literature. For further discussion, see *LÄ* 5: 950–55.

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SIPHMOTH (PLACE) [Heb *śipmôt*]. A town in S Judah (1 Sam 30:28), included among the Judahite towns to which DAVID sent a portion of the booty he and his men had recovered from a band of marauding Amalekites (1 Sam 30:16–20). This gesture was surely part of a calculated strategy to consolidate support behind David in his conflict with Saul, as well as a reward for aid given to David and his men in previous years. Siphmoth may also have been the hometown of Zabdi the Shiphmite, an official of King David's court in charge of the royal wine cellars (1 Chr 27:27). The precise location of ancient Siphmoth remains unidentified.

WADE R. KOTTER

SIPPAI (PERSON) [Heb *sippay*]. See SAPH (PERSON).

ŞIPPOR, TEL (M.R. 125118). A site situated in the heart of the Philistine plain, about 3 km NW of Kiryat Gat. The small mound (ca. half a dunam) rises to a height of about 5 m above a surrounding terrace. Excavations on the mound in 1963–65 indicate a well-defined sequence of occupation. The top three strata yielded remains dating to the early Iron Age (strata I–II) and the end of the LB Age (stratum III), while stratum III contained a number of LB levels with pottery typical of the 14th–13th centuries B.C. Below these LB levels was found a thin level containing MB I pottery (Biran and Negbi 1966; Biran 1978).

The Canaanite material of stratum III (including a bronze figurine and a stone statuette) was sealed by a well-made plaster floor belonging to stratum II. This last Canaanite settlement (stratum III) seems to have escaped destruction, perhaps due to its small size. It was followed by a Philistine settlement (stratum II) which, judging from the abundance and quality of its pottery, was a fairly prosperous community during the mid-12th to mid-11th century B.C. The transition from stratum II to stratum I appears to indicate cultural continuity, although it cannot be determined at present whether the stratum I occupants were Philistines or Israelites. The site was abandoned toward the end of the 11th or at the beginning of the 10th century B.C.

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AVRAHAM BIRAN

SIRACH, BOOK OF JESUS BEN-. See WISDOM OF BEN-SIRA.

SIRAH, CISTERN OF (PLACE) [Heb *bôr hasirâ*]. A well N of Hebron where Joab's messengers found Abner, intending to bring him back to Hebron to murder him (2 Sam 3:26). The site is usually identified with the modern *Siret el-Bellā* N of Hebron (M.R. 159108). Josephus (*Ant* 7.1.5) locates it about 20 stadia N of Hebron.

TOM WAYNE WILLETT

SIRION (PLACE) [Heb *śiryôn*]. A name used by the Sidonians to refer to Mt. Hermon (Deut 3:9). Hermon, well known from biblical sources (M.R. 220300), is part of the Anti-Lebanon range. In a poetic description of the majestic power of God, Sirion is paralleled with Lebanon (Ps 29:6), and placed in geographical contrast with the wilderness of Kadesh (v 8). These support a N locale.

Two additional instances to Sirion are proposed on the basis of textual emendation. Jeremiah (18:14) seeks to contrast the incredible—Israel forsaking her God—with the impossible—the disappearance of the snow of Lebanon from "the crags of Sirion" (cf. RSV, BHS margin). The MT "my fields" is enigmatic in the context and relatively minor

textual alterations (the loss of one letter and a minor change in the form of another) yield the clearer meaning. Snow on the Lebanon ("white") range could have led to its name, and Hermon, as one of its higher peaks, has its share of snow.

The Transjordanian territory taken by Israel from Og and the Amorites is said to stretch from Aroer in the S to "Mt. Sion, that is Hermon" in the N (Deut 4:48). Syriac (cf. RSV) reads this as "Sirion," and would involve a reordering of letters and the interchange of two letters which have somewhat similar forms in the early Hebrew script (Craigie *Deuteronomy* NICOT, 197).

An Ugaritic text (*KTU* 1.4.iv.18–21; *ANET*, 134) mentions *shryn* in parallel with Lebanon as a source of the cedar for building Baal's palace. Cedar is also produced in *sirara* according to the annals of Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.; Luckenbill 1924: 106.25; 107.51). This mountain, associated with Mt. Amanus, is also snow-covered (ibid. 106.25; 119.23; see Parpola 1970: 312). An Egyptian text from the 19th century B.C. mentions a location *sryn* in proximity with other sites in the N (Aharoni and Avi-Yonah *MBA*, 27, map 23; Posener 1971: 555), apparently another reference to Sirion.

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DAVID W. BAKER

SIROCCO. See PALESTINE, CLIMATE OF.

SISERA (PERSON) [Heb *sîsĕrā'*]. **1.** Chief antagonist of Israel during the famous battle in the Valley of Jezreel wherein Israel, led by Deborah and Barak, decisively defeated the Canaanite forces near the brook Kishon. This battle is recounted twice, once in the prose narrative of Judges 4, and once in the poetic treatment of Judges 5. Sisera's precise status as leader of the Canaanites is a matter of debate, since the prose account (Judg 4:2) lists him as the commander of the army of Jabin, king of Hazor, while the poetic account (Judg 5:20) simply presumes he is the leader of the coalition of Canaanite kings (5:19), making no mention of Jabin. Joshua 11 lists Jabin, king of Hazor, as the leader of a coalition of kings who fought against Israel during Joshua's time, but nothing is said there about Sisera being Jabin's general (Gottwald 1979: 135–36, 153, 528–29). 1 Sam 12:9 describes Sisera as the "commander of the army of Jabin king of Hazor" (LXX), but the words "Jabin king of" are lacking in the MT. Ps 83:10—Eng 83:9, in alluding to the destruction of the Canaanites "at the river Kishon," mentions Sisera and Jabin together.

Scholars have commonly assumed that Jabin king of Hazor fought in a conflict between Israel and the Canaanites that occurred early in the conquest/settlement period (Joshua 11), and that editors of Israel's premonarchic traditions subsequently (and incorrectly) associated Jabin with the later battle pitting Sisera against Deborah and Barak (Judg 4:2). Aharoni (*LBHG*, 203–6) also discusses two separate battles, but places events at the waters of Merom (Joshua 11) *after* the battle involving Sisera, Deborah, and Barak. Whether or not Sisera was associated with Jabin king of Hazor, it is quite clear that he is the active leader of the Canaanite forces in Judges 4–5.

The precise location of Sisera's home Harosheth-ha-goiim ("Harosheth of the gentiles," Judg 4:2) is unknown, as is also its significance within the Canaanite coalition. Particular sites have been proposed, such as Tell Amr (M.R. 159237) or Tell el-Harbaj (M.R. 158240), but such identifications have thus far proven inconclusive. Harosheth-ha-goiim is not mentioned in the OT outside Judges 4–5 or in other ancient literature, and may simply refer to the forested regions of Galilee (Mazar 1952–53: 81–84). Intriguingly, Judges 5, unlike Judges 4, does not link Sisera's activity directly with Hazor, which at this time was a powerful city in N Palestine, nor does it mention Harosheth-ha-goiim. Sisera's name may indicate he belonged to the Sea Peoples who had come to Palestine as part of the broader movement of peoples in the E Mediterranean world around 1200 B.C.E. (*NHI*, 35–38, 150).

Going into the battle Sisera's troops enjoyed a considerable strategic advantage, since the tactical maneuverability of their 900 chariots on the flat terrain of the valley near Taanach and Megiddo (Judg 5:19) would normally have enabled them to rout Israel's foot soldiers. In fact, Israel had repeatedly found itself incapable of defeating the Canaanite chariots in the plains areas (Judg 1:19, 27–36). This time, however, the outcome was dramatically different, and Sisera was forced to flee on foot from the battlefield. While Judges 5 implies that a torrential rain confounded the Canaanites' efforts, Judges 4 mentions no such deluge, stating only that "the Lord routed Sisera and all his chariots" (v 15).

In both the prose account of the Canaanites' defeat and in the poetic account, surprisingly little attention is paid to the battle itself. In Judg 4:15–16 there is only the terse mention of the Lord's routing of Sisera and his chariots, with the Canaanite army falling to the last man before the pursuing Barak. Sisera flees on foot to the tent of Jael, the wife of Heber the Kenite. In Judg 5:19–22 the defeat of the Canaanites is presented indirectly; "They took no spoils of silver." There is no detailed description of the battle. Instead, we see the stars fighting against Sisera, the torrent Kishon sweeping away the Canaanites, and the horses' hoofs beating loudly in retreat. The joy and satisfaction regarding Israel's victory is conveyed not so much through these brief treatments of the battle as through the carefully crafted scenes in which Sisera dies ingloriously, victim to the plotting of Jael.

In the prose narrative (Judg 4:17–22), Jael lures Sisera into her tent, covers him with a cloth, gives him milk to drink, and lets him think she will hide him. Sisera's words in v 20 are ironic, for while he tells Jael to conceal him from the men outside the tent, his real enemy is within the tent. After he has fallen asleep, Jael sneaks up on him and uses a hammer to drive a tent peg through his temple. She then calls Barak into her tent and shows him the victim she has snared. Jael's triumphant presentation to Barak of the dead Sisera with the tent peg driven through his

temple leads directly into the joyful statement in vv 23–24 about God's having subdued Jabin king of Canaan.

Sisera's demise is presented even more dramatically in the Song of Deborah (Judg 5:24–27). The scene opens with a threefold repetition of the fact that Jael is a woman (Boling *Judges* AB, 114), thereby emphasizing how humiliating it is for Sisera the proud warrior to meet his death by her hand. When Sisera asks Jael for water, as in 4:19, she gives him milk, but here there is an added twist. Torrential, raging water had caused the downfall of Sisera's army (5:21), but now the fleeing Sisera is forced to beg water of Jael to soothe his parched throat. First he has too much water, then too little, and his thirst leads to his demise. As Sisera drinks, Jael uses her implements to bash his head. The writer of Judges 5 has Sisera standing at the onset of Jael's attack, not lying on the ground as in Judges 4, in order that the fall of Sisera, which embodies within it the fall of the Canaanites before Israel, may be emphasized. It is at this moment (vv 26–27) that the Israelites' joy over the defeat of the Canaanites is most powerfully expressed. The words prolong, and in effect place in slow motion, the fall of Sisera to the ground. "And she hammered Sisera;/She crushed his head;/And she shattered and she pierced his temple./Between her feet he sank, he fell, he lay still;/Between her feet he sank, he fell;/Where he sank,/There he fell,/Dead." This extraordinary drawing out of the fall of Sisera allows the audience to savor, indeed, to gloat over, the fall of both Sisera and the Canaanites before the Israelites and their god Yahweh. This is the moment of cathartic release for all the pent up frustrations Israel would have felt over its previous inability to defeat the powerful Canaanites (Hauser 1980: 34–38).

Sisera's mother, however, provides one last opportunity for rejoicing over the defeat of the Canaanites. As the final scene opens, she peers out her window, wondering why Sisera is taking so long to return home. She and her "wisest" ladies tell themselves that Sisera is preoccupied with gathering all the spoil he will bring them. This scene, which underlines the greed of the Canaanite women and their inability to imagine that Israel might have won, is very effective, since the reader still has in mind the picture of Sisera lying on the floor of Jael's tent with his skull smashed in. The reader's anticipation of the surprise and grief awaiting Sisera's mother and her "wise" ladies provides great satisfaction to the audience.

The defeat of Sisera seriously curtailed the ability of the Canaanites to dominate the Israelites in this part of Palestine. The Canaanites, however, maintained their independence from Israel until the time of King David.

2. "Sons of Sisera" *(bĕnê sîsĕrā')* are included in the lengthy list of temple servants *(nĕtînîm)* who returned from exile in Babylon (Ezra 2:53; Neh 7:55; 1 Esdr 5:32). It has been suggested that the "temple servants" were non-Israelites taken as prisoners of war. See NETHINIM. Consequently, it is possible that these are the descendants of Sisera, the commander of the Canaanite forces, who was defeated by Deborah and Barak (see above #1), or that the name was included by the genealogist to create this impression.

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ALAN J. HAUSER

SISINNES (PERSON) [Gk *Sisinnēs*]. According to 1 Esdras 6, Sisinnes is the governor of Syria (6:3, 7, 27; Coelesyria in 1 Esdr 7:1) and Phoenicia under the Persian king Darius Hystapis. He is called TATTENAI (Heb *tattĕnay*), "the governor Beyond the River" in Ezra 5:3, 6; 6:6, 13. Sisinnes' initial suspicion of the efforts of the Jews to rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem interrupted their work until he could confirm the prior authorization issued by Cyrus. Brockington (*Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther* NCBC, 78–79) suggests that the governor's concern was roused by "the adversaries," who according to Ezra 4:4–5 attempted to hinder the progress of the Jews up to the reign of Darius. Since neither 1 Esdras nor Ezra implies that Sisinnes had any personal hostilities against the Jews, the adversaries may have been the underlying cause for the investigation (see Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 76 and Ellison 1976: 21). Once the record of consent was located in Ecbatana and reported to Sisinnes, he and his associates carefully supervised and supported the rebuilding of the Temple in Jerusalem to its completion. Sisinnes is essentially the Greek spelling of the Persian name *Thithinaia* rendered in the Aramaic script with aspirated t.

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CRAIG D. BOWMAN

SISMAI (PERSON) [Heb *sismay*]. A leader in the tribe of Judah and a descendant of Jerahmeel through his wife Atarah (mentioned twice in I Chr 2:40). He is the son of Eleasah and father of Shallum in the line of descent from the marriage of Sheshan's daughter (?) Ahlai to his Egyptian slave Jarha. Sismai (AV and NEB spelling is Sisamai) was the great-grandfather of Elishama (the apparent interest of this portion of the Chronicler's genealogy). Variant spellings are found in the LXX (B and A *Sosomai,* L *Sasamei*) although many scholars consider those genealogies corrupt (especially codex Vaticanus). However, the records of Jerahmeel in the MT are viewed by most contemporary scholars as being in good order. For further discussion of the provenance and authenticity of the ge-

nealogies in 1 Chronicles 2, see MAAZ. Sismai appears to be derived from the name of a Phoenician god (*IPN*, 252).

W. P. STEEGER

SITHRI (PERSON) [Heb *sitrî*]. A son of Uzziel, who was a brother of Aaron's father Amram (Exod 6:22). Thus Sithri was also a cousin of Moses and a Levite from the clan of Kohath. The lines of Uzziel and Izhar were traced in such detail perhaps to include important men who were contemporary with Aaron and Moses (Childs, *Exodus* OTL, 117). Sithri, Nepheg, and Zichri (vv 21–22) appear only here.

"Sithri" is a shortened Israelite personal name from the premonarchic period. The form, which bears the much used hypocoristic ending *î*, probably represents an abbreviation from the compound of the verb *str*, "to hide, conceal," or a noun meaning "hiding place, refuge," and an original theophoric element (Fowler 1988: 163). There is no reason to assume that the divine element would have been *yhwh* (cf. Talmudic *stry'l*). The name is (like the related *stwr;* Num 13:13) an expression of piety and trust, a figure of speech for divine protection. Under the image of a hiding place in which one takes shelter from impending dangers, it praises the refuge which the devout person enjoys in the deity, as is also the case in Pss 32:7; 119:114 (Noth *IPN*, 158). In the Jewish colony at Elephantine, the form *stry* has been found belonging to a woman, in an Eg Aram letter to her from her brother (*CAP*, 176). An Aram ostracon from the same site mentions a certain *stryh;* from a Persian period Heb inscription comes *strh* (Vattioni 1969: 361).

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EDWIN C. HOSTETTER

SITNAH (PLACE) [Heb *śiṭnâ*]. A well dug by the servants of Isaac somewhere in the vicinity of Gerar (Gen 26:21; M.R. 112087). The biblical narrative derives Sitnah's name, which means hostility or accusation (Heb root *śāṭan*), from a dispute which arose between the shepherds of Isaac and those of Abimelech over use of the well. In this, Sitnah resembles the neighboring wells of Esek and Rehoboth (Gen 20:20, 22) whose names are also punningly connected to circumstances surrounding their construction. The precise location of Sitnah is unknown.

STEVEN WEITZMAN

SIVAN [Heb *sîwān*]. The third month of the Hebrew calendar, corresponding roughly to May and June. See CALENDARS (ANCIENT ISRAELITE AND EARLY JEWISH).

SIX HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SIX [Gk *hexakosioi hexēkonta hex* or *chxs*]. This number is given as the number of the beast in Rev 13:18. The number is in opposition to the mark of God (3:12; 7:3), and mention of it is the climax of the Satanic imitation which dominates Revelation 13. An important textual variant intrudes here, for the Western tradition reads 616 (C, 5 and 11 [lost], and mss according to Irenaeus). Interpretation of the number of the beast has taken two approaches.

A. Cryptogram

This approach assumes that either 616 or 666 is a cryptogram representing a name that the author assumes the audience will decipher ("let him who has understanding reckon the number of the beast" 3:18). It also assumes that to form the cryptogram the author used gematria or isopsephos, a technique used by both Jews and Greeks to conceal names from the uninitiated by substituting the numerical equivalent of the name. Thus in this approach the numerical value of the letters of Hebrew and Greek names are added up to find those names whose sum is 616 or 666.

Assuming that 616 is the original reading, two identifications are *Kaisar Theos*, "Caesar is God" (*k* = 20, *a* = 1, *i* = 10, *s* = 200, *a* = 1, *r* = 100, *th* = 9, *e* = 5, *o* = 70, *s* = 200) and *Gaios Kaisar*, "Gaios Caesar" or Caligula (*g* = 3, *a* = 1, *i* = 10, *o* = 70, *s* = 200, *k* = 20, *a* = 1, *i* = 10, *s* = 200, *a* = 1, *r* = 100). The problem with these identifications is, of course, that 616 is an inferior textual reading.

Assuming that 666 is the original reading, one proposal first put forth by Irenaeus (*Haer.* 5.29–30) is that 666 represents *lateinos*, the Greek word for "Latin" (*l* = 30, *a* = 1, *t* = 300, *e* = 5, *i* = 10, *n* = 50, *o* = 70, *s* = 200). Thus 666 represents the Roman Empire and its emperor. The problem with this proposal is that the number is given in Revelation as the name of a man, not an empire. It has been noted that the initials of the Roman emperors from Julius Caesar to Vespasian equal 666, but this only works if Galba is included and Otho and Vitellius are excluded.

A second proposal is that 666 represents Nero Caesar. The Greek *Neron Kaisar* has a numerical value of 1,005. However, when transliterated into the Hebrew letters *nrwn qsr* it has the sum of 666 (*n* = 50, *r* = 200, *w* = 6, *n* = 50, *q* = 100, *s* = 60, *r* = 200). The proposal that 666 is Nero Caesar can explain the variant 616, for the transliteration of the Latin Nero Caesar into Hebrew *(nrw qsr)* yields 616. In support of the assumption that 666 is the name of an emperor is *Sib. Or.* 5:12–42 which refers to the Roman emperors in succession by mentioning the number of the first letter of each name. This proposal relating the beast and Nero assumes that the author of Revelation was relying upon the well-known *Nero redivivus* myth. See NERO.

The major problems with the cryptographic position are three: (1) the usual Hebrew spelling for Caesar is *qʿsr*, not *qsr* which results from direct transliteration of the Greek, although the form *qsr* is attested; (2) it is assumed that the audience has the ability to transliterate Greek into Hebrew; and (3) the ancient commentators never identified 666 with Nero.

B. Symbol

This approach focuses on the symbolic nature of the number. Underlying the proposals is the assumption that the phrase "a human number" does not mean "the number of a man's name," but "humanly intelligible" as op-

posed to the need for supernatural wisdom to interpret it. One proposal assumes the use of triangulation. Some numbers, called *arithmos trigonos*, are the sum of a string of numbers. Here 666 is the sum of all the numbers from 1 to 36. In turn, 36 is the sum of all the numbers from 1 to 8. Thus 666 is a double triangular number. The triangular number of the beast contrasts the square numbers of the martyrs (144,000 [Rev 7:4]) and the heavenly city (144 [Rev 21:17]).

Another proposal notes that 6 is an imperfect number, 7 being a perfect number. Thus 666 represents the "superlative imperfection." The *Sib. Or.* 1.325–28 notes that the sum of Jesus' name *Iēsous* is 888. Perfection would be represented by 777 and "superlative perfection" by 888. Therefore 666 represents the ultimate evil posed by the antichrist in opposition to the ultimate good offered by Jesus Christ.

None of these proposals is totally satisfactory. They are not to be seen in isolation, for both the cryptic and the symbolic nature of 666 may have led to its choice as a representation for the beast.

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DUANE F. WATSON

SKEPTICISM. Skepticism can be understood in various ways. Taken as the designation of a philosophical current, influential in classical antiquity, it has no analogue in the civilization of ancient Israel. Nowhere in the OT do we find traces of a methodological suspension of judgment based on the presumed unreliability of sense impressions. If we understand skepticism, however, as the mental attitude underlying doubt concerning the truth of religious views and doctrines, the notion can be applied to certain phenomena that are known from the ANE, Israel included. Atheism and religious agnosticism as we currently know them were foreign to ANE peoples, who could not conceive of a universe without the divine. Yet within this basically religious outlook, there was room for doubt. In the biblical texts, one finds traces and expressions of skepsis in connection with certain miraculous events, the belief in divine retribution, and the hope of a beatific afterlife. Although at times they overlap, we will discuss these areas separately. When it seems useful, reference will be made to expressions of skepticism from ANE civilizations other than Israel, such as Egypt and Mesopotamia.

A. Skepticism Concerning Miracles

Miracles call for faith; the biblical authors knew this. They were aware of the fact that their accounts of miraculous events might meet with doubt and disbelief. Usually, we find no outright expressions of skepticism in the miracle stories themselves, but they often contain elements of authentication by which the authors wished to underscore the truth of their tale. Obliquely, then, these stories attest to the presence of skepticism in the audience. The writers endeavored to counter the arguments of possible skeptics beforehand. Some examples can illustrate this practice.

According to 2 Kings 2, Elijah was taken up to heaven by a whirlwind, after a chariot of fire and horses of fire had separated him from Elisha. Such accounts of *Entrückung* ("Assumption Stories") were familiar at the time, especially in classical antiquity. Privileged humans, such as Heracles and Romulus, are said to have entered the heavens in order to enjoy life among the immortals. Inevitably, these "Assumption Stories" often raised the protests of skeptics. Was the account of Elijah's ascension a target of skeptical comments in Israel as well? We know that the Samaritan tradition pictures Elijah's exit in quite a different way. There the prophet is depicted as a scoundrel, responsible for the death of the son of the widow of Zarephath by stealing their last morsels of food. During his flight from king Ahab, Elijah would have fallen into the Jordan and drowned. Although the Samaritan tradition serves the interests of theological propaganda, it could hardly have arisen without any support in popular belief.

The version of the LXX suggests that the assumption of Elijah was indeed surrounded by doubts. The translators reduced the extraordinary character of the events in a subtle fashion. Whereas the Hebrew text states that "Elijah went up by a whirlwind into heaven," the Greek translation says that "Elijah was taken away by a whirlwind as if *(hōs)* into heaven." The LXX rendering may have been inspired by the Hellenistic tendency to make such stories more palatable to skeptical minds.

The biblical account itself, as given in 2 Kings, betrays conscious efforts on the part of the author to prevent skeptical reactions. The story mentions an eyewitness, Elisha, who was present at his master's departure (v 12). Afterwards, prophets are said to have engaged in an investigation to see whether Elijah had not been cast upon some mountain or into some valley. They verify, so to speak, the truth of the *Entrückung* hypothesis. Three days of unsuccessful research convince them—as it should the reader of the story—that Elijah has indeed been taken to heaven.

Other miracle stories insist on the presence of witnesses in a comparable way. Moses caused water to come out of a rock by striking it "in the sight of the elders of Israel" (Exod 17:6). The *Mekilta* of Rabbi Ismael, a Tannaitic Midrash, explains that the elders had to be present, so that the Israelites would not be saying that perhaps there were natural sources of water in the neighborhood. In the extraordinary story of the quails, sent by God in such numbers that it took two days and one night to gather them (Num 11:32), it is Moses himself who voices the skepticism of the reader (Num 11:21–22). He expresses doubt concerning the possibility of the miracle announced by God. The rhetorical question that he gets for an answer, "Could the hand of the LORD be too short?" is an oblique reminder to the reader that nothing is beyond God's might (Num 11:23; cf. Isa 50:2; 59:1). In Genesis 18, the skepticism of the audience is also anticipated by the reference to Sarah's incredulous laughter (Gen 18:12, 13). In reply, we are warned that "nothing is too hard for the LORD" (Gen 18:14). The biblical authors needed to convince their audience that the miracles they describe really happened.

To suppress all doubt, they sometimes inserted episodes in which miracles are confirmed by impartial witnesses, such as the Shunammite woman (2 Kgs 8:1–6).

In this respect, the NT writers followed similar procedures. The miraculous events occurring in Jerusalem at the time of Jesus' crucifixion are reportedly witnessed by a Roman centurion (Matt 28:54). As Paul comes to speak of the Lord's resurrection, he refers to more than five hundred witnesses (1 Cor 15:6). Apparently, not all Israelites, nor all Christians were ready to accept miracles without further questioning.

B. Skepticism Concerning Divine Retribution

In the ANE, the gods were believed to be the guardians of the moral order. People were supposed to act in conformity with the reigning code of conduct by virtue of their social conscience ("Act as a gentleman should!"; "Such a thing is not done in Israel"), out of fear of judiciary action, and, ultimately, because God or the gods would otherwise punish them. Social solidarity and the distribution of human justice were limited in their effects; the gods, at once powerful and all-seeing, were believed to make justice triumph. By meting out punishments and sending rewards, they were thought to respond to human behavior. This is divine retribution.

Experiences of undeserved suffering, however, might lead people to question the belief in divine retribution. Particularly in times of political unrest and social upheaval, theodicy could become an acute problem. We know quite a number of literary compositions from Mesopotamia which deal with this issue. Most of them seem to have been written by the end of the Kassite rule (ca. 1200 B.C.). In the *Babylonian Theodicy* (*ANET*, 601–4), a dialogue between a destitute nobleman and his pious friend, the answer to the seeming injustice of the gods is sought by stressing the imperfections of human understanding: "The divine mind, like the center of the heavens, is remote; knowledge of it is difficult; people do not know it" (lines 256–57). If such a gulf separates man from the gods, however, the validity of the moral code itself becomes problematic. Such is indeed the mood of the complaint of the righteous sufferer found in *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi* ("I will praise the Lord of Wisdom"). Following a résumé of his meritorious deeds, the sufferer gives vent to his doubts:

> I wish I knew that these things were pleasing to one's god!
> What is proper to oneself is an offense to one's god,
> What in one's own heart seems despicable is proper to one's god.
> Who knows the will of the gods in heaven?
> Who understands the design of the abyss?
> Where have mortals learned the way of a god? (Tablet II, 34–38 [*BWL*])

These lines translate a skepticism that does not stop short of the gods' dealings with man, but attacks the religious basis of ethics. If the gods are so radically different, how can one be sure of their demands? The inaccessibility of the gods, an idea one sporadically finds in Egyptian wisdom texts, too, makes the assumed correspondence between divine commands and human ethics extremely precarious.

Similar misgivings have sometimes been voiced in ancient Israel and their echo can be heard in the Wisdom Literature. "I have not learned wisdom, nor have I knowledge of the Holy One—who has ascended to heaven and come down?" says Agur (Prov 30:3–4a). The distance between God and his creatures, so the author suggests, forbids all hopes of their ever understanding Him. Such a statement is more than an irenic reminder of human imperfection. In the face of inexplicable adversity, the emphasis on God's transcendence condemns the sufferer to impotent acceptance of an arbitrary lot. In the debate about good and evil, he is no party to God:

> Can you get to the bottom of God's secrets,
> Or fathom the limits of Shadday?
> It [God's wisdom] is higher than heaven—what can you do?
> It is deeper than Sheol—what would you know? (Job 11:7–8)

The recognition of God's absolute superiority can easily lead to skepticism. When God's distribution of justice is felt to be incompatible with the human sense of wrong and right, there is no way of knowing whether the human norms of behavior are, in the final analysis, sustained by God.

Skepticism concerning divine retribution could take on various forms. It usually led to doubts about God's active involvement in the world of human affairs: "The LORD does neither good nor ill" (Zeph 1:12). When it comes to the business of everyday life, "God does not manifest Himself," many an Israelite may have been thinking (Pss 14:1; 53:2). The frequent inconsistency between a man's moral attitude and his career, however, raised the far more serious question concerning the divine validation of morals. Experience gave fuel to the conviction that God's conception of right and wrong differed from that of men. If the logic of His plans was beyond human reach, it might well be that He entertained ideas about appropriate behavior far removed from what man would suppose. These considerations could easily lead to doubt about the validity of the accepted code of conduct. Skeptics would not suggest that God had purposefully given "statutes that were not good and ordinances by which they could not have life" (Ezek 20:25), but that there was no way of knowing how He wanted man to live.

Skepticism of the latter type is attested to by the polemical overtones of Deut 30:11–14. In retrospect, the commandments laid down in Deuteronomy are said to be within human reach:

> For this commandment which I command you this day is not beyond your understanding, neither is it far off. It is not in heaven, that you should say, "Who will go up for us to heaven, and bring it to us, that we may hear it and do it?" Neither is it beyond the sea, that you should say, "Who will go over the sea for us, and bring it to us, that we may hear it and do it?" But the word is very near you; it is in your mouth and in your heart, so that you can do it.

The images used here reflect the traditional Near Eastern conception of heaven and underworld—"beyond the sea" refers to Sheol, cf. Ps 139:8–9—as the abode of the gods. These are realms to which mortals have no access. Thanks to God's revelation, so Deuteronomy stresses (cf. Deut 29:28[29]), the divine norms are no longer hidden in these remote spots of the universe. Skepticism is combated by an appeal to the special status of the written law, the authoritative body into which revelation has solidified (cf. Prov 30:5–6).

C. Skepticism Concerning a Beatific Afterlife

In Egypt, from the First Intermediate Period (ca. 2130–1938) onward, the transitoriness of human existence becomes a literary theme elaborated in the various *Harper's Songs*. The authors of these compositions are skeptical about the efficacy of the funerary cult and urge the enjoyment of the present life. Similar admonitions run through Mesopotamian literature. According to the words of Siduri, one of the characters in the *Gilgamesh Epic*, "When the gods created mankind, they assigned death to mankind, but held life in their own keeping" (Old Babylonian version, Tablet X iii 3–5). Consequently, it is best to make merry as long as the circumstances allow one to do so. Both in Egyptian and in Mesopotamian thought, however, death did not annul the existence of the individual. After one's departure from the world of the living, life continued in the realm of the dead, albeit in a modified way. In Mesopotamia, this afterlife was never considered a happy prospect. Egyptian religion, on the other hand, is known to have stressed the importance of adequate preparations for one's burial and the subsequent care of the tomb, because only thus a relatively comfortable continuation of one's existence could be ensured. Skeptics had occasionally cast doubt on the realism of these expectations. Judging by biographical inscriptions from the 1st millennium B.C., their skepticism came to enjoy some popularity. Considering the persistence of the traditional funerary ideology and the burial practices, skepticism remained an active undercurrent (see also *LÄ* 2: 972–82).

The belief in a *postmortem* retribution arose at a relatively late date in ancient Israel, presumably as an answer to the problem of theodicy. From the outset, it met with skepticism. In the OT writings, the issue is explicitly dealt with in the book of Qoheleth (Ecclesiastes). The author is familiar with the idea of a future redressal of life's injustices: "God will judge the righteous and the wicked, for there is a time for every matter and every deed—over there!" (Qoh 3:17). This doctrine, however, is cited with skeptical overtones. God wants to show men that they are but beasts (Qoh 3:18). Both man and beast end up by going to the same place; there is no way of telling whether the spirit of man goes upward and the spirit of the beasts down to the earth (Qoh 3:20–21). The uncertainty of the future should incite man to enjoy his present lot (Qoh 3:22). Since, moreover, nobody has reached perfection (Qoh 7:20) and neither vice nor virtue can guarantee a happy life (Qoh 7:15–18), one had best take the good times as they come and entertain no vain hopes of future rewards (Qoh 9:7–10). The tone of Qoheleth cannot be called pessimistic; the author is a pious and, on the whole, irenic skeptic. His keen eye for the pleasures of life saves his meditations from bitterness and gives him a place in a time-honored stream of ANE wisdom teachings.

D. Conclusion

In many respects, Israelite skepticism differs from its modern versions. For one thing, its scope was limited. The existence of God was never called into question, nor were the basic elements of the religious world view abandoned. In other words: the skepticism that manifested itself in ancient Israel did not pave the way for a purely secular mentality. This does not, however, diminish its importance as a factor in the shaping of Israelite religiosity as we know it. The skeptical reception of miracle stories has contributed to, as much as it was an expression of, a religious culture that prized the word above the feasts of miracle-workers. Doubts concerning the divine settlement of accounts in the afterlife bolstered the fundamentally this-worldly orientation of Israelite faith. The most important contribution of skepticism, in the last analysis, has probably been the impetus it gave to the formulation of a doctrine of canonical revelation. Skeptics stressed the discontinuity between a transcendent deity and the human norms of behavior. Faced with this dilemma, the Deuteronomists brought the entire code of conduct under the tutelage of God by claiming its origin to be in divine revelation. Revelation became a key theological notion, raising the written body of commandments to canonical status. Thus, skepticism has had a catalyzing effect in the development of some of the distinctive facets of Israelite religion.

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SLAVE GIRL AT PHILIPPI (PERSON) [Gk *paidiskē*]. A young woman with a spirit of divination encountered by the apostle Paul and his companions at Philippi and exorcised of the spirit by the apostle (Acts 16:16–19). Although the majority of scholars (e.g., Schille *Apostelgeschichte* THKNT, 344–45) view the incident of the slave girl as nonhistorical, and others have argued that the story of the exorcism originated with respect to some other figure and was secondarily applied to Paul, there are still some who will defend the account as historical. Lüdemann, for example (1987: 189–91), believes that the question of historicity must remain open in the light of Paul's

own statements about his miraculous accomplishments (Rom 15:18–19; 2 Cor 12:11–13).

A spirit makes the slave girl clairvoyant and able to predict the future (Marshall *Acts* TNTC, 268). More specifically, the Greek text reads *pneuma pythōna* "spirit of divination" (Acts 16:16). According to Greek myth, the *pythōn* was the serpent or dragon that inspired and guarded the oracle at Delphi; the creature was slain by the god Apollo. The word *pythōn* came to mean a divining spirit, and ventriloquists were called *Pythōnes* (BAGD, 728–29). In antiquity, ventriloquists (Gk *engastrimythoi*) were thought to have in their stomachs a mantic spirit that spoke oracles (Festugière 1947: 133). The writer of the account in Acts undoubtedly viewed the slave girl as possessed; the exotic quality of *pythōn* possession enhances the literary appeal of the passage.

The story of the slave girl manifests considerable Lukan theology. She is a slave, a woman, possessed, and put to use for mere profit by her owners; evidently she should be numbered among the disadvantaged of the sort who are the particular object of Jesus' saving activity (O'Toole 1984: 109–35). Her act of "following" Paul (Acts 16:17) is not hostile. The slave girl (through her demonic spirit) has insight into the identity and mission of Paul and his company, much as the demons exorcised by Jesus knew his true identity (Luke 4:34, 41; 8:28). Her repeated shouts exposing their mission, "These men are servants of the Most High God, who proclaim to you the way of salvation" (Acts 2:28; Tremel 1981: 101), so annoyed Paul that he commanded the spirit in the name of Jesus Christ to come out of her, and it did.

In its context, the story of the exorcism creates the circumstance of Paul's imprisonment at Philippi. It is one of a group of stories of Paul's encounter with preternatural phenomena in Greco-Roman cities. In all of these (the sons of Elymas [Acts 13:4–12]; the sons of Sceva [19:11–20]; the silversmiths of Ephesus [Acts 19:21–40]) the preternatural is distinguished from and subordinated to Christianity. Other Lukan themes salient in the story of the slave girl are the power of the name of Jesus, the continuing activity of the risen Christ, and the salvation of the disadvantaged.

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SLAVERY. Slavery is the institution whereby one person can hold ownership rights over another. In the biblical world, this institution took on forms quite unlike the New World slavery practiced in the West particularly in the 18th and 19th century. This entry consists of three articles that explore slavery in the biblical world. The first focuses upon slave labor in the ANE (particularly Mesopotamia); the second focuses upon the practice of slavery as it is depicted in the OT, and the third focuses upon Greco-Roman practices of slavery and how these are depicted in NT texts.

ANCIENT NEAR EAST

A. Types of Labor
B. Sources of Slavery
C. Use of Slave Labor
D. The Legal Status of Slaves
E. Manumission of Slaves
F. Conclusion

A. Types of Labor

Society in the ANE consisted of three large social groups: freemen, semi-free population, and slaves. Although an unusual variety of forms of socioeconomic relations was characteristic of antiquity, there existed three main types of labor: independent labor of free peasants and craftsmen, labor of slaves, and labor of various groups of the semi-free populace.

Independent or free producers worked in their own fields and craft workshops. There also existed free hired-labor which is attested in earlier as well as in later periods of Mesopotamian history and was used in the Hittite kingdom, Palestine, and many other countries of the ANE. This type of labor was especially characteristic of Babylonia in the 1st millennium B.C., when temples and private individuals were forced to resort to the large-scale use of free hired labor in handicrafts and in agricultural work. These masses of hired hands consisted mainly of land-starved free persons.

Semi-free groups, which can be called serfs or helots, were subjected to extra-economic coercion and worked from generation to generation on land that belonged to the palace and temples. Ethnically, they consisted of native population and captives settled on the land. Depending on the specific historical conditions, the serfs could be deprived of property in the means of production or could have access to them. In other words, some of these persons owned plots of land and possessed immovable and movable property, including even slaves. They worked part-time on their own and part-time in palace and temple households. Other groups of serfs did not have their own land and worked full-time for public estates.

The serfs, although closely akin to slaves, occupied an intermediate position between freemen and slaves. They were the principal labor force in state and temple estates in Egypt, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia (*gurušˇ* in early periods, *šušānu*, etc. in the 1st millennium), Achaemenid Iran (*kurtašˇ*), and in other countries of the ANE. In later periods the role of such groups in production and in the social structure decreased appreciably from that of the 3d and the 2d millennia, while the role of slave labor became more important.

Slavery was a further form of personal dependence and extra-economic coercion. The slave was a person deprived of the means of production and was merely a thing belonging to his master with regard to whom he had only duties and no rights whatsoever. The institution of slavery prob-

ably came into existence at the end of the 4th millennium and developed along different lines in different countries, depending on concrete historical conditions. Its forms also changed in one and the same country within the course of time.

The usual term for "slave" in Mesopotamia was *wardum,* which at the same time was used not only to designate an actual slave but also dependence in the broad sense or servility, thus corresponding to Heb *ʿebed,* Aram *ʿabdā,* Old Pers *bandaka,* Gk *doulos,* etc. In the ANE, all the subjects of the king, including even highly placed officials, were regarded as slaves of the king. In 1st millennium Babylonia, a large number of terms appeared which were either completely unattested in the earlier texts or were used with different meanings (for example, *qallu* which literally means "the little one" or *amēlūtu,* the abstract collective term for slaves of both sexes, which literally means "people"). In addition, in many countries there existed temple slaves whose status was also hereditary. In Mesopotamia, the main term for such slaves was *širku.*

B. Sources of Slavery

In all probability, slaves were originally foreigners, mainly prisoners of war. Within all the periods of antiquity, Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Hittite, Persian, and other Oriental rulers carried away great masses of captives from their victorious battles. But only an insignificant part of them was turned into slaves; all the others were settled on the land as palace and temple serfs. In later periods the labor of prisoners of war was more widely used in the construction of canals and the building of roads, palaces, and temples.

Many of the foreign slaves were brought from abroad. For instance, slaves from Sabartu in N Mesopotamia were highly appreciated in Babylonia and Assyria at the end of the 3d and beginning of the 2d millennia.

In the Old Babylonian period, a distinction was drawn between native and foreign slaves. Thus, according to the Code of Hammurapi (par. 280), citizens who had been carried off to foreign countries were subject to redemption. But in the 1st millennium such a distinction was not made in Babylonia or Assyria.

Beginning with the earlier periods, debt slavery was one of the basic sources of replenishing the slave population. However, from time to time debtors were able to gain release from slavery. Thus, the Babylonian king Ammiṣaduqa in the 17th century issued an edict, according to which all inhabitants of his kingdom who had been compelled by debt to become slaves should be released together with their families. See also PUNISHMENTS AND CRIMES.

In earlier Mesopotamian periods, debt slavery was usually limited by law to a specific period of time, usually to three or six years. For instance, the Code of Hammurapi (par. 117) stipulates that debt slavery should be limited to three years, but no such limitation existed in Assyria. In Nuzi, debt slavery was widespread, and the time required to work off the loan sometimes lasted up to 50 years. In 1st-millennium Babylonia, however, any limitation of debt slavery to a specific period of time was no longer in force. Moreover, debt slavery was not widespread at this time and was no longer of great significance. Besides, the creditor could no longer sell a debtor into slavery to a third person. Usually the debtor paid off the loan by *antichresis* (free work for the creditor), thereby preserving his freedom.

The self-sale of destitute freemen is attested in documents from the Ur III period and from Larsa in the period before the accession of Hammurapi. In the Old Assyrian period, a man at Kanesh sold himself and his wife into slavery, and at Nuzi self-sale in order to obtain food and clothing was very widespread (Dandamaev 1984: 175, n. 121). In 1st-millennium Babylonia self-sale became an extremely rare phenomenon. Thus, about 648, at the time of the siege of Babylon by Ashurbanipal, one woman sold herself into slavery on the condition that her master feed her. The document contains the stipulation that, after the siege has been lifted, husband, son, brother, or any other member of the family may redeem her by offering something equivalent to her value (Weidner 1952/1953: 37.2).

The sale of children of free persons into slavery was permitted in Sumer, Babylonia, and Assyria in the 3d and 2d millennia. In Assyria of the 1st millennium, parents could sell their children and brothers could sell their sisters. In Nuzi the sale of children was widely practiced (Dandamaev 1984: 174, n. 118). Nine Neo-Babylonian contracts concerning the sale of children by free persons have been preserved from Nippur. In 626, when the troops of the Babylonian king Nabopolassar laid siege to Nippur, which had maintained allegiance to the Assyrians, some parents sold their children to moneylenders (Oppenheim 1955: 69–89).

In the 3d and 2d millennia, parents who were not in the position to feed their young children sometimes left them at walls or in baskets on the river and also abandoned them on the street where anyone who desired could pick them up and raise them, either to turn them into slaves or adopt them. The Code of Hammurapi regulates the legal position of such persons (pars. 185–87, 192).

In earlier periods of Mesopotamian history, free persons could be enslaved for violation of law. For example, in Sumer thieves were turned over to their victims as slaves. The wife and children of a murderer who had been sentenced to death were also condemned to slavery. According to Sumerian law, if the son renounced his father, the latter could place upon him the mark of a slave (Driver and Miles 1968, 1: 306). The Code of Hammurapi (par. 141) permitted a husband to sell his dishonest or spendthrift wife into slavery. According to the same Code (par. 54), a man through whose fault his neighbor's field was flooded had to compensate for the damage, and if not in the position to do this, then he was to be sold.

In 1st-millennium Babylonia, slaves were permitted to live as families, and their natural reproduction from generation to generation had great significance, being the basic source for replenishing the number of slaves.

An important source of temple slavery was the dedication of privately owned slaves to the temples by their devout masters. This practice of making dedications is attested as far back as the Old Babylonian period and was also known in Assyria. Under the Chaldean kings, one of the principal sources of temple slavery was the dedication of prisoners of war to the temple. Other sources were the slaves transferred to the temple by insolvent debtors, the children of temple slaves, and finally the children of free

persons given to the temple for economic reasons. Thus, according to a document dated to the reign of Nabonidus, a time of famine in Babylonia, a woman whose husband had died dedicated two of her young children to the Eanna temple in Uruk to be slaves and branded them. The text notes that the children were given to the temple so they would not die of starvation (Dougherty 1920: no. 154).

C. Use of Slave Labor

The documentary sources contain little information about the employment of privately owned slaves in agriculture, except cases when slaves appear as tenants of leased fields. Thus, in 1st-millennium Babylonia, the slaves rented fields, seed, animals, and implements from their own masters or from other persons. The large landowners preferred to lease out the land to tenant farmers instead of employing slaves, because slave labor required constant supervision, and therefore increased expenditures.

A relatively large number of slaves worked on the temple estates. However, temple slaves caused many problems by their frequent escapes and their reluctance to work, thus requiring constant supervision. The letters of temple officials of the Neo-Babylonian period are full of complaints that the slaves are lazy and do shoddy work. Therefore the temples were often forced to employ seasonal workers and occasionally rented out land to free tenants. Besides, a considerable part of the temple estates was tilled by serfs.

In the ANE, there existed no artisan workshops based on slave labor. Trade professions were to a considerable extent passed down from father to son among the free members of the society. Thus, in ancient Oriental societies the labor of free farmers and tenants constituted the basis of agriculture, and the labor of the freemen was predominant in handicrafts as well.

Slave labor reached its highest level of development in 1st-millennium Babylonia. Wealthy individuals owned several slaves, and some families (e.g. the Egibi business house) actually possessed over a hundred slaves. It was not uncommon for persons of moderate means to own three to five slaves. Nevertheless, the number of slaves would not have been greater than half of the free population.

The question arises, why the masses of war prisoners were not enslaved. Slavery was the optimal form of dependence, and very often there was no shortage of prisoners captured in war. Besides, there were no legal or ethical norms preventing these prisoners from being turned into slaves. But this happened in a negligible percentage of cases, while the overwhelming majority were settled in places specially set aside for them, paid royal taxes, and carried out obligations, including military service.

The reasons why foreign prisoners could not be turned into slaves were that the palace economy could not use slave labor because of its low level and that the state machinery was too weak to exert effective supervision over masses of slaves (Gelb 1973: 91). In other words, the slave labor sector in the ANE, unlike the world of Greek and Roman antiquity, proved unable to absorb masses of captives because of the comparatively weak development of the economy and commodity-money relations and, consequently, because of the absence of sufficiently advanced methods of production in which slave labor could be widely used. Therefore, slave labor was primarily used for domestic work which did not require much training or costly supervision, that is, where it could be used the year round and not only seasonally.

D. The Legal Status of Slaves

Slaves, just like livestock, constituted a basic form of movable property. They were deposited as security, included in dowries, transferred by inheritance, etc.

Slaves were frequently branded for the purpose of identification. The marking most often consisted of tattooing or "writing" the name of the slave's owner on his hand with a red-hot iron. In Assyria ears of slaves were sometimes pierced. The Code of Hammurapi (par. 282) permitted the master to cut off the ear of a disobedient slave. In Mesopotamia starting with the end of the 3d millennium, many slaves were already being marked with marks of the *abbuttum* type. This was probably a special mark placed on the shaven head by a barber who also functioned as the professional marker of slaves (Szlechter 1949: 404). According to the Code of Hammurapi (par. 226), if a barber shaved an *abbuttum* from a slave's head without the knowledge and consent of his owner, the barber's hand would be cut off.

The escape of slaves was quite a widespread phenomenon. Fugitive slaves were caught, incarcerated in fetters, and returned back to work. The Laws of Eshnunna (pars. 49–50) already stipulate a fine of two times the value of the slave for the theft of someone's slave or the concealment of a fugitive slave. The Laws of Lipit-Ištar (par. 12) obligate the citizen who sheltered a fugitive slave to return him to his master within a month's time or to pay the latter 25 shekels of silver. The Code of Hammurapi (pars. 15, 16) establishes the death penalty for the theft or concealment of a fugitive slave.

During the sale of a slave the seller in some cases guaranteed that within the first hundred days his slave would neither run away nor suddenly die. In addition, a guarantee was given that the slave was not subject to epileptic fits. The Code of Hammurapi (par. 278) restricts this warranty to one month, while Neo-Assyrian documents stipulate a term of one hundred days after the purchase (Driver and Miles 1968, 2: 279–80).

The average price of a slave or slave woman in the period of the dynasty of Akkad and in the Ur III period fluctuated between 10 and 15 shekels of silver. It was 20 shekels in the Old Babylonian period. In late Assyria, slaves were sold for approximately 50 to 60 shekels and slave women for 40 shekels. In the period of the Chaldean dynasty, an adult male slave cost an average of 50 to 60 shekels and a slave woman a little less. Under the Achaemenids, the prices for slaves gradually rose to about one and a half times their previous level (Dandamaev 1984: 181–206).

It is natural that the slave's life was valued less than that of a freeman. According to the Code of Hammurapi, the killing of someone else's slave was to be punished only by the payment of compensation to his master for his material loss (par. 116), and, when bodily injuries were inflicted on a slave, it was necessary only to pay half the purchase price of the slave (par. 199).

Although in view of the law the slave was mere chattel, the actual position of slaves varied greatly even in a single society in the same historical period. Some slaves were

subjected to cruel forms of exploitation, while others found themselves in relatively good circumstances.

In many countries of the ANE marriages between free people and slaves were permitted. According to Old Babylonian law, the children of a slave woman and her master were regarded as free persons in all instances. As seen from the Code of Hammurapi (par. 175), children from a marriage between a male slave and a free woman were considered free persons.

Sometimes slaves were permitted to possess various kinds of property *(peculium)*. Naturally, a slave received the right to a *peculium* only in those cases when the master took an interest in this. Such slaves were left to themselves with the payment of a fixed quitrent. The size of the quitrent fluctuated depending on the property of the slave, and in 1st-millennium Babylonia, on average, when calculated in money, amounted to twelve shekels of silver a year. Such a sum was also equal to the average annual pay of an adult hired worker regardless of whether he was free or a slave. Sometimes a quitrent was replaced by work for the master. Temple slaves who led an independent economic existence were also obliged to pay a monetary quitrent or provide the temple with finished products in accordance with the established norms.

In 1st-millennium Babylonia enterprising slaves owned land, houses, and considerable amounts of movable property. They actively participated in all spheres of economic activity, were engaged in trade, ran taverns and workshops, taught other persons various trades, pawned and mortgaged their property, and they themselves received the property of others as security for loans.

In the legal sphere such slaves could appear as witnesses, plaintiffs, and defendants in court. They also could have their own personal seals and take oaths. Moreover, there were apparently no differences in the ways in which the interests of slaves and freemen were defended, though the slaves, of course, could not engage in litigation with their masters. In affairs with a third party, the slave could mortgage only the *peculium*, but not his own person.

Slaves sometimes even purchased other slaves or hired free individuals to work in their own households. Such wealthy slaves, however, remained the property of their masters, at whose whim they could be deprived of their property and influence.

E. Manumission of Slaves

A slave's right of manumission belonged exclusively to the slave's owner. According to Sumero-Babylonian law, the freeing of a slave took place either before a court or in the form of a contract between the slave and his master or through a ritual purification of the slave. Court protocols as early as the Third Dynasty of Ur contain mention of the manumission of slaves. The freeing of the slave took place before judges, was recorded in a document of an official nature, and could not be contested later by the former master or his heirs (Driver and Miles 1968, 1: 221–30).

Sometimes the act of manumission was formulated as a sale contract between the master and his slave. In a number of cases, the freeing of a slave was effected through adoption by his master on the condition that he maintain his former master while he was alive. Sometimes a master married his slave woman to a free man so that the latter would buy her or maintain his wife's former master along with her. An Assyrian document from around 1800 records that a free man manumitted his slave and adopted him, with the stipulation that, as long as the former master and his wife lived, the adopted son was to support them and obey them. After their death he was to receive a plot of land and one ox. If the former master reclaimed his adopted son as a slave, he was to pay two minas of silver. If the manumitted slave repudiated his adoptive parents and ran away, he was to be sold at the place where he was caught (Veenhof 1982: 359–85). Another Assyrian document from ca. 1115 records that a slave redeemed himself from slavery for 1 mina 55 shekels of silver. In all probability, he was a debt slave. The text also stipulates that the former master and his descendants shall not initiate any lawsuit concerning this manumission (Jankowska 1989: 82–85).

As seen from Neo-Babylonian documents and Aramaic papyri of the 5th century B.C. from Egypt, slaves were sometimes freed with the stipulation that they continue to serve the master or provide him with food as long as he was alive (Dandamaev 1984: 438–50). Thus, the manumission of slaves was mainly limited to those cases where the slave owner, advanced in years and without children, sought to arouse the interest of a slave through the prospect of being freed in the future. There is also attested such a form of manumission when a free person (either the master of the slave himself or another person) adopts the slave. Both of these forms existed in Mesopotamia for two millennia, and their legal character remained the same from the Old Babylonian period on.

F. Conclusion

The institution of slavery had a profound influence on the social structure, ideology, law, social psychology, morals and ethics of the various cultures of the ANE. However, the idea of a slave as exclusively the object of rights and as a person outside regular society was apparently alien to the laws of the ANE. The institution of slavery was taken for granted not only by the free persons but also by the slaves themselves, who never demanded its abolition. Therefore ideology of the ANE contains no condemnation of slavery or any protest against it.

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MUHAMMAD A. DANDAMAYEV

OLD TESTAMENT

A. Terms Designating Slaves
B. Sources of Slavery
C. The Use of Slave Labor
D. The Legal Status and Actual Position of Slaves
E. Conclusion

A. Terms Designating Slaves

The usual term for slaves in the OT is *ʿebed* derived from the verb *ʿābad*, "to work." In the LXX it is translated *doulos*, which is the most general attributive of a slave, and sometimes *oiketēs*, i.e., a household slave. The Heb *nʿr* (fem. *nʿrh*), literally "youth," is also used in the OT with respect to young slaves. Its Greek equivalent *pais* in the LXX designated domestics, young slaves as well as freeborn young persons. Finally, the word *āmāh* is encountered with the meaning slave woman in ancient Hebrew.

The word *ʿebed*, however, denoted not only actual slaves occupied in production or in the household but also persons in subordinate positions (mainly subordinate with regard to the king and his higher officials). Thus the term *ʿebed* is sometimes translated as "servant." Besides, the term was used as a sign of servility in reference to oneself when addressing persons of higher rank. Finally, the same term was also used in the figurative meaning "the slave (or servant) of God." Thus, the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, prophets, David, Solomon and other kings are regularly called slaves of Yahweh (Exod 32:13; Lev 25:55; 1 Sam 3:9; Ezra 9:11, etc.). Similarly, all the subjects of Israel and Judah are called slaves of their kings, including even wives, sons, and brothers of the latter (1 Sam 17:8; 29:3; 2 Sam 19:5, etc.; cf. also Gen 27:37; 32:4). Addressing Moses and prophets, the Israelites called themselves their slaves (Num 32:25; 1 Sam 12:19, etc.). Ruth refers to herself as a slave girl of her relative Boaz (Ruth 3:9). Being a vassal of the Philistine king Achish, David called himself his slave (1 Sam 28:2). It is natural that the same vague and inexplicitly formulated social terminology characteristic of the ANE is also used in the Bible in relation to the subjects of foreign rulers. For example, courtiers of an Aramean ruler or the soldiers of the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar II were considered slaves of their monarchs (2 Kgs 6:11; 24:10–11). It is natural that kings of Judah depending on more powerful rulers of neighboring countries were considered their slaves. Thus, Ahaz is referred to as a slave of the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III (2 Kgs 16:7). In modern translations of the Bible *ʿebed/doulos* and several other similar terms are rendered "slave" as well as "servant," "attendant," etc. Such translations, however, might create some confusion and give the incorrect impression that special terms for the designation of servants and slaves are attested in the Bible.

However, selecting the proper meaning from such a broad metaphorical application of the term designating a general dependence rarely presents great difficulty. For example, Abimelech, king of Gerar, called up his slaves and told them his dream (Gen 20:8). Apparently, these "slaves" were royal courtiers and officials. Abraham gathered 318 of his slaves, born in his household, in order to recover his kinsman Lot who had been captured by Chedorlaomer and three Mesopotamian kings (Gen 14:14). At least, a part of these persons constituted freeborn members of Abraham's family. Upon ascending the throne of Judah, Amaziah executed his slaves who had murdered his father, the former king (2 Chr 25:3). These slaves were certainly royal dignitaries. When Josiah, king of Judah, had been killed at Megiddo, his body was taken in a chariot to Jerusalem by his slaves (2 Kgs 23:30). It is quite evident that these slaves were royal soldiers. In a number of cases, however, the interpretation of the actual meaning of the ambiguous *ʿebed* may be disputed. For instance, the steward of Abraham's household who was in charge of all his possessions is called his slave (Gen 24:2). His status can only conjecturally be interpreted as an indication of actual slavery and, of course, he could have been a freeborn person.

The nations subjected by the Israelites were considered slaves. They were, however, not slaves in the proper meaning of the term, although they were obliged to pay royal taxes and perform public works. Thus, during the conquest of Canaan, the inhabitants of Gibeon and three other towns avoided defeat by tricking the Israelites into granting them a treaty. When their trick became known, the treaty was upheld but the populations of the towns were reduced to "perpetual slaves" and were obliged to chop wood and draw water for the altar (Josh 9:23). When David subdued the Philistines, Edomites, Moabites, and Arameans, they became his tribute-paying slaves (2 Sam 8:2, 14; 1 Chr 18:2, 6, 13). Solomon took a census of all people who did not belong to Israel and reduced them to "slavery" making such a status hereditary. He also imposed forced labor on them in order to build the Jerusalem temple and royal palace (2 Chr 2:17; 8:7–9). An ideological background of this dependence can be found in the story of Ham, the father of Canaan, who saw his father Noah naked during the latter's drunkenness. Therefore Noah cursed Canaan who was then destined to be a slave to his brothers (Gen 9:25–27). It can also be mentioned that the Philistine champion Goliath challenged the Israelites to decide the struggle between them in a single combat. The conditions of the duel were that if the Israelite champion defeated Goliath the Philistines were to become slaves of the Israelites, and *vice versa* (1 Sam 17:8–9). The Israelites were saying that the king would give a rich reward to the man who would kill Goliath and would make his father's house free, i.e., would exempt his family from paying taxes and performing royal service (1 Sam 17:25).

According to the Bible, the Israelites were slaves in Egypt (Exod 13:3, 14; Deut 5:15; 16:2; 24:18, etc.). They, however, were not slaves in the exact meaning of the word and were only obliged to perform forced labor for the pharaoh.

Our information about the Babylonian captivity of the Jews is much more abundant. The biblical sources describe this captivity as the yoke of cruel slavery (2 Chr 36:26; Isa 14:3; 47:6; Ezra 9:9, etc.; cf. Jer 25:11; 27:7). According to Lamentations (5:5, 8, 13), the prisoners were given no rest, young men were to grind corn, and they stumbled under loads of wood (cf. also Isa 51:14). These captives, however, cannot be legally classified as slaves at all since they were not included in the palace or temple households, but were settled in places set aside for them, particularly in the Nippur region. Initially, these people probably did not have the right to leave their place of residence. Referring to Yahweh's order, Jeremiah urged the prisoners that the captivity would be long, and he encouraged them to build houses and lay out gardens, to marry and raise children (Jer 29:4, 7, 28). Later, after the capture of Babylonia by the Persians, some of the Jews returned home, taking their own slaves with them (Ezra 2:64–65; Neh 7:66–67). The status of the rest was essentially the same as that of the local free population, as can be seen from the information contained in the documents of the Murashû archive.

B. Sources of Slavery

Beginning with the earlier periods, debt slavery was one of the basic sources of replenishing the slave population. Besides, the law permitted the sale of children by parents of free status. Such slaves, however, could not have been sold by their creditors to a third party. The debtors continued to work for the creditor in order to pay off their loans.

In the Deuteronomic law a clear distinction is drawn between slaves of Hebrew and foreign descent. Debtors who were Hebrews and sold themselves in utmost need could be held in slavery for only six years, after which they should be set free without any pay (Exod 21:2; Deut 15:12; Jer 34:14). If a Hebrew slave was married when he was forced into slavery, his wife went free with him after a six-year period (Exod 21:3; Lev 25:40–42). If his master gave him a wife, she and any children remained with the master and only the slave was set free (Exod 21:4). If, however, the slave was content with his master and chose to remain with his family, the master was instructed to bring him to the doorpost and to pierce his ear with an awl and then he was to be his slave for life (Exod 21:6; Deut 15:16–17). If a Hebrew sold his daughter into slavery, she could not obtain freedom even after six years of work. Her master, however, had no right to sell her to a foreigner. If he did not want to treat her as his concubine or to give her in marriage to his son and if he deprived her of food, clothes, and conjugal rights, she could go free without any payment (Exod 21:7–11).

The law also demanded that the status of a Hebrew who sold himself into slavery to another Hebrew should be that of a hired workman and after six years he could go back to his family (Lev 25:39–41). Thus, such a self-sale did not lead to actual slavery. If a Hebrew sold himself to a foreigner, the latter was obliged to set him free as soon as the slave or his relatives could pay for his redemption (Lev 25:39–41). Then the slave was required to compensate his redeemer by working for him or repaying the sum of the ransom (Lev 25:47–52; cf. Exod 21:2; Neh 5:8). If the slave was not in the position to redeem himself he had to work as a hired laborer until the Sabbatical year when he was to be set free together with his children (Lev 25: 53–54).

According to the Deuteronomic law (15:13–14, 18), upon manumission, it was required to give the slaves some gifts to enable them to maintain their households, since for six years' work they paid off twice as much as the wage of a hired man.

It seems, however, that these laws were not always observed. For example, during Zedekiah's reign it was decided to proclaim an act of freedom for the slaves of Hebrew descent, and nobody objected to this decision; however, afterward they changed their minds and continued to use the labor of the persons whom they had freed (Jer 34:8–11, 14–17). As seen from the book of Nehemiah (5:3–5), in 5th-century Judah, some free persons were forced to mortgage their fields, vineyards, and houses to escape starvation, or to borrow silver to pay the king's taxes, delivering their sons and daughters into slavery. The inhabitants of Judah complained that they were required to sell their sons and daughters into slavery and that it was not possible to redeem them. Similar protests occur also in some other biblical books. For instance, according to 2 Kings 4:1, a freeborn Jewish woman was complaining that after the death of her husband, his creditor took both her sons as his slaves. Proverbs (22:7) say that the rich rules over the poor and the borrower is a slave to the lender.

Thus, one of the chief sources of privately owned slaves was defaulting debtors and their families. Aliens who fell into debt slavery could become perennial slaves. Besides, the self-sale was permitted by law. Finally, free persons had the right to sell their children or to use them as security.

Already in earlier periods, the abduction of freeborn persons for the purpose of enslaving or selling them into slavery was also known. The law, however, stipulated the death penalty for the kidnapping of Israelites (Deut 24:7; see also Exod 21:16). A number of biblical books contain an appeal not to covet slaves, slave women, and other property belonging to one's neighbor (Exod 20:17, etc.).

In earlier periods, when the Israelites conducted successful wars against neighboring peoples, prisoners of war constituted an important source of slavery. As was characteristic of other ANE societies, captive men, boys and even women were often put to death and only girls were sent into slavery (Num 31:9–18). Thus, during one military campaign there were captured 67,500 head of sheep, 72,000 head of cattle, 61,000 asses, and 32,000 girls (Num 31:32–35).

Deuteronomy (20:11–14) contains instructions that when advancing on an alien city in order to occupy it, it was necessary to make an offer of peace. If this offer was accepted and the city's gates opened, its inhabitants were to pay taxes and perform corvée labor. If this offer, however, was declined, all the men were to be put to the sword, and women and children as well as movable goods were to become the plunder of the victors. But if any soldier married a captive girl who had caught his fancy and afterward divorced her, he could not sell her into slavery and was obliged to set her free (Deut 21:10–14).

In later periods of Israelite society, the influx of prison-

ers of war was very limited, and for this reason the basic source of slaves was natural reproduction.

The next source of slavery was obtaining slaves through purchase from neighboring nations. This source was in every possible way encouraged by biblical instructions (Lev 25:44–46, etc.; cf. also Eccl. 2:7). Such slaves were legally considered the absolute property of their owners, and their status was permanent: they were sold, passed on by way of inheritance, pawned, and branded or marked like livestock (cf. Isa 44:5).

Apparently, the prices for slaves varied in different periods and depended on their ages, skills, sex, and the like. It is known that Midianite traders sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites for 20 shekels of silver (Gen 37:28). To judge from Leviticus (27:3–7), an adult male slave cost an average of 50 shekels of silver and a slave woman 30 shekels; boys between five and twenty years old about 20 shekels, and girls of the same age about 10 shekels; babies and five-year-old boys 5 shekels and girls 3 shekels; old men and women (over sixty years) 15 and 10 shekels respectively. See also OLD AGE.

Finally, it is possible that free persons could be condemned to slavery for violation of law. In any case, to judge from Genesis (43:18; see also 44:9–10, 17), thieves could be sent into slavery.

C. The Use of Slave Labor

The slaves referred to in the Bible were in most cases privately owned. Naturally, there existed a royal economy which, however, was organized on the pattern of private households and, probably, the status of slaves of both types did not essentially differ.

It seems that there was no temple household in the Israelite and Judean society. In other words, the Jerusalem temple did not possess its own fields and livestock. Therefore the Bible does not mention any slaves working in the temple household. The main source of temple revenue consisted of various taxes, the most important being the tithe. A number of biblical books mention a group called *netînîm* (1 Chr 9:2; Ezra 8:20, etc.). Scholarly opinion has been divided on the problem of whether this group constituted temple slaves or a class of cult servitors. See NETHINIM.

As seen from the book of Job (7:2), a slave's life was associated with exhausting labor, and the slave was longing for shadows like a hireling waited for his wage.

We have, however, almost no information about the use of slave labor. In this connection, only a few examples can be referred to, and even in these cases we cannot be sure that actual slave labor and not hired free labor is meant there. Jacob's shepherds are called his slaves (Gen 32:16); Abraham's and Isaac's slaves dug wells (Gen 26:15, 19); one of Saul's slaves, an Edomite, was his herdsman (1 Sam 21:7). There is also very scanty evidence on the use of slave labor in cultivating the land (2 Sam 9:10; Ruth 2:5). During the building of the walls of Jerusalem, Nehemiah ordered the people that every man and his slave were to act as guards by night and work by day (Neh 4:22). The number of these slaves is unknown to us but, according to the same source (4:16, 18), all the adult free population of Jerusalem was engaged in the construction.

For no period of Israelite and Judean society (as well as for any other society of the ANE) is the ratio of free persons to slaves even approximately known. The Bible, however, gives some related information which may be used for comparison (Ezra 2:64–65; Neh 7:66–67). When the Babylonian captivity ended and the Jews returned to their homeland after the Persians had captured Mesopotamia, the adult composition of the repatriated people was as follows: out of 42,360 persons (30,000 of them men), the number of slaves and slave women came to 7,337, i.e., between one-fifth and one-sixth of the number of free people.

There is no doubt that the number of slaves was probably far less than the number of the free population. In any case, indirect information attests to this. For example, throughout the entire period of the grandiose construction of the Jerusalem temple and royal palace during the reigns of David and Solomon, nothing is known about the use of slave labor. The sources, however, clearly testify to using free subjects of the state for these purposes. According to 1 Kings (5:13–14), Solomon imposed corvée labor on the population of Israel. In particular, ten thousand men were sent each month to Lebanon in order to supply the construction with cedar and pine. Solomon also raised a forced levy of seventy thousand porters and eighty thousand stonecutters (1 Kgs 5:15; 2 Kgs 2:2, 18). It seems that these workmen were conscripted mainly from the Canaanite population which was dependent on the Israelites but was not subservient. According to biblical sources, only descendants of the subjected local population were employed by Solomon on perpetual forced labor for his public works. As to the Israelites, they were used only as fighting men (1 Kgs 9:21; 2 Chr 2:17–18; 8:7–9). This, however, can hardly be right since we know that after the death of Solomon, the Israelites were complaining to his son Rehoboam that his father had laid a cruel yoke upon them. They also asked him to improve their position. However, on the advice of the young men in his attendance, Rehoboam said that he would make their yoke even heavier (1 Kgs 12:4, 14; 2 Chr 10:4, 14). Thus, in all probability, the labor of the free Israelites began to be widely used for corvée works. It is also appropriate to mention that the prophet Samuel warned his countrymen that if they chose a king, he would take their sons and would make some of them plough his fields and reap his harvest, he would take their daughters as cooks, etc., and he would use their slaves and slave women to work for himself (1 Sam 8:11–16).

When the construction of the temple was finished, many master craftsmen were regularly used to carry out repairs in it. There were, however, no slaves among them. They were freeborn carpenters, builders, stonecutters, and masons hired and paid by the temple administration (2 Kgs 12:11–12; 22:5–6; 2 Chr 24:11–12).

D. The Legal Status and Actual Position of Slaves

Non-Israelite slaves were legally considered movable property of their masters who could dispose of them as they wished. Slaves were supposed to be in fear of their masters (Mal 1:6). In a number of biblical passages, slaves are listed as part of valuable property along with cattle, gold, silver, etc. (Gen 12:16; 20:14; 24:35; 30:43; 32:5; Exod 20:17, etc.).

A number of proverbs and aphorisms have been preserved which show a contemptuous attitude toward slaves: a slave ruling over princes is out of place (Prov 19:10); mere words will not discipline a slave, since he does not respond even if he understands (Prov 29:19); a slave pampered from boyhood will become ungrateful in the end (Prov 29:21). The case when a slave becomes king is listed among the things which the earth cannot bear (Prov 30:22). A similar case is when slaves are on horseback and nobles go on foot (Eccl 10:7).

Nonetheless, slaves were not only the object of law. Thus, the 4th Commandment contains an interdiction against forcing the slaves to work on the Sabbath (Exod 20:10; 23:12; Deut 5:14). It seems, however, that these instructions were often violated since some biblical sources condemn the breach of the Sabbath (Ezek 23:38, etc.). We have in the Bible the first appeals in world literature to treat slaves as human beings for their own sake and not just in the interests of their masters. Thus, slaves both born in the household and those bought with money, just like the free Israelites, were to be circumcised in order to share cultic life and eat the Passover (Gen 17:13, 23, 27; Exod 12:44; Deut 12:12, 18; Lev 22:11). The Hebrew law also restricted the master's power over his slaves. The premeditated killing of a slave was considered a crime and was punishable by law in cases where the slave died immediately from a beating, although the kind of punishment for this is not indicated in the text (Exod 21:20). But the master was not to be punished if the slave survived a day or two (Exod 21:21). If the master put out his slave's eye or knocked out his tooth, the slave was to be set free in compensation (Exod 21:26–27).

In contrast to all the ANE laws, Deuteronomy (23:15–16) forbade the handing over of a fugitive slave who had sought asylum from his master. The law instructed the owner to let the slave stay where he chose to live. Our information about fugitive slaves is very scanty. For example, Nabal, a contemporary of David, said that many slaves had escaped from their masters in his day (1 Sam 25:10). Two slaves belonging to an Israelite had run away to Achish, king of the Philistine city of Gath, and their master had to go there to retrieve them (1 Kgs 2:39–40).

An appeal for the humane treatment of slaves can also be found in the advice not to slander a slave to his master so that the slave would not curse the slanderer (Prov 30:10). According to the book of Job (3:19), after the death of a master all of his slaves are free. It is said in the book of Isaiah (24:2) that when the Lord destroys the earth it will be the same for a master and his slave. Job (31:13) says that he never rejected any appeal of his slaves when they brought their complaint to him. Job (19:15–16) also complained that his slave girls treated him as a stranger and his slaves did not respond to his call.

It seems that, according to the Hebrew law, marriages between freeborn men and slave girls as well as between freeborn women and slaves were legally recognized. Thus, a certain Sheshan who had no sons gave his daughter in marriage to his Egyptian slave (1 Chr 2:34–35). Leviticus (19:20) contains instructions that if a slave girl had been assigned to a free man and not yet set free or ransomed, her seducer and she were not to be put to death.

Naturally, there were a certain number of privileged slaves. Thus, according to 2 Samuel (19:17), Ziba, a slave of Saul's family, had fifteen sons and twenty slaves. To judge from Leviticus (25:47–50), some slaves of Hebrew origin could have raised the means in order to purchase their freedom.

The difference in defense of interests of free persons and slaves is seen from Exodus (21:29, 32), according to which if a man had been warned by his neighbors that his ox was known to gore but did not keep it under control, and it gored a free man or woman thereby causing their death, the owner was to be put to death. However, if the ox gored a slave or a slave woman the owner was only to pay 30 shekels to their master.

E. Conclusion

Slavery had a profound influence on the social structure, ideology, law, and social psychology of the ANE cultures. However, throughout the entire history of Israel and Judah as well as of all other countries of the ANE, slave labor did not play a decisive role in agriculture and it was used to a very limited extent compared to the labor provided by small landholders. As the Bible indicates, the artisan trades were also in the hands of free persons (1 Chr 4:14, 23; Jer 37:21; Neh 3:8). For this reason, there existed no artisan workshops based on slave labor and the decisive role in the handicraft industries was played by free labor, especially in the area of manufacture depending upon skills. Thus, there was no predominance of slave labor in any branch of economy, and it was used primarily for household tasks requiring neither skill nor extensive supervision, i.e., in jobs where slaves could be employed all the year round, not those which were seasonal in character.

In contrast to many ancient doctrines, the Hebrew law was relatively mild toward the slaves and recognized them as human beings subject to defense from intolerable acts, although not to the same extent as free persons. The early Christian ideology undermined the institution of slavery, declaring an equality of all people in Christ.

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NEW TESTAMENT

A. Orientation
B. How a Person Became a Slave
C. The Patriarchal Context
D. Economic Functions and Social Status
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G. Metaphorical Uses of Slave Terminology

A. Orientation

Among a variety of institutions for maintaining dominance and dependence characteristic of the early Roman

Empire, slavery was an especially important form of compulsory labor in which part of the population legally owned other human beings as property; it was practiced in all cultures relevant to the writing of the documents of the NT. Dio Chrysostom, a popular orator in the 1st century C.E., spoke for the Mediterranean consensus when he defined slavery as the right to use another man at pleasure, like a piece of property or a domestic animal (XV.24). Extensive and differing legal traditions in Jewish, Greek, and Roman culture regulated this inherently ambiguous categorization of large numbers of persons as property (chattel slavery). "There was no action or belief or institution in Graeco-Roman antiquity that was not one way or other affected by the possibility that someone involved *might be* a slave" (Finley 1980: 65).

Yet it must be stressed that for the most part knowledge of slavery as practiced in the New World in the 17th–19th centuries has hindered more than helped achieving an appropriate, historical understanding of social-economic life in the Mediterranean world of the 1st century, knowledge which is absolutely essential for a sound exegesis of those NT texts dealing with slaves and their owners or using slavery-related metaphors. For example, in contrast to the Authorized Version's translation of the Gk term *doulos* as "servant," the word "slave" should be used in order to stress the legally regulated subordination of the person in slavery. Yet in contrast to present connotations of the term "slave" resulting from the specific racial, economic, educational, and political practices characteristic of slavery in the New World, the slaves and slavery mentioned in NT texts must be defined strictly in terms of the profoundly different legal-social contexts of the 1st century C.E.

Central features that distinguish 1st century slavery from that later practiced in the New World are the following: racial factors played no role; education was greatly encouraged (some slaves were better educated than their owners) and enhanced a slave's value; many slaves carried out sensitive and highly responsible social functions; slaves could own property (including other slaves!); their religious and cultural traditions were the same as those of the freeborn; no laws prohibited public assembly of slaves; and (perhaps above all) the majority of urban and domestic slaves could legitimately anticipate being emancipated by the age of 30.

The extent of the owner's control over the life, the production, the "family" (a slave had no legal kin in Greek and Roman law), and the potential freedom of the enslaved person varied greatly. And sufficient differences existed among the three traditions (Jewish, Greek, and Roman) relevant to NT texts to require that serious students investigate the specific legal-social-philosophical background of each NT passage. This article seeks to reduce that great amount and complexity of detail to balanced examples and appropriate generalizations.

For example, the Greek tradition tended to regard an enslaved person as inferior by nature and thus fortunate to have a Greek master (Herodotus, Plato, Aristotle, echoed by Cicero), and to view human freedom as divisible into parts. The Jewish tradition, despite the practice of debt-slavery and the use of slaves even in the Jerusalem Temple, tended to regard any enslavement of Jews by Jews as improper because every Jew had already become exclusively a "slave of God" by means of the liberation of his or her ancestors from Egyptian bondage (Lev 25:55). In the Roman tradition, slaves on the one hand were rigorously regarded in much legislation as things (*instrumentum vocale*—a "speaking tool"), yet on the other hand they were regularly treated as well as free human beings and were normally granted Roman citizenship when set free, as happened regularly. For this reason, it has been argued that urban and domestic enslavement under Roman law is best understood as a process rather than a permanent condition, a process of social integration of outsiders (Wiedemann 1981: 3).

It must also be stressed that, despite the neat legal separation between owners and slaves, in none of the relevant cultures did persons in slavery constitute a social or economic class (see Garnsey and Saller 1987: 109–25 for an analysis of class and status). Slaves' individual honor, social status, and economic opportunities were entirely dependent on the status of their respective owners, and they developed no recognizable consciousness of being a group or of suffering a common plight (Bradley 1987: 15). For this reason, any such call as "slaves of the world, unite!" would have fallen on completely deaf ears.

Furthermore, by no means were those in slavery regularly to be found at the bottom of the social-economic pyramid (MacMullen 1974: 93–94). Rather, in that place were those free and impoverished persons who had to look for work each day without any certainty of finding it (day laborers), some of whom eventually sold themselves into slavery to gain some job security.

Although slavery was practiced in most (but not all) cultures from as far back as records have been found, ancient Greece and Rome are two of only five societies in world history which seem to have been based on slavery. Apparently independently, the Greeks and Romans transformed slavery into something wholly original, "namely, an institutionalized system of large-scale employment of slave labour in both the countryside and the cities" (Finley 1980: 67). Thus whereas there is no justification for referring to 1st century Jewish society as a "slave economy," this is an entirely appropriate designation for the Greco-Roman world in general. The leisure used by the Greeks to create their extraordinary cultural achievements had been made possible for the most part by the surplus taken from the work of a large number of slaves (Ste. Croix 1981: 133–73). So a part of the population's freedom from the demands of a subsistence existence advanced hand in hand with the increase of the number of human beings held in Greek and Roman slavery. Polybius (IV.38.4), e.g., speaks of slaves, equally with cattle, as essential to life.

These systems of slavery were fully developed and stabilized as social-legal institutions by the 2d century B.C.E. Yet the analysis of the functions and significances of this fact is not easy. For the uniformity of legal rightlessness in principle of all persons in Greco-Roman slavery "masks the wide range of different social and economic roles slaves played, and the fact that most functions performed by slaves could also be undertaken by persons of free status" (Wiedemann 1981: 2).

B. How a Person Became a Slave

Prior to the 1st century C.E., prisoners of war and people kidnapped by pirates provided the Mediterranean world

with the vast majority of its slaves. By the 1st century C.E., however, the children of women in slavery had become the primary source of slaves. Apparently these children were born in sufficient numbers to maintain the large slave population, which comprised at least a third of the inhabitants of most major urban centers. This prolific source was supplemented by self-sale, the sale of freeborn children, the raising of foundlings, and debt-bondage.

Stealing human beings and selling them into slavery had been practiced in the Mediterranean basin for many centuries. Even though the establishment of law and order within the Empire had eliminated piracy by the middle of the 1st century B.C.E. and had greatly reduced kidnapping, the term *andrapodistes* in 1 Tim 1:10, translated "kidnapper" (RSV, NEB), "menstealer" (AV), "slave trader" (NIV), appears in a traditional list of vices, indicating that knowledge of this practice could be assumed in the late 1st century C.E. (see also Rev 18:13).

Prisoners brought to Rome as slaves after the war with Antiochus III in 192–188 B.C.E. may have formed the nucleus of the Jewish community there (see Smallwood 1976: 129–31). Pompey brought thousands of prisoners as slaves to Rome in 62 B.C.E., including many Jews. Philo (*Leg* 155) states that "the large district of Rome beyond the Tiber" (modern Trastevere) "was owned and inhabited by Jews. The majority of them were Roman freedmen, who had been brought to Rome as prisoners of war and manumitted by their owners." It is highly likely that the "synagogue of the freedmen" mentioned in Acts 6:9 had been founded by such Jewish freedmen who had returned to Jerusalem.

With the cessation of the great wars of conquest after the death of Caesar Augustus, the primary source for slaves became the children of women in slavery. To be sure, prisoners taken during the First Jewish Revolt (66–70 C.E.) briefly opened up a new source of slaves for the Empire; e.g., Vespasian sent 6,000 Jews to Nero for use as forced labor to dig a canal through the Isthmus of Corinth (unsuccessful because of extensive granite formations). But the slaves who are mentioned and addressed as Christians in the NT were most likely among those born into slavery. Nevertheless other sources of slaves, not as significant as breeding, are important to note in light of early Christian practices. Large numbers of people sold themselves into slavery for various reasons, e.g., to pay debts, to climb socially (Roman citizenship was conventionally bestowed on a slave released by a Roman owner), to obtain special jobs, and above all to enter a life that was more secure and less strenuous than existence as a poor, freeborn person.

It is highly probable that the Erastus mentioned in Rom 16:23 as the "city treasurer" *(oikonomos tes poleos)* of Corinth had to sell himself to the city (as a form of "bonding insurance") in order to secure this responsible position. According to Roman law, such special slaves were usually held in provincial municipal slavery until about age 40, at which time as freedmen and Roman citizens they were given opportunities to pursue political careers. Inscriptional evidence suggests that this Erastus followed that course by being elected an *aedile* (a local Roman administrator) of Corinth, who then, befitting his office, gave this provincial capital the paving of the street in front of the main theater (Theissen 1982: 75–83). In any case, even while legally a slave of the city, as "treasurer" of a Roman provincial capital, Erastus was probably the most socially distinguished member of the Christian congregation in Corinth. Such an apparent conflict between legal and social status was by no means unusual during this period.

The money that a poor freeborn person received from self-sale into slavery usually became the beginning of the personal funds (in Roman law the *peculium*) that would later be used to purchase freedom under more favorable circumstances, e.g., with former debts extinguished. Greek law also recognized the validity of self-sale into slavery, often with a contract limiting the duration of the enslavement. Such sales were frequent in the eastern provinces in imperial times. Dio Chrysostom commented: "Great numbers of men, we may suppose, who are freeborn sell themselves, so that they are slaves by contract, sometimes on no easy terms but the most severe imaginable" (XV.23). Time-limited self-sale had been known in Jewish circles for centuries.

The practice of self-sale into slavery is the most likely context for understanding Paul's admonition to the Corinthian Christians: "You were bought with a price; do not become slaves of men" (1 Cor 7:23), even if his emphasis was primarily metaphorical (Bartchy 1973: 181–82). Knowledge of such self-sales provides the necessary background for appreciating the commitment of those Roman Christians who exploited the system by selling themselves into slavery in order to gain money to ransom others (apparently having worse owners) from slavery and to provide food for others (*1 Clem.* 55:2).

The "exposure" (throwing away) of newborn infants was a frequently used means of post-birth control; when such infants were found alive, they could be raised as slaves. This practice is not mentioned in the NT, but later Christians urged each other not to expose their children (*Did.* 2:2; *Ep. Barn.* 19:5; Justin *Apol.* I 27:1; Tertullian *Apol.* 9:6–8). Older children were often sold into slavery by their parents, Greek, Roman, and Jewish, either to pay debts or perhaps to improve a child's situation. Among 1st-century Jews "an extremely frequent phenomenon was the selling of daughters as slaves by their fathers" (Urbach 1964: 15–18). The selling of children is not addressed in the NT.

A further source of slave labor was the enslavement of debtors by their creditors. Although Ste. Croix (1981: 136) argues that these persons should not be regarded as slaves but rather as "bondsmen" because of the possibility of putting a time limit on their enslavement, he also notes that there are no Greek or Latin terms used to distinguish the persons enslaved by this means from those who were born into it (all were called *doulos* or *servus/servitus*). Athens was remembered as unique among Mediterranean cities for having forbidden such enslavement for debt in 594/93 B.C.E. In all other known places, such enslavement was a standard practice; some Greek cities, as well as Rome, apparently insisted, however, that their citizens could only be enslaved for debt outside the debtor's home city. Plutarch (ca. 100 C.E.) spoke of debtors who were sold by their creditors (*Mor.* 829e) and of others who fled for sanctuary to the temple of Artemis in Ephesus (828d), evidently to save themselves from seizure.

Enslavement of debtors was a widespread practice in

Palestine, and Jesus of Nazareth relied on knowledge of it in his parable of the unmerciful slave (Matt 18:23–34). Ste. Croix (1981: 165) calls attention to this parable as illustrative of three aspects of debt bondage: (1) outright sale into slavery: the king threatens to sell one of his "slaves" *(doulos)* along with his wife and children in order to obtain at least some money in place of the stupendous sum of 10,000 talents (= a "zillion" dollars) he owed the king; (2) the fact of debt bondage: but after receiving the king's forgiveness rather than such a cruel punishment, this slave then places under guard (in prison?) a fellow slave who owes him 100 denarii (= about 4 months' work), a significant sum; this results in the king's ordering debt bondage along with torture for the first slave; (3) the process of enslavement for debt: it was carried out either by "personal execution" (seizure by the first slave) or by official condemnation (by the king).

Ste. Croix (1981: 165) is convinced that this parable reflects conditions in most of the Greek East, including Egypt where clear evidence has been found for both debt bondage and full enslavement for debt. In the context of Roman law, seizure by a creditor ("personal execution") remained the primary means for coercing a defaulting debtor, who often was forced to work in the creditor's house until the debt was paid.

In face of the widespread claim that Jesus of Nazareth never called into question slavery as practiced in Palestine, based on the observation that he often used slaves as typical figures in his teaching (e.g., Matt 24:45–51; Luke 15:22; 17:7), the initial conclusion in the parable of the unmerciful slave must be carefully noted. In the context of debt slavery, first the king's financial mercy (18:27) and then his expectation that his slave would extend the same mercy to another potential debt-slave (v 33) must have struck Jesus' hearers as profound critiques of an exceedingly oppressive practice that produced slaves.

By "spiritualizing" the "forgiveness" as presented in the Matthean framework (vv 21–22, 35), later interpreters of this parable have obscured Jesus' challenging description of the "kingdom of heaven" as a realm in which forgiveness removes the grounds for enslaving people for debt. The same obscuring fate overtook the similarly directed petition in Matthew's presentation of the so-called "Lord's Prayer": "Forgive us our debts, as we also have forgiven our debtors" (6:12), an appeal that assumes that the petitioner has rejected the use of debt slavery (including forcing impoverished parents to sell their children). "Here as elsewhere in the gospel tradition the term *opheilo/opheilema* ("debts") refers to one's economic or other legal obligations (e.g., Matt 18:24–33; Luke 7:41; 16:5, 7)" (Horsley 1987: 254–55). Luke's presentation of this petition (11:4) prominently stresses the completeness of merciful financial forgiveness as the presupposition for requesting divine forgiveness for sins in general: "Forgive us our *sins (hamartias)*, for we ourselves forgive *every one* who is indebted *(panti opheilonti)* to us." Luke's inclusion of this tradition is in full accord with his programmatic description of Jesus' ministry in terms of the promise in Isa 61:1–2 that God's spirit will bring good news to impoverished persons and release to prisoners (4:18).

The NT presents no further reference to how persons became slaves. Nor does any NT writer comment on the origins of slavery as an institution or seek in any way to justify human beings' owning other human beings. This fact stands in sharp contrast to Augustine, who 300 years later claimed that the institution of slavery was part of the punishment for Adam's sin (*Civ. Dei* 19.15). The fact that no theological sanctions for slavery can be found in the NT itself became important for those Christians who later fought to abolish this institution.

C. The Patriarchal Context

Neither the growth of the early Christian movement nor its impact on persons in slavery in the NT period can be understood apart from the study of the ubiquitous social arrangement now referred to as the "extended household" (Gk *oikos;* Lat *familia;* see Laub 1982: 19–62; Klauck 1981). Here the central, dominating figure was the father, the *pater familias,* who in all NT cultures exercised total legal control (Lat *potestas*) over both his children and the enslaved members of his household. According to Roman law, this *potestas* even included the power over life and death (see Harris 1986).

While the slaves in Jesus' parables usually are presented as agricultural workers and thus probably did not live as part of their owners' households, all the slaves mentioned in the NT as Christians labored in urban settings and belonged to such patriarchal "families." Thus, the NT list of slaves who became Christians must include not only those who are clearly designated as slaves (*douloi;* e.g., 1 Cor 7:21; Col 3:22; *oiketai;* 1 Pet 2:18–25), but also the ones whom Paul referred to as "Chloe's people" (1 Cor 1:11), and the slaves who, we may assume, were among the Christians Paul greeted as "those who belong to the family of Aristobulus" and "those who belong to the family of Narcissus" (Rom 16:10–11, RSV).

In many cases, such slaves became Christians along with their owners (1 Cor 1:16; 16:15; Acts 16:15, 31–34; 18:8). Yet the conversion of entire households should not be regarded as the norm for the early Christian missionary movement: NT evidence shows that slaves, wives, sons, and daughters were called to conversion *as individuals,* and that at least some of them became members of a Christian house-church even if their patriarchs did not (e.g., 1 Cor 7:10–11, 21; 1 Pet 2:18–25; 3:1–2; 2 Tim 1:5). Primarily for this reason the early Christian movement was perceived as a serious challenge to the sanctity and axiomatic quality of traditional kinship ties and patriarchal family structure (Nisbet 1973).

Some scholars suggest that such negative, pagan responses to this challenge to patriarchy stimulated the formulation of the so-called "household codes" in the NT, which leave the basic patriarchal structure unchallenged (and thus reinforced; e.g., Crouch 1972; Balch 1981; Schüssler Fiorenza 1984). These pairs of admonitions to wives/husbands, children/parents, and slaves/owners (in complete form only in Col 3:18–4:1 and Eph 5:21–6:9, but see 1 Tim 6:1–2; Titus 2:9–10) do indeed take the patriarchal structure for granted, addressing all members of a typical household for the purpose of transforming the usual attitudes and behavior of both the ruler and the ruled.

The quality of daily life of all those in slavery, but especially that of household slaves (and children), de-

pended almost entirely upon the particular character and mood of the owner (or father; see Eph 6:4): Greco-Roman slave systems and legal frameworks gave slave owners much room to be cruel or compassionate.

For example, even as adults those in slavery were subject to corporal punishment, private or public. Demosthenes had said (22.55) that the greatest difference between a slave and a free person is that the slave "is answerable with his body for all offenses." And the reputation of slaves for deception was met by Roman laws requiring that their testimony for law courts had to be verified under torture. Here it is noteworthy that by the 2d century C.E. Rome made corporal punishment and torture legal also for the *humiliores,* the lower classes among the free, citizen population.

Further, the fact that the owner of slaves owned the bodies and not just the work of the persons in slavery meant that slaves were generally regarded as sexually available without restriction. With respect to sexual exploitation of slaves, Hillel is remembered to have said: "Whoever multiplies female slaves multiplies promiscuity" (*m. ʾAbot* 2.8). So it is striking that neither the sexual risks for slaves nor the related temptations for their owners are mentioned specifically in NT documents, unless Paul had owners of slaves in mind when urging Christians "that you abstain from immorality, that each of you know how to take a wife for himself in holiness and honor" (1 Thess 4:3–4, RSV).

Specifically the "household codes" sought to transform attitudes that were endemic to the patriarchal system, such as cruel dominance by owners into fairness and compassion, and servile deception by slaves into honesty and hard work. Christian slaves are admonished to "obey in everything," "not as men pleasers" but as those who "do the will of God from the heart" and "work heartily as serving the Lord and not men" (Col 3:22–23; see Eph 6:5–8). Christian owners are urged to treat their slaves "justly and fairly," without threatening, since they have a "master in heaven" who owns them as well as the slaves, and who shows no partiality (Col 4:1; Eph 6:9). An interesting comparison is found in the admonition of owners by the contemporaneous Stoic philosopher Seneca "to be moderate in what you tell slaves to do. Even with slaves, one ought to consider not how much you can make them suffer without fearing revenge, but how much justice and goodness allow" (*On Mercy* 1.18).

Concern for the reputation of Christians in the eyes of a patriarchal society clearly motivated admonitions to Christian slaves not to take advantage of being "brothers" or "sisters" of Christian owners, lest "the name of God and the teaching be defamed." Moreover, Christian slaves in converted patriarchal households should "serve all the better since those who benefit by their service are believers and beloved" (1 Tim 6:1–2). Such a concern regrettably left slavery and patriarchal structures, if not patriarchal attitudes, intact.

D. Economic Functions and Social Status

For understanding the economic contexts of the NT, the significance of the "extended households" in the life of the Roman Empire, and of the slaves within these households, can hardly be overestimated. Greco-Roman society had come to depend on persons in slavery as the basic labor force, as essential components of the imperial economy, and a normal part of the daily life of most families. This extensive use of slave labor produced much wealth and the leisure that permitted the development of Greco-Roman culture.

Slaves were used for "an enormous variety of functions in enormously different circumstances" (Bradley 1987: 15), some of which when compared to New World slavery seem astonishingly responsible: "doctors, teachers, writers, accountants, agents, bailiffs, overseers, secretaries, and sea-captains" (Hopkins 1978: 123). Two primary factors led to this situation. First, the Romans had no tradition that made it acceptable for free men to take orders from anyone except their fathers or their military leaders, either on the farm, in urban workshops and homes, or in government bureaucracy. Cicero, e.g., stated that working every day to earn a living was beneath the dignity of a citizen and that working with one's hands was a "dirty business" (*De Officiis* i.150). Those citizens who nevertheless entered domestic work were regarded as serving "in place of slaves" *(loco servorum)* during their employment. Second, the Romans used large numbers of slaves from the E empire to bring greatly admired Hellenistic high culture to Rome.

The contexts of enslavement varied from such a small-scale owner as the poet Horace with three domestics at Rome and eight laborers on his farm in the country to the household of L. Pedanius Secundus, a senator during the reign of Nero who had 400 slaves in his town house alone. Yet the emperor owned by far the largest number of slaves (see Weaver 1972). Claudius built up the extensive Roman bureaucracy using his slaves and his freedmen, a practice followed by his successors (see Phil 4:22: *hoi tes Kaisaros oikias,* "those of Caesar's household"). Former imperial slaves often gained great wealth and influence, including high office such as admiral of the navy or provincial governor. For example, Marcus Antonius Felix, the procurator of Judea who judged Paul (Acts 23:23–24:27), was a freedman of Claudius' mother Antonia.

Such an economic and political context made it practically impossible for anyone to conceive of abolishing slavery as a legal-economic institution. The great slave rebellions, all of which were led primarily by prisoners of war between 140–70 B.C.E., never sought to abrogate slavery. Rather, these rebels sought either to escape or to turn the tables by enslaving the owners. No Greco-Roman author attacked slavery as a legal-economic institution, not even those who, like the philosopher Epictetus, had been raised in slavery. Dio Chrysostom, the Cynic preacher, concluded that the social and legal status of slavery had nothing to do with the values which the philosophers held to be important (15.29–32).

Only the Essenes at Qumran (see Josephus *Ant* 18.18–22) and the Egyptian Therapeutae (see Philo *Vita Cont* 70) appear to have rejected slavery in principle. To be sure, according to all known traditions, neither Jesus of Nazareth nor his immediate followers owned slaves; nor at the least did Paul, Barnabas, or Timothy. So both the example of Jesus and his great concern for the poor challenged many early Christians to live among themselves in an alternative social-legal environment (see Paul's appeal to Philemon regarding his slave Onesimus, and especially the

practice of selling oneself to help the poor, mentioned in *1 Clem.* 55:2). See also PHILEMON, EPISTLE TO.

Because the preaching of the Gospel called into existence congregations that began to function as alternative households, the penetration of the Gospel into the Roman extended family, made up of both freeborn and slaves, threatened in no small way its economic structure (Drexhage 1981: 4). Furthermore, the early Christians appear to have disagreed strongly with the prevailing negative attitude toward work and thus toward the persons who had to work to earn a living, including those in slavery. Paul, at least, expected all Christians to work for their living (1 Thess 4:11–12; see Eph 4:28).

Neither a slave's dress, nor race, nor usual occupation, nor fellow workers, nor religion revealed his or her legal or social status. When working as a "tentmaker," Paul most probably had slaves frequently as his shop companions. A slave's actual social status was largely determined by the status of his or her owner.

E. Making the Slave System Work

The Romans sought to make their slave system function well by following practices already perfected by the Greeks: providing slaves the security of room and board, and granting them the privileges of owning property (including their own slaves), of making contracts, and in some cases of sharing in profits and receiving wages. Perhaps the major factor was the realistic anticipation by most urban slaves of personal emancipation and Roman citizenship (if owned by a Roman), an expectation sharply distinguishing this system from that to come in the New World.

Since slaves represented a substantial investment by their owners (an unskilled adult male was worth about four tons of wheat), they could at least expect to receive enough food to keep them alive and working. Manumission could mean the end of that security. Epictetus, himself an ex-slave, took pleasure in pointing out that the slave who thinks only of gaining his freedom may be reduced, when he is manumitted, to "slavery much more severe than before" (II.1.27).

Yet at the beginning of the 1st century, owners were manumitting their slaves with a frequency that provoked Augustus Caesar to introduce laws which restricted the numbers and ages of those who could be lawfully emancipated. Augustus took this action because of the unique and surprising Roman practice of usually granting full citizenship to the freed men and women of Roman owners (note the astonishment expressed by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a leading Greek literary critic who lived in Rome at the end of the 1st century B.C.E., *Ant. Rom.* IV.22.4–23.7). This emperor, who sought to upgrade the dignity of Roman traditions and protect the moral character of citizenship, was convinced that too many uncultured ex-slaves were becoming Roman citizens.

Manumission, however, was generally regarded as a reward for faithful work; and it functioned as an important safety valve, especially for Roman society in which so many capable and educated persons were enslaved. Substantial inscriptional evidence strongly suggests that persons in domestic slavery under Roman law in the 1st century C.E. could generally expect to be set free by age 30 (Alföldy 1972; opposed by Wiedemann 1985, who argues that these inscriptions represent a Roman ideal but not a standard practice). For those enslaved in rural areas the evidence for an anticipated age for manumission is not so clear. Those who had been enslaved by the courts as convicted criminals had no hope of manumission; rather, they could count on being worked to death in the mines and on galley ships or on fighting to the death as gladiators.

The anticipation of becoming a freedman or woman encouraged a slave to exercise self-discipline and work hard, behavior that was rewarded in two ways. Such conduct was usually the quickest means to accumulate the substantial funds (usually much more than enough to buy a younger replacement) that could be offered to an owner in exchange for manumission. It also provided the kind of example for all others in slavery which an owner would want to encourage by willingness to manumit. Thus, rather than leading to the gradual dissolution of the slave system, frequent manumissions encouraged its smooth functioning.

Most commonly, an owner granted manumission to a *servus fidelis* as the due reward for faithful work and loyalty; this was frequently done by the owner's will at death (Duff 1958). Innumerable former slaves throughout the Empire were living proof that Roman slavery was not usually a permanent state. On the other hand, owners could punish disloyal slaves by including in their wills a clause prohibiting the heirs from ever manumitting them (Wiedemann 1985: 165). Although Roman law probably is not directly relevant to the relations between Paul, Philemon, and Onesimus, Roman practice suggests that Paul was pleading with Philemon at the least not to delay Onesimus' anticipated manumission because of the wrongs he had done. See also PHILEMON, EPISTLE TO.

For many, self-sale into slavery with anticipation of manumission was regarded as the most direct means to be integrated into Greek and Roman society. For many this was the quickest way to climb socially and financially. As such, in stark contrast to New World slavery, Greco-Roman slavery functioned as a process rather than a permanent condition, as a temporary phase of life by means of which an outsider obtained "a place within a society that has no natural obligations of kinship or guest-friendship towards him" (Wiedemann 1981: 2).

Slavery also functioned well among 1st century Jews, not only because of the usually limited length of enslavement before manumission (court-ordered sale for debt was limited to six years, the usual period for self-sale) but also because enslaved Jews were generally treated considerately by their owners, according to the demands of Hebrew law (see Exod 21:2, 11, 20–21, 26–27; Lev 25:39–55; Deut 5:12–18; 21:10–24; 23:15–16). Because of these regulations, later tradition claimed: "Whenever one acquires a Hebrew slave, he acquires a master" (*b. Qidd.* 22a). Thus Jews forced by circumstances to sell themselves into slavery sought Jewish purchasers, who often were in short supply. According to Leviticus 25, Jewish slaves were to be treated substantially better than gentile slaves. By the 1st century, however, enslaved gentiles were also given favorable treatment, as "slavery became an influence contributing towards proselytism, and there were many who were accepted into the Jewish faith *via* this route" (Urbach 1964: 48). Such a convert became a Jew in the fullest sense at

manumission, often granted to facilitate marriage to the owner's daughter.

Enslaved converts to Christ were regarded as "complete" Christians without respect to their legal status (see Gal 3:28; 1 Cor 7:21), a fact which must have subtly served to make the slave system seem less onerous. This fact also prompted exhortations to Christians in slavery to subordinate themselves to their owners, even to the overbearing ones, in imitation of Christ's self-subordination to his suffering and life-demanding mission. The reception of these admonitions as divine counsel surely, if unintentionally, contributed to the smooth functioning of the Greco-Roman slave system (1 Pet 2:18–25; 1 Tim 6:2).

F. Emancipation and the Status of Freedmen/Women

Releasing slaves from legal bondage was a frequent and carefully regulated event under Jewish, Greek, and Roman laws, by which at one stroke the person in slavery ceased to be a property and became a legal person. "In juristic terms, he was transformed from an object to a subject of rights, the most complete metamorphosis one can imagine" (Finley 1980: 97). No matter how much authority the former owner, now patron (Gk *prostates;* Lat *patronus*), may have retained under Greek or Roman law, the freedman/woman was now unequivocally a human being.

Among such Augustan laws is the *lex Aelia Sentia* (4 C.E.) that required slaves to have reached 30 years old (and the owners 20 years old) if they were indeed to receive Roman citizenship with their legal freedom. Pertinent inscriptions suggest, however, that large numbers (approaching 50 percent) were set free *prior to* their 30th birthdays (receiving the intermediate status of Junian Latins)—women more frequently so than men, especially those between ages 15–20 whose owners decided to marry them. The law provided these freed Junian Latins a number of ways to obtain Roman citizenship, including marrying and producing a son.

Manumission was practiced very generously; sometimes all the slaves of an entire household were released by testament upon the death of the owner. However effected, manumissions were entirely normal events of urban daily life and were expected by both owners and slaves. Thus, few persons are known to have reached old age in urban slavery, not because of ill-treatment, but because they had already been released before dying as freedmen/women in their 30s, 40s, 50s or more (Alföldy 1972: 105–6).

To be sure, owners of slaves were not obligated to emancipate their slaves at a particular age. Manumitting a slave or not could serve a wide variety of purposes. For example, an owner who feared that the courts might force his slaves under torture (the standard procedure) to reveal "too much" about the owner's activities could emancipate the slaves in question; ex-slaves could only be required to testify against their patrons in cases involving treason. An owner often freed an older slave because it had become more economical to use his or her services as a freedman or woman than to continue to provide him/her with food and lodging as a slave. And if a slave had accumulated a large *peculium* (Roman law) or savings (Greek law) with which he could purchase his freedom (the prevailing rates were much higher than the price of slaves on the market), an owner could benefit financially while legally binding the ex-slave to continue to perform most of his prior duties.

This, then, is the necessary context for understanding such strongly debated texts as 1 Cor 7:21 and Phlm 8–16. When Paul, in the earliest Christian text mentioning slavery (1 Cor 7:21–24), points to the possibility of Christian slaves being manumitted, he is not only speaking of a normal, everyday occurrence in his world; he is referring to an event over which the enslaved person had very little control. Owners granted manumissions in order to advance their own various personal and business interests and to keep the system functioning.

Thus, in contrast to the conclusions of the majority of continental European scholars (see the chart in Bartchy 1973: 6–7), there would have been no point for Paul to have urged Christian slaves to "remain in slavery" (so the Zürcher Bibel, La Bible de Jerusalem, and the Einheitsübersetzung der Heiligen Schrift): there was little influence the slave could have over the timing of his or her manumission apart from offering the owner an attractive sum of money or pleading with the owner to delay manumission for the slave's personal or financial advantage. Likewise, Paul's urging Christian slaves to "take freedom" (so Moffatt, RSV, NEB, JB [vs. the French edition], the Luther Bible, NIV, TEV and the majority of English and American scholars) would seem in these circumstances to be superfluous. The point of his admonition (the aorist imperative verb *chresai* at the end of 1 Cor 7:21d must be completed from the context) seems most likely to be that, as a Christian, the manumitted slave was to "use" or "live according to" the new identity in Christ (the "calling"; see 7:17 and 24) that, for Paul, had become more fundamental than any social, legal, or religious status (see 7:19, Bartchy 1973: 155–59).

In this social-legal context, Paul's brief masterpiece of sensitive persuasion sent to Philemon and "the church in his house" seems best understood as Paul's presentation of his requests that Onesimus' manumission not be delayed because of any misdeeds (v 18) and that Philemon forgive his slave and manumit him very soon (v 16: "no longer as a slave but . . . as a beloved brother"). Paul confronted Philemon with the choice either of continuing to regard himself as Onesimus' owner or of becoming his brother in a new social reality. See PHILEMON, EPISTLE TO. Paul may have hoped that Onesimus would be sent back to help him, with the legal status of Philemon's freedman (v 13).

In light of the fact that Greek notaries often openly rejected procedures prescribed in Roman law, one unique aspect of Greek legal traditions should be noted: viz. the description of stages of partial freedoms for those who were manumitted. Freedom was broken down into four elements: to represent oneself in legal matters; to be secure from seizure as property; to earn one's living as one chooses; and to live where one desires. More than ¼ of the 1,000+ manumission contracts inscribed on the sacred wall at Delphi fix limitations on at least two of these freedoms, usually of movement and employment, by means of a so-called *paramone* clause that remained valid for a limited time (usually 2–10 years). Such a freed slave could not be sold (and was thus legally a free person), but the freedman was still bound to the former owner in a variety of ways.

When Paul describes the Christian slave as a "freedman of the Lord" (*apeleutheros kuriou;* 1 Cor 7:22 only), he has in mind either such continuing personal and legal obligations a manumitted slave owed to his or her former owner according to Greek law, or (more likely) the Roman legislation that guaranteed to the former owner (now the ex-slave's patron) lifelong *obsequium* ("eagerness to serve"), *operae* ("days of work"), and *officium* ("moral duty").

Freedmen/women were potentially no longer without kin, for any children born subsequent to manumission were born free and remained their legal sons and daughters. In contrast to the fact that in the New World skin color often continued to identify the children of slaves and ex-slaves for many generations, freedmen and women in the Roman Empire easily blended into the general population within one generation.

Finally, whether or not a person was a slave or a Roman freedman or a freeborn Roman or Greek was in the long run often less important "than the question of *whose* slave or freedman he was or had been and what financial condition he had reached" (Ste. Croix 1981: 175).

G. Metaphorical Uses of Slave Terminology

NT writers and their readers were heirs of both the Israelites' description of themselves as "slaves of God" after their liberation from Egyptian slavery at the Exodus (Lev 25:55) and of the popular philosophical/metaphorical use (especially Stoic and Cynic) of Greek and Roman legal terms for slavery and freedom to describe the moral and spiritual state of both slaves and free persons. How much of this dual inheritance did they claim?

The Greek tradition of encouraging slaves to believe that their minds could be "set free" even while their bodies were enslaved seems to have begun with Socrates, and was stressed, e.g., by Sophocles, Menander, Bion, and Epictetus. An enslaved person could attain an "inner freedom" of the mind from the domination of the passions, conventions, and external circumstances, factors which on the other hand could easily "enslave" a free slave-owner. These metaphorical uses of slave/free language were employed powerfully by the Jewish philosopher and biblical interpreter, Philo of Alexandria, in his treatise, *Every Good Man is Free.*

Such was the air in which Paul urged Christian slaves to regard themselves as "freedmen of the Lord" (1 Cor 7:22), adding that they had been "bought with a price" by God (7:23); and Paul addressed them as free, moral agents. In this case, the point of the metaphor is probably twofold: (1) a stress on the slaves' true moral and spiritual freedom; and (2) a reference to their personal tie to Christ and their obligations to him as their authentic "patron."

On the other hand, for freeborn or freed persons who became Christians, both the Jewish sense of being God's slaves and the common Greco-Roman practice of self-sale into slavery provided conceptual models for them to regard themselves as having become "slaves of God" (1 Peter 2:16) or "slaves of the Lord (Jesus)" (1 Cor 7:22). In 1 Cor 7:23, Paul reminds the legally free Corinthians that they too had been "bought with a price" (see 6:19c–20a) and thus should not become "slaves of men." In the context of 1 Corinthians 7, this exhortation seems to be intended metaphorically, i.e., Christians are not to lose "inner freedom" by becoming slaves of any human expectations or ideas. Yet Paul's Jewish traditions and his expectations for financial solidarity within the Christian community (see 2 Cor 8:14–15) would have led him also to oppose any legal self-sale by a Christian.

Deissmann's attempt (1927) to explain this language (and Paul's redemption metaphors in general) on the basis of the more than 1,000 manumission contracts inscribed on the sacred wall at Delphi attracted much scholarly attention, but has been completely rejected. In these sacred contracts, dated between 200 B.C.E.–74 C.E., Apollo (through his priests) functioned as the trustworthy intermediary of the manumission money and as the strong religious and public guarantor of the contracts.

A thorough study of these inscriptions, however, has demonstrated that none of the slaves set free at Delphi became either "slaves of Apollo" or "freedmen of Apollo." This makes sense, because in Greek culture generally such metaphors were regarded as entirely inappropriate to designate "freedom" (Bömer 1957–63, 2: 133–41); therefore, these inscriptions yield nothing that helps to understand Paul's teaching about redemption, including 1 Cor 7:22–23 (Bartchy 1973: 121–25). It now seems clear that Israel's conception of herself as "slaves of Yahweh" provided an entirely adequate source for Paul's description of freeborn Christians as "slaves of the Lord."

The OT's use of "slave" language as a designation of a special and honored relationship to God is continued in the NT, especially by Paul who described himself (Rom 1:1), along with Timothy (Phil 1:1), as "slaves of Christ Jesus," thereby stressing not only full dependence on Christ but also their place of honor in the OT tradition of Abraham, Moses, David, Elijah, et al. In Titus 1:2 Paul is further designated as a "slave of God."

Paul makes a further striking application of slave language when using the term *paidagogos* in Gal 3:24 to describe the historical function of "the Law." This metaphor has created confusion for translators: RSV "custodian"; AV "schoolmaster"; NEB "tutor." Despite the present meaning of the derivative "pedagogue," a *paidagogos* was not a teacher. Rather, such a slave was entrusted with the care of schoolboys in order to make certain that they got to and from school safely, and that they did their homework and generally behaved well (Plutarch, *Mor.* 439F). For this task no particular education was assumed; and the assignment was usually given to a slave who, because of age or injury, was no longer able to perform his usual physical labor.

In addition Paul refers to life under the Law as "slavery" (*douleia;* Gal 4:24), the yoke of which is to be avoided (5:1). (Compare the use of the same term in Heb 2:15 to speak of the "lifelong slavery" of those "who fear death.") Paul warns the Roman Christians against living as "slaves of sin" and urges them to "become slaves of righteousness" (6:6, 16–18). In Rom 8:15, he contrasts the "spirit of slavery" (leading to fear) with the "spirit of sonship." Finally, in his grandest use of such language, he portrays the entire creation "in slavery to decay" from which it will be liberated to share "the glorious freedom of the children of God" (8:21).

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SLING. See WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS OF WARFARE.

SLOTHFULNESS. See VIRTUE/VICE LISTS.

SMUGGLING. See TRADE AND COMMERCE (ANE).

SMYRNA (PLACE) [Gk *Smyrna*]. A city (modern Izmir; 38°25′ N; 27°09′ E), which lies at the foot of Mt. Pagros, at the mouth of the Melas river on the S shore of the gulf of Izmir. It was the recipient of one of the addresses of the book of Revelation (1:11; 2:8–11). The area in which the city is located was one of the most ancient places of Greek settlement in Asia Minor, and remained so from the first establishment of the community in the 10th century B.C. until the destruction of the Greek population by the Turkish government in 1923.

The first Greeks in the region, which is defined by Mt. Sipylos in the N and the ridge of Pagros in the S, appear to have been Aeolians, and they occupied the first settlement of Smyrna, "Old Smyrna," on the N side of the gulf. Their harbor was on the coast and the acropolis lay on an E ridge of Sipylos, just above the harbor. The Aeolians seem to have arrived and dominated the indigenous population in the 10th century; they remained in control until the end of the 8th century, when they were replaced by Ionian Greeks who had settled to the S. There is no way of knowing the accuracy of Herodotus' story about this event. According to him, a group of Ionian exiles from Clazomenai, who had been welcomed by the Smyrnaeans, seized the whole city while the native Aeolians were outside of the walls celebrating a festival in honor of Dionysus (Hdt. 1.150). It apparently occurred before 688, when Onomastos, whom Pausanias calls an Ionian from Smyrna, won the

first boxing competition at the Olympic games (Paus. 5.8.7).

The site has been well excavated, and the remains confirm Smyrna's reputation as a substantial place during the archaic period. The city had massive walls which surrounded an area of about 3000 m^2, containing about 500 houses. The city was organized with a regular street plan that suggests that the city's government had the authority to override the rights of individual property owners, and force them into compliance (Cadoux 1938: 55–85; Cook 1982: 203–4; Boardman 1982: 443–45).

In the generation after Onomastos' victory, Smyrna came into conflict with the forces of the emerging Lydian kingdom, which was centered at Sardis on the plain of the Pactolus river, N of Sipylos. The struggle ended in disaster around 600 B.C. (Nicholls 1958/59: 88–91, 128–34; Cook 1958/59: 23–27). The city was captured, deprived of its civic status, and its former inhabitants were scattered in villages about the plain. Apparently however, as with the Messenians who had suffered the same fate at the hands of the Spartans a century earlier, they continued to identify themselves as "Smyrnaeans." Throughout this period, the memory of Smyrna was preserved in the works of earlier Ionian poets and, possibly, in stories that were beginning to develop about Homer (according to some, Smyrna was Homer's birthplace).

When Alexander invaded Asia Minor in 334 B.C., he found the people of Smyrna living as they had been for three centuries, and according to tradition, he was inspired in a dream to refound the city, though on a new site (its present location). If this was indeed Alexander's desire, he did little to implement it: nothing essentially was done in this area until well after his death in 323. King Lysimachus finally put the new city on the map as part of his major reorganization of W Asia Minor after the battle of Ipsus in 301. The first work at Smyrna appears to have been done in 288/87, and the city grew rapidly in importance during the following century (Cadoux 1938: 94–141). Furthermore, even though the city passed under the control of the Seleucid dynasty in 281, the Smyrnaeans were able to exercise a great deal of freedom in the arrangement of their foreign and domestic affairs. So much so, that in the 190s it aligned with Rome against the interests of the Seleucid king Antiochus III. In 195, it became the first city in Asia Minor to erect a temple to the goddess Roma: an act of open defiance which followed upon its appeal to Rome against the king in 197 (Tac. *Ann* 4.56). This astute reading of the relative strength of the two sides, which may have been influenced by contacts with King Eumenes of Pergamum, placed the city in a favorable position after a Roman army overwhelmed Antiochus in 189. Smyrna remained a "free city" for a century, even after Rome took direct control of W Anatolia following the death of the Pergamene king, Attalus III, in 133. It was only after Smyrna had been swept into the conflagration of the first war between Rome and Mithridates VI of Pontus (89–85 B.C.) that it was reduced to tributary status within the Roman province of Asia. This was punishment for aid the city had given to Mithridates.

The next fifty years were troubled ones for Roman Asia. There was another invasion by Mithridates in 73 B.C., and various Roman generals extracted enormous sums of money from the cities of the region to support their armies in the civil wars which began with Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon in 49 B.C. and which ended with Augustus' defeat of Antony in 31–30 B.C. There was a brief occupation of the province by the Parthians in 41–39 B.C. But these events do not seem to have done Smyrna any lasting harm. The geographer Strabo, writing at the end of Augustus' reign (31 B.C.–A.D. 14) and early in the reign of Tiberius (A.D. 14–37) called it the "most beautiful city of all" (14.1.37). It was one of the four centers of the provincial assembly, which was a sign that the Romans regarded Smyrna as one of the most important cities in the province (the others were Ephesus, Sardis, and Pergamum). Its own government, as was the case in the Greek cities of the Roman Empire, was in the hands of the *boule* or town council, which was drawn from the ranks of the richest citizens. The *boule* was administered by a committee of its members (the *prytaneis*) and its primary function was to oversee the actions of the city's magistrates, who were also members of the *boule*. The most important of these magistrates were the *strategoi* (generals, even though they retained no military functions) who were charged with the city's general administration. Other important officials were the *grammateus* (secretary) of the *boule* and *demos* (popular assembly), the *tamias* (treasurer), *agoronomos* (market inspector), and the *eirenarch* (police chief; Cadoux 1938: 186–201). In addition to the *boule*, there was also a council of elders *(gerousia)* and the *demos* which, although it had the power to ratify all public business, had little effective power, unless its members chose to riot. Negotiations with the imperial authorities would be carried out through the magistrates, through the offices of prominent citizens, or through the provincial assembly and its officials, the high priests of the imperial cult.

Recognition as a center for the provincial cult was an indication of a city's eminence in the eyes of the Roman state. Further, as one of the major cities of the province, Smyrna acquired three temples; one under Tiberius, one under Hadrian (A.D. 117–138), and the third under Caracalla (A.D. 211–217; Price 1984: 258–59). The priests at these temples were Smyrnean citizens and citizens from other cities brought in to serve the function; Smyrna was technically the warden, or *neokoros*, of the temples for the whole province, and priests were expected to expend a good deal of their own money in the performance of their duties. Substantial private expenditure on city services was also expected of the city's own officials while they were in office.

Smyrna's importance in the 2d century A.D. is remarkably well documented. This results from the fascination which its greatest adoptive citizen, M. Antonius Polemo, held for the biographer Philostratus, as well as from the survival of the extensive corpus of another adoptive citizen, Aelius Aristides. Polemo, a descendant of the family which had been given the kingdom of Pontus by Mark Antony in the 30s B.C., was born at Laodicea on the Lycos, but he moved to Smyrna because the city offered him a greater venue for the display of his talents. He was immensely wealthy, a skilled *sophist* (professional orator), an authority on physiognomy (his work on the subject has been preserved in an Arabic translation), one of the most arrogant Greeks of his generation, and one of the most

influential. He rose to be a special favorite of Hadrian and to dominate the life of Smyrna. It was said that he spoke to cities as inferiors, emperors as not his superiors, and gods as his equals (Phil. *VS* 535). This was not always to the liking of his contemporaries, but even if his relations with Smyrna were not always amicable, his ostentatiousness enhanced its reputation (as well as his own) to a considerable degree. He may be taken as a paradigm for the international aristocrats of the imperial period who took whole cities under their patronage (Cadoux 1938: 254–64; Bowersock 1968: 17–18, 22–49).

Aelius Aristides' relations with the city were less amicable. Like Polemo, he used the city as a departure point for a career which he apparently hoped would take him to the pinnacle of Roman society, even to the consulship (which he did not obtain). In representing the city, he did obtain imperial relief for the city after an earthquake. More often than not, however, he was at odds with the *boule*, which persisted in nominating him for civic and provincial posts, but he persisted in claiming immunity from the posts on the basis of a grant from the emperor Antoninus Pius (136–161). The main source for this story is Aelius' spiritual autobiography, *The Sacred Tales*. It is a remarkable work in which he describes various illnesses (he was an extreme hypochondriac, but this was acceptable in an age when members of the upper classes seem to have enjoyed discussing the signs of their physical decay), the aid that the god Asclepius gave him in these circumstances, and his appearances before various Roman governors when he argued that he should be spared the burden of public office. As a result, *The Sacred Tales* stands not only as testimony to his psychological state, but also to the problems that even a great city could have in extracting services from its most distinguished citizens, citizens who felt that their wealth put them beyond the rules of ordinary civic life (Cadoux 1938: 264–81; Syme 1988: 8; Bowersock 1968: 36–41, 60–62; Burton 1975).

Other texts from Smyrna illustrate conflict in a very different context. Two of the most important early martyrologies, the *Acts of Polycarp* and the *Acts of Pionius and his Companions*, illustrate the tension between the growing Christian community (founded in the mid-1st century) and its neighbors, especially the very powerful local Jewish community. Polycarp was executed in 155, Pionius in 250; the former in a bitter local persecution in which the members of the synagogue played a prominent role, the latter after the edict of the emperor Decius (249–251) ordering all inhabitants of the empire to sacrifice. Both works appear to be authentic transcriptions of the trials and therefore cast essential light on conflicts within the city, not only between Christian and non-Christian, but also between rich and poor, and between local and imperial authorities (Delehaye 1921: 11–59; Cadoux 1938: 343–400; Lane Fox 1987: 462–92).

Little is known about events connected with Smyrna in the 3d century beyond what appears in the *Acts of Pionius*, though the city no doubt suffered as did others from the political chaos of those years. Still, it remained one of the greatest cities of Asia and gradually came to eclipse its former rivals. It seems to have escaped serious damage at the hands of the Persians in the early 7th century A.D., and it did not suffer permanent damage from the Islamic sack in 654. By 869 it was recognized as the equal of Ephesus when its bishop was raised to the rank of Metropolitan, and by the beginning of the 13th century A.D., it stood alone as the greatest city in the Aegean (Foss 1977: 481–82).

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SNAIL. See ZOOLOGY.

SNAKE. See ZOOLOGY.

SNARES. See ZOOLOGY.

SNUFFERS [Heb *mĕzammĕrōt; melqāḥayim*]. Metal instruments used in connection with the lamps in the Tabernacle and Temple. Those used in the Tabernacle were made of gold (Exod 25:38; 37:23; Num 4:9) and are known in Hebrew as *melqāḥayim*, a word also used in the temple text in Kings, where RSV renders it "tongs" (1 Kgs 7:49; cf. Isa 6:6). Since the root is *lqḥ*, which means "to take, grasp," the word is perhaps better understood as an instrument to pull up the lampwicks. The "snuffers" of the Temple are indicated by *mĕzammĕrōt*, from the root *zmr*, which means "to trim," as for trimming lampwicks. In this case, a kind of scissors, rather than a snuffer, would be a more accurate rendering. The temple "snuffers" were also said to be of gold (1 Kgs 7:50; 2 Kgs 12:14 [—Eng 12:13]), except for one text (2 Kgs 25:14 = Jer 52:18) that lists them as bronze instruments, although the bronze designation here may simply be the result of the compression of a longer series of temple vessels.

CAROL MEYERS

SO (PERSON) [Heb *sô*²]. According to 2 Kgs 17:4, Hoshea sent without avail to "So, King of Egypt" for military aid

against the Assyrians. This brief reference has given rise to a plethora of identifications and interpretations (for a general survey see *LÄ* 5: 994). The identification with the Egyptian field commander in the Annals of Sargon II (von Zeissl 1944: 19), has been ruled out by Borger's reading of SIPA-*ʾe-ʾe* (etc.) as *Reʾeʾ(e-)* rather than "Sibʾe" (Borger 1960). The desire to connect "So" with the 25th or Kushite Dynasty as a hypocoristicon of Shabako (cf. *LÄ* 5: 994–95; Krauss 1980: 29) was enhanced by Lucian's substitution of *Adramelech ton ʾAithiopa ton Katoikounta ʾen ʾAigyptō*, but this has been universally abandoned (Redford 1981: 75). Some have regarded So as a title misinterpreted as a personal name; Yeivin (1952) suggested *t3ty* "vizier" and Krauss (1978, 1980) *nsw* "king" (cf. Gk *ʾAmonrasonter* for *ʾImn-Rᶜ-nsw-ntrw* "Amen-Re, King of the Gods"). *T3ty* has been objected to on phonetic grounds, and it has been noted that *pr-ᶜ3* ("Pharaoh"), not *nsw*, was the most normal designation of kings at this period (Kitchen 1973 §§333–34; Goedicke 1977; Redford 1981: 75). Others have continued to favor identifications with specific royal names, Sayed (1970) with *Sʾi3-ʾib*, the Horus-name of Tefnakhte, Kitchen (1973 §§333–34) with a hypocoristicon of Osorkon. Osorkon IV has been regarded as the likely identity of the king in question even by some who analyze the biblical name differently (Krauss 1980: 29; *LÄ* 5: 995); Ahlström has appealed to LXX *Sēgōr* in support of an identification with Osorkon II (1985: 65), but Redford (1985: 15 n. 71) regards *Sēgōr* as a pejorative ephithet meaning "The imprisoned one," from the root *sgr*, and further finds its fit with Osorkon unlikely on phonetic grounds. Yet another line of approach has taken the name as a toponym or an epithet derived from one, namely *S3w* "Sais" or *S3ww* "Saite" (Goedicke 1963; Albright 1963; Redford 1981 and 1985: 15 n. 69–71). Redford supports this identification with Semitic (cf. Albright 1963) and Greek evidence. He notes that the personal name "The Saite" *(P3-n-S3w)* appears in Aramaic with the spelling *Psʾ* (1981; 1985: 15 n. 69) and further compares *-psō* in Gk *Nechepsṓ(s)*, which he takes as "Necho the Saite" (1981), not Ray's "Necho The Ram" (Ray 1974), which would have kept the final *r* of *sr* (Redford 1981: 75 n. 11). Despite his rejection of Sayed's derivation from *Sʾi3-ʾib*, Redford inclines toward a historical identification of *So* "The Saite" as Tefnakhte and proposes to place the plea for help chronologically in 724–23 B.C.E. (1985: 15). Goedicke's choice is likewise Tefnakhte; he first placed the reference in 724 B.C.E. (1963) and subsequently has preferred 727 (1977).

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EDMUND S. MELTZER

SOBATA (M.R. 114032). A town in the central Negeb, which was apparently part of the Nabatean trade network.

A. Identification and History

Sobata is located ca. 40 km SW of Beer-sheba. The place is known by the Arab name of Subeita (Shivtah in Hebrew). Its ancient name, Sobata is frequently mentioned in the Nessana papyri. The origin of the name is uncertain. A. Negev suggests that, like other Nabatean place names, it originated from a Nabatean personal name, perhaps Shubitu, or Shabtai.

Sobata is never mentioned in ancient sources, and its history may be studied from only archaeological finds and the Nessana papyri. The earliest find on the site is an inscription mentioning Aretas IV (9 B.C.E.–40 C.E.) and pottery of the Middle Nabatean Period. It was probably founded as a roadstation on the secondary caravan route connecting Oboda with Nessana. It shared the prosperity of the other towns of the Negeb in the Late Nabatean Period, and to this period pertains about one third of the development. The history of Sobata in the Late Roman–Post Nabatean Period remains unclear. By the middle of the 4th century C.E. the first churches were built at Sobata. At the N border of the Nabatean town, E of the public pools, was the East Church, the town cathedral, whereas on the N, outside of the built up area was a large monastery church, the North Church, apparently a center for pilgrimage. In the course of the 5th and 6th centuries, the town expanded and reached the limits of the compound of the North Church. At this time, a new church, the South Church, was built in the center of town, and the other two churches, which had suffered severe damage by an earthquake in 502 or 503 C.E., were repaired. Like the other towns in the W part of the central Negeb, Sobata survived after the Islamic conquest of 636 C.E. for about a century or two. It seems that when the Moslems built a small mosque in the baptistry of the South Church in the 9th–10th century, Christian Sobata was already a passing memory.

B. Exploration

E. H. Palmer was the first scholar to describe the ruins of Subeita (1871: 29–30), and especially the rich agricultural hinterland. He was the first to record the Arabic names of Tuleilat el-Anab, the mounds of grapes, and Rugum el-Kurum, the stone-heaps of the vineyards, which abound in the vicinity of the town. On the assumption that

biblical Hormah should be identified with this site, he suggested that the spies sent by Joshua brought the cluster of grapes from this place, and not from the region of Hebron. Subeita was visited in 1901 by A. Musil (1907: 36–45), who drew the first inaccurate plan of the site, not noticing that the streets of the town do not follow straight lines. In 1905 the French dominican scholars from Jerusalem, A. Jaussen, R. Savignac, and H. Vincent (1905: 256–57) discovered the only Nabatean inscription found at Sobata. The most detailed survey of the site was made in 1914 by C. L. Woolley and T. E. Lawrence (1914–1915: 72–93). A new fairly accurate general plan of the city and plans of the churches and several other houses were drawn. This was repeated in 1916 by the German team headed by T. Wiegand (1920: 62–83). Extensive excavations at Sobata were made in the years 1934–1938 under the direction of H. D. Colt. The three churches and the public reservoirs were cleared, several private houses were excavated, and a winepress was investigated. Except for some incomplete preliminary reports, this important excavation remains unpublished. In the years 1958–1960 the city was cleaned and partly restored under the supervision of M. Avi-Yonah. In surveys made in 1970–1974 by A. Negev, Sobata was investigated several times. The town plan was studied, and the Nabatean town was located in the S half of the ruin. R. Rosenthal-Heginbottom investigated the North Church from 1972–1974 (1982). A. Segal investigated in 1980–1982 the town plan and the plan of several dwellings (1983). A. Negev published the numerous Greek inscriptions of Sobata (1981: 47–72, 94–97), and in 1985 S. Margalith made additional trial excavations in the North Church, to try to solve some persisting questions regarding the structural history of the building (1986).

C. Excavations

1. Early Roman–Middle Nabatean Period. Although the Colt Expedition discovered pottery in a dump in the SW part of the site which included much Middle Nabatean and Early Roman pottery, Crowfoot (1937) dated it to the 3d and 4th centuries. The nature and location of the Middle Nabatean settlement are unknown. However, just N of Sobata is a large cistern whose walls were dressed in the typically Nabatean dressing in oblique lines.

2. Late Roman–Late Nabatean Period. Somewhat better known is the settlement of this period. It extended along the N bank of Nahal Zeitan, occupying the S, SE, and SW parts of the developed area. This part of the town has an orthogonal plan, and at the N end is the large double pool. The S pool is 13.5–14.5 m long, and 11.50–20.5 m wide, and approximately 3 m deep with steps into it on the E and W sides. The N pool measures 20.60 × 22.0–24.0 m, and is 2.5 m deep. It is estimated that the N pool has an estimated capacity of 850 m^3 and the S pool contains 700 m^3. To the W of the pools one house was excavated apparently dating from the Late Nabatean Period. Two doors lead directly from the street into a court. A small staircase tower leads to the upper floor. Under the floor of the court a small cistern was excavated. There are living rooms to the N and S, whereas to the E of the court is a stable. There are three troughs of the Mampsis style. Like at Mampsis, the troughs were blocked with masonry in the Byzantine period, when the stable was made into a dwelling. Near the "stable house" is another building, in which, in addition to the living quarters were several shops facing a street.

3. The Byzantine Period. Agriculture formed the economic base of Sobata in the Late Roman and Byzantine periods. At its later phases Sobata extended over an area of 20 acres. Although the city was not fortified, the blind walls of the houses, courtyards and gardens, and the streets, which apparently could be closed by doors, afforded protection from potential enemies. The houses were not closely built, but had spacious courtyards. The excavators believe that there were gardens within the town. The streets are rather wide, 4–6 m, and at several intersections there are open squares. Some scholars believe that Sobata was an unplanned city of winding streets. While Sobata was not built according to the principles formulated in the Hellenistic and Roman worlds, there does appear to be a plan. Without impairing the free circulation in the town, the planners limited the number of streets opening into the desert. Thus there are a large number of blind alleys which lead to every part of the town.

There is no permanent source of water at Sobata, and therefore streets were planned as conduits to collect rainwater into the double pool and into the cisterns which abound in the houses. The streets of Byzantine Sobata therefore, seem to have followed the course of the former channels conveying rainwater to the pools, producing this mistaken conclusion of ill planning.

The large complex of the South Church, built apparently in the second half of the 4th century, is a simple continuation of the old town. It was built between the double pool on the W, and older houses on the S and E. This may explain the extremely small size of the atrium. In the same way it explains the irregularities in relation between the N and S halves of the basilica. About the same time that the South Church was being built, the North Church, too, was under construction, clearly as an extramural building. It was isolated enough to ensure solitude for the small monastic community, but not too far to separate it from the economic benefits which derive from its proximity to a town. In the course of the 5th and 6th centuries the town expanded, covering the entire area between the two churches. It was apparently then that the Central Church was built.

The builders at Sobata used three kinds of stone: Hard, crystalline limestone, which was preferred by Nabatean masons, was used for the construction of foundations and the lower courses of walls; a softer crystalline limestone was used for lintels, doorposts, and segments of arches; and to reduce weight, a soft, light, crumbling limestone or chalk was used for the construction of the upper parts of walls. Narrow openings were covered by lintels, and wider ones by vaults. Rooms were roofed over by arches springing either from engaged pilasters or directly out of the walls; these were then covered by slabs of limestone. Inner walls were covered with thick layers of plaster. Walls were consistently 0.60–0.70 m wide, and were made in the old Nabatean method. The exterior faces of the walls were built of ashlars, or of hammer dressed stones while the interior faces were built of coarsely dressed stones, which easily received the coats of plaster. Between the two faces was a fill of quarry waste and earth, ensuring a good

measure of insulation. Outer walls were either completely blind, or provided with narrow slit windows placed high up on the wall. Cupboards were built of stone, but the shelves were regularly made of wood. The floors of rooms were usually paved with slabs of stone, but beaten earth floors are not uncommon. In the center of the house there is always a courtyard, in which is the mouth of a cistern. Rainwater was collected from the flat roofs, the courtyard, and often also from the streets, flowing in a channel built into the wall. In most houses steps were attached to the wall of the courtyard and led to the upper stories; these engaged steps replaced the more sophisticated Nabatean staircase tower.

The Colt Expedition published a reduced plan of the South Church with a meager description. Because of the restrictions imposed by the pool, the church has a narrow atrium, which takes the form of a narthex (in form, but apparently not in function). To reach the atrium one has to enter a vestibule. To the W of the vestibule there is a room, perhaps the prothesis, as referred to in the *Testamentum Domini*. A narrow door in the corner of the vestibule leads into the S aisle of the basilica, and another entrance communicates with the atrium, at which there are two monumental entrances to the nave and N aisle. The basilica is almost square (17.60 × 18.20 m), with a T-shaped bema, which extends very deep into the nave, and extremely shallow into the aisles. The rectangular base of the *ambo* is at its usual place in the Negeb, in the NW corner. At each side of the central apse are the lateral apses which are half the height of the central apse. Niches are built into the walls of the lateral apses. The nave was paved with slabs of marble, and the aisles with limestone slabs. A door in the wall of the N aisle communicates with a chapel, which has a rectangular bema and niche in the E wall. At the NW corner, from the chapel, as well as from the atrium, is a large baptistry. It is preceded by a small hall and by a portico of two columns and two attached pilasters. The cruciform font, made of one stone, is set in an apse at the E part of the chapel. To the E of the baptistry and N of the basilica is a building, apparently a small monastery, or the bishop's residence.

A close inspection of the basilica shows that the lateral apses and the central apse were not built at the same time, but the lateral ones are a later addition. An inspection of the walls to the E of the apses shows that the building was originally monoapsidal, with rectangular rooms at the side of the apse. The S and E walls of the basilica were supported by sloping taluses, to protect the building from collapse. A. Negev suggests the following structural history: (1) construction of the church in about 350–400 C.E.; (2) repairs (because of an earthquake in 502 or 503 C.E.) and addition of apses, which were necessary because of a change in the ritual connected with the veneration of martyrs; and (3) minor repairs in 640 C.E., after the Islamic conquest.

At some time a small mosque was built against the N wall of the baptistry. The excavators assumed that the Christian and Moslem communities lived side by side peacefully, but this is doubtful. An inscription found on the *mehrab* of the mosque is dated to the 8th–10th centuries C.E., a date corroborated also by the Early Arab pottery found at Sobata. It is more likely that the mosque was built after the desertion of Sobata by the Christians between 700 and 800 C.E.

Because of its location at the N outskirts of the town, some scholars were inclined to believe that the North Church was the latest of the churches of Sobata. The fact that the building is supported by a very massive glacis has been explained as a result of the conversion of the church into a strong fortress. This is, however, not the case.

S of the large ecclesiastical complex is a spacious partly paved court. A single rather narrow door leads into the atrium (21 × 15 m). A second door, in the opposite N wall opens to the farms and the desert. There are porticoes in the atrium, except on the S side, where there are three rooms. A stairwell at the NE part of the atrium led to a gallery and rooms on the upper story of the atrium building, and it perhaps also led to the gallery above the aisles. An opening to a cistern is in the W part of the atrium, and in the middle of the atrium there stands a column drum enclosed by a raised frame (2 × 2 m). This is probably the memorial of a stylite, who lived here before the construction of the church. It is not impossible that the same ascetic was sanctified after his death, and the place became a center of pilgrimage. At the S end of the E portico there is a small room, perhaps a prothesis. Originally the basilica was entered directly by three doors, but apparently after the earthquake, the columns were supported by ashlar casings, turning the E portico to some kind of narthex.

The basilica (19.50 × 12.15 m) has two rows of five columns each and two engaged pilasters. The floor and the walls of the basilica were faced with marble. The sanctuary consists of a T-shaped chancel, deep at the nave, and very shallow at the aisles. There are three apses, and in the side apses are semicircular niches with built in reliquaries.

Two doors at the W end of the S aisle lead into two chapels. The first chapel (15.50 × 4.30), abutting the S wall of the basilica, has an apse at its E end. The E part of the chapel is decorated with a mosaic of geometric designs. An inscription at the W border reads: "This work has been completed under the most holy Bishop Thomas, under the charge of John, priest, and the most illustrious John, vicar, in the month of Daesius, in the 10th indiction year." A. Negev dates this inscription to May 517 C.E., whereas R. Rosenthal-Heginbottom prefers a 607 C.E. date.

The second door in the S aisle leads into a small vestibulum and another chapel, at the E end of which is a cruciform baptismal font, made of one stone. A chancel separates the E from the W, larger part of the chapel. This later part, apparently unroofed, served as a burial ground for members of the clergy.

A. Negev dates the various phases of the North Church as follows: A monoapsidal basilica was built in the years 350–400 C.E. in which the relics of saints were venerated in the lateral rectangular rooms. This building suffered heavy damage in the earthquake of 502 or 503 C.E. Repairs began immediately, and the first stage, which consolidated the walls of the basilica, was completed in 605 C.E., as attested by an inscription (its find spot is not specified, but A. Negev believes that it must have come from the North Church): "With the help of God this work has been completed in the times of the most illustrious prioron (apparently *primi ordinis*, of the First Order) and in the times of

Flavius John (son) of Stephan, the vicar, in the 3d indiction-year, on the 13th of the month of Hyperberetaius, in the year 400." Thus the work was done under the auspices of the highest ecclesiastical and administrative authorities. The mosaic in the baptistry, culminating the work of rebuilding, was apparently laid in 517 C.E. The North Church survived the Moslem conquest, as attested by seven tombstones postdating 636 C.E. The North Church survived the Moslem conquest, as attested by seven tombstones postdating 636 C.E.

The Central Church was excavated by the Colt Expedition, but no plan and no description were published by them; it has been supplied by R. Rosenthal. The Central Church faces one of the main streets of Sobata, in the center of the new quarter of the town. From the street one may enter a small atrium, more of a portico of three columns. The basilica (13.65 × 17.53 m) has two rows of four columns and two engaged pilasters, and is paved with slabs of limestone. The T-shaped sanctuary is less deep than in the other two churches, but has three apses. A. Negev, following J. W. Crowfoot and others, believed that this was the original plan of the building, believing it to be one of only three churches in the Negeb to follow this plan from the beginning. However, S. Margalit found that the constructional history of this church follows that of the other two churches of Sobata. However, no dating material, no remains pertaining to saints, and no martyrs' cult were found in this church.

In one of the rooms in the building adjacent to the North Church, and on the N and E outskirts of the town three winepresses were discovered. These were identified as tombs by T. Wiegand, and as bathhouses by the Colt Expedition, but their function as winepresses is now beyond doubt. They follow in every detail the description of similar installations at Oboda, except the winepress near the North Church lacks the compartments for storing baskets of grapes prior to pressing. A. Negev explains this difference as a result of the fact that it belonged to the Church, where the harvest grown by the monks was processed communally.

It is fitting to conclude the description of Sobata by quoting a chant which was found engraved at the entrance to the town:

(In faith like Abraham)
————Isaac
(In) hope (like) Jacob
(In) humility (like) Moses
(In) glory (like) David
(In) wisdom (like) Solomon
(In) endurance (like) Job.

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AVRAHAM NEGEV

SOCIOLOGY. Beginning in the 1970s biblical scholars began to recognize the role that the social sciences could play in the reconstruction and understanding of historical phenomena. This entry consists of two articles that survey the impact of social scientific (or, more loosely, "sociological") insights on scholarly understanding of biblical history. The first focuses on ancient Israel, and the second focuses on early Christianity.

SOCIOLOGY OF ANCIENT ISRAEL

Sociology of ancient Israel, or "biblical sociology," is an imprecise covering term for the following: (1) the practice of social scientific criticism of the Bible, which employs methods, data, and theories from the social sciences (anthropology, economics, political science, and sociology), in order to clarify the relationship between biblical literature and ancient society; (2) the study of the social organization of ancient Israel, in its larger or smaller units, either at a given moment in cross-section (synchronics) or over a course of time, which may expand into a full-scale social history (diachronics); and (3) the identification of patterns of social life within the Bible claimed to be prescriptive or exemplary in some way for contemporary religious or secular life.

There are differences among social scientific critics of the Bible as to what constitutes the field of study. "Social" phenomena may be viewed in a restricted manner as those patterned interactions among people distinguishable from "economic" and "political" phenomena. Alternatively, the social, economic, and political phenomena may be conceived as interconnected facets of a mode of political economy that shapes the forms and dynamics of collective human life. The resulting "societal mix" or "social ensemble" is marked by order and stability or by disorder and

change, depending on the "balance" or "imbalance" in the conjunction of all the factors at work.

A. Method and Theory
B. Social History and Political Economy
   1. Tribal Israel
   2. Independent Monarchy
   3. Colonial Israel (1)
   4. Colonial Israel (2)
C. Normative Social Hermeneutics
   1. Modes of Social Hermeneutics
   2. Social Hermeneutics and Political Economy

A. Method and Theory

Social scientific criticism has only recently been accorded status among the methodologies considered legitimate in biblical studies. The present status of social scientific criticism can best be appreciated by grasping its checkered and erratic course of development. Methods, theories, and descriptive results of various social sciences have been applied to the Bible sporadically since the rise of higher criticism in the 19th century. These critical undertakings have differed greatly in depth and quality. Furthermore, the predominance in biblical studies of methods derived from the humanities—as well as the difficulties of mastering simultaneously both the biblical and the social scientific fields—has militated against the development of a sustained scholarly tradition and arena of discourse in which social scientific criticism could be evaluated and advanced.

The earliest social critical studies by scholars of the stature of J. Wellhausen and W. Robertson Smith employed large-scale (macro) theory from nascent anthropology to look for affinities between biblical pastoral nomadic society and the supposedly similar life of pre-Islamic Arabs. Whereas their pastoral nomadic conception of early Israel survived uncritically in biblical studies, the comparative method of these pioneers was generally abandoned or sharply curtailed when it was realized that the evolutionary categories of 19th-century anthropology were too unrefined in method and sweeping in claims to be reliable diagnostic instruments for analyzing ancient Israel.

In the first decades of the 20th century, sociological theory found its way into biblical studies in three major streams indebted to Max Weber, Émile Durkheim, and Karl Marx.

Weber himself wrote a major work on ancient Judaism (1952) which tried to reconstruct how the religious ideas and practices of covenant, ethical monotheism, and prophecy were taken up and transmitted in a particular historical shape through interaction with the economics, politics, and social organization of a marginal Palestinian people. Weber's mode was to posit "charismatic" religious eruptions which underwent "rationalizing" incorporation into religious institutions as an aspect of general social life. Weber's work has had far-reaching effects. It stimulated further analyses of biblical "ideal types," but in overshadowing the field, it also discouraged openness to other social scientific approaches.

Durkheimian social theory influenced the description of Israel's transition from tribal pastoral society to agrarian and commercial society propounded by A. Causse, who drew heavily on Durkheim's notion of "mechanical" solidarity in simpler societies vs. "organic" solidarity in societies with greater differentiation in the division of labor. In one or another form, this "evolutionary" account of Israel's acculturation to Canaan has been widely pervasive in biblical studies.

Marxist social theory has been less often overtly employed in biblical studies (a sketch of Israelite social and political history by M. Lurje [1927] notwithstanding). Nevertheless, Marxist theory was significantly present in the background to the extent that Weber and Durkheim themselves were seeking social understandings in debate with the Marxist tradition. Hostility and misunderstanding between Christians and Marxists, furthered by rigid dogmatism on both sides, delayed a fruitful scholarly use of Marxist social theory in biblical studies until very recent times.

Introduction of the academic study of sociology to the U.S. at the University of Chicago toward the end of the 19th century, coupled with the cultivation at that institution of process theology and the influence of the Protestant Social Gospel movement, encouraged sociocultural studies of the Hebrew Bible by W. Graham, C. McCown, and L. Wallis. Eclectic in method and weak in theory, this "Chicago School," with its religiously liberal orientation, declined in the face of Neo-Orthodoxy and the Biblical Theology Movement.

Form-critical studies, as launched by H. Gunkel, drew significantly on oral tradition and folklore studies, in the search for "the life settings" of biblical literary genres. Later form critics, lacking Gunkel's breadth of understanding and out of touch with the social sciences, came to restrict the life settings largely to cultic situations. The result was a mosaic of diverse, almost random, religious institutional contexts that did not cohere in any larger social structure. M. Noth's hypothesis that the premonarchic literary genres were rooted in a confederate religious structure (amphictyony) was a bold and inventive proposal that overstated and misconstrued the religious component in Israel's society. See AMPHICTYONY.

In spite of these spotty social scientific efforts and results, the nature of biblical literature made it difficult to neglect Israelite social phenomena entirely. Large amounts of potentially instructive social information were gathered from archaeology, historical and economic geography, and comparative studies of ANE societies. These data were generally treated as background or introductory "realia," i.e., things that ought to be kept in mind as one studies the Bible. At points where specific offices and institutions are mentioned in the Bible, this trove of comparative social information was often helpful in illuminating the biblical references. For the most part, however, scholars had neither the interest nor the means to pursue the way these roles and structures interacted systemically and developmentally in the social whole. Scholars such as A. Alt and W. F. Albright, who strove for a more holistic and comprehensive understanding of Israelite society, were handicapped by insufficient knowledge of available social scientific tools.

A more intentional and sustained use of the social sciences by biblical scholars was initiated in the 1960s and 1970s due to a conjunction of contributing factors: the continuing stream of extrabiblical evidence about ancient

societies that called for new frames of reference and interpretation, the enormous growth of social sciences as academic disciplines, social turmoil on a global scale that did not exempt the home societies of biblical scholars, and the rise of socially critical forms of theology, such as theology of hope in Europe, liberation theology in Latin America, and black and feminist theologies in North America.

Over the last two decades, social scientific criticism of the Hebrew Bible has developed along several fronts, characterized by great diversity in the types of social scientific approaches followed, in the biblical literary blocks attended to, and in the historical periods and social phenomena treated. Two broad currents of social description and theorizing can be identified as representative of contemporary work in the field.

Scholars working on the tribal origins of Israel and on the formation of the Israelite state (e.g., G. Mendenhall, N. Gottwald, M. Chaney, F. Frick, J. Flanagan, D. Hopkins, N. Lemche, K. Whitelam, R. Coote, et al.) have used both macro-sociological theory and anthropology, mixing structural-functional approaches with conflictual models. Often implicitly, and sometimes explicitly, these analytic tools have been Marxist in their recognition of class interests at work in early Israel's modes of production. To a large extent the social and religious forms of life in this origins period have been examined in close relation to the physical foundations of agrarian life in highland Canaan. Because the object of inquiry is how Israel began as "tribes" and how it then became a "state," the strategies of study have been processual and, therefore, concerned with social conflict and social change.

Scholars working on the prophetic and apocalyptic phases of the Hebrew Bible (e.g., R. Wilson, R. Carroll, T. Overholt, D. Petersen, H. Mottu, B. Long, B. Lang, P. Hanson, et al.) have been indebted largely to anthropology and social psychology, and have employed a chiefly structural-functional approach that has given only modest attention to the material conditions of life in which prophecy and apocalyptic operated. Where conflict is acknowledged, there is a tendency to treat it as a mechanism for perpetuating social order and as "a conflict over ideas" instead of a conflict deeply rooted in objective social relations involving emphatic differentials in wealth and power (Mottu and Coote are exceptions in this regard).

The differences in methods and theories among those studying "tribal-statist" Israel and those studying "prophetic-apocalyptic" Israel should not, however, be overdrawn. Their exact purport has yet to be adequately thought through and discussed among the scholars themselves. It is probable that different biblical subject matters, and different ways of framing what is sought, lend themselves more readily to one or another social scientific route of inquiry. For example, in examining the tribal and statist formations of early Israel one is necessarily addressing large social aggregates that underwent major changes. In contrast, it is possible, even if far from sufficient, to bracket prophets and apocalyptists as particular offices or functions detachable in some measure from their conflictual contexts.

In terms of biblical coverage, it is noteworthy that tribal Israel, the formation of the state, and the functions of prophets and apocalyptists have received the lion's share of social scientific attention. More slowly, the social contexts and functions of wisdom and law genres are being studied. This leaves large-scale social structure and social change in the later monarchy, in the exile, and in the restoration and ongoing diaspora rather meagerly studied to date. The result is that we possess a fairly full social description and body of theory for Israel only up to the time of Solomon, while most of the following social structural history awaits in-depth delineation.

Complicating the task is the problematic relation between literary criticism in its newer forms and social scientific criticism. Some scholars view the two approaches as diametrically opposed, so that either one form of criticism must bow to the other or the two must be practiced without any reference to contribution to one another. If the self-contained discourse of the text is stressed to the utmost, it is argued that biblical texts have no historical or social reference. If the text is treated solely for explicit or "hard" social information, or simply as a spontaneous projection of society, then the aesthetic or symbolic integrity of the texts precisely as literature may be forfeited. Either extreme seems unsupportable, even unscientific, in dismissing the complicated interactions between literature and society, as form criticism already granted in principle and in method. Discrimination among the literary genres and of the ways they are connected to social reality—not only in their immediate settings but also in their modes of articulating social consciousness and social practice, however indirectly—will profit both the literary-critical and the social-scientific enterprises (see Gottwald 1985a).

Structuralism, because it had theoretical foundations both in literary criticism and in anthropology, seemed for a time to offer a promising way of bringing literature and society into concourse, as in the work of E. Leach dependent on Lévi-Strauss and that of D. Jobling indebted to A. Greimas. The "society" usually evoked in a structurally analyzed text, however, is schematic and connects poorly with the actual conflict-ridden biblical societies. Further developments in literary theory, both along deconstructionist and Althusserian Marxist lines, suggest ways to designate the fragile and oblique manner in which literature embodies social reality. Some of these new lines of literary-societal interaction are developed by D. Damrosch (1987), J. Rosenberg (1986), and the recent work of Jobling (1987).

The relation between "history" and "society" is another realm of contention in social scientific criticism. Biblical history has normally been presented as a critical assessment of the political and religious history recounted in the Bible, astutely supplemented by other sources from the ancient world. Biblical society is accordingly seen as something other than history, i.e., as the arena of patterned interpersonal behavior "left over" after politics and religion are separately considered. In practice, this inclines toward a "society" consisting of a miscellany of family and legal matters, and of customs and habits of daily life. Dropped from this micro-society of daily happenings are the power factors of politics, the production factors of the economy, and even the realm of religious belief and practice except when the connection is overtly made in the biblical texts.

The compartmentalization of lived human experience

into separate categories such as "history," "society," "politics," "economics," "religion," etc. follows the fault lines of the breakup of the scientific study of humanity into discrete disciplines in the latter half of the 19th century. Strategic and tactical advantages gained for purposes of specialized study were overbalanced by a loss of the dynamic interaction among all the facets of socialized human existence. Thus, if we hope to understand biblical "society," it will not be through sociology and anthropology alone as circumscribed disciplines, but only through a joining of the spheres or domains of the public life as they pivot around the realities of power and wealth and are expressed and contested in production, in politics, and in religion.

These are the key questions: Who controls what is produced? Who can persuade or compel others to do what they want done and by what means? Whose ideas and interpretations of the common life prevail? What limits in production, politics, and ideology are set by the environment and by the preceding interplay of social forces as they impinge on the moment? This formulation, known in Marxist theory as "political economy," based on a historical material method, unites *in study* what is really united *in life* without neglecting the distinctiveness of each of the several facets of the social whole.

This means that we are to trace a history of Israel that includes the customary political and religious axes of its life, but which, in order to be complete and adequately representative of its real life conditions, must bring the politics and religion into articulation with the social field of production. In this way we can hope to identify how all the dimensions of the people's life are internally related one to another, both in harmony and in contradiction, affecting one another and forming an ever-moving system that stabilizes and transforms itself in discernible ways that are not dismissible as random or quixotic.

What follows is a sketch of the social history of ancient Israel understood as the history of the production and reproduction of its economic, political, and ideological life from generation to generation. We shall call it a history of the political economy of ancient Israel. In saying "political economy" we emphasize both the political factor at work in economics and the economic factor at work in politics. We also recognize that the historical actors in the drama of political economy entertain particular ideas and values (religion, theology, ideology) which interact reciprocally with the vectors of political economy. This is not to contend that economics directly and spontaneously "causes" everything else in the public life. It is to say that economic production guided by certain power relationships profoundly *limits* and *shapes* everything that people think and do. To dismiss a political-economic analysis of ancient Israel because the theory and method of political economy were not known in biblical times is to commit a category confusion which, if logically followed, would forbid us any critical scientific study of the Bible whatsoever.

B. Social History and Political Economy

For analysis, we may divide the political economy into its two reciprocal poles of *economy* and *polity*.

Central to the structural history of Israel's economy was its dependence on the cultivation of cereals, vegetables, and fruits, supplemented by animal products, in a precarious environment subject to soil erosion and erratic rainfall. Agrarian productivity in the hill country required cooperative harboring and control of soil and water, as well as risk distribution by mixing diverse crops with animal husbandry. Mountainous terrain split much of the arable land into small regional ecologies worked by a village-based populace. Tools and household items were mostly locally crafted. Barter in and between villages circulated products not immediately consumed or held in storage against periodic drought.

Within the primary production unit of the village with its surrounding plots and pastures, the family was the basic residential and labor-organizing entity. In principle, this was most likely an "extended" family of two or more generations, but natural and historical disturbances tended to erode the size and viability of these residential and productive units. Larger groupings of "clans" or "protective associations," up to the level of the "tribe," served as labor cooperatives for major tasks such as terrace-building and harvesting and as "safety nets" to cushion the shock of adverse circumstances on families and villages. The paramountcy of kinship language in ancient Israel has often been taken as a stubborn survival from pastoral nomadic origins, but it is far more probable that the kinship signifiers in Israel were both a retention and deliberate heightening of arrangements typical of village agrarian communities in Canaan. In Israel, this adaptive kinship talk was a way of "mapping" newly emerging forms of political and religious bonding.

Decisive for the political pole in Israel's political economy was the dominance in the wider Canaanite environment of the state form of government. The state's military and ideological apparatuses were able to control the countryside sufficiently to tax the agrarian and pastoral surpluses of the villages through payments in kind and labor conscripted for public projects and for military service. "Surplus" in this instance does not mean of course what the peasants could truly afford to give, but simply what had not yet been consumed by them and was available for seizure by the state.

Faced with life-threatening deprivation, the taxed peasantry had little recourse but to turn to creditors who in turn exacted their "pound of flesh" from the hapless debtors. In this setting, the cities, small in size and population by modern standards, were chiefly administrative, military, and commercial centers, "bleeding" and "policing" the countryside. Trade between states in strategic goods and luxury items passed "over the heads" of the majority agrarian populace, financed by their labor but without benefit to them.

There was, however, a striking departure in Israel's polity that proved to be of immense importance in shaping the history of its political economy. Beginning as a stateless society and returning to the same status in exile, Israel nonetheless took on independent statehood in midcourse. When this political independence was lost, rather than return to the free tribal society it once was, Israel became a society subject to other states who at best granted it a semiautonomous status. This means that although Israel arose in opposition to the state system, and in time survived apart from any particular state structure, its history

and ethos were fashioned in intimate response to the commanding position of the state. In both native and foreign guises, the state intruded insistently upon the economy and ideology of the villages which constituted the heartland of Israel.

At a minimum, the concept of mode of production coordinates the *economic dimension* (who produces what, by what technical means, and with what organization of labor?) with the *political dimension* (among existing economic options, who determines what will be produced, who benefits from what is produced, and by what mechanisms?). For the full picture of the social formation, however, mode of production encompasses a *social dimension* (into what groupings do the producers fall according to occupation, class, status, etc., and how do these groupings show up in family structure and in juridical process?) and an *ideological dimension* (what ideas, beliefs, feelings, and judgments do the variously grouped producers entertain about themselves, their society, and the ultimate meaning of their existence?).

In a narrower sense, mode of production thus refers to the way human capacities and technology are socially organized for the labor necessary to meet basic human needs and to allocate what is produced. In a broader sense, mode of production includes the social ramifications of the labor process in class and status divisions, in political process, in family organization, and in juridical procedures. Equally, it includes the ideological ramifications of the labor process articulated in the ideas, sentiments, and symbols by which the socially organized laborers conceive the meaning of their common projects.

In ancient Israel we may distinguish a *communitarian mode of production* prior to the monarchy, a *tributary mode of production* from the monarchy into Hellenistic times, and a *slave mode of production* in the late Hellenistic-Roman period. The tributary mode of production divides into two phases: a *native tributary* phase when Israel enjoyed political independence and a *foreign tributary* phase when Israel was colonially subject to foreign powers. Alongside the dominant or commanding mode of production, other modes of production usually exist, either as remnants of former times or as forerunners of what is to come, so that a history of political economy has to take these "overlapping," often clashing, productive relations into account.

1. Tribal Israel: A Communitarian Mode of Production. Biblical and extrabiblical evidence alike suggest that Israelite society took form in 13th–12th century Canaan as an indigenous phenomenon. See ISRAEL, HISTORY OF (ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE ISRAELITE "CONQUEST"). This does not exclude that Israel incorporated people who had earlier or recently immigrated to Canaan. Furthermore, the evidence indicates that Israelite society was composed of a majority of cultivators of the soil who also practiced animal husbandry. This does not rule out inclusion of pastoral nomadic elements and groups who had been artisans, mercenaries, bureaucrats, and priests and whose skills were contributory to the new society.

As an economy, the new society was grounded in highland agriculture dependent on a mix of crops and herds nurtured by a scattered populace spread over broken terrain and encountering diversified ecological niches with particular subsistence demands. As a polity, the new society was able to practice tributary-free agricultural and pastoral production. This situation obtained for some two centuries because Israel was able to stay free of domination by other states and also to refrain from developing an Israelite state.

There are two ways of understanding this tributary-free political economy of early Israel. On the one hand, it can be argued that the declining Egyptian empire and Canaanite city-states lost their control of the highlands in Canaan so that Israel, without great effort on its part, filled the vacuum. Later, again with little conscious effort or intent one way or the other, Israel itself became a state when someone was finally able to reestablish centralized control. On this way of reading the situation, Israel's tributary-free mode of production and reprieve from state dominion was an historical accident, a "neutral" happenstance, which was soon erased by the rise of the Davidic state. On the other hand, it can be claimed that conscious and deliberate effort by Israelites contributed to the Egyptian-Canaanite loss of power and to the development of highland networks and coalitions that systemically attempted to provide for their common needs without recourse to a state structure. When Israel did resort to monarchy, communitarian forces resisted its encroachment, limited its most arbitrary forms, and weakened its capacity to override local custom and habits of self-rule. On this way of reading the situation, Israel's tributary-free mode of production was intentional and even social revolutionary in that it introduced and sustained a new mode of production in Canaan.

Overall, the latter understanding seems the more convincing since it does fuller justice to the admittedly equivocal biblical sources, better explains the two-century-long tenacity of free agrarianism in Israel, accounts for the fierce contest over the adoption and molding of Israelite royal institutions, and illuminates the stubborn survival of communitarian sentiments, practices, and movements in later Israel.

The social correlate of this tributary-free political economy was a strong family and village-based mode of life in which customary law mandated mutual aid. Landholdings passed in perpetuity from generation to generation unencumbered by tax or debt, thereby assuring every Israelite a means of livelihood. This is not to posit an "idyllic," perfectly just society of absolute equals, but only to assert that the social compact among Israelites strove to establish and defend this form of life against incursions from foreign states and to prevent the rise of a tribute-exacting and debt-dispensing elite within Israel itself. It must be recognized that this was not a mere nostalgic "ideal" or religious "vision" but a concrete and practical life assertion by free agrarians who benefited from direct use of their own surplus and who valued their new-found dignity and freedom jointly as a people.

The religion of Yahweh was the commanding ideology of this communitarian political economy. In the absence of state controls over public life, the beliefs and practices of the new religion were critical incentives and binding ingredients in molding Israelite culture and morale. The religion worked symbiotically with the economic and social interests and goals of the people. The conception of early Israel as an intertribal league with both religious and secular institutional effects is no doubt broadly correct,

although the long-popular notion that Israel was an "amphictyony," analogous to Greek religious leagues, assumes too much centralization of power and a too-schematic view of the religion unilaterally "imprinting" itself on the society.

Fortunately, historical anthropology identifies a rich array of confederating sociopolitical forms by which "tribal" peoples have cooperated to meet their fundamental requirements in the absence of a state, indeed often in opposition to encroaching foreign state polities. The confederating devices in Israel probably advanced slowly in the face of active resistance and foot-dragging lethargy. They did not easily win exclusive allegiance to Yahweh among all Israelites. They did not prevent civil strife in all cases. These mechanisms worked sufficiently, however, to provide a skeletal structure of self-defense, mutual aid, and cultural-religious identity by dint of which Israel grew and prospered.

2. Independent Monarchy: A Native Tributary Mode of Production. With considerable success, the communitarian political economy of tribal Israel had protected the diverse localized interests of its members while providing societal unity at critical points where internal disputes, foreign enemies, demoralization from hard conditions of life, and selfish power grabs had to be faced and overcome. These contradictory aims of Israelite society were not easily met. Stresses and strains increased within and without.

With the coming of the Philistines, the Israelites faced a more determined and efficient enemy. Within its own ranks, certain of Israel's landed families had prospered beyond others, and laxity in the observance of customary law, even resort to indebtedness, began to infiltrate society. Virtually all Israelites conceded the need for temporary centralization of military power to defeat the Philistines. Those who had grown more prosperous within Israel were inclined, however, to see a permanent Israelite state as the way to further their interests. Eventually, many leading circles gave their support to a native tributary political economy in which an Israelite elite would tax and indebt their own people. In short, a combination of external and internal factors tipped the scales toward the course to statehood.

Through foreign conquests and through taxation of formerly non-Israelite regions of Canaan brought under his rule, David seems to have postponed the exaction of tribute from the old Israelite populace. Solomon, however, soon converted Israel into a tributary political economy, and this pattern of state taxation of produce and labor continued down to the eclipse of Israelite statehood. To be sure, Jeroboam's N kingdom may have lifted or relaxed the burden for a time, and no doubt the amounts of tribute siphoned off the land varied considerably from period to period in both kingdoms.

Surplus labor value was taken from the peasants in two cycles of extraction—a *tax* cycle and a *debt* cycle—that jointly constituted a mounting, lethal "one-two" punch, striking catastrophically at their viability as producers. The first cycle of extraction of labor value took the form of state taxation in kind and conscripted labor. These measures skewed the mix of crops and weakened animal husbandry, signaling a pronounced decline of the peasantry, especially when exacerbated by drought and warfare and, increasingly, by the foreign exaction of tribute from the Israelite kingdoms. Progressive peasant impoverishment led directly to the second cycle of extraction of surplus labor value in the form of credit in kind extended to peasants at onerous interest rates by state functionaries and their client landholders and merchants. The consequence of this credit scheme was that large numbers of cultivators fell under obligations as debtors which tended to become perpetual and irreversible.

Distinctive of the tributary mode of production is that there is little or no private property as such, since the peasants have "use-ownership" of the land they live on and till, and the state's "land charter" is a matter of habitual entitlement to taxes based on long convention and backed up by religious legitimation and a monopoly of force. Nonetheless, even if not properly legal, virtual private property arose as creditors were able to take over rights to disposition of land that their debtors could not prevent because the old customary communitarian laws were no longer consistently enforced by courts that fell subject to bribery.

It is this state-initiated and state-condoned double system of incapacitation of the peasantry that the prophets rail against, but their "railing" was not a social or ideological isolate. The prophets stood within social sectors of the community who suffered from this massive shift in the production and allocation of goods necessary to life, and this is altogether true even if some of the prophets were from advantaged classes, since such social protests are often voiced by "intellectuals" who side with the aggrieved. It is also clear that the ideological basis for the prophetic protest was solidly rooted in the premonarchic communitarian political economy. Increasingly overriden and subordinated by a tributary political economy, this communitarian mode still survived locally wherever possible, since the state lacked technical and administrative means to control the countryside totally.

The cumulative devastation of the credit-debt system developed slowly and insidiously over decades and centuries. Probably much of the sardonic rhetoric of the prophets, not to mention the moral earnestness and florid warnings of the Elohist and Deuteronomist sources of the Pentateuch, stems from the ideological reality that this indebtedness system, given the prior state tax burden on peasants, could be given the appearance of a benign and friendly "helping hand." The debt-entailment of lands and persons may actually have been accorded an aura of legitimacy by means of an ideological fiction, and possibly by a legal fiction as well. The creditors could no doubt represent themselves as holding the inalienable land of debtors in "custodianship" and thereby "protecting" the patrimony of the peasants.

An unvarnished look at the political economy at it blossomed under the monarchy reveals nonetheless that the double impact of state tax and state-permitted indebtedness allowed a concentration of wealth among a small elite of state functionaries and those they favored. As Assyria and Neo-Babylonia exacted ever heavier tribute and indemnity from Israel and Judah, these additional costs were passed along to the despoiled cultivators who had to bear the compounded burdens of foreign and domestic exploi-

tation of their labor. To call this credit-debt cycle of surplus extraction "rent capitalism" (Lang 1983: 114–27) is misleading, since the term implies legalized private property and misses the close complicity between taxation and indebtedness, thereby overstating the enterpreneurial freedom of the creditors in a situation of low-level technology and political restriction on "capital" ventures.

Reform measures, such as those articulated in the Covenant Code (Exodus 20:22—23:19) and in the Book of Deuteronomy (chaps. 12–26), represented periodic attempts by coalitions of government leaders, wealthy landholders, lower priests, prophets, and groups of taxed and indebted peasants to correct abuses and close the spreading gulf between exploiters and exploited. Royal theology itself, as articulated in the Psalms and in some of the prophetic writings, promised justice and righteousness from the king. In truth, however, the objective realities for supporting a thriving kingdom in the ANE worked decidedly against the grain of this ideological assurance of royal justice. The reforms, limited in depth and duration, did not fundamentally change the monarchic political economy. Yet, together with the texts of prophecy and wisdom, they do exhibit the tenacity of communitarian values and movements that built communities of solidarity and resistance to the native tributary mode of production.

3. Colonial Israel (1): A Foreign Tributary Mode of Production. In its colonial status, both among Jews who remained in Palestine and those who fled or were deported, Israel drew on communitarian values and practices to survive as a politically disenfranchised and enfeebled people. These communitarian strategies were taken up in various ways both by the peasant underclasses and the ousted leaders and upperclasses of the former Israelite states, and they received religious symbolic coding in the edited Pentateuchal sources and in the exilic prophets.

Our knowledge of the class conditions of Jews in Palestine and in exile is limited. It is to be expected that the contradictions wracking both groups were sharp and painful. It will have been chiefly the peasantry who remained on the land in Judah, but the fact that they were free of their native overlords did not necessarily, or even probably, mean that they became autonomous producers. Doubtless the Babylonians exercised their rule by enforcing some version of the tributary mode of production (cf. Lamentations 5), although how exacting their dominion was compared to the era of Judahite political independence has scarcely been considered by historiographers of the period. Possibly, as Alt thought, the Samaritan elite extended its control into Judah with Babylonian permission. To the degree that the Babylonians neglected the province or region of Judah, the Palestinian peasantry may have had times of respite from heavy tribute. On the other hand, the physical hardships of the people, together with the grave damages inflicted on the agrarian base of the Judahite economy during the collapse of the kingdom, probably left the populace at a low subsistence level in which periods of "freedom" from tribute may have made slight difference to their depressed condition.

As for the deported populace of Judah, it is clearly reported in the Bible that they were drawn from the upperclasses in government service. Their situation was that of a "declassed" former elite who retained their self-image and skills, but did so in straitened circumstances in which they chose, in effect, to adopt some of the survival strategies familiar to the communitarian peasantry who had been their subjects. It appears that many of these exiles were eventually drawn into Babylonian and Persian government service and held expectations of returning to Palestine at the head of a new regime. The clash between Palestinian Jews who remained in Judah and expatriates who returned after decades abroad seems to underlie much of the acute conflict in postexilic Judah. This conflict included tensions between Jews and Samaritans, rivalries over who would constitute the legitimate priesthood, and—of growing importance to "the people of the Book"—struggles over who would determine the shape of the national heritage which eventually found formulation in the canon of the Hebrew Bible.

As a restored community in Palestine and as permanently dispersed enclaves abroad, Israelites fell under a foreign tributary mode of production. By allowing home rule among Palestinian Jews, the Persian tribute-takers granted the operation of a native tributary mode of production headed by a Jewish elite. The beneficiaries of this native tributary apparatus, functioning through the temple economy, fought stubborn battles with communitarian forces that created shifting alliances in subsequent centuries, extending on into the Hellenistic and Roman periods. It is evident that it was the heirs of the old Judahite elite, restored from Babylon by the Persians, who gained the upper hand in Palestine, although they could not do so without coming to some terms with the indigenous Jewish populace that had never left Palestine.

Taxes and loans at interest were reintroduced and, in spite of the shrewd reforms of Nehemiah (which have been justly compared with Solon's reforms in Athens), the tax and debt burden mounted under the later Ptolemies and reached devastating levels under Rome. In Maccabean times, a broad nationalist coalition of communitarian and tributary Jewish sectors managed to break free of the Seleucid version of the tributary mode of production, in which slavery was already coming to the fore. As it turned out, however, the communitarian elements in the Maccabean uprising were suppressed by Hasmonean Jewish kings who retained a native tributary political economy closely resembling the exploitative structure and cultural style of other Hellenistic states. The new wealth generated by the conquests and commerce of the Hasmoneans went to the court and to large merchants and landholders, while Jewish peasants were no better off than they had been under Persian and Ptolemaic–Seleucid rule.

How was the emergence of the Hebrew Bible as Scripture connected with this unrelenting struggle over political economy? The canonization of Torah and Prophets in postexilic times cannot be understood apart from the triangular contest among foreign tributary mode of production, native tributary mode of production, and strivings toward a renewed communitarian mode of production. The canonization process reflected and fortified cultic and ethical purity as a way for all Jews to resist the foreign tributary rule by means of a united nationalist front.

The leading community forces pushing for canonization were, however, supporters and recipients of the benefits of

the native tributary apparatus oriented around the temple. This restored Jewish leadership did not wish to jeopardize its privileged position by encouraging or allowing Jewish uprisings aimed at restoring communitarian structures internally and/or at gaining independence from Persia. By contrast, communitarians hoped for an eventual overthrow of Persian dominion, and may have occasionally joined out-of-power native tributary sympathizers in plotting rebellion. They also hoped for the elimination, or at least the sharp limitation, of the Jewish elites and their tributary burdens on the populace.

In this climate of political economy, the Torah was a compromise text. On the one side, Torah was read by the restored Jewish leadership primarily as a document affirming the status quo, for it enshrined the "finished" record of God's past deeds culminating in restored Jerusalem. Samaritan Jews, apparently lacking a vigorous communitarian constituency, were content to restrict Scripture solely to the Torah as "a closed book," as in fact did the later Sadducean Jewish elite to the very end of their power. On the other side, Judahite communitarians not only compelled inclusion within the Torah of Deuteronomy's anticipations of new apostasies and new deliverances, but they also championed the collection of the Prophets whose warnings and promises they viewed as addressing the socially and morally problematic present. Torah and Prophets together were read by communitarians as "open-ended" history with yet unwritten chapters.

The struggle over canonization paralleled and was entwined with the contest over control of production (who would extract what and how much from who, or indeed whether extraction in all forms could be ended). The canon was ideologically "porous" or "ambiguous" in that it could be read as approving different forms of political economy depending on which segments of the writings were emphasized and given priority and on how the old texts were construed as normative or inspirational for new situations.

Postexilic Judaism, therefore, displayed a tangle of conflicting and contradictory practices and ideologies along the spectrum of tributary vs. communitarian modes of production, and along the spectrum of imperial accommodationist vs. national liberationist political stances. It is not surprising—and certainly not merely the result of literary or religious confusion—that the Hebrew Bible should reflect these conflicts and contradictions in acute form. This is so because, while the tributary mode of production massively prevailed, it could only do so by incorporating considerable elements of communitarian ideology, and in lesser degree allowing communitarian practices that did not jeopardize the overall dominance of the tributary mechanisms.

4. Colonial Israel (2): A Slave-Based Mode of Production. The two-fold process of surplus extraction typifying the tributary mode of production during the monarchy, as also under foreign dominion during exile and restoration, continued on into the Roman era, but with a vengeance exacerbated by the Roman slave mode of production. To be sure, the slave mode of production was not operative in Palestine in its "classic" form. Slaves worked some of the large estates in Galilee and helped build Herod's monumental works, including the Temple, but slavery did not account for more than a fraction of the total production in Palestine which was carried on mainly by peasants subject to tributary payments to Roman and native elites.

Although slavery was not as fully represented in Roman Palestine as elsewhere in the empire, the very capacity of Rome to rule over the Jews with overwhelming force and to succeed in crushing two major Jewish uprisings in the 1st and 2d centuries C.E. was directly attributable to the productivity of its slave-based political enemy. While formally free but land-tied peasants and hired laborers did a majority of productive work in the Roman Empire, it was the labor-intensive work of slaves in agriculture, industry, and commerce that built up the critical mass of taxable wealth by means of which Rome was able to extend its conquest and control so thoroughly over such vast territories.

In Palestine, Rome laid heavy exactions on the Jewish populace, some of which were handled through tax-farming. The presence of Roman private property in parts of Palestine probably spurred Jewish creditors into more onerous debt exactions from the Jewish peasantry. The primary exaction of surplus, however, was channeled through the temple economy by which Sadducean high priests and their lay associates collected taxes for themselves and for the Romans. Large sectors of the Judean economy were dependent for livelihood on services rendered to the temple.

Apart from the small but powerful Sadducean stratum, most Jews detested Rome and wished to be free of the foreign slave mode of production, but their readiness to resist or to revolt against Rome varied with the degree that they felt the pressure of tax and debt in keeping with class position. The Pharisaic movement seems to have been composed mostly of small artisans and shopkeepers who were not severely hurt by the Roman and Sadducean complicity in surplus extraction. It was the peasants and wage laborers who bore the brunt of the extraction policies, and they were restive during the first half of the century and openly revolutionary by the 60s.

The stance of Jesus and his first followers vis-à-vis the modes of production is clouded by meager and skewed sources and by a marked tendency among scholars to "spiritualize" Christian origins. It is entirely possible, however, to locate Jesus and his movement with approximate accuracy in the field of political economy. Jesus led a movement among the heavily taxed and indebted peasantry of Palestine that went on to directly challenge the temple economy and thus the very core of the native tributary mode of production.

It is, moreover, a major conceptual error to focus exclusively on the issue of the violence or nonviolence of Jesus' methods, as if the determination of his methods could settle the question of how "political" he was in taking on the temple economy. As the executioners of Jesus recognized, the vigor and directness of his words and deeds were not merely the concern of a few disgruntled Galilean sectarians, since many Jews had similar disdain for the tax and debt burdens which the temple economy fostered, instrumentalized, and accorded religious sanction. There was understandable reason for Jewish and Roman elites to fear the provocative potential of Jesus to ignite distur-

bances well beyond the immediate circle of his followers. There is little doubt that the content of his teachings and the thrust of his strategy for confronting the Jewish authorities put Jesus and his followers on the side of communitarian forces. It is not even necessary to argue conspiracy or collaboration between Jesus and other communitarian rebels, such as the Zealots, to see that the Jesus movement was genuinely threatening to the continuation of the native tributary mode of production in the short run and to the Roman slave mode of production in the long run.

The outbreak of the Jewish war against Rome cannot be explained solely, or even primarily, as the work of a small conspiratorial Zealot party. Such an organized party scarcely existed prior to the uprising, which erupted as a widespread popular rebellion whose leadership the Zealots were eventually able to seize. See ZEALOTS. In fact, the broad revolutionary forces included two factions or tendencies, much as in the Maccabean uprising: (1) those who wanted to overthrow the Roman dominion and to retain the tributary mode of production in native form, purged of its abusive Sadducean monopoly; and (2) those who wanted to abolish the native tributary political economy altogether by rescinding taxes and debts through a restoration of some form of communitarian mode of production. The revolt against Rome did not achieve sufficient consolidation for the contest between the tributary and communitarian Jewish forces to surface fully and be fought out to a conclusion.

The upshot of the war against Rome was the destruction of the native tributary mode of production, not however by the restoration of a communitarian mode of production, but by the triumph of the Roman slave mode of production and the forced retreat of Jews into small survival enclaves wherein the Rabbinic type of Judaism was cultivated.

C. Normative Social Hermeneutics

Does the Hebrew Bible prescribe or exemplify social forms and behaviors that Jews and Christians should follow in their own lives and possibly commend to society in general? This complex question involves theology and ethics and has been given a variety of richly nuanced answers depending on the combination of tradition, reason, experience, and social location through which the Bible is read. We shall identify some of the major modes of coping with this issue (see also Birch and Rasmussen 1989) and comment briefly on the shape of biblical social hermeneutics that accords best with the foregoing analysis of biblical political economy.

1. Modes of Social Hermeneutics. First, the most straightforward mode is to claim to obey the biblical social prescriptions in a literal manner, which has been typical of certain orthodox and sectarian groups in their attempts to maintain a biblical manner of life. This has involved such behavior as refusal to practice usury or to bear arms, common sharing of property, regularity in almsgiving and other acts of charity, etc. The assumption of this mode is that the Bible is in part a rule book and is more or less self-consistent in the social patterns it commands. To be sure, the determination of whether particular biblical social behaviors are descriptive or prescriptive, in some or all circumstances, is a matter of community exegesis. Moreover, the biblical social prescriptions are regarded as realizable in contemporary society. In the end, adherents of this position are necessarily arbitrary in selecting certain biblical prescriptions to be observed while disregarding others. Prescriptivists may also be more or less reactionary or progressive in terms of the larger societal norms and practices.

Second, the more common mode in social hermeneutics is to aim at embodying biblical principles in contemporary structures and circumstances that are recognized to be different, in one respect or another, from conditions in biblical times. The principles held to be central to biblical society and worthy of emulation characteristically include one or more of the following: "love," "justice," "equality," "freedom," "law and order," "respect for persons," "right to property," "right of privacy," "entitlement to basic subsistence," and the like. Proponents of a principle-oriented approach are usually fully imbued with and atuned to their own culture and society. They contend that the best way to employ their biblical social heritage is not through invoking selective prescriptions from the Bible but through seeking to incarnate its major social values.

Specification of the normative biblical principles and values is a matter of dispute and the precise way of "applying" or "translating" them to current society is extremely variable. Jews and Christians of this persuasion have often been liberal or radical in their social orientations, but others of a conservative social orientation have adopted the same mode, except that they differ in what they judge to be the leading biblical principles.

Third, more subtle is the mode of historical analogy in which the crucial problematics of particular biblical situations are viewed as similar to the problematics facing present society. Given this correspondence, we may learn how to interpret our situation more sensitively and act with fuller ethical resources if we attend to the structural and attitudinal "clues" available in the related biblical contexts. The prophetic and apocalyptic writings are frequently interpreted in historical analogical manner, as are also the Israelite situations of exodus and exile. This approach may attend to particular biblical social practices in the context of perceived principles (see the first and second modes discussed above), but the attempt is to view biblical practices and principles in a social context that has a structural affinity with our own social context.

2. Social Hermeneutics and Political Economy. The history of the political economy of ancient Israel has direct bearing on biblical social hermeneutics, since it alters our perspective on all the modes of appropriating biblical social data and directives. In any act of biblical appropriation, we are dealing with *two dynamic horizons:* the process of the production and reproduction of life necessities, power arrangements, and prevailing ideas both *in the biblical world* and *in our world.* The continuities and discontinuities between these two worlds must be kept in mind throughout the hermeneutical process.

Because the communitarian and tributary modes of production were precapitalist modes, whereas our modes of production are capitalist or socialist, there can be no simple or direct transplant of biblical social practices into our situation. If we imitate a biblical social practice, it will

have a different structure and function for us than it had in its original setting. If we seek to live out a biblical principle, it will have to find material contents and a manner of operation that is congruent with the current prevailing mode of production and social formation.

Moreover, because different modes of production were in conflict in biblical times, complicated by struggles over whether the mode of production would be controlled by natives or foreigners, there are conflicting social paradigms and practices in the Bible. Similarly, modes of production are in conflict today, and the capitalist mode in which most biblical scholarship has been carried on to date, is itself riddled with contradictions. Accordingly, the appropriation of biblical social practices, principles, and analogies will necessarily be *selective* in the choice of authoritative biblical data and *controversial* in application, precisely because the social and ethical stances of interpreters are always challengeable from another perspective, as were the stances of biblical writers.

The question of which social structures and behaviors were the "right" ones in biblical times and which are the "right" ones for us will always remain a matter of dispute. To determine "rightness" in these contexts necessitates critical social ethical judgment. Such judgment is developed within the discourse and practice of the various communities that constitute church and society, and in which many factors such as class, race, gender, and religion are at play. There simply is no "neutral" or "objective" biblical social ethic. But the "lesson" derivable from this reality is not sheer ethical relativism and cynicism but informed moral agency by a "responding" self in a "responding" society.

All of the above interpenetrating factors in a normative social hermeneutics are well illustrated by attempts to read the role and status of women in biblical society in a manner that will be supportive of feminist aspirations. See also FEMINIST HERMENEUTICS. Both the biblical and the contemporary poles of feminist concerns call for social critical judgment. Biblical women experienced restrictions and exclusions from public life typical of patriarchal societies. Nevertheless, when communitarian tendencies were strongest in Israel—as in the tribal period and in the Jesus movement—women participated more freely and on a par with men in public activities. There are biblical texts, such as the Song of Songs and the synoptic teaching of Jesus, which exhibit a strong thrust toward overcoming limiting and demeaning social and cultural barriers between the sexes.

This biblical "mixed record" must be interpreted in terms of the social historical possibilities for the advancement of women under the ancient modes of production and in the light of new possibilities opened up by current modes of production. Biblical ambiguity about women must also be interpreted from the perspective of a hermeneutic that is clear about the criteria for human worth and performance that undergird the feminist life path. This same hermeneutical grid of factors will be operative for the struggles of all marginalized peoples.

Consequently, the point of political economy for social hermeneutics is that our evaluation and appropriation of the biblical texts is a complex critical judgment that resonates with the complex critical judgment also exercised by biblical moral agents. Biblical religion was intimately connected to political economy and always entailed one or another inclination or option toward political economy. The notion of religious "neutrality" toward economics, politics, and society is invalid insofar as the Bible is claimed to support that position. In fact, adherents of biblical religion were active agents in altering modes of production. Our discovery of this truth about our biblical ancestors presents us with ample precedent as Jews and Christians. In short, we are entirely justified on biblical grounds to evaluate and shape current political economy along lines that appear to us valid on human and religious grounds and at the same time are reasonably attainable within the limits of the political-economic present.

Granted that the Bible does not "prescribe" any single political economy, and that its principles are protean and abstract when lifted from their historical struggle matrix. Nevertheless, the Bible does exemplify the centrality of political economy as the arena in which religious claims and aspirations prosper or decline to the degree that they truly engage the basic current issues of our constantly created and re-created common life. Political economy shows emphatically that we are creatures materially *limited* by nature and history. But just as decisively, it demonstrates that we are materially *innovative* creatures who, in choosing concretely and substantively from the options at hand, interact afresh with nature and with our fellow humans as we fashion that portion of human history which is ours alone to enact.

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SOCIOLOGY OF EARLY CHRISTIANITY

An investigation of the salient issues in a "sociological study" of the NT and early Christianity. This investigation begins with a general statement of the issues and how they relate to previous studies of early Christianity, including those with a more "theological" perspective. Ongoing methodological debates in the human sciences are discussed to shed light on analogous issues confronting students of the sociology of early Christianity. Finally, a review of seminal works in the field describes the range of ways that scholars of Christian origins have addressed these methodological issues.

A. Introduction
B. Problems in Social Inquiry
  1. Humanistic Discipline or Science?
  2. Social Objectivity and the Problem of Incommensurability
C. Review of Seminal Works
  1. "Social Historical" Studies
  2. "Social Scientific" Studies
D. Conclusion

A. Introduction

During the middle decades of this century, the nature of the NT texts and the aims of exegesis were construed in various ways. For example, participants in the "biblical theology" movement regarded the biblical texts as genuine theological discourse, which was, however, expressed in the time- and culture-conditioned thought forms of the ancient (especially Hebraic) world. The exegete's task was to discern and describe these truth claims so as to show their relevance for 20th century preaching and theological discourse. As a second example, R. Bultmann (1951–55) treated the NT texts as the working out in specific historical situations of the self-understanding(s) that emerged from a faithful response to the kerygma. The interpreter's task was to identify and explicate in philosophical terms the idealistic objects of reference in a given passage, stripped of the 1st century mythology in which they were conceptualized. Despite their differences, these two approaches shared the conviction that the significant content of the NT consists of *theological statements,* and that the exegete's task is to engage in *theological* interpretation.

Advocates of the move that began in the early 1970s to engage in "sociological study" of the NT and early Christianity insist that such conceptions of the NT and of the exegete's task tend to obscure the views and experiences of the vast majority of early Christians, who may not have shared the (elite) writers' views. Second, such conceptions of the NT and of exegesis have encouraged the assumption that theological questions and categories relevant in the 20th century Western world were relevant also in the 1st century Mediterranean environment. Such an assumption of the commensurability of thought forms across centuries and cultures is most likely to occur whenever beliefs are abstracted from what L. Keck (1974: 439) has called "the hurly burly of early Christian life."

Advocates of "sociological study" assert that the NT texts are not collections of truth claims which, though expressed in time-conditioned forms, nevertheless point to an unchanging and definable reality; nor are they mythological expressions of encounters with the kerygma, the divine personal address. Rather, the NT texts are records of dynamic social interchange among persons who lived in specific communities at particular times and places. Theological reflection was certainly part of that ancient social

interchange, and should be attended to: "sociological study" of the NT texts is not necessarily antitheological. But those who engage in such study contend that the "meaning" of theological (and nontheological) statements in the NT can only be recovered when they are seen to function within specific cultural and linguistic contexts. Patterns of belief influenced patterns of life *and vice versa;* only when viewed as part of a dialectical process can either be fully understood.

Many of the concerns and emphases of current sociological research on the NT and early Christianity have precedents in the work of earlier generations of scholars. Members of the history of religions school, for example, sought to discover connections between NT beliefs and religious practices and those of the larger religious environment. But, with significant exceptions, focus was on identifying genetic relationships in the ethereal realm of ideas, rather than on seeing how those ideas affected and were affected by the social practices of particular communities of people. As a second example, Shirley Jackson Case and Shailer Mathews of "the Chicago School" sought to explain the social origins of Christianity. Overall the stated aims and presuppositions of Case and Mathews sound remarkably contemporary (see Keck 1974: 436–39). But their studies suffered from a lack of sophisticated theoretical perspectives: both sociological perspectives and historical-critical perspectives for the analysis of biblical literature (see Schütz 1982: 5–7; here "theoretical perspective" may be defined as a broadly encompassing way or "style" of theorizing, such as the functionalist perspective in sociology/anthropology, or the form-critical perspective in Gospel research [Elliott 1986: 9–10]). As a third example, form critics claimed to emphasize the social formation of NT (especially Gospel) traditions. But various factors, such as the lure of dialectical theology and the disparity between the span of centuries presupposed by OT form criticism and of decades presupposed by NT form criticism, prevented the NT form critics from living up to their avowed sociological objectives (Schütz 1982: 8–10).

In the United States, the renewal of widespread interest in social questions may be conveniently dated to 1973. In that year a decision was made to form a working group sponsored by the American Academy of Religion and Society of Biblical Literature, for the purpose of exploring "the social world of early Christianity." The group, chaired by Wayne A. Meeks and Leander E. Keck, chose to focus on the task of describing the "social world" of Christianity in Antioch-on-the-Orontes from its beginning until the 4th century (see Meeks and Wilken 1978). The term "social world" in the group's self-designation reflected the influence on many members of symbolic anthropology and of the "sociology of knowledge" as developed by Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1966). Berger and Luckmann contend that humans are constantly engaged in the construction and maintenance of "social worlds," which provide institutions, structures, and patterns for human life and interaction.

In the years since the formation of the "social world" group, scholars interested in the new agenda have diverged on the question of the role that social scientific goals and methods ought to play in their work. Often scholars have operated as if there were two distinct approaches to the study of early Christianity: the "social historical" approach, and the "sociological" or "social scientific" approach. In its most pointed form, the former refrains from using sociological methods, confining attention instead to more traditional historiographic questions about the social background and practices of the early Christians. In contrast, the approach labeled "sociological" or "social scientific" seeks "to complement a conventional historical and exegetical analysis of the Bible and its environment with an orientation whose questions and objectives, modes of analysis and processes of explanation are guided and informed by the perspectives, methods, and research of the social scientist" (Elliott 1985: 329; see also Elliott 1986; Malina 1986b). But in practice, the work of relatively few scholars has matched either of these "ideal types." Rather, many have held that the most promising approach is one that continues to employ old methods and questions, but that is *also* informed by the questions social scientists ask and the models they employ.

Against a thoroughgoing sociological approach it has been objected that the relevant sources are too sparse and fragmentary to support the use of sociological models or the drawing of larger patterns; that sociological analysis retrojects modern Western mental constructs and concerns onto 1st century society; and that sociological analysis both reduces theological statements to reflexive expressions of social forces, and unjustifiably minimizes the historical importance of the creative initiative and intention of individual leaders. Conversely, advocates of the social scientific perspective have objected that works of social history/description are typically intuitive and ethnocentric, and that they are rendered obscure by authors' tendency not to make theoretical presuppositions explicit and open to inspection. Bruce J. Malina (1986a), John H. Elliott (1985, 1986), and other advocates of rigorous "social scientific analysis" contend that the investigator's perception, organization, and interpretation of data is *inescapably* governed by theoretical models. (Here "model" may be defined as "an abstract, simplified representation of some real world object, event, or interaction constructed for the purpose of understanding, control, or prediction" [Malina 1982: 231; cf. Elliott 1986]). But, the scholars claim, whereas social scientists carefully describe the models employed, scholars of early Christianity who eschew social scientific theory leave their models vague and implicit.

The debate about the role that social scientific methods and models should play in the study of Christian origins intersects with an ongoing discussion among scholars across the human sciences. This discussion concerns an interrelated set of epistemological problems of objectivism versus relativism (see Bernstein 1983; Stowers 1985; Marcus and Fischer 1986). Though the epicenter of the current debate is the philosophy of science (it was triggered especially by Kuhn 1970; see Bernstein 1983), anthropologists have for years confronted analogous theoretical problems entailed by the task of understanding and explicating the symbolic discourse of other peoples. An overview of the salient issues in the interdisciplinary discussion (especially as it pertains to anthropology) may help to clarify the related debate among scholars of early Christianity.

B. Problems in Social Inquiry

1. Humanistic Discipline or Science? Sociologist Bryan R. Wilson notes that early social theorists, including Comte, Hobhouse, Durkheim, and Marx sought to discover a "rational ethic" or "patterns of social regulation" that "utilized the findings of scientific social enquiry, which some of them saw as convergent with the laws of history itself" (Wilson 1979: vii; cf. Evans-Pritchard 1962: 140). Max Weber was one of the first social theorists to show an awareness of the limitations of rational procedures and understanding in social inquiry. In the period since Weber, social scientists have debated both the nature of their subject matter and the investigative procedures that they should use. These two issues are related. Social scientists who assume that social groups follow laws or law-like patterns have correspondingly insisted that such groups be investigated scientifically, using procedures of hypothesis or model formulation and testing analogous to procedures employed by the natural scientist. Repeated cycles of testing a hypothesis or model against the data and revising it in light of empirical test results are thought to enable the researcher to verify the facts of the situation and to guarantee that the model is free from formulator bias.

On the other hand, a small but significant number of social scientists have held that the subjects they study—the astoundingly diverse societies and cultures of humankind—do not permit the rigorously controlled procedure, analytic classification, and nomothetic interests of the natural sciences. Human social discourse is always expressed in symbolic forms (including language, ritual, myth, and other cultural patterns) whose meaning is relative to a *particular* set of social and cultural circumstances. This relativity of symbolic meaning, as well as the condensed, multivalent quality of symbolic forms, resist the abstractions of the scientist. Moreover, it is argued, the social scientists' guarantee of the "objectivity" or "scientific validity" of their results is an illusion. Research results are inevitably biased, because they are controlled by the questions generating the data to be analyzed. Such bias is characteristic not only of open-ended, inductive methodologies, but also of rigorously empirical ones: by the use of standardized questions and variables, the social scientist's hypothesis or model sifts and shapes the sorts of data deemed admissible. Indeed, cultural bias is said actually to be *built into* the hypothetico-deductive method.

a. The Functionalist Perspective. How have these issues been viewed from various perspectives in anthropology? Many operating from the theoretical perspective of *functionalism* have argued vigorously for the scientific status of their enterprise. The functionalist mode of analysis was developed by Talcott Parsons and his students in sociology, and by Bronislaw Malinowski and A. R. Radcliffe-Brown in anthropology, though the roots of such analysis go back to H. Spencer, E. Durkheim, and T. Veblen. Strict functionalism has come under serious critique (see Penner 1971; Stowers 1985: 152–58), but the perspective continues to be influential in modified forms. As originally developed, functionalism is not a narrow model with limited applications, but a general theoretical perspective on human interaction, capable of explaining diverse social phenomena. Social groups are regarded as organisms (much like living organisms) whose natural state is one of equilibrium. Cultural phenomena—ranging from venerable institutions, to kinship structures, to beliefs in witchcraft—can be analyzed to determine their "function"; i.e., their contribution to the smooth and proper functioning of the social system. The method is "holistic": explanation of any single component of the system must demonstrate how that part interacts with the other components of the system. In strict functionalism, social organisms (like their natural counterparts) are assumed to follow laws or law-like patterns. Moreover, like living organisms, social systems are thought to have certain "needs" (e.g., the need to overcome tensions) which must be met if the system is to endure; a presupposition of analysis is that these needs are often satisfied by practices or institutions that are manifestly intended to serve a different purpose altogether.

Complaints about functionalism were voiced as early as 1950 by anthropologist E. E. Evans-Pritchard (1962)—whose own work, ironically, helped to establish functionalism as a viable working method. In a controversial lecture that has been dubbed "the Humanist Manifesto," Evans-Pritchard lamented the positivist bent of many social scientists of his day. Evans-Pritchard was convinced that human societies are not natural systems that follow scientific laws, capable of being discovered and tested. Rather, societies are moral or symbolic systems in which patterns can be "discovered"—or, better, "imaginatively constructed"—by the observer. Anthropology "is interested in design rather than in process," and "seeks patterns and not scientific laws, and interprets rather than explains." Hence, Evans-Pritchard contended, anthropology should be regarded as one of the humanities, akin to historiography rather than to natural science.

b. The Cognitive Perspective. In the late 1950s and the 1960s there emerged the subdiscipline of anthropology known as *cognitive anthropology*, because its practitioners try to map out the cognitive realm or worldview of a particular people (see Colby et al. 1981; Holland and Quinn 1987, esp. pp. 4–6). One impetus behind this new theoretical perspective was its originators' conviction that use of western analytic categories to describe and explain alien peoples inadvertently imposed those modern conceptions onto the data, resulting in ethnocentric interpretations. The cognitive anthropologists strive to correct this problem through careful elicitation of "the native's point of view." The use of native categories in explanation is called "emic" analysis, in contrast to "etic" analysis, which utilizes the investigator's own analytic categories (both terms are derived from a linguistic model; compare "phonemic" and "phonetic" [see Feleppa 1986]). A second impetus behind the development of cognitive anthropology was its inventors' dissatisfaction with the vagueness and imprecision said to characterize ethnographic work. Cognitive anthropologists have maintained that elicitation of native thought forms, done according to formal analytical procedures that can be replicated and tested by others, will permit unbiased (emic) understanding of alien cultures. At least in the earlier stages of the subdiscipline, the ultimate goal was to use the results of this finely tuned emic analysis in cross-cultural comparison, done according to overarching etic, culturally-neutral frameworks.

The insistence of cognitive anthropologists on recovering "the native's point of view" has had a widely pervasive influence on the contemporary discussion in anthropology (see Feleppa 1986). Moreover, the cognitive anthropologists' confidence with regard to the feasibility of genuinely scientific, unbiased investigation of other cultures has served as a catalyst in the present debate, provoking vehement and incisive opposition from some quarters. Clifford Geertz (1973: 11), for example, has described cognitive anthropology as the marriage of "extreme subjectivism" to "extreme formalism." Marcus and Fischer (1986: 29) suggest that "cognitive anthropology's hopes for objective grids came to be seen as just one set of cultural constructions among others; its frameworks were not at all culturally neutral, but were shot through with the analyst's own cultural categories and assumptions, thus vitiating the project." The latter assessment is relevant for scholars of Christian origins, who are presently debating whether or not overarching analytic frameworks (such as the "group and grid" scheme of Mary Douglas [1973; see also Malina 1986b]) can enable the investigator to escape the clutches of ethnocentrism (see Garrett 1988).

c. The Symbolic Perspective. Anthropologists who adopt the *symbolic* theoretical perspective (a designation that actually encompasses a range of perspectives and methods, including the work of both M. Douglas and C. Geertz) have been divided about the appropriateness of claiming "scientific" status for their work. The roots of symbolic analysis go back to psychoanalysis on the one hand, and the sociology of knowledge (especially as prefigured in the work of Durkheim) on the other (see Colby et al. 1981: 424). According to adherents of the symbolic perspective, cultural systems are best understood through the analysis of symbols and their power to constitute reality. Hence, the task of the observer is to interpret action (i.e., meaningful behavior) by searching out the symbolic forms (e.g., ritual or myth) in which such action is expressed and viewing them holistically within their social and cultural context. Symbolic anthropologists assume that the symbolic elements of the focal events of social life are richly "condensed" or "overdetermined." Like dream symbols in Freudian analysis, social symbols reach out "by multiple strands of association into many diverse domains, levels, and corners of cultural experience" (Colby et al. 1981: 432).

The assumption that symbolic meaning is multivalent leaves wide room for the subjectivity of the researcher to enter into play. This element of subjectivity has been evaluated differently by various persons both inside and outside of the symbolic camp. "Interpretive" anthropologists (i.e., a subgroup of symbolic anthropologists, whose number includes Geertz and others with similar agendas, all of whom reject the goals and methods of positivist social scientists) have argued that subjectivity is to be neither denied nor feared. As J. L. Peacock (1986: 90) notes, the aim is to produce an interpretation that has been filtered through the interpreter's own experience and worldview, but that is nevertheless "focused sharply and precisely on the world of the native." But this indeterminateness of findings is intolerable to anthropologists of a more positivist bent: "there is no assurance that the [symbolic] analyst is not simply inventing some structure that has at best only a minimal or conditional validity" (Colby et al. 1981: 432; cf. Shankman 1984).

The classic method for accomplishing the task of symbolic interpretation is the "ethnographic" method: the researcher immerses herself or himself in the life of the people being studied, seeks to learn the people's language and customs, and attempts to describe patterns of symbolization and social structure only after an extended period of exposure to them (see Peacock 1986: 48–91; Marcus and Fischer 1986: 17–44). In theory, neither the symbolic theoretical perspective nor the ethnographic method is incompatible with "scientific" procedure. For example, an ethnographer seeking to explain why members of a particular social group regularly fall into a state of mass trance could begin with a carefully formulated hypothesis relating this type of symbolic action to other set features of the social and cultural system, then test the hypothesis against empirical data generated in the field. But in practice many ethnographers—especially the interpretivists—find that the multi-layered character of the generated data ("thick with meanings") serves only to reveal the inadequacy or inappropriateness of a rigorous model-testing approach.

The objections of their critics (e.g., Shankman 1984) notwithstanding, Geertz and other interpretivists typically exhibit a high degree of self-critical awareness with regard to methods and procedure (see Marcus and Fischer, 1986). Interpretivists have chosen deliberately to follow an inductive-investigative method, and to reflect thoughtfully on the possibilities and limitations of discursive narrative as the medium in which to explicate an alien culture. Such procedural choices ought not to be taken for granted by scholars interested in social aspects of early Christianity. Elliott is correct that exegetes and historians must make intentional and well-documented decisions about their methodological perspectives. But such explicitness does not necessitate that one adopt a model-testing approach. To insist otherwise is to be more scientific than the social scientists, who—as seen above—disagree about the role that the hypothetico-deductive method ought to play in their analysis. The scholar of Christian origins may well decide that the very nature of human "meaning"—rooted inextricably in the concrete and rich details of a given time and place—makes the inductive but focused procedure of the interpretivist a more appropriate exemplar of method than is the empirical procedure of natural scientists.

2. Social Objectivity and the Problem of Incommensurability. To what extent is genuine translation of the terms, concepts, or modes of being of an alien culture into the interpreter's own language and modes of thought possible? Are there spheres of social or verbal discourse that *cannot* be understood aright when they are abstracted from their particular cultural framework—as is necessitated by the very act of translation? Discussion of this issue has often centered on the question of *rationality*, because it is the "nonrational" acts of another people (with so-called magical acts being the case *par excellence*) that pose the most serious problems of cross-cultural translation, and that thereby threaten to cast doubt on the validity of the whole translation enterprise. Are the apparently nonrational practices and beliefs of other peoples to be assessed and described by measuring them against the analytic categories of our own modern western discourse (e.g.,

"magic," "science," or "religion")? This was the procedure followed early in the century by James Frazer, who concluded that "magic" was a kind of primitive rational science, but based on false premises. Alternately, are such practices and beliefs to be explained in terms of their ultimate contribution to the stable functioning of the social system, thereby making it unnecessary to attend to "the native's point of view"? This is the approach followed by those adopting a functionalist model of society. But critics have argued that both approaches are distorting. They treat the phenomena at too high a level of abstraction, and so obscure the possibility that the observed "nonrational" behavior actually follows "rules for rationality" that are *incommensurable* with the rules of the observer. Rather than measuring a people's symbolic forms against our own analytic categories, it is argued that the investigator must strive to utilize categories corresponding as closely as possible to ones used by the subjects themselves.

The "problem of incommensurability," then, may be stated as follows: any procedure which abstracts symbolic forms from their cultural context for purposes of comparison runs the danger of obscuring meaning and causing distortion, since the symbolic forms employed by the subjects may be incommensurable with categories derived from another culture. The greater is one's conviction that there are "cultural universals"—that social structures and codes of meaning follow law-like patterns, despite the variety of "superficial" cultural differences from one time and place to the next—the less acute will the "problem of incommensurability" seem to be. Conversely, the stronger is one's conviction that the "meaning" of social and verbal discourse is inextricably rooted in the *specific details of a particular culture*, the more acute the problem of incommensurability will appear to become.

Certainly all translation and interpretation involve abstraction: i.e., the overlooking of specific cultural detail so as to express a quality or property separate from the person or thing possessing it. But methods which employ extensive cross-cultural comparison, or which aim to explain social phenomena in the observers' own analytic (etic) categories must abstract the data from their cultural and social context to a much higher degree than do those approaches which seek to employ the views and intentions of the subjects (emic analysis). On the other hand, one cannot explicate the discourse of another culture without *any* reference to the observers' own (etic) categories, since to do so would be "not to explain anthropologically but to become completely assimilated socially" (Wilson 1979: xvii; see the discussion of the "intentionalist" position in Stowers 1985). Consequently, many anthropologists hold that the best strategy is one that deploys emic and etic categories together. The use of emic and etic categories conjoined is said to permit the investigator best to comprehend what alien peoples think they are doing and why they think they are doing it (on the possibilities and limits of such an approach, see Feleppa 1986). According to Geertz (1983: 69), the interpreter achieves such a conjunction of emic (or "experience-near") and etic (or "experience-distant") categories by engaging in

> . . . a continuous dialectical tacking between the most local of local detail and the most global of global structure in such a way as to bring both into simultaneous view. . . . Hopping back and forth between the whole conceived through the parts that actualize it and the parts conceived through the whole that motivates them, we seek to turn them, by a sort of intellectual perpetual motion, into explications of one another.

This sort of dual focus on the subject of study does not exclude the possibility of cross-cultural comparison. But the investigator is acutely aware of the danger of making easy cross-cultural equations, inasmuch as the abstraction required to do so introduces the problem of incommensurability.

It may be concluded, then, that investigative procedures that systematically compare early Christianity with models based on culturally-distant social groups will encounter the problem of incommensurability in heightened form: in order to make such comparisons work, both early Christianity and the movement (or "model") to which it is being compared must be treated at a high level of abstraction, which increases the risk that distortion of meaning will occur. As Stanley Stowers (1985: 151) has pointed out, the recent trend in the study of early Christianity has been simply to assume commensurability between the 20th century societies upon which social scientific models are based and the societies of the ancient Greco-Roman world. Stowers writes,

> The debate in the philosophy of science, and a parallel debate in the philosophy of history, should warn us to be skeptical about the applicability of modern models to antiquity and suggest that self-knowledge of our own social and conceptual worlds is essential to critical historical work. Most social scientific schemes of description and explanation embody peculiarly modern assumptions about values, beliefs, and social structures. The historian must be able to analyze and evaluate theories and methods thoroughly enough to discern when fundamental assumptions will produce distortion if applied to antiquity.

Stowers' sage cautions ought not to be taken as warrant for abandoning all use of social scientific perspectives and models in the study of early Christianity. Such perspectives and models have already suggested new and productive lines of inquiry and explanation, as attested by the following review of seminal works in the field; this cross-disciplinary enrichment should and will continue. It is, however, increasingly urgent that scholars of Christian origins engage in sustained reflection on the philosophical implications of the perspectives and models that they choose to employ.

C. Review of Seminal Works

The only way to gain a sense of the breadth of topics covered and methods used in recent studies of social dimensions of early Christian life and literature is to examine several of those works. The studies are so diverse as to defy easy comparison or categorization. The following (necessarily selective) sketch of seminal works observes the standard distinction between "social history" and "so-

ciology" or "social science," while acknowledging the imprecision of that dichotomy.

1. "Social Historical" Studies. a. Malherbe. In his book *Social Aspects of Early Christianity* (1983; 1st ed. 1977), A. J. Malherbe advocates close scrutiny of the written sources of early Christianity, especially the NT, so as to become sensitive to their social dimensions. Malherbe suggests that the relationship between a given document and the community with which it was associated may have been complex; one cannot take it for granted that documents were always *products of* communities. Consequently, Malherbe counsels against premature efforts to draw analogies with non-Christian movements, or to apply sociological theory to the pertinent data. Rather, one must begin by examining the character and intention of the documents "in order to discern how they functioned in relation to the communities with which they were associated" (20). Malherbe discusses a range of topics pertaining to the social dimension of early Christian life and literature, including the social function of 1 Thessalonians, the social and educational level of members of the early movement, and features and associated problems of house churches. Malherbe concentrates his efforts on describing and evaluating relevant scholarship (including works written prior to the current renewal of interest in social topics; e.g., Deissmann 1965; Judge 1960a, 1960b), and on suggesting productive avenues for future research. Malherbe's stress on understanding the unique and particular elements of the NT writings and his reluctance to proceed too quickly to "theoretical description or explanations" of communities (insisting that they first be understood from within) keep his work firmly within the confines of "social history." The point is worth noting, because Malherbe does occasionally refer to his work as "sociological" analysis—a usage that has elicited criticism from reviewers, and that may mislead the casual reader. Some have found Malherbe's constraints on genuine sociological analysis to be overly cautious. But these cautions ought to be taken seriously—even if they are ultimately rejected—inasmuch as they grow out of a rich knowledge of the nuances and complexities of life and literature in the Greco-Roman world.

b. Grant. In *Early Christianity and Society* (1977), Robert M. Grant addresses topics which he supposed might appeal to persons whose interests extend beyond esoteric points of theology and exegesis and into matters of "everyday Christian practicality." Grant explores seven different topics (Christian population; relationship to the monarchy; taxation; occupations; private property; almsgiving; and temples, churches and endowments), covering the time span from the 1st to the middle of the 4th century. Grant's attempt to study early Christianity in relation to its social environment is clearly and deliberately that of a historian and not of a sociologist, but several times Grant borders on sociological analysis: for example, when he discusses the possible relationship between millenarianism and the rejection of private property (chap. 5), or when he treats the "triumph of Christianity" as an "economic matter" (chap. 7). There are methodological problems with the work: Grant never worries about how the upper-crust bias of his literary sources may distort the picture of everyday life for those in the lower echelons of society. Moreover, in the opinion of J. Gager (1979: 177), Grant's choice and treatment of topics is reflective more of his own social location than of the situation of early Christians. Given these limitations, Grant's work is valuable for its focus on social, "mundane" aspects of Christian life seldom attended to in histories of the early church.

c. Hock. The 1980 treatment of Paul's trade as "tentmaker," by Ronald F. Hock *(The Social Context of Paul's Ministry)* can also be characterized as a work of social history. Hock makes no use of methods or insights from the social sciences, but does endeavor to place Paul within a particular social and cultural milieu. Hock illuminates Paul's references to his manual labor by discussing the trade of tentmaking or leatherworking as it is known from contemporary sources, the experiences that would likely have arisen from tentmaking as a way of life, and contemporary attitudes held by different groups of persons (including rabbis and philosophers) toward manual labor. Hock uses his findings to illuminate the nature of the Corinthian controversy over Paul's refusal to accept their financial support. He concludes that "far from being at the periphery of his life, Paul's tentmaking was actually central to it" (67). By "placing Paul in the workshop," Hock succeeds not only in elucidating specific material and cultural ties that bound the apostle to a particular time and place, but also in casting light on other aspects of Paul's ministry and relationships with his communities.

2. "Social Scientific" Studies. a. Theissen. In *Sociology of Early Palestinian Christianity* (1978), G. Theissen seeks to determine how "the Jesus movement" contributed to the resolution of the disruptive tensions caused by Roman rule in 1st-century Palestine. The governing sociological perspective is functionalism: societies in general are regarded as entities whose "basic aims" include achieving the integration of their members and overcoming conflicts through change (2). The analysis is broken down into three parts. In Part One ("Analysis of Roles"), Theissen (apparently following M. Weber 1963: 60–62) describes three standardized patterns of behavior in the Jesus movement: the "wandering charismatics," who abandoned family, possessions, and self-pride in order to follow Jesus; the "sympathizers in the local communities," who subjected themselves to the authority of the wandering charismatics and provided physical sustenance to itinerants who passed through their towns; and the "Son of Man," who was central to discipleship for members of each of the other two groups. In Part Two ("Analysis of Factors"), Theissen studies the history, nature, and extent of societal conditions that may have caused the movement to take the shape it did. In Part Three ("Analysis of Function"), relying heavily on psychoanalytic concepts, Theissen explains how the Jesus movement "articulated an answer" to the deep-seated crisis in Palestinian society: Parables, incidents, and sayings in the NT reveal how the earliest Christians "diverted, transferred, projected, transformed, and symbolized" the aggressions resulting from societal tensions (110). But, Theissen concludes, despite the Jesus movement's ability to overcome aggression, for various reasons it was rejected by Palestinian society. On the other hand, it flourished (albeit in changed form) in the more peaceful Hellenistic lands (on the latter point, see Theissen's important articles on Paul, several of which are collected in Theissen 1982).

Theissen's functionalist perspective has profoundly shaped his explanation of the Jesus movement, dictating that he view the movement as one among several of Palestinian society's efforts to overcome tensions within itself. As in classic functionalism, Theissen's explanation is given entirely in etic categories: the movement is analyzed in terms of its *latent functions*, rather than in terms of the *manifest functions* or *intentions* of the individuals who were its members. "Society" is described in language appropriate only to thinking persons: it has "aims," "needs," "concerns." Moreover, the movement's response to aggression is characterized using psychoanalytic constructs, which are inappropriate to describe social (as opposed to individual psychological) phenomena. Thus, as a full explanation of the emergence and ultimate fate of "the Jesus movement," Theissen's work is inadequate. Nonetheless it is, by wide consensus, a creative—indeed ingenious—piece of work, which has opened up new lines of scholarly inquiry (for more detailed critique, see Elliott 1986: 10–11).

b. Elliott. In *A Home for the Homeless* (1983), John H. Elliott engages in "sociological exegesis" of 1 Peter. He notes that he does not abandon traditional literary, theological, and historical questions, but insists (8) that these cannot be answered satisfactorily for a particular text unless one also makes "determination of the sum of its features which make it a vehicle of social interaction and an instrument of social as well as literary and theological consequences." Elliott rejects the traditional "heaven-is-my-home" reading of 1 Peter, arguing vigorously that the terms *paroikos* ("resident alien"; 1 Pet 2:11) and *parepidēmos* ("visiting stranger"; 1 Pet 1:1; 2:11) designated the actual political and social condition of the addressees. Measuring these recipients against Bryan Wilson's typology of sects (Wilson 1961), Elliott argues that the addressees must have constituted a "conversionist sect." By definition such groups exist in tension with the world, and seek to maintain this tension in characteristic ways, which Elliott demonstrates to be exhibited in 1 Peter. Using these insights, and armed also with observations on "the functions of social conflict," Elliott sheds new light on the letter's references to conflict with society. He summarizes (118):

> . . . the strategy of 1 Peter was not to provide ways of eliminating or avoiding social tension but of accentuating the struggle and presenting it as something which could bring about positive results. This strategy was not to encourage withdrawal or escape of "world-alienated pilgrims" from society or, even less, from the earth. Nor was it to urge cultural assimilation or accommodation. It was rather to encourage the recipients to hold their ground, stand fast, and resist, and to equip them for that task by reassuring them of their distinctive union with God, with Jesus Christ, and with each other.

Elliott subsequently examines the significance and function of "the household" in the socioreligious strategy of 1 Peter, concluding that the "household code" in the letter serves to reinforce the distinctive communal identity of the recipients.

Elliott insists that the recipients of the letter must have belonged to the social category of "resident aliens" prior to their conversion. As others have noted, for several reasons Elliott is not entirely persuasive at this fundamental point; one reason is that he does not give adequate warrant for dismissing the theological overtones of the terms in question (whose OT and NT usage he reviews thoroughly). In any case, Elliott's supposition that one must choose *either* a sociological reading *or* a metaphorical reading raises interesting questions concerning the relationship between these respective usages of a whole variety of terms (e.g., "slave of Christ"). How does the sociological usage of a term affect the metaphorical usage and vice versa, at the level of the audience's reception as well as at the more obvious level of authorial intention?

The application of Wilson's sect-typology raises questions concerning incommensurability: can one assume that the modern western categories used to describe modern Christian sects are commensurable with the patterns of social and symbolic discourse that characterized a group in 1st-century Asia Minor? The question will be answered differently by different readers; in any case, the model's heuristic power to provide a new angle of vision on the conflict in which the addressees were engaged seems to justify its use. More serious are the complications arising from Elliott's application of studies on the functions of social conflict. A common criticism of functionalism is that it commits a *teleological fallacy*, inasmuch as it explains the *purpose* of social structures by reference to their *results* (see Stowers 1985: 154–56). Elliott apparently does not wish to fall victim to this fallacy; nor, it seems, does he wish to speculate on how the letter actually functioned in the designated communities once it was received (since we have no way to know this). But, perhaps in the effort to avoid these pitfalls, he has repeatedly ascribed complex and subtle—indeed, Machiavellian—strategical motives to the author(s) of the document. These motives are often expressed in 20th-century terms (see, e.g., 115), and at one point (119) a reference to the contrast between the "implicit" sociological concerns versus the "explicit" theological phrasing of the letter sounds suspiciously like a disguised version of "latent" versus "manifest" functions. Elliott does not give adequate weight to considering how *the author(s) themselves* might have understood (in their own terms) their intentions in writing the letter.

In spite of these weaknesses, many of Elliott's main points about how to read the letter withstand close scrutiny. It is an innovative and interesting piece of work.

c. Meeks. Wayne A. Meeks describes his 1983 book, *The First Urban Christians*, as a work of "social history" (ix; cf. 74), but the work pushes the boundaries of that category as it has typically been conceived. The book is a study of "the world of ordinary Christians" in the Pauline churches of the 1st century. Meeks does address traditional social historical issues, such as the urban environment of Pauline Christianity, and the social level of the members of the Pauline churches. But he also addresses questions more commonly associated with the work of the sociologist or anthropologist, concerning, for example, the social structure of the Pauline churches, the way they governed themselves, the types of rituals in which they engaged, and the correlations between stated beliefs and social forms. Moreover, Meeks makes use of various social scientific models in his analysis. The models are used as heuristic devices,

to prompt questions and highlight possible connections among the data. Meeks writes (5):

> In this study the use of theory will be suggestive, rather than generative in the manner of experimental sciences. As Max Weber long ago pointed out, historical hypotheses do not admit of verification in the manner of scientific laws, and the controlled experiment is inevitably a misleading model for historical inquiry.

This posture vis-à-vis the social sciences has generated criticism from scholars at both ends of the social science-versus-social history spectrum: representatives of the one end argue that Meeks has not gone far enough in his appropriation of social scientific methods (Malina 1985; Elliott 1985), while representatives of the other end maintain that he has stepped over the line, failing to take adequate account of the participants' intentions, motives, and purposes (Stowers 1985: 168–76). The difference in scholarly reactions is worth examining more closely. Malina and Elliott appear to have reacted against Meeks' claim that his work is not organized by any overarching social scientific theory. Rather, Meeks contends, his application of social science is "eclectic." He writes (6), "I take my theory piecemeal, as needed, where it fits." Stowers, on the other hand, appears to have reacted against Meeks' additional comment (7) that his position might be termed a "moderate functionalist" one. Stowers feels that Meeks has fallen into the trap that snares so many functionalists, by neglecting the beliefs and concepts of the people he is studying. But this last assessment is surely debatable: what Meeks seems to mean by his use of the term "moderate functionalist" is little different than what interpretive anthropologists mean by the term "holistic" (e.g., Marcus and Fischer 1986: 23: "The essence of holistic representation in modern ethnography has not been to produce a catalog or an encyclopedia . . . but to contextualize elements of culture and to make systematic connections among them").

Meeks' explicit description of his organizing framework as atheoretical is somewhat misleading, for he does also compare his perspective to that of an interpretive ethnographer (6; cf. 7):

> Our case is analogous to Clifford Geertz's description of the social anthropologists's task as an ethnographer, a describer of culture. The description is interpretative. What it interprets is the "flow of discourse," from which it tries "to rescue the 'said' . . . from its perishing occasions and fix it in perusable terms" [quoting Geertz 1973: 20–21].

Meeks' goals of depicting the world of ordinary 1st-century Christians, and of viewing holistically the associations of salient symbols and metaphors as they occur in contexts of performance (ritual and myth) are consistent with the aims of the interpretive perspective in anthropology.

However one adjudges Meeks' use of the social sciences, it is the firm social-historical footing of the work that gives it such cumulative power to persuade. Like the ethnographer's reports on the conditions of fieldwork and everyday life, the work's considerable exegetical and historical detail gives the reader the sense that Meeks really "was there." His reading of the sociological and anthropological literature has enabled him to ask new questions, which the ancient sources are able to answer, at least provisionally, a surprising number of times. Meeks' book, like the best interpretive ethnographies, presents us with a vision that is focused sharply and precisely on the group under study, but that is nonetheless uniquely the author's own.

d. Petersen. In his 1985 publication, *Rediscovering Paul,* Norman Petersen brings insights from interpretive anthropology, the sociology of knowledge, and literary criticism to bear on Paul's letter to Philemon. Petersen had noticed that both narrative worlds and social worlds consist of "symbolic forms" and "social relationships." How, then, do narrative worlds relate to social worlds and vice versa? To what extent is it legitimate to speak of the "sociology" of a narrative world? In an illuminating introduction, Petersen addresses these and related questions. He argues that the term "narrative world" is quite appropriate for analyzing letters, even though they might not seem to have any "narrative": like stories, they are characterized by plot, point of view, and closure. Letters *imply* a narrative, which can be teased out and restated, with some effort but also substantial gain—a feat that Petersen demonstrates in chap. 1. In chap. 2, Petersen turns to examine Philemon, seeking to "view the actions of the actors in the story as social relations," and to "determine from these relations the sociological structures underlying them" (31). In chap. 3, he studies "the overarching symbolic universe that provides meaning to and motivation for the actors' behavior." A summary and conclusion follow.

The "sociology of knowledge" (Berger and Luckmann 1966), from which the term "symbolic universe" derives, has influenced many who are interested in social aspects of early Christianity. A "symbolic universe" is an "overarching universe of meaning" that gives stability to the social world, ensuring that the latter continues to seem not merely reasonable but *inevitable* to its inhabitants. Petersen's case for the compatibility of the sociology-of-knowledge perspective and Geertz's interpretive one is sound, inasmuch as the perspectives overlap considerably and share common intellectual ancestors, including Weber, Durkheim, and Alfred Schutz. Petersen's further addition of literary critical categories and methods to his interpretive kit is also philosophically defensible; Geertz himself has stressed the analogies between cultures and "texts" as objects of study. For Petersen, the final combination is powerful in its ability to summon—but also subtly to differentiate among—the various contexts (narrative, historical, social, and symbolic/theological) from which the text derives meaning. The method enables one better to see how the meaning(s) of the text affected and were affected by the "everyday reality" in which the author and first readers lived. To be sure, Petersen could have provided considerably more concrete detail about "everyday reality" as it pertained to the letter of Philemon (e.g., by incorporating a discussion of master–slave relations in 1st century Asia Minor). But in general his results are impressive, and his method holds promise for the analysis of other NT and ancient Christian documents.

e. Malina and Neyrey. Bruce J. Malina and Jerome H. Neyrey have been among the most outspoken advocates of an approach to NT studies that incorporates the scientific

method of model formulation and testing. In their joint book, *Calling Jesus Names* (1988), they put their preaching into practice in an examination of the gospel of Matthew (especially chaps. 12 and 26–27). Christological investigation done "from the side," the authors contend (135), differs from more traditional christological investigation in that it "is as interested in the process whereby Jesus was evaluated as in the formulae or labels resulting from the process." In order to illuminate the "name-calling" or "labelling" process by which Jesus' contemporaries evaluated him, the authors utilize models of witchcraft and labelling/deviance theory. They suggest that this approach offers ". . . accurate, plausible and testable scenarios for understanding aspects of conflict in isolated detail and as coherent patterns of behavior" (138).

The model for explicating witchcraft accusations is that of M. Douglas (1973; elaborated in Malina 1986b), which hypothesizes that certain characteristics of the worldview of any given social group (attitudes toward purity, ritual, body, etc.) are correlated in a consistent and predictable fashion with two sociological variables, corresponding to the group's internal and external lines of demarcation. Witchcraft societies—i.e., social groups whose members are prone to make witchcraft accusations—are classified as strong on the variable known as "group" (= "a high degree of pressure to conform to societal norms") and low on the variable known as "grid" (= "a poor degree of fit and match between individual experiences and stated societal patterns of perception and experience"). In chap. 1, Malina and Neyrey use the categories provided by the group/grid model to analyze the conflictual social dynamics of the community reflected in the Q-stratum of Matthew, focusing especially on Matt 12:22–32. In chap. 2, the same segment of Matthew is examined in the light of labelling and deviance theory (derived from American sociological work). Chaps. 3 and 4 apply first labelling theory, then prominence theory to the account of Jesus' trial in Matthew 26–27. In each chapter the procedure is the same: the model is laid out in considerable detail, then "tested" against the data from Matthew so as to illuminate the dynamic process of name-calling in which Jesus and his contemporaries were engaged.

One of the authors' primary goals in adopting the model-testing approach is to avoid ethnocentric readings of the biblical texts. Malina and Neyrey argue that the meanings of the words of a given text are rooted in the social structures (= patterned social relations) of the group that produced the text. Most 20th-century readers are accustomed to different social structures and their related cultural codes, and so bring the wrong set of assumptions to the page. Only the interpreter who is equipped with a cross-cultural model that takes the peculiarities of 1st-century Mediterranean culture into account will be able to discern the intended meanings of the text. The witchcraft and conflict models, together with a chart comparing United States values with "the Mediterranean view" (apparently based on social scientific studies of the 20th century Mediterranean world) are proffered as a kind of algorithm for the translation of the words of Matthew 12 and 26–27 into 1st-century meanings. The models and the meanings that Malina and Neyrey present are phrased in highly abstract, etic terms, though the authors insist (137–38) that they have tried to balance the etic emphasis by phrasing their comments "in terms of Mediterranean culture and categories."

It is dubious whether (as the authors claim: xiv, xv) the meanings derived with the use of the given models correspond to the meanings "familiar to the original audience of those texts" (xiv; cf. xv, 136, 143). The authors' interpretations are phrased in 20th-century social scientific categories ("witchcraft," "labelling," "deviance," "prominence," etc.) that are incommensurable with the customary categories of the 1st century. Malina and Neyrey, who apparently are aware of the problem of incommensurability, argue that the redundance of results produced by the several different models demonstrates the models' appropriateness for 1st-century society (65–67), and that the authors' references to "Mediterranean culture and categories" counteract any inherent bias of the models. But the consistency of results produced by the various models does not alleviate the problem, since *all* of the models use exclusively etic categories. Moreover, it is far from evident that generalizations about 20th-century Mediterranean society can be depended upon to transport one's reading faculties into the 1st-century world.

Malina and Neyrey claim that their explanatory constructs are "accurate, plausible, and testable." But what does this claim mean? In the natural sciences, the acid test of a model or hypothesis is whether it can *predict data*. The prediction-criterion is inappropriate to models designed for historical research (cf. the authors' [143] cautious assessment of the possibility of "retrodiction"). "Testable" in the usage of Malina and Neyrey apparently means that they or their readers can assess whether the categories and processes described by the model seem to correspond to ones identified in Matthew. But neither ethnocentrism nor subjectivity has been eliminated from the research procedure: the former is built into the etic categories of the model, and the latter affects the authors' interpretive decisions about how to apply the model to the text.

In sum, Malina and Neyrey do not escape the problem of ethnocentrism, nor do they enable us to read the texts "in terms of the meanings familiar to the original audience of those texts" (xiv). To accomplish the latter, the authors would have had to incorporate 1st-century concepts and categories into their analysis in a much more thoroughgoing fashion. Despite these flaws, Malina and Neyrey's work is valuable. It compels us to see that the proper task of "christology" consists not in the laying out of so many "titles" like Lepidoptera, but in examining the hard give-and-take of persons in conflict. Moreover, Malina and Neyrey challenge us to examine our own presuppositions, and to state these as forthrightly as they themselves have done. Both of these accomplishments are to be applauded.

D. Conclusion

The variety of topics which could be addressed by scholars interested in sociological or social historical study of the NT is difficult to specify, because opinions on key methodological questions diverge so widely. As was demonstrated in the foregoing review of seminal works, scholars' positions on methodological issues, such as the use of sociological models and the problem of incommensurability, govern their perception both of the topics needing

attention and of the procedures appropriate to such tasks. Many of the topics addressed in more traditional historical analyses (e.g., Christianity's transition from an isolated sect to a widely dispersed and influential movement, or the formation and organization of the Pauline churches) have already proven amenable to the probing of scholars who are attentive to social dynamics and willing to be informed by sociological theory. Presumably the fund of traditional historical topics will continue to fuel such research in the future. Moreover, there are a variety of methodological problems calling for both sustained theoretical reflection and test-case analyses: for example, the relationship between social reality and various metaphors used by early Christians (e.g., familial or household language used to describe the church, or slave-terminology used to describe discipleship [see Martin 1988]); or as a second example, the interface between sociological study and various forms of literary criticism, including reader response theory (see Petersen 1985; Martin 1988; Garrett 1989: 5–9). Doubtless other topics needing attention will surface as scholars become more familiar with the patterns of everyday life in antiquity, and with the driving questions and concerns of sociologists and anthropologists.

There is no question that diversity is the hallmark of the "sociology of early Christianity" at the present time. The role that the social sciences ought to play in such analysis is currently being debated in the academy, and new approaches are being tested in articles, monographs, and dissertations. The new (or renewed) effort of scholars to take seriously the social dimensions of early Christian life and literature has already borne fruit, and there is promise of more to come. But the plant must be pruned and nurtured. Careful methodological reflection and self-critical analysis are essential to its continued growth.

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SUSAN R. GARRETT

SOCOH (PERSON) [Heb *śôkô*]. One of the descendants of Judah (1 Chr 4:18). He is probably the eponymous ancestor of the town of Socoh located in the hill country of Judah. See SOCOH (PLACE) #2.

H. DARRELL LANCE

SOCOH (PLACE) [Heb *śôkōh*]. **1.** A town in the Shephelah. Josh 15:35 locates it in the second district of Judah near Jarmuth, Adullam, and Azekah. The confrontation between the Israelites and the Philistines which ended with the death of Goliath took place in the Valley of Elah between Azekah and Socoh (1 Sam 17:1). A Socoh occurs in the list of cities said to be fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chr 11:6–10), and it is generally assumed that the Shephelah Socoh is meant. However, the Socoh of the hill country (see below) cannot be ruled out. The Shephelah Socoh is certainly the site referred to in 2 Chr 28:18 which lists a group of cities lost to the Philistines before or in the time of Ahaz.

These references to a Socoh in the Shephelah fit the site of Kh. ʿAbbad (M.R. 147121) located near where the Elah valley opens into the rolling coastal plain. Although the site has not yet been excavated, surface survey has produced pottery of the expected horizon. Furthermore, a short distance to the E, the ancient name is preserved at Kh. Shuweikeh, and Eusebius knew the two sites as a double village, collectively called "Socoth," the plural of Socoh.

2. A town in Judah in the S hill country, it is mentioned only in Josh 15:48 (unless it is the Socoh fortified by Rehoboam [2 Chr 11:7]). It is located in the fifth district of Judah near Debir and Eshtemoh and is generally identified as Kh. Shuweikeh (M.R. 150090), an unexcavated site about 17 km SW of Hebron.

3. A town in the territory of Israel, cited as the center of Solomon's third district (1 Kgs 4:10). Although this is its only biblical reference, it is apparently mentioned in inscriptions of Thutmose III, Amenhotep II, and Shishak. It is generally located at *Shuweiket er-Ras* (M.R. 153194) about 3 km N of modern Tulkarm, near the opening of the strategic pass leading to Shechem.

4. One of the place names on the royal-stamp jar handles, usually identified with Socoh #1. However, this is by no means certain, especially since no examples of Socoh stamps have been found among the *lmlk* handles picked up at Kh. ʿAbbad.

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H. DARRELL LANCE

SOCRATES. Socrates, the son of Sophroniscus and Phainarete, was born in 470/69 B.C.E. in the Attic demos of Alopeke and was executed in Athens by a potion of hemlock in 399 B.C.E. His radical critique of the Sophists, among whom he began his philosophical career, resulted in a thoroughgoing transformation of Greek philosophy. Socrates' defense before the Athenian court was immortalized by Plato in his *Apology of Socrates* which became the literary model of many analogous defenses in the future. The reconstruction of Socrates' philosophy is still controversial, since he did not leave any writings. The problems of the historical Jesus and the historical Socrates are similar in many ways and require similar methods. Although mentioned by name only later in early Christian literature (Harnack 1904; Döring 1979), the influence of the Socratic tradition is detectable as early as in the NT. There are surprising parallels between some sayings of Jesus and those of Socrates (Hommel 1984). Socrates' defense influenced Paul's defense strategies in his letters (Betz 1972; *Galatians* Hermeneia) as well as the presentations of the apostles in Acts (Acts 5:29; 17:16–34).

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HANS DIETER BETZ

SODI (PERSON) [Heb *sôdî*]. The name Sodi, according to Noth (*IPN,* 152), is a short form of a longer name which may have had Babylonian origins. The *î* ending is either a personal pronoun ("my confidence") or a hypocoristic ending ("[Yahweh is] a confidant"). The personal name Sodi is found only in Num 13:10. Sodi is the father of Gaddiel, who represented the tribe of Zebulun among the twelve men Moses sent from the wilderness of Paran (Num 12:16) to spy out the land of Canaan.

JON PAULIEN

SODOM AND GOMORRAH (PLACES) [Heb *sĕdōm; ʿămōrâ*]. Two legendary cities from prehistoric Israel in the neighborhood of the Dead Sea, mentioned in the Bible and in ancient Jewish literature. The meaning of the names Sodom and Gomorrah is as uncertain as their location. The names are explained according to etymological derivation: Sodom as "field," "burning," "enclosed

space"; Gomorrah as "flooded place," "indentation," or the like. Lately, more caution has been exercised in determining the meaning of the names, even though they are often thought to retain some of the elements contained in the sagas.

A. Biblical References to the Cities
1. In Genesis
2. In Ezekiel 16
3. Other References
B. Location of the Cities
1. In Classical Antiquity
2. Recourse to Geological Phenomena
3. Archaeology
C. References Outside the Hebrew Bible

A. Biblical References to the Cities

In the Hebrew Bible as well as in the NT, Sodom and Gomorrah are occasionally mentioned in the same breath. But, apart from these cases, Sodom figures far more prominently than Gomorrah. In the Hebrew Bible, Gomorrah occurs jointly with Sodom in only 19 times out of the 39 times the latter is mentioned (Gen 10:19; 13:10; 14:2, 8, 10, 11; 18:20; 19:24, 28; Deut 29:22; 32:32; Isa 1:9, 10; 13:19; Jer 23:14; 49:18; 50:40; Amos 4:11; Zeph 2:9). In the NT the combination is even less frequent (Matt 10:15; Rom 9:29; 2 Pet 2:6; Jude 7). Sodom occurs by itself in the Hebrew Bible in Gen 13:12, 13; 14:12, 17, 21, 22; 18:16, 22, 26; 19:1 (twice), 4; Isa 3:9 (conjecture 1:7); Ezek 16:46, 48, 49, 53, 55, 56; and Lam 4:6. In the NT Sodom is mentioned by itself in Matt 11:23, 24; Luke 10:12; 17:19; and Rev 11:8.

According to an old tradition, Sodom and Gomorrah, together with three other cities (Admah, Zeboiim, and Zoar), formed a so-called Pentapolis, already indicated as such in Wis 10:6. This name derives from Gen 14:2, 8, the only passage in the Bible where all five cities are mentioned in conjunction. Apart from the latter verses, only Gen 10:19 (conjecture 19:25); Deut 29:22; and Hos 11:8 have Admah and Zeboiim. Zoar (according to Gen 14:2, 8 previously called Bela) occurs in Gen 13:10; 19:22f., 30 (twice); Deut 34:3; Isa 15:5; and Jer 48:34 (conj. 48:4). From this survey it appears that Sodom occupied a central place in the tradition, if a Pentapolis ever existed at all. The central role of Sodom is even more certain if, in the "table of nations" of Genesis 10, Admah and Zeboiim can be seen as an editorial addition to Sodom and Gomorrah, and if Deut 29:22 [Eng—23] can be dated to the exile. Hos 11:8, where Admah and Zeboiim occur together, stands in a N Israelite context, which may justify the conclusion that Sodom (and Gomorrah) played a role in Judean circles, and Admah and Zeboiim in N Israelite circles. Apparently, therefore, a variety of traditions existed of an event that had catastrophic consequences and that, in the message of the Bible as well as in extrabiblical literature, has become a classic example of particular sins, condemnations, and judgments.

1. In Genesis. When one considers the traditions about Sodom (and the other cities) in the Hebrew Bible, one is struck by the difference between the function of Sodom in Genesis 14 and that in the other chapters in Genesis which feature Sodom. Genesis 14 is a construction of various genres dating from the postexilic period. Broadly speaking, it contains a report on a campaign (vv 1–11), a narrative about a liberation which is reminiscent of similar tales from the time of Judges (vv 12–17, 21–24), and the Melchizedek episode (vv 18–20). In this chapter, Sodom does not stand in the bad repute it has in the rest of the Hebrew Bible. Although in the first part (vv 1, 2, 8, 9) the lists name five cities and five kings, from v 12 onwards only Sodom and its king play a role. The focus on Sodom is due to the fact that Abraham's nephew Lot lived in this city and was taken prisoner by the four kings from the E. As to the location of Sodom, mention is made of the "Valley of Siddim" that was "full of tar pits" (v 10). But these names leave us in the dark historically as well as geographically. The former name may also be interpreted as "Valley of the Demons."

Quite different is the picture of Sodom given in the other passages in Genesis. The so-called Table of Nations in Genesis 10 (v 19) adds, as we have seen, only secondarily the names of Admah and Zeboiim to those of Sodom and Gomorrah. Genesis 13 relates the separation of Lot and Abraham. In this story, attributed to J, additions from P occur. One of these additions reports that Lot saw that "the Jordan Valley was well watered everywhere like the Garden of the Lord or like the land of Egypt, in the direction of Zoar. This was before the Lord had destroyed the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah" (v 10). The statement in v 12, that Lot settled down in the valley "as far as Sodom" (which suggests that Sodom lay outside Canaan) is, in Genesis 18 and 19, followed by the story about the "wickedness" (already announced in Gen 13:13) of the "men of Sodom," labeled as "great sinners against the Lord." They are held up as an example, illustrative of the way God's justice works.

Analysis of chaps. 18 and 19 shows that the role played by the people of Sodom (and Gomorrah) originates in an independent tradition that was only secondarily linked to the Abraham stories. This tradition initially was of a strictly local nature and originated in the environs of the Dead Sea. The lament over Sodom's wickedness constrains God to intervene; and notwithstanding Abraham's theological reflection whether God is really willing to destroy the righteous along with the godless, the sentence is executed in Genesis 19. This chapter is reminiscent of the flood stories. The transgressions of Sodom's inhabitants mainly consist in sexual debauchery, human hubris, and violation of (the law of) hospitality. No one in Sodom was exempt from this sin (19:4). The destruction of Sodom and the other cities was effectuated by means of a "rain of brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven" (v 24). It is striking that this story, unlike others (Deut 29:22; Isa 13:19; Jer 50:40; Amos 4:11), does not emphasize the "reversal" of Sodom and Gomorrah. This means that elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible the authors introduced changes in the tradition they had in common with Genesis 19, in the process each time also typifying the "sin of Sodom" in a different way. At the end of Genesis 19, Abraham makes his appearance again. It is said that he surveys the whole valley and that he saw smoke rising from the land, "like smoke from a huge furnace" (v 28).

2. In Ezekiel 16. In Ezekiel 16 only Sodom (together with Samaria) is mentioned in an expressive discourse in

which Jerusalem is put on the scene as a perfidious woman (vv 44–58). In particular the alleged parallelism with Sodom is humiliating for Jerusalem. Sodom's sin is indicated by references to its "pride," "plenty of bread," and "untroubled tranquility." The city's people lived a life of ease without offering any helping hand to the needy and the poor. It is possible that the understanding of the "sins" of Sodom found in Ezekiel 16, here typified differently from those in Genesis 19, are based upon an alternative Sodom-tradition or that the tradition was simply given a different explanation. The turn in vv 53–55 comes as a surprise. The fortune of Sodom "and her daughters" changes for the better, because Jerusalem's rehabilitation has been secured. Verse 56 shows clearly that Sodom (and its "shame") was once a popular byword and in due course came to act as a deterrent in the mouth of the prophets.

3. Other References. In the rest of the Hebrew Bible, Sodom and Gomorrah occur especially in Deuteronomy and in the judgment speeches of the prophets. These cities (once mentioned together with Admah and Zeboiim; Deut 29:23) stand for "the whole land brimstone and salt, and a burn-out waste, unsown, and growing nothing." In Deut 32:32, 33 it is stated that the vine of the enemies stems from the vine-tendrils of Sodom and from the fields of Gomorrah; indeed, that their grapes are poisonous, their berries bitter, their wine venom of snakes. These words have often been taken as reminiscent of the "Sodom apples." (Already in Wis 10:7 mention is made of "plants that bear fruit prematurely"; cf. Josephus, *JW* 4: 484f. Over two centuries ago, the Swedish research worker F. Hasselquist has described these fruits on his journey to Palestine in the years 1749–1752. In his opinion they were the fruits that had been wasp-stung and were covered with dust and ashes, *fructus Solani Melongenae;* others: *Calotropis Procera.*)

We have already noted that the prophets compared the proverbial iniquity of Sodom and Gomorrah with the "reversal" of these cities. In Amos 4:11; Isa 13:19; and Jer 50:40 the longer formula is found: "as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah." By means of this formula the judgment of God (or the gods) over these cities in prehistory is called to mind (this is the only time that Amos uses *ʾĕlōhîm* in the absolute sense). A shorter formula is to be found in Deut 29:22; Jer 49:18; and Isa 1:7. Also in the other prophetic verses mentioned above Sodom and Gomorrah occur in comparisons, with the purpose of holding up as instructive examples to Israel and its leaders the atrocities committed by the inhabitants of these cities (cf. e.g., Isa 3:9: "partiality witnesses"; Jer 23:24: "horrible things: commit adultery, walk in lies, strengthen the hands of evildoers"). Destruction of countries and peoples is likewise often announced "like Sodom and Gomorrah with their inhabitants" (Jer 49:18; 50:40; Amos 4:11; Zeph 2:9). So the "reversal" of Sodom and Gomorrah has become a classic instance of the punishment for violating the covenant with God.

In the N part of the realm it was not so much the tradition of the annihilation of Sodom and Gomorrah that was widely known, but rather the destruction of Admah and Zeboiim (Hos 11:8). In the course of time, the latter cities were combined into one tradition along with Sodom and Gomorrah, and located on the coast of the Dead Sea. This leads us to the question of the exact location of the cities.

B. Location of the Cities

Usually it is thought that these cities were situated on the S coast of the Dead Sea, but there is no agreement in the biblical record concerning their exact position. According to Gen 19:20–23 there is a tradition that, before Sodom was destroyed, Lot was allowed to flee with his family to Zoar, since the hills were too far away to be reached in time. Since Zoar is mentioned in the same breath with the other cities (Gen 14:2), it has been assumed that the city concerned had to be Zoara, a Hellenistic–Byzantine city on the border of the *ghor es-safijeh,* already found on the map of Madaba dated from the 6th century. However, not only is the topography in the Hebrew Bible extremely vague, but often the location is also determined by popular etymology. Therefore, it was possible to look for the Pentapolis also on the N coast of the Dead Sea *(el-ghor),* in the vicinity of the outlet of the Jordan River into that sea. One might find support for this supposition in Gen 13:10–12, where mention is made of the "Plain of the Jordan" (cf. Gen 19:17, 25, 28, 29; Deut 34:3; 2 Sam 18:23; 1 Kgs 7:46; Neh 3:22; 12:28; 2 Chr 4:17). On the other hand, however, the "bitumen pits" in "the valley of Siddim" (Gen 14:10) have been localized in the shallow S part of the Dead Sea.

1. In Classical Antiquity. As early as in classical antiquity the reports on the site of the cities were ambiguous. Strabo (*Geog.* 16.2.44) assumes a situation in the environs of *Moasada* (= Masada) on the SW side of the Dead Sea, and he even speaks of thirteen destroyed or submerged cities of which Sodom was the metropolis. Also Eusebius in his *Onomasticon* (42.1–5), identifying Bala (Gen 14:2) with Zoar, has a S localization in mind. When dealing with Josh 18:19 (*Onom.* 11.4–5), he remarks that the "Salt Sea" is also called Dead Sea or *Asphaltites.* The latter name already occurs in Pliny the Elder (*HN* 5.72); Diodorus (*Bibl. Hist.* 19.98); frequently in Josephus (*Ant* 1:174; 4:85; 9:7, etc.); as well as in other classical authors. Hieronymus agrees with Eusebius, and records the flooding of the cities (at Zeph 2:9 in *PL* 25, 1363–64). This hypothesis has been adopted by many latter Christian writers (e.g., Orosius and Claudius Marius Victor), but equally in the rabbinic traditions the "flood hypothesis" is repeatedly mentioned (*Gen. Rab.* 47; *Midr. Gadol,* etc.). The "Pilgrim of Piacenza," Antoninus Placentinus (6th century C.E.), however, looked for Sodom and Gomorrah on the N side of the Dead Sea (Antonini Placentini Itinerarium, CChr.SL 175, 134.137.140.142), as did, perhaps, Theodosius before him (CChr.SL 175,122). Earlier information on the topography of the Pentapolis, already given by Tacitus (*Hist.* 5.7); Pliny (*HN* 5.71ff.) and Solinus, are very vague and secondhand.

2. Recourse to Geological Phenomena. In order to substantiate the location of the Pentapolis in or near the S part of the Dead Sea, recourse has often been taken to geological phenomena. One writer has suggested an earthquake, not necessarily with volcanic eruptions, at the beginning of the alluvial or postglacial period (Blanckenhorn). Sometimes an earthquake is dated more precisely, for instance around 1600 B.C., when also the Cretan palaces and cities were destroyed, as were Ugarit and Alalakh

VII (Cornelius 1960; Ahituv *EncBib* 5: 998–1002). If this theory is correct, the latter earthquake, unlike the former, was not tectonic but volcanic, producing an effect over a wide area around the Dead Sea.

3. Archaeology. Since the middle of the 19th century, efforts have been made to determine the topography of the Pentapolis on the basis of archaeology. Clermont-Ganneau (1888: 162) was of the opinion that the Gebel Usdum, until the present day situated SW of the Dead Sea, was the exact place. Since the 1930s the excavations of Tuleilat Ghassul by Mallon, Köppel, and Neuville have focused the attention of many researchers on a N site near the mouth of the Jordan river. W. F. Albright, on the other hand, starting from the excavation of Bab edh-Dra^{c} SE of the Dead Sea, argued that Sodom and Gomorrah, now submerged, must have been located on the Sel en-Numeira and the Sel-^{c}Esal respectively. The excavations by P. W. Lapp (between 1965 and 1967) in Bab edh-Dra^{c} and those by W. E. Rast and R. T. Schaub (since 1973) in the whole of the S *ghor* did indeed show traces of habitation in the early Iron Age which one might suppose were the prehistoric cities. But it is highly uncertain, if not improbable, that the vanished cities of the Pentapolis will ever be recovered. In the first place because, as Gunkel (*Genesis* HKAT, 214–15) has already demonstrated, legends of the destruction of cities or regions tend to be based on a widespread saga motif (cf., e.g., the Phrygian popular saga of Baucis and Philemon); and, secondly, because such sagas are easily linked to places that, by the very nature of their wilderness and desolation, are a fertile soil for the imagination. Still, on the whole it is by no means impossible that a big catastrophe in prehistoric times did live on in the memory of the peoples (e.g., Moabites or Edomites) living around the Dead Sea, and that later on the essential features of the tradition (with variation in names and other details) were taken over by the Israelites.

C. References Outside the Hebrew Bible

Occasionally, it has been thought that the literature from the world surrounding Israel might provide indications for the existence of the cities. In the Ugaritic texts *sdmy* occurs once (KTU 4.244:13), but this *gentillicium* cannot be identified with the biblical Sodom. Nor do the Ebla tablets give any clue as to the existence of the cities, although prominent scholars initially thought they did.

In the apocryphal and pseudepigraphical literature Sodom (sometimes along with Gomorrah) is often mentioned or hinted at (*3 Macc* 2:5; Sir 16:7; *T. Ab.* 6:13; *Gk. Apoc. Ezra* 2:19; 7:12, etc.). The inhabitants of Sodom are held up as a warning, but now and then "extenuating circumstances" are adduced in their favor (e.g., Wis 19: 13–17). Also in *Jubilees* the fate of Sodom is brought up (13:17, 22ff.; 16:5–6, etc.). The impurity of the Sodomites consisted mainly in fornication. Exemplary, likewise, is the "burning, consuming fire." Also, in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,* Sodom is often mentioned (*T. Levi* 14:6 [with Gomorrah]; *T. Naph.* 3:4; 4:1; *T. Ash.* 7:1; *T. Benj.* 9:1). It is remarkable that, in connection with "fornication," the "reversal of the order of nature" is also mentioned. In the literature of Qumran Sodom and Gomorrah play a role only in 1QapGen, the so-called *Genesis Apocryphon* (21:5ff.; 21:23–22:25).

Josephus pays attention to Sodom and Gomorrah in particular when he retells the biblical history of Genesis (*Ant* 1:170–206). He has elaborations which also occur in the later rabbinical literature. The people of Sodom pride themselves on their power and wealth, they brutalize outside people, and are ungodly. This induces God to ruin their country, so that ever since no plants or fruits could grow.

Philo, in his allegorical explanation, interprets the word Sodom as "blinding" or "making barren," and Gomorrah as "measure" (*Somn* 2:192; cf. *Congr* 109 and 92). In the beginning, the soil of Sodom was fertile, and the king as well as the people were virtuous (*Abr* 227). But when they had become supersaturated with earthly goods, they grew arrogant, threw off the yoke, and seized their lords (*Abr* 228). In Philo's allegory the cities of the Pentapolis are the five senses (*Congr* 92). Other texts featuring Sodom should, according to Philo, equally be interpreted allegorically. And over and over again Sodom is called "infertile (soil) for wisdom" and "blind to reason." Occasionally he remarks on what can be seen of Sodom and Gomorrah up to the present (e.g., *Abr* 140f.).

The tenor already present in the apocryphal and pseudepigraphical literature as well as in Josephus and Philo is continued in the later rabbinical literature: Sodom and Gomorrah were characterized by their violation of (the law of) hospitality, by sins of fornication, and by the reversal of the order of nature. It is on these counts that the sins of Sodom became manifest and God's justice was summoned. An example of this is given in *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* to Gen 18:20, 21. In the translation of these verses, which are supplemented with midrash, it is stated that the wailing over Sodom and Gomorrah (cities that suppressed the poor and ordered that whoever gave bread to the needy should be burned) was so loud that God had no choice but to intervene. God heard the cries of the girl Peletit (there are other names of the girl in other rabbinical traditions), who had taken bread in a jug to a poor man. She was found out, whereupon she was smeared with honey and put on the top of a wall, thus attracting bees that devoured her. This version occurs in several places in the rabbinical literature. In one place in the Babylonian Talmud (*Sanh.* 109a and b) the "reversed" world of the people of Sodom is even exposed in a way bordering on sad humor. Their laws, e.g., were calculated to do injury to the poor and the needy (Ginzberg 1968: 245–50). One should bear in mind that the rabbinic literature is concerned with additions to and alterations of the old tradition.

As is to be expected, Sodom and Gomorrah are mentioned rather frequently in the NT against the background of the old Israelite and rabbinic tradition. Also the imagery of the cosmic annihilation (e.g., Luke 17:25–30; 2 Pet 2:6, 7) and of a sulphur-like sea of fire (Rev 19:20; 20:10, etc.) will have originated in consequence of the punishment of Sodom and the desolate spectacle provided by the surroundings of the Dead Sea. Essentially, these descriptions answer to what in the Synoptic Gospels is depicted as "the fires of hell" (*hē geenna (tou) puros;* Matt 5:22; 18:9; cf. *2 Clem.* 5:4). Admittedly the gospels do emphasize the sins of Sodom, yet it is stated that this city will fare better than a great many other Israelite towns on the day of the Lord (Matt 10:15; 11:23, 24; etc.). Here, again, Sodom and the

other cities of the Pentapolis are held up as a deterrent example of fornication and of the suffering in "the eternal fire" (Jude 7). The fire of the judgment depicted in Gen 19:24, 25 continues burning as a subterranean hellfire, as late Jewish conception has it. For further discussion see BKAT commentaries on Genesis and Ezekiel.

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MARTIN J. MULDER

SODOM, SEA OF (PLACE) [Lat *Sodomitus*]. See SALT SEA (PLACE).

SOJOURNER [Heb *gēr;* Gk *paroikos*]. A foreigner who is traveling through a land or one who has taken up residence in that land. The key is that the sojourner has no familial or tribal affiliation with those among whom he or she is traveling or living.

The Hebrew word derives from the root *gwr.* It is a common Afrasian root which appears in Egyptian and in the Semitic languages Phoenician, Ugaritic, Old South Arabic and Aramaic as well as Hebrew. In all of these languages, the meaning is generally agreed upon. The nominal form of the root applies to someone who is not native to the area, and the verbal form means "to travel," "to sojourn," or "to stay in a foreign territory." However, there is some variation in the way lexicographers have tried to capture the meaning of *gēr,* and suggestions have included "sojourner," "foreign resident," "stranger," "foreigner," "immigrant," "client," and "resident alien." Sojourner is used most often because it conveys the idea that the individual is not a permanent member of the community in which he or she lives. The term client is frequently employed to indicate that the individual does not have full rights within a community and thus is dependent on a patron for protection.

The understanding of *gēr* has been informed by some of the nonbiblical inscriptions which have been discovered. In the Mesha Inscription, or Moabite Stone, there is a line which lists, "7,000 men and *grn* and women *grt* and female slaves" among those who were killed by Mesha in his attack upon Israel. It is clear that *grn* (a masc. pl. noun) refers to male "foreigners" and *grt* (fem. pl.) refers to female "foreigners," who live among the Israelites, and that these "foreigners" are seen as being in a class distinct from men and slaves in Israel. The noun *gr* (vocalized *gēr*) is a frequently encountered element of Phoenician theophoric names. Thus the name *grmlqrt* (Benz 1972: 104, 298–99) probably means "client" or "protege" of Melqart (a Tyrian divinity). Finally, a Phoenician text lists various people, such as builders, servants, and stone masons, who must be paid for their work at the temple at Kition in Cyprus (CIS I 86). Included in this list of people are *grm,* which, if derived from *gwr,* would suggest that a foreigner works at the temple. However, some scholars have argued that because the term *grm* is in association with *klb,* dog, which could refer to a male prostitute or pederast, *grm* should be understood to refer to female prostitutes. Nevertheless, such an interpretation does not preclude the possibility that such a person was a foreigner.

In biblical texts the term *gēr* is used in two basic ways: to describe the experiences of the Israelites themselves when they are living among foreigners; and to describe those non-Israelites who live among the Israelites. However, this distinction becomes confused when the claim is made that the Levites are *gērîm* (sojourners) among the Israelites. In all of these cases, there are certain expectations of both the native population and the sojourners.

In a number of places, Israelites are said to sojourn in a land. Abraham, because of a famine in Palestine, sojourned in Egypt (Gen 12:10), and, in one version of the "sister–wife" story, Abraham sojourns in Gerar (Gen 20:1). Apparently Lot's criticism of the men of Sodom is seen as a violation of his role as sojourner (Gen 19:6–9). It appears that because of his status as sojourner, Abraham must

make a specific request for permission to purchase land from the Hittites in Canaan in order to have a place to bury Sarah (Gen 23:4). In another version of the "sister–wife" story, Isaac is a sojourner in Gerar and is protected by Abimelech (Gen 26:3, 11). Gen 32:4 indicates that Isaac sojourned with Laban; Gen 36:6–7 tells of Jacob and Esau sojourning in the Canaan; and Gen 47:4 reports that Joseph and his brothers requested permission of the Pharaoh to sojourn in the land of Goshen. When the Israelites finally settled in Canaan, it was in the land of their sojourning, which God had promised to them (Gen 17:7; Exod 6:4). This understanding of the Patriarchs as sojourners is also found outside of the Pentateuch (cf. Ps 39:13—Eng 39:12; 105:12; I Chr 29:15).

Other people besides the patriarchs are labeled as sojourners. Moses called his son, born to him and Zipporah, his Midianite wife, Gershom, for "I [Moses] have sojourned in a foreign land" (Exod 2:22). The explanation of the name "Gershom" is thus "sojourned *(gēr)* there *(šām)*." When Elijah calls upon God to revive the dead son of the woman from Zarephath, he mentions that he has sojourned with the widow (I Kgs 17:20). The Bethlehemite Elimelech, husband of Naomi, sojourns in the land of Moab (Ruth 1:1). After the prophecy of Azariah, Asa, king of Judas, institutes a reform in which he gathers the people to Jerusalem, including the people from "Ephraim, Manasseh and Simeon who were sojourning with them" (2 Chr 15:9). Finally, in the biblical version (Ezra 6:2–5) of Cyrus' decree freeing the exiles, the people who lived in Babylon are said to sojourn there (Ezra 1:4). In all of these instances, we see Israelites who are sojourning in a foreign land.

The second way in which "sojourn" is employed is to describe foreigners who live among the Israelites. Often these foreigners are subject to the same laws as the Israelites (Exod 12:49; Num 15:16). Thus, the sojourner shall observe the day of atonement (Lev 16:29) and Passover (Num 9:14); shall refrain from consuming blood (Lev 17:10); shall not blaspheme the name of Yahweh (Lev 24:16); shall observe the statutes relative to the ashes of the red heifer (Lev 19:10); and shall receive equal treatment under the law (Deut 24:14). Only occasionally is there a law which makes a distinction between Israelite and sojourner (cf. Deut 14:21). The reason given for this equal treatment is that Israel was once a sojourner in the land of Egypt (Exod 23:9; Lev 19:33–34; Deut 10:19; 16:9–12).

While equal treatment for the sojourner is the norm, it is clear that the sojourner does not enjoy the same social status as that of the Israelite. This realization emerges initially when one sees the way in which the sojourner has to be singled out in biblical legislation. The sojourner is not a full member of Israelite society but someone of different and lower status. The same perspective appears when one looks at the reference to the sojourner in the Ten Commandments (Exod 20:10). The sojourner is listed after sons, daughters, servants, and cattle. This secondary status can be seen in that the most frequent context in which the "foreigners" are mentioned includes mention of widows, orphans, and the poor (Lev 23:22; Deut 10:18; 24:17, 19; Jer 7:6; 22:3; Ezek 22:7, 29; Zech 7:10; Ps 94:6; 146:9). Widows, orphans, and the poor are to receive special consideration by the Israelites because of their lack of means of support, and so too are the sojourners.

One group which is often mentioned with widows, orphans, and the poor, along with the sojourners, is the Levites. This association has raised the question of the status of the Levites and has often led to the argument that the Levites are sojourners. In part this argument depends on the material in Judges 17, where the Levite is said to "sojourn" (Judg 17:7, 8, 9). In addition, the dispersal of the tribe of Levi (Gen 49:5–7) and the lack of tribal allotment (Josh 13:14) are used to buttress this argument. However, although Levites are said to sojourn (Deut 18:6; Judg 17:7, 8, 9; 19:1), and are placed in a list with widows, orphans, and the poor (Deut 14:29; 16:11, 14; 26:11, 12, 13), they are never called sojourners. Indeed, usually sojourners and Levites are listed as distinct groups (Deut 14:29; 16:11, 14; 26:12, 13). In a difficult text, the *gēr* and others stand before the Levitical priests (Josh 8:33). Thus, it is clear that one cannot simply equate Levites and sojourners. Rather they are listed together by the Deuteronomistic Historian because he sees both groups, as well as the widow and orphans, as landless persons, a sociological status which qualifies them for specific assistance from the larger population.

So, like the widow and the orphan, the sojourner is in a distinct social class, part of a group which requires special care and protection. The Israelites are expected to provide this care and protection for these foreigners who live among them, because they too were once foreigners sojourning in a strange land. As is stated in Leviticus 19:34, "The stranger who sojourns with you shall be to you as the native among you, and you shall love him as yourself, for you were strangers in the land of Egypt: I am Yahweh your God."

In the NT (and in the LXX) the Greek word *paroikos* is used to translate the Hebrew *gēr* and to convey the idea of a sojourner or resident alien. It appears only four times in the NT. In Stephen's speech in Acts 7, he uses the word to refer to Abraham's time as a sojourner (v 6) and Moses' sojourning in Midian (v 29). In Ephesians 2:19 the writer states that those who join the "household of God" will no longer be sojourners. In 1 Peter 2:11 the writer beseeches the sojourners "to abstain from the passions of the flesh." These usages are consistent with those of the Hebrew Bible which see *gēr* as a sojourner in a foreign land.

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SOLEM (PLACE). See SHUNEM (PLACE).

SOLOMON (PERSON) [Heb *šĕlōmōh*]. The third king of the kingdom of Israel and the second king of the kingdom of Judah in the 10th century B.C.

A. Filiation, Names, and Family
B. Chronology
C. Sources
D. Solomon's Succession
E. Divine Approval of Solomon's Kingship
F. Administration
G. Diplomacy and Trade
H. Building Enterprises
I. Zion Theology and the State Cult
J. Solomon's Wisdom
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L. Summary

A. Filiation, Names, and Family

Solomon was the tenth of David's seventeen (2 Sam 3:2–6; 5:14–16) or nineteen sons (1 Chr 3:1–8; cf. 14:4–7). He was either born of Bathsheba daughter of Eliam (2 Sam 11:3) as her second son (12:18, 24) or born of Bathshua daughter of Ammiel as her fourth son (1 Chr 3:5) in Jerusalem.

David named him Solomon (2 Sam 12:24; according to *qerê*, Syr., *Tg. Jon.*, the mother named him), while by Yahweh's revelation through Nathan the prophet he was called Jedidiah, "Beloved one of Yahweh" (12:25). The explanation of the name *šĕlōmōh* is given in 1 Chr 22:9 that Yahweh "will give *šālôm* (peace) and quiet to Israel in his days." However, modern scholars explain the significance of the name as a "replacement" (from *šillem* "make compensation") for a lost sibling. This explanation seems suitable for the story about Solomon's birth (2 Sam 12:14–24). In that case, it is impossible to accept the view that the name Solomon was the throne name. It appears that the episode about the name "Jedidiah" originated in an attempt to show that Solomon had received his divine election for future kingship in his youth (cf. Akk *migir ilāni rabûti*, "beloved one of the great gods," a Mesopotamian royal epithet).

It is reported that Solomon had 700 wives and 300 concubines (1 Kgs 11:3). Although the figure is clearly legendary, he doubtless had a large harem. He had a reputation as a "lover of many women," especially foreigners (11:1; cf. Cant 1:1; 6:8). However, out of Solomon's many women, no proper name is transmitted except Naamah the Ammonitess, who was the mother of Rehoboam, Solomon's successor (1 Kgs 14:21, 31). In addition, Solomon's two daughters are known by name, Taphath (4:11) and Basemath (4:15), both of them were married to district prefects of the king.

B. Chronology

It is a difficult task to establish the chronology of Solomon's reign, since all the chronological notes on his deeds give nothing but typological figures: his 40-year reign, as the case of David, signifies a generation (1 Kgs 11:42; 2 Chr 9:30). Similarly, his fourth regnal year in which he laid the foundation of the Temple, which was also 480 years after the Exodus; the 20-year period for the duration of his building projects of the Temple and the palace; and the 7 years devoted to the building of the Temple (1 Kgs 6:1, 37–38; 7:1; 9:10; 2 Chr 3:2; 8:1) are all symbolical figures. Moreover, Solomon's age at accession is lacking in his chronological notes.

Accordingly, the chronology of Solomon's reign is a matter of conjecture on the basis of circumstantial evidence. Judging from his passive role in the narrative about the struggles for the kingship in 1 Kings 1, we may assume that Solomon was under adult age at the time of his accession (cf. 1 Kgs 3:7; 1 Chr 22:5; 29:1). At the same time, the report on his successor's age of 41 at accession (1 Kgs 14:21; 2 Chr 12:13), coupled with the abundance of Solomon's deeds suggest that he had a lengthy reign of about a generation. In addition, the synchronisms of Solomon with Hiram of Tyre (1 Kgs 5:15–26—Eng 5:1–12; 9:10–14; 2 Chr 2:3–16) and with Shishak of Egypt (1 Kgs 11:40), together with the absolute date of the division of the United Kingdom calculated by chronological notes in the biblical sources, lead scholars to assume the beginning of Solomon's reign around 970–960 and its end around 930–920 B.C.

C. Sources

Neither the name Solomon nor allusion to his reign has yet been found in any contemporary extrabiblical source. Therefore, we have to rely solely on the pertinent biblical sources for reconstruction of the period of Solomon. Some parts in 2 Samuel and 1 Kings 1–11 are available for the principal source, while 1 Chr 22:5–23:1; 1 Chr 28:1–2 Chr 9:31 should be treated as secondary. Some wisdom literature, like the books of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles, are also associated with Solomon, but the associations (except some parts of Proverbs) seem legendary.

As is widely accepted, the books of Samuel and Kings form part of the Deuteronomistic History (DH) which was finally redacted in the Babylonian exile. The editorial work of the DH observed in the biblical sources for the reign of Solomon focuses upon the Temple and Solomon as its builder. According to the editorial design, Solomon's reign is idealized as the Golden Age in the history of Israel, and Solomon himself is described as an extremely wise, extraordinarily wealthy, and supremely powerful monarch. This idealization of Solomon and his reign is rooted in the view that the builder of the Temple and his age must have been blessed by God with every sort of blessing, in contrast with the miseries in the exile after the Temple had been destroyed. Moreover, the structure of the literary complex in 1 Kings 3–11 is constructed by arranging the report on the building of the Temple and matters directly connected with it (1 Kgs 5:15–9:25) at the center between the accounts about the establishment of his rule as preparations for the building work (3:1–5:14) and the narratives about the prosperity of his kingdom as a consequence of the Temple building (9:26–10:29). Chap. 11, in which Solomon's apostasy and his troubles are told, is added as an explanation of the division of the kingdom after his death (based on the Deuteronomistic theory of retribution).

In compiling the literary complex about Solomon and his reign, the DH derived its materials from many sources; unfortunately, these sources can no longer be identified with certainty by their original form. However, scholars have attempted to distinguish them by contents, styles, and

other criteria. They are, among others, the Succession Narrative, which consists of most of 2 Samuel and 1 Kings 1–2; official archives of the royal court, e.g., the lists of Solomon's high officials and of the twelve district prefects (1 Kgs 4:1–19); Temple archives, e.g., the description of the architectural structure of the Temple and its furnishings (6:2–36; 7:15–50); folk legends, like the tale about Solomon's arbitration (3:16–28) and story of the visit of the queen of Sheba (10:1–10, 13); a prophetic legend centering upon Ahijah (11:26–40); and "the book of the acts of Solomon" (11:41), perhaps a collection of annalistic accounts, anecdotes, and legends about Solomon.

There is a difference of opinions about the prospects for extracting historical information for the reign of Solomon from the biblical sources. Skeptical views are based mainly on the supposition that editorial distortions are prevalent throughout the DH. However, it is plausible to assume that, the stereotyped words of exhortation, judgment, or editorial modification aside, there is in principle no fabrication in the DH, since the main task of this historian was a compilation of materials from various sources transmitted from previous generations. In any case, before branding it as unhistorical, we must carefully scrutinize all information in the biblical sources. This rule should be applied also to information from the books of Chronicles where the modification, exaggeration, or tendentious treatment of historical events are more noticeable.

D. Solomon's Succession

Thanks to the epilogue to the Succession Narrative (1 Kings 1–2), we are informed in detail on the course of events about Solomon's accession to the Davidic throne and his consolidation of the kingship. This narrative has long been appreciated as one of the earliest historical works in the Bible, but yet doubt on its historicity is expressed in many recent studies (see Whybray 1968; Rost 1982). However, by recognizing its literary genre as the category "royal historical writings of an apologetic nature" in the ANE, we may prove that the narrative is basically historical, despite all the descriptions colored by a tendency for the Solomonic apology.

When David became senile (1:1) without designating his successor explicitly, the leading courtiers were divided into two parties revolving about the two rivals for the royal throne. The first candidate was Adonijah the son of Haggith, who was the fourth son but the surviving eldest prince after the death of Amnon and Absalom. He was expected to be David's successor by the general public (2:15) and was supported by Joab, commander-in-chief of the army, and Abiathar the priest (1:7). A rival candidate was Solomon the son of Bathsheba, who was backed by Zadok the priest, Nathan the prophet, Benaiah, the leader of the royal bodyguard called the Cherethites and the Pelethites, and David's heroes (1:8). Except Benaiah and David's heroes who had followed David as members of his bodyguard called the thirty (2 Sam 23:8–39; 1 Chr 11:11–47) since the days of his wandering in the wilderness (1 Sam 22:1–2; 1 Chr 12:8, 16), Bathsheba, Zadok, and Nathan appeared for the first time after David transferred his capital from Hebron to Jerusalem. By contrast, Adonijah and his supporters were those who had held positions at the court already in the days of David's reign at Hebron. In addition, the fact that the members of these rival parties were opposed to each other in contesting for the same positions shows that the conflict was caused by the newcomers' challenge to the old authority. The tendency to posit here a conflict between the Yahwism from Hebron and the Jebusite-Canaanite religion from Jerusalem is a hypothesis based on unproved evidence.

The narrative in 1 Kings 1 gives us the impression that Adonijah ascended the throne at the feast at En-rogel without David's consent. A scrutiny of the text makes it clear, however, that Adonijah had no intention to raise the standard of a rebellion. Because David's remaining days were numbered and Adonijah was expected by the people to succeed David, he had no reason to be in a hurry to usurp the throne. It is more plausible that the feast at En-rogel was a demonstration of his intention to gain the crown after the demise of David. The portrayal of Adonijah as a second Absalom in vv 5–6 obviously stemmed from the inimical viewpoint of the party opposing Adonijah. It was Nathan who fabricated a rebellion on the part of Adonijah to furnish a pretext for extracting from David the designation of Solomon as his successor. Indeed, by taking advantage of the dotage of David, Nathan succeeded in convincing David that he had once pledged himself to designate Solomon as his successor (vv 13, 17, 30). Thus, Solomon's faction secured his designation as David's successor by a court intrigue outmaneuvering Adonijah's party at the last moment.

When Solomon sat upon the royal throne after coming up from the coronation rite at Gihon, the courtiers came to congratulate David and said: "May your God make the name of Solomon more famous than yours, and make his throne greater than your throne" (v 47; cf. v 37). The implication of the words is twofold: on the one hand, an explicit congratulation to the growth of the Davidic dynasty; on the other, an implicit wish that the reign of Solomon may literally surpass that of David. We may regard these words as an expression of the Solomonic legitimation including criticism against the regime of David which had long been deteriorated by the *de facto* usurpation of Joab.

Since Solomon ascended the throne during David's lifetime (1:32–40), there had been several years, perhaps three years (cf. 6:1, 37; 2 Chr 3:2), of co-regency with David before Solomon became the sole sovereign (see Ball 1977). The main purpose of the co-regency was to protect young Solomon against Adonijah and his supporters who still remained intact after being defeated at the struggle for the royal throne. Accordingly, the demise of David brought Solomon's regime to a crisis. Taking advantage of this critical moment, Adonijah shrewdly attempted to regain a footing for a plot of rollback against Solomon's kingship by requesting Abishag the Shunammite for his wife (1 Kgs 2:13–18). As a nurse of King David (1:1–4), she was certainly regarded as a member of David's harem which Solomon had appropriated as proof of his royal legitimacy. When hearing of Adonijah's request, Solomon quickly took strong action against Adonijah and his supporters. He had Benaiah execute both Adonijah and Joab.

and he banished Abiathar from Jerusalem to Anathoth (2:19–34). Finally, Solomon also succeeded in eliminating Shimei a Saulide, the archenemy of the House of David (cf. 2 Sam 16:5–13; 19:16–23; 1 Kgs 2:8–9) by entrapping him (2:36–46a). Thus, purging all his opponents, Solomon firmly established his kingdom (2:46b). Some scholars believe that the narrative about Solomon's purge of his enemies stemmed from anti-Solomonic circles. It is more likely, however, that it tells about Solomon's quick decision and wisdom as well as his political achievement in a matter left unfinished by David.

E. Divine Approval of Solomon's Kingship

Royal lineage and divine election served as the fundamental elements for the legitimation of kingship in the ANE. As to the first element, the epilogue to the Succession Narrative in 1 Kings 1–2 emphatically tells that Solomon was designated as royal successor by David himself (1:35) and sat upon his father's throne (1:30, 35, 48; 2:12, 24), while mention is made about Solomon's divine approval only a few times in an indirect way (1:36–37, 48; 2:15). By contrast, the divine authentication of Solomon's kingship is the main subject of the account on a divine revelation to Solomon in his dream at Gibeon (3:4–15; cf. 2 Chr 1:3–13) where he received the divine assurance of wisdom to govern the people, although this account also includes a passage to legitimatize Solomon's kingship on the basis of the dynastic principle expressed by the words of the Davidic covenant (1 Kgs 3:6–7; 2 Chr 1:8–9).

It has been suggested that this episode was composed after a literary genre called the Egyptian *Königsnovelle,* which was a literary form to underline the greatness of royal innovations. In addition, a divine revelation to a king in a dream while he slept at a sanctuary was a common theme in the ancient world (see Seow 1984). Nevertheless, unlike the passage about Yahweh's second revelation to Solomon, which consists of typical words and phraseologies of a Deuteronomistic exhortation and admonition (1 Kgs 9:1–9), there is no reason to doubt that the Gibeon episode furnishes information on the historical situation in the days of Solomon.

That Gibeon, identified with el-Jib (5.5 miles NW of Jerusalem), was an important religious center during the reign of David is testified in the narrative about the Gibeonite ritual execution of the descendants of Saul with David's approval "at Gibeon on the mountain of Yahweh" (2 Sam 21:1–14). The narrative suggests that David also "sought the face of Yahweh" (21:1) at Gibeon. At the same time, from the narrative we learn that the Gibeonites still remained as a distinct enclave as the descendants of the Hivites bound with Israel by a treaty in the days of Joshua (Josh 9:3–27). It is possible to assume, therefore, that David chose the high place in Gibeon as a royal sanctuary before building an altar at the threshing of Araunah (2 Sam 24:25), by taking advantage of the Gibeonite neutral position toward the tribes of Israel. The similar consideration was instrumental in his choice of Jerusalem for his capital.

According to the Chronicler, the tent of meeting (2 Chr 1:3, 5–6, 13), or the tabernacle and the altar of burnt offering (1 Chr 16:39; 21:29) was at the high place in Gibeon at that time. Though secondary, these Chronicler's traditions seem reminiscent of the high place in Gibeon which still served as a royal sanctuary in the early reign of Solomon.

F. Administration

Solomon inherited the government which David had organized after the administrative example of Canaanite city-states, and developed it into a larger and more complicated institution. The development is observed in three lists of the high officials of David and Solomon preserved in the biblical sources. It is likely that the first list (2 Sam 8:15–18; 1 Chr 18:14–17) came from the days when David had consolidated his kingdom after defeating his domestic and foreign enemies, the second (2 Sam 20:23–26) likely came from his later years, while the third (1 Kgs 4:1–6) stemmed from the latter half of Solomon's reign. The following synopsis (Table 1) is made after solving textual problems. The names of the officials are placed in the order in the Solomonic list. (The sign * in the first column indicates that the office is lacking in the Solomonic list, while the numerals in the third and fourth columns represent the order in the respective lists.)

Officials	1 Kgs 4:1–6	2 Sam 20:23–26	2 Sam 8:15–18
The king	Solomon	—	David
1) The priest	Azariah the son of Zadok	—	—
2) Secretaries	Elihoreph and Ahijah the sons of Shisha	5) Sheva	4) Seraiah
3) Herald	Jehoshaphat the son of Ahilud	4) Jehoshaphat the son of Ahilud	2) Jehoshaphat the son of Ahilud
4) Over the army	Benaiah the son of Jehoiada	1) Joab	1) Joab the son of Zeruiah
* Priests	(Zadok and Abiathar)	6) Zadok and Abiathar	3) Zadok and Abiathar
* Over the Cherethites and Pelethites	—	7) Ira the Jairite 2) Benaiah the son of Jehoiada	6) David's sons 5) Benaiah the son of Jehoiada
5) Over the prefects	Azariah the son of Nathan	—	—
6) Priest and king's friend	Zabud the son of Nathan	—	—

7) Over the palace	Ahishar	—	—
8) Over the levy	Adoniram the son of Abda	3) Adoram	—

In comparison with the Davidic lists, the following four changes are striking in the Solomonic list. (1) The first position among the officials was held by the priest in the Solomonic list, while in the Davidic lists it was held by "one who is over the army." (2) The priest was set up instead of several priests, suggesting the establishment of the office of the chief priest. (3) Along with the addition of an extra secretary, three officials (i.e., "one who is over the prefects," "king's friend," and "one who is over the palace") were newly appointed. (There had already been a king's friend under David [2 Sam 15:37; 1 Chr 27:33], but he was not included in the lists of high officials.) (4) The office of "one who is over the Cherethites and Pelethites" was abolished. These changes indicate that the importance moved from the army to the palace with the Temple, which was expanded as the administrative center of a large kingdom. From the patronymics of the officials we may also learn that members of several important families occupied the central offices in the court of Solomon (see also Mettinger 1971).

The Solomonic kingdom was divided into twelve administrative districts and the land of Judah, each of which was governed under a prefect (1 Kgs 4:7–19). Azariah the son of Nathan, one of the high officials of Solomon, presided over the prefects (4:5). The names of the twelve prefects together with the extent of their respective districts are listed in 1 Kgs 4:8–19. Although there are many uncertainties concerning the geographical names in the list, the general structure of the administrative districts is clear enough. The name of the 1st district, the hill country of Ephraim, is not tribal but geographical, encompassing both the tribal area of Ephraim and the main part of Manasseh (i.e., the greater part of the tribal inheritance of the house of Joseph). The 2d to the 7th districts are named after towns, while the 8th to the 11th bear tribal names. If we read "Gad" instead of "Gilead" according to the LXX, the name of the 12th district is also tribal. It has thus become clear that the traditional tribal system was retained in the peripheral areas, while the central hill country was reorganized, and the former Canaanite territories, which had been annexed to the kingdoms of Israel and Judah in the days of David, were organized as districts named after towns.

Because the biblical source tells us that each prefect had to provide food for the king and his household for one month in the year (1 Kgs 4:7; 5:7—Eng 4:27), it is likely that the purpose of the system of the 12 districts was to improve the administrative tasks of tax collection. The fact that Judah is not included in the system would show that it enjoyed the privilege of tax exemption. By contrast, it is possible that in reorganizing the central hill country Solomon tried to neutralize the influence of the house of Joseph over the tribes of Israel.

Already David had appointed Adoram as official "over the levy" at the end of his reign (2 Sam 20:24). The pagan theophoric element Adad in his name suggests that he was a man of Canaanite origin. It appears that David established the institution of forced labor after a Canaanite model and imposed the levy upon the Canaanite population whom he had incorporated into his kingdom (cf. Judg 1:27–35; 2 Sam 12:31). We might also assume that David had Joab take a census (24:1–9; 1 Chr 21:1–6) in preparation for the levy to which the Israelites also would be subjected, although there is no certain evidence for it.

Under Solomon, however, not only the remnants of the pre-Israelite population (1 Kgs 9:20–21; 2 Chr 8:7–8) but also the people of Israel were subjected to the levy (1 Kgs 5:27—Eng 5:13). Despite a passage telling that the forced labor was not imposed upon the Israelites (1 Kgs 9:22; 2 Chr 8:9), all the other sources attest to the harshness of heavy burden which the people of Israel had to bear in the days of Solomon. According to an account, Solomon raised 30,000 men for a levy of forced labor in Lebanon, and Adoniram was in charge of the levy (5:27–28—Eng 5:13–14). Besides, he had 70,000 burden-bearers, 80,000 hewers of stone, and 3,300 chief officers who were over the work (5:29–30—Eng 5:15–16). According to another, there were 550 chief officers who had charge of the people who carried on the work (9:23; but 250 chief officers according to 2 Chr 8:10).

Solomon's policy of imposing forced labor on the N tribes eventually became a major source of the disruption of the United Kingdom. Jeroboam ben Nebat, who had been given charge over all the forced labor of the house of Joseph by Solomon, became a leader of rebellion against Solomon; after it failed, he sought refuge with Shishak king of Egypt (1 Kgs 11:26–28, 40). Although the cause of the rebellion is not told explicitly, there is little doubt that Jeroboam was supported by the N tribes who felt they could no longer bear the Solomonic levy of forced labor. After Solomon's death the N tribes negotiated with Rehoboam the son of Solomon about alleviation of the heavy burden of forced labor. When the negotiations were broken off, they declared independence from the Davidic rule, killed Adoram, taskmaker over the levy sent by Rehoboam, and made Jeroboam king over all Israel (12:1–20).

G. Diplomacy and Trade

As to the extent of Solomon's kingdom, we have contradictory reports. According to the "official" claim, "Solomon ruled over all the kingdoms from the Euphrates to the land of the Philistines and to the border of Egypt; they brought tribute and served Solomon all the days of his life" (1 Kgs 5:1—Eng 4:21; cf. 5:4—Eng 4:24; also 8:65). According to the other traditions, however, both Hadad the Edomite and Rezon of Damascus became adversaries to Solomon, presumably in the early days of his reign (11:14–25). Moreover, no biblical source tells about Solomon's conquest of Philistine Gath, which kept its independence in the early years of Solomon (2:39–41). It is also clear that Hiram king of Tyre always held the superior

position in his relations with Solomon (5:15–26—Eng 5:1–12; 9:11–14). Evidently, these sober traditions are more historical than the hyperbolical claim on the huge extent of Solomon's kingdom. It appears that Solomon's actual dominion was confined to the traditional Israelite homeland in W Palestine, i.e., "from Dan to Beersheba" (5:5—Eng 4:25), the bulk of the N Transjordan, and the route to Ezion-geber on the Gulf of Elath (9:26).

Nevertheless, it is not easy to dismiss the hyperbolical claim as a completely groundless statement. It is possible to find in it an "official" explanation of the historical situation. Indeed, there is reason to believe that Solomon was one of the most influential rulers in Syria-Palestine in those days. The biblical sources refer to his far-flung diplomatic connections, extensive involvement with international trade, and his powerful army and strong defense system. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that the regime of Solomon considered all the kingdoms W of the Euphrates as the countries under his influence, though the claim was widely different from the reality.

In connection with Solomon's marriage to the daughter of Pharaoh king of Egypt (3:1; 7:8; 9:24), mention is made about the Pharaoh's campaign against Gezer and its cession as the dowry of his daughter (9:16). This Pharaoh is generally regarded as Siamun, the penultimate king of Dyn. 21 who was also the patron of Hadad of Edom (11:18–22; see Green 1978). It is assumed that the Pharaoh invaded Philistia to regain the Egyptian control over the Via Maris in the early days of Solomon's reign by taking advantage of the weakness of the Davidic rule caused by the demise of David and the death of Joab (cf. 11:21). Encountering the military strength of Solomon, however, the Pharaoh negotiated for a peace treaty, which was cemented by the marriage of his daughter to Solomon. If this reconstruction is acceptable, Solomon's marriage to the daughter of Pharaoh should be considered as a great success of Solomon's diplomacy. Likewise, his marriages to many foreign women, including Moabite, Ammonite, Edomite, Sidonian, and Hittite women (11:1), should be regarded as political. Peace treaties cemented by these marriages, together with a tight defense system, enabled Solomon to secure the borders of his kingdom (cf. 5:4–5—Eng 4:24–25).

The biblical source explicitly refers to a treaty which Solomon made with Hiram king of Tyre (5:26—Eng 5:12). Indeed, Solomon had close relations with the Phoenician monarch in many enterprises. First of all, Hiram provided Solomon with important building materials for the Temple and royal palace in Jerusalem, such as timber of cedar and cypress from Lebanon and gold (5:22–24—Eng 5:8–10; 9:11), together with Phoenician craftsmen (5:20, 23, 32[—Eng 5:6, 9, 18]; 7:13–14). In turn, Solomon defrayed the expense of these materials and the craftsmen's wages by an annual delivery to Hiram of wheat and oil (5:25—Eng 5:11). By the completion of the buildings after twenty years, however, the trade between Solomon and Hiram became out of balance and the former had to cede to the latter twenty villages in the land of Galilee, called the land of Cabul, probably situated in a region SE of Acco (9:10–14). The Chronicler, who understood the situation the other way around, tells us that Hiram gave cities to Solomon (2 Chr 8:2). But this view hardly seems historical.

Another cooperative effort between Solomon and Hiram was a shipping venture. Solomon built a fleet of ships (later called a fleet of ships of Tarshish) at Ezion-geber on the Gulf of Elath, probably with the help of Phoenician shipbuilders. The ships were manned by Hiram's sailors and Solomon's crews together and were sent to Ophir with Hiram's own fleet to bring back gold, silver, almug wood, precious stones, ivory, apes, and peacocks (1 Kgs 9:26–28; 10:11, 22). Ophir is sought in S Arabia or E Africa. In exchange for providing Hiram with access to the Red Sea, Solomon succeeded in opening seafaring trade to Ophir.

Before Solomon got into the Red Sea trade in cooperation with Hiram, the Egyptians and the S Arabians had held a monopoly on it. Against this background, we may understand the significance of the visit of the queen of Sheba in the extreme S of Arabia to Jerusalem (10:1–10, 13). Although the present story is strongly colored by later legendary elaborations, her visit should be regarded as a trade mission of the S Arabians who became unable to ignore Solomon's control over an important caravan route through Transjordan as well as his naval enterprise in the Red Sea. A reference to "all the kings of Arabia" who were under impost to Solomon (10:15, reading after 2 Chr 9:14) suggests that the visit of the queen of Sheba represents one of the trade relations of Solomon with the Arabians.

Indeed, Solomon controlled two main international routes: the Via Maris, a route passing through the coastal plain and the Jezreel valley connecting Egypt and Damascus; and the King's highway, a route passing through the hill country of Transjordan connecting Elath on the Red Sea and Damascus. It is very probable, therefore, that Solomon made revenue from transit duties imposed on commercial traffic through his kingdom, and the biblical sources in 1 Kgs 10:15 (cf. 2 Chr 9:14) seem to testify to it, though the text requires some emendations. In addition, we are told that Solomon's merchants imported horses from Egypt and Que (i.e., Cilicia in the SE of Anatolia), and chariots from Egypt; then, they exported these horses and chariots to Hittite and Aramean kings (1 Kgs 10:28–29). These trading activities were typically Solomonic in taking advantage of the geographical position of his kingdom between Egypt to the S on the one hand and Syria, Anatolia, and Mesopotamia to the N on the other.

All the figures and descriptions in the accounts of Solomon's mercantile activities and his revenue and wealth should be fabulously exaggerated (e.g., 10:10, 12, 14, 21). Evidently, these accounts were not composed with the intention of making a historical report on Solomon's financial matters. Their aim was to enhance his prosperity under the divine blessings. Nevertheless, we can hardly reject the substantial historicity comprised in them.

H. Building Enterprises

It appears that a great part of Solomon's revenue made by every possible method was spent for his building enterprises which were too grandiose to be undertaken within the limit of his resources. Despite his people's resentment (see above), Solomon had to impose forced labor to carry out his building plan. Still he was unable to cover the deficit suffered from the building expenses without ces-

sion of part of his territory at the end of twenty years of his building activities. However, it is important to realize that Solomon had good reasons for his extensive building projects.

These building enterprises can be classified into two categories: defense constructions at strategic points in his kingdom, and the great citadel complex of Jerusalem (including the royal palace and the Temple). They were constructions vital to governing a kingdom stretching over such a vast area of Palestine, the N Transjordan, and part of Syria. According to biblical sources, Solomon had 1,400 chariots, 12,000 horsemen (10:26) and 40,000 stalls of horses for his chariotry (5:6—Eng 4:26). Although the last figure is evidently an exaggeration (cf. 4,000 stalls in 2 Chr 9:25), the account of Solomon's chariot force is acceptable as historical in view of 2,000 chariots put into the field at Qarqar against the Assyrians by Ahab king of Israel about a century later.

This large force was stationed at Jerusalem (1 Kgs 10:26) as well as at garrison towns located at strategic points such as Hazor, Megiddo, Gezer, Beth-horon the lower, Baalath, and Tamar in the wilderness in the land of Judah (9:15, 17–18). Solomon also built store-cities as arms depots and supply centers for the army (9:19). In fact, archaeological excavations give evidence for Solomonic fortifications at Hazor (stratum X), Megiddo (stratum VA–IVB) and Gezer (stratum VIII) constructed to a uniform plan (Yadin 1958). Moreover, it is told that Solomon built "the Millo and the wall of Jerusalem" (9:15). Although there are still differing views about the exact meaning of the term Millo, it is clear that this passage tells about Solomon's fortification works of Jerusalem (cf. 11:27).

Undoubtedly, the most important construction among buildings which Solomon made was the citadel complex of Jerusalem, which consisted of the royal palace and the Temple. As to the biblical sources about these construction works, it is striking that the construction of the Temple and its furnishings are described in detail (6:2–38; 7:13–51), whereas the description of the structure of the palace is disproportionately laconic (7:1–12). However, the comparison between the dimensions of the royal palace (e.g. 100 by 50 cubits on the ground plan of the House of the Forest of Lebanon [7:2]) and those of the Temple (60 by 20 cubits on the ground plan [6:2]) shows that the latter was actually an adjunct building to the former. In spite of this structure, however, it is improper to regard the Temple as a mere royal chapel attached to the palace, since both the biblical and extrabiblical sources, together with archaeological findings, testify to the fact that a temple in a palace-complex like the Solomonic Temple functioned as "the royal sanctuary as well as a temple of the kingdom" (cf. Amos 7:13).

Solomon spent 20 years building the citadel complex of Jerusalem (1 Kgs 9:10): seven years building the Temple (6:38) and thirteen years constructing the palace (7:1). On the palace, the biblical sources give us scarcely any information except the simple structural features of the House of the Forest of Lebanon, the Hall of Pillars, the Hall of Throne, i.e., the Hall of Judgment, the dwelling quarters, the palace for Pharaoh's daughter, and their stonework (7:2–12). Besides, there are some fragmentary notes on shields, vessels, and the throne in the palace (10:16–21).

In contrast, we are informed in detail on the construction of the Temple and its furnishings, including the structural features, the interior fittings and decorations, the cherubim, the inner court, the pillars of Jachin and Boaz, the bronze sea, the wheeled stands and their bases, gold vessels, and so forth (6:2–10, 15–36; 7:15–50). Strangely enough, however, these descriptions deal solely with measurements of the buildings and their furnishings, with materials and technique used, but they hardly furnish us with a general information on the Temple such as its orientation or general appearance. The structure of the Temple and its locations adjoining the royal palace show that Solomon built the Temple following the tradition of the Canaanite-Phoenician temples in the end of the 2d millennium and the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C., which have been uncovered in various places in Syria-Palestine. This fact agrees with the biblical sources which confirm that Phoenician builders and a craftsman from Tyre called Hiram played the central role in the construction of the Temple. See also TEMPLE, JERUSALEM.

I. Zion Theology and the State Cult

The construction of the Temple on Mount Zion in Jerusalem was one of the most important achievements which Solomon accomplished. It led to decisive consequences in later developments of the Israelite traditions. Like all the other institutions which Solomon established, there were David's preparations also for the Temple building. Although the Chronicler's detailed descriptions about the theme (1 Chronicles 22–29) seem legendary rather than historical, we have no reason to doubt that David made some of the fundamental preparations in his last years. For instance, his purchase of Araunah's threshing floor and the building of an altar there (2 Sam 24:18–25) were doubtless related to the Temple building.

In addition to the physical preparations, David prepared the religio-political conditions for the construction of the Temple. Indeed, the Temple of Solomon is to be regarded as the consummation of the policy which David had undertaken to establish the rule of the House of David over the united kingdom by concentrating the national traditions of Israel in Jerusalem, the permanent residence of the dynasty of David. Before David conquered it, Jerusalem had been alien to the Israelite traditions (5:6–9). However, when choosing Jerusalem as his new capital, David attempted to furnish it with a legitimate position in the ancient traditions of Israel. For David, who came from Judah, it was absolutely necessary to legitimatize his rule over the N tribes of Israel. Out of this effort, among others, he transferred the Ark, which had been the symbol of the tribal confederation of Israel centering around the temple of Shiloh in the premonarchical period (1 Sam 3:3; 4:3–7:2), to the City of David (2 Sam 6:1–9). David also attempted to build a temple in Jerusalem to house the Ark, but he was told through Nathan the prophet that Yahweh rejected that plan. David could not but content himself with a divine revelation that his son would build the Temple. At the same time, David was promised by Yahweh to establish the House of David as an eternal dynasty over Israel (7:1–16). This divine promise became the nucleus of the covenant of David.

As Solomon built the Temple, therefore, it was regarded

as the fulfillment of the Davidic covenant. Moreover, the very existence of the Temple was interpreted as evidence of Yahweh's election of Jerusalem/Zion as his sole abode among the tribes of Israel (8:16 LXX; 2 Chr 6:6). Evidently, both elections were inseparably interrelated. The election of David was materialized by the election of Jerusalem/Zion, the election of Jerusalem/Zion could stand so long as the election of David was valid. In addition, in bringing the Ark from the city of David and placing it in the holy of holies in the Temple (1 Kgs 8:1–8), Solomon changed this war palladium of the militia of Israel and Judah (2 Sam 11:11) into the symbol of the covenant of Sinai. In so doing, he succeeded in associating the Davidic covenant with the Sinaitic covenant (1 Kgs 8:21). Admittedly, it is widely recognized that all these passages are Deuteronomistic. Still there is no reason to doubt that the Zion theology which crystallized around the doctrine of the joint election of the House of David and of Jerusalem/Zion stemmed from the days of Solomon as part of the ideology of the Judean dynasty ruling over Israel.

Another Solomonic innovation is the establishment of the position of the king presiding over the state cult. When Saul, the first king of Israel, offered burnt offerings, this royal conduct was condemned by Samuel as the encroachment of the latter's sacerdotal authority (1 Sam 13:8–15). But David was no longer accused for his burnt offerings and peace offerings which he offered after the transfer of the Ark to the city of David (2 Sam 6:17–18). However, divine messages were generally communicated to him through prophets like Nathan (7:1–17; 12:1–15, 24–25) or Gad (24:10–25). Finally, not only did Solomon always have direct communications with God (1 Kgs 3:5–14; 6:11–13; 9:1–9; 11:9–13), he also acted as a priest (3:4, 15; 8:14–66). This development would show that there was an increase of royal authority over the sacerdotal prerogatives in the early monarchies in Israel, and it was brought to finality in the establishment of the state cult under Solomon. The absolute authority of Solomon originated in the ownership of the House of David over the Temple on the basis of the facts that the ground on which the Temple stood was the possession of the House of David, and its founder was Solomon.

J. Solomon's Wisdom

Alongside his great wealth, Solomon's legendary wisdom is specially remembered in the biblical sources as well as in later traditions. His sapiential activities in the biblical sources may be classified under the following three categories: administrative wisdom, encyclopedic and gnomic wisdom, and riddles. How Solomon was endowed with administrative wisdom in the very beginning of his reign is told in the narrative about the divine revelation communicated to him in the dream at Gibeon (1 Kgs 3:4–15). It has been proposed that this story was composed after an Egyptian literary type called *Königsnovelle,* one of whose main themes is to underline the greatness of royal innovations. Indeed, the narrative serves as a suitable introduction to the reign of a monarch like Solomon who made many innovations. Evidently, the construction of the Temple is regarded as his greatest innovation in the literary complex in 1 Kings 3–11. However, an episode which directly follows the divine promise of the sapiential endowments recounts Solomon's shrewd arbitration as an illustration of his administrative-juridical wisdom (3:16–28). The theme of the story is very popular in folktales from various countries of the world. It is likely, therefore, that the story about Solomon's administrative-juridical wisdom stemmed from the neighboring nations of Israel.

The international influence is more obvious in the encyclopedic and gnomic wisdom of Solomon (5:9–14—Eng 4:29–34). It is praised as the wisdom surpassing the wisdom of all the other wisemen in the world. In other words, Solomon's wisdom in this sphere was essentially international. In fact, gnomic sayings in the classified lists of natural phenomena are found in Mesopotamia and Egypt. Moreover, it has been assumed that a large part of the proverbial collections attributed to Solomon (Prov 1:1; 10:1; 25:1) was composed on Canaanite, Egyptian, or Mesopotamian models. Likewise, Solomon's supreme skill in riddles was also international in its nature. It was revealed in his answers to the questions asked by the queen of Sheba visiting him in Jerusalem with an international trade mission (1 Kgs 10:1–10, 13).

It is most probable that the narratives about Solomon's wisdom were composed with the intention of enhancing his fitness as a just ruler as well as exalting his international prestige (3:28; 4:34; 10:23–24). It is not surprising, therefore, that they are colored with fabulous exaggerations and legendary elaborations, which are sometimes interpreted as evidence for the later origin of the narratives. It is not easy, however, to find any other period in the history of ancient Israel than the Solomonic era, in which such a strong stimulus was given to develop sapiential activities through the establishment of a well-organized royal court and its close contacts with the international world. G. von Rad assumed that there was a "Solomonic enlightenment" as the blossoming of intellectual creativities in breaking free from the ancient patriarchal code of living. Indeed, Solomon's wisdom is specially mentioned, alongside his deeds, in the reference to the book of the acts of Solomon (11:41). It is very likely that Solomon's wisdom represented the spirit of his age.

K. Society

The transformation of the Israelite society, which began with the establishment of the monarchy, was in full swing in the days of Solomon. The traditional autonomy of each tribe was broken down by establishing administrative districts governed under prefects appointed by the central authority of the king (1 Kgs 4:7–19). Although the tribal names were retained in the peripheral districts, it is clear that these districts no longer enjoyed tribal autonomy so long as they were ruled by royal prefects. In fact, each district was charged with a duty to provide food for the royal court and barley and straw for the horses of the king. These provisions and other taxes were distributed by the king to his "servants" as their salary. The servants of the king formed a new class of people dependent on the monarchy. They were professional soldiers, administrative officials, household staff, merchants, artisans, etc. In addition, it is assumed that the Levites were also integrated into the royal administration in the last year of David to administer the "cities of the Levites" (Josh 21:1–42; I Chr 6:39–66), the fortified cities in the border districts of the

kingdom (1 Chr 26:30–32). In any case, the development of a social stratum composed of the servants of the king facilitated the centralization of the royal government under Solomon by disrupting the traditional system of the tribal society of Israel.

In the above development in Israelite society towns played an important role as the local centers of the royal administration. As such, the biblical sources refer to towns of a prefectural seat (1 Kgs 4:9–14), garrison towns and store-cities (9:15, 17–19; 10:26), and the cities of the Levites (Josh 21:1–42; 1 Chr 6:39–66). Since the servants of the king mostly lived in towns, the urban population must have increased rapidly. At the same time, it seems, the elders of the town, who had served as the institution of the traditional self-government in the premonarchical period, were integrated into the municipality governed by the officials appointed by the king (cf. 1 Kgs 21:8, 11; 2 Kgs 10:1, 5).

Another characteristic feature of the society under Solomon is found in a mass assimilation of foreign elements into the Israelite society. Since the days of David many foreigners had been employed by the royal court, e.g., mercenaries like the Cherethites, the Pelethites, and the Gittites (2 Sam 15:18, etc.), an official like Adoram or Adoniram (20:24; 1 Kgs 4:6), or an artisan like Hiram (7:13). The biblical sources also tell us that the Canaanite towns and their indigenous population were ultimately incorporated into Israel under Solomon (4:9–13; 9:20–21; cf. Judg 1:27–35). Besides, the Israelites had close relations with the neighboring peoples through intensive mercantile activities. As a result, apart from Solomon's political marriages with alien women, intermarriages took place also among the ordinary people (1 Kgs 7:14). Under these circumstances, the toleration of foreign cults and religious syncretism prevailed in the days of Solomon (11:4–5, 7–8).

After the death of Solomon, the N tribes held the popular assembly at Shechem and demanded that Rehoboam, Solomon's successor, alleviate the heavy taxes and *corvée* imposed by Solomon. When Rehoboam refused, the people rejected the rule of the House of David and elevated Jeroboam ben Nebat to the king of Israel (12:1–20). This political development clearly shows that, despite the centralization of the administrative power and the disruption of the traditional tribal society in the days of Solomon, the Israelite tribes retained the tradition of self-government. At the same time, apart from the Deuteronomistic censure (11:2–13), the important role played by Ahijah the Shilonite in the schism of the United Kingdom suggests that there was a circle which was antagonistic toward the religious tolerance and syncretism in Solomonic society.

L. Summary

Solomon inherited from David the United Kingdom of Israel, which David had established by the personal union of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel, with a vast area of conquered lands stretching over the bulk of Palestine and part of Syria. This was a great inheritance not easy to maintain, but Solomon successfully executed the difficult task. As to domestic issues, he accomplished, among others, the following five matters which had been prepared but left unfinished by David: (1) the consolidation of the kingship through a thorough purge of political enemies; (2) the development of the administrative organization; (3) the Temple building with the construction of the royal palace; (4) the crystallization of Zion theology around the doctrine of Yahweh's joint election of the House of David and of Jerusalem/Zion; and (5) the reinforcement of the defense system.

As to the relationship with the neighboring countries, Solomon gave up the expansionism of David and held peaceful relations with them through diplomacy and trade. Except for a problematic report on the conquest of Hamath-zobah (2 Chr 8:2), we have no information on any military campaign of Solomon. On the contrary, he lost the S territory in Edom and retreated in the N border before Damascus. Nevertheless, we should not underestimate the strength of the military power and the defense system which he maintained. It was strong enough to have a showdown with the invading army of Pharaoh.

By taking advantage of the geographical position, Solomon shrewdly increased the revenue not only by collecting toll from caravans passing through his kingdom but also by launching international trade. His active operations in diplomacy and trade made in wealthy and raised his prestige in the international community. As a result, Jerusalem became one of the important centers into which various information and technology came from every corner of the world. Under the stimulus of foreign cultures the royal court served as the center of intellectual creativity. The legendary tradition of Solomon's fabulous wisdom must have stemmed from the Solomonic court with its international surroundings.

In short, the kingdoms of Judah and Israel enjoyed prosperity and peaceful life in the days of Solomon. However, this was not without malcontents, especially among the N tribes. The zealots of Yahwism condemned the religious tolerance and syncretism in the Solomonic society. The traditionalists refused to accept the Zion theology, which was formed as the ideology of the Judean dynasty ruling over Israel. Above all, the N tribes were so discontented with the heavy tax and forced labor, imposed with a bias favoring Judah, that they revolted under the leadership of Jeroboam ben Nebat. Solomon suppressed the revolt, but this problem became the direct cause of the division of the kingdom immediately after his death. He hardly succeeded in bequeathing the Davidic rule over Israel which he had inherited from David. But this sober reality faded away in later traditions in which "Solomon in all his glory" (Matt 6:29) remained as his formal portrait.

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SOLOMON'S PORTICO (PLACE) [Gk *stoa (tou) Solomōn(t)os*]. A colonnade which made up part of the temple complex built by Herod in Jerusalem. This colonnade like the others that surrounded the temple precinct, provided a meeting place for individuals to discuss Scripture preceding and following the observation of religious rituals. Jesus' disciples gathered at this location and the early Jerusalem church also met there (John 10:23; Acts 3:11; 5:12). It was located on the E side of the temple complex overlooking the Kidron Valley (Josephus *Ant* 20.9.7). According to the tradition reported by Josephus, Solomon's temple utilized a covered area supported by a platform (*JW* 5.5.1; *Ant* 8.3.9). The location described as Solomon's portico in the NT was certainly designed by Herod's architects. This colonnade was reportedly double columned and spanned 49 feet. The columns were 38 feet tall monoliths of white marble and supported cedar-paneled ceilings. This impressive structure however was overshadowed by the Royal Colonnade at the S end of the temple precinct. No extant remains of Solomon's Portico are preserved in situ except for the platform on which it was founded. See also TEMPLE, JERUSALEM.

ROBERT W. SMITH

SOLOMON'S SERVANTS. A phrase that refers to two distinct groups. In the broadest sense it refers to all those who were members of Solomon's imperial household and bureaucracy (1 Kgs 4:1–19). The Hebrew word *ʿebed* refers both to servants and to slaves. Servants, as a broad category, could include anyone from kitchen help to the vizier.

Slavery was common in the Near East during the biblical period. See SLAVERY (ANE). Mendelsohn, in his basic study of state slavery in Israel (1942), asserts that there were three categories of slaves: domestic servants, whose presence and relationship to the community is attested in the laws on slavery in the Torah (Exodus 21; Deuteronomy 15; Leviticus 25); temple slaves *(netînîm);* and state slaves (Heb *mas ʿôbēd*). See NETHINIM; SLAVERY (OT). These latter consisted primarily of foreign captives of war. There is ample evidence of the existence of such a group (1 Kgs 9:27; 2 Chr 8:18; 9:10). The Ophir fleet was operated by Solomon's servants. In 1 Kgs 9:15–21 the public works projects of Solomon were probably carried out by state slaves.

Israelites were employed in some of Solomon's projects (1 Kgs 5:27). Apparently David also used corvée labor (2 Sam 20:24). The census of David (2 Samuel 24) was aimed at both taxation and corvée labor. Corvée became a burning issue in the breakup of the two kingdoms after Solomon's death.

The Hebrew term *mas ʿôbēd* is eventually replaced by *ʿabdê šelômô,* "servants of Solomon"; in Mendelsohn's view, Solomon was the instigator of this form of slavery, employing these foreign prisoners in the great mining operations

in the Arabah. The term later comes to mean state slaves in general.

But after the destruction of the southern kingdom and the Exile, the returnees had no royal establishment to engage in great public works projects and no body of persons who could be used at will for the service of the state.

The texts in Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles refer to the "children of the Servants of Solomon" (Ezra 2:43–58; Neh 7:46–60; 11:3; 2 Chr 8:18; 9:10). These are associated with the priests, Levites, and Nethinim in the lists. They are always listed last, giving the impression of a class distinctly lower than the others. The period after the Exile was marked by a process of "sacralization," as a result of which the priesthood becomes more exclusive and more exalted; the Levites and lesser religious orders absorb many of the functions formerly performed by lay folk (Cody 1969: 184–92). The former state slaves thus merged with the older category of temple slaves, and all these were absorbed into the ranks of the "lower clergy" of the restored temple.

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JOSEPH P. HEALEY

SOLOMON, ODES OF. Sometime around 100 C.E. a Christian, heavily influenced by Jewish thought, especially similar to that found in the Jewish apocalypses and within some of the Dead Sea Scrolls, composed 42 odes. He may even have dedicated them to Solomon. The 11th ode was found among the Bodmer Papyri in a 3d-century Gk manuscript (no. 11). Five were translated into Coptic in the 4th century and used to illustrate the *Pistis Sophia* (*Odes Sol.* 1, 5, 6, 22, and 25). Also in the 4th century Ode 19 was quoted by Lactantius (*Div. Inst.* 4.12.3). In the 10th century a scribe copied the *Odes* in Syriac, but only *Odes Sol.* 17:7–42:20 are preserved (British Museum ms Add. 14538). In the 15th century another scribe copied them into Syriac, but again the beginning is lost (John Rylands Library Cod. Syr. 9 contains only *Odes Sol.* 3:1b–42:20).

In 1812 the *Odes of Solomon* were discovered by a Danish bishop, F. Münter, in the *Pistis Sophia.* In 1909 they were detected by J. Rendel Harris in a manuscript on his shelves; he published the *editio princeps* the same year. In 1912 they were observed by F. C. Burkitt in a manuscript in the British Museum.

During the first decade after the *editio princeps* there was a flurry of scholarly publications. The consensus was that the *Odes* were very early. Harris contended that they were a hymnbook of the 1st-century Church. J. H. Bernard claimed they were written in the last half of the 2d century. A. Harnack was convinced that the *Odes* were a Jewish psalter that had been redacted by a Christian. He heavily influenced R. Bultmann who claimed that the *Odes* antedate and help us understand the origins of the gospel according to John.

Since the 1960s scholars have once again been attracted to the *Odes of Solomon.* Many scholars, like K. Rudolph, contend that they are a 2d-century gnostic work. M. Testuz argued that the author was an Essene who lived sometime in the 1st century C.E. J. Carmignac was convinced that they were composed by a Christian who had been a Qumran Essene; and there is ample reason to take seriously that possibility. While some scholars think the *Odes* were composed in Greek (M. Philonenko, A. F. J. Klijn), Syriac specialists such as A. Vööbus, J. A. Emerton, J. H. Charlesworth, and L. Abramowski, have argued that they were composed in Syriac.

The date of the *Odes* has caused considerable interest. H. J. Drijvers contends that they are as late as the 3d century. L. Abramowski places them in the latter half of the 2d century. B. McNeil argued that they are contemporaneous with *4 Ezra,* the *Shepherd of Hermas,* Polycarp, and Valentinus (ca. 100 C.E.). Most scholars date them sometime around the middle of the 2d century, but if they are heavily influenced by Jewish apocalyptic thought and especially the ideas in the Dead Sea Scrolls, a date long after 100 is unlikely. H. Chadwick, Emerton, Charlesworth, and many other scholars, are convinced that they must not be labelled "gnostic," and therefore should not be dated to the late 2d or 3d century.

Scholars tend to agree that the *Odes* and the gospel of John are related, but the explanation of the relationship has not won a strong consensus. Most specialists who have published a detailed comparison conclude that the *Odes* are earlier or contemporaneous with the gospel of John (Charlesworth and Culpepper); and M. Lattke is correct in pointing out the extreme importance of the *Odes* for studying the origins of the documents in the NT. Bernard introduced the claim that the *Odes* were composed by a Christian for baptismal services; and as R. Murray has shown there is reason to take seriously a modified form of that hypothesis. The *Odes* are certainly Christian; and as Emerton states, the author was probably "a Jewish Christian" (that is a Christian who was a convert from Judaism).

Although the author never quotes from the OT, he probably knew it, especially the Davidic Psalter, by heart. Ps 84:10 ("For a day in your courts is better than a thousand elsewhere") may have been on his mind when he composed *Ode* 4:5 ("For one hour of your faith/ Is more excellent than all days and years"). Ps 1:2 ("And in his Law he will meditate day and night") probably helped him compose *Ode* 41:6:

> And let our faces shine in his light,
> And let our hearts meditate in his love,
> By night and by day.

The tone of the *Odes* is one of rejoicing in the appearance of, and triumphal life of, the long awaited Messiah, and in the experience of eternal life obtained through his resurrection:

> And his Word is with us in all our way,
> the Savior who gives life and does not reject ourselves.
> The Man who humbled himself,
> but was raised because of his own righteousness.
> The Son of the Most High appeared

in the perfection of his Father.
And light dawned from the Word
that was before time in him.
The Messiah in truth is one.
And he was known before the foundations of the world,
that he might give life to persons forever by the truth of his name.

(*Ode* 41:11–16)

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JAMES H. CHARLESWORTH

SOLOMON, PSALMS OF. A collection of 18 noncanonical psalms from the 1st century B.C.E. which are preserved in Greek and Syriac. The title of the collection is a curious one, since there is nothing in any of the psalms to link them to Solomon.

Although a Greek original for the *Psalms* has been suggested (Hilgenfeld 1868), most scholars have argued that the Greek version is a translation of a Hebrew original. Many believe that the Syriac version is a secondary translation of the Greek (Harris and Mingana 1916–1920, vol. 2; Begrich 1939), but the evidence brought forward to support such a view—alleged errors which the Syriac and Greek share and supposed mistranslations of the Greek by the Syriac—is not compelling. On the other hand, apparent Syriac mistranslations of a Hebrew word or phrase that has been translated correctly in the Greek, the presence of atypical Syriac expressions which are in fact Hebraic idioms and which are absent from the Greek, and certain patterns of variation between the Syriac and the Greek in divine name terminology suggest that the Syriac, like the Greek, was translated from the Hebrew (Trafton 1985; 1986; cf. Kuhn 1937). The presumed Hebrew original is lost.

Although patterned after the canonical psalms and sharing many themes with them, the *Psalms of Solomon* are noteworthy for what seem to be striking historical allusions in several of the *Psalms.* For example, *Psalm* 2 speaks of a "sinner" who forced his way into Jerusalem with a battering ram (v 1), after which "Gentile foreigners" defiled the Temple (v 2; cf. vv 19–24). Later this "dragon" was killed dishonorably in Egypt, his body being left unburied (vv 25–27). Since these details match so closely what the ancient historians Josephus (*Ant* 14.4; *JW* 1.7) and Dio Cassius (*Roman History* 42.5) wrote about the Roman general Pompey, who captured Jerusalem in 63 B.C.E. and was slain in Egypt in 48 B.C.E., scholars generally agree that the psalmist must have had Pompey in mind. Similar passages which identify the conqueror as a Gentile who came from (and took captives back to) the West (17:11–13) and as one who was initially welcomed by some of the Jewish leaders (8:15–17) also correspond to what is known of Pompey.

Occasionally there have been attempts to identify the conqueror as someone else—e.g., Antiochus Epiphanes, Herod the Great, or Titus—but Pompey seems the most likely candidate. Similarly, some scholars have attempted to see allusions to historical figures and events in addition to Pompey, the most ambitious proposal (Aberbach 1951) being that the *Psalms* sketch the decline of the Hasmonean dynasty from the last stable ruler (Alexandra) to the last to occupy the throne (Antigonus). But such proposals have not gained widespread acceptance. The inherent difficulty in relating poetic language to historical persons and events is always present in any such reconstruction.

The connection of the *Psalms of Solomon* with Pompey dates the collection to the 1st century B.C.E. There is no reason to believe that all of the *Psalms* were written at the same time or even by the same author. They do, however,

share a common perspective, which suggests that, whether composed by one author or several, the *Psalms* reflect the thought-world of a particular group of Jews who brought them together sometime after Pompey's death in 48 B.C.E.

The communal perspective of the *Psalms* has been a source of intense scrutiny by scholars. The *Psalms* not only find fault with foreigners, but also with fellow Jews. Indeed, most of the *Psalms* exhibit a strong we/they mentality. The psalmist identifies himself with those whom he calls the righteous (3:3), the pious (9:3), those who fear the Lord (2:33), the poor (10:6), the innocent (12:4), and the saints (11:1). On the other side are the unrighteous (12:5), the sinners (4:8), the transgressors (14:6), those who please men (4:8), the lawless (17:20), the deceitful (4:23), the hypocrites (4:20), and the wicked (12:1). Such a perceived dichotomy within Israel itself suggests that the *Psalms* are the product of a Jewish party or sect.

Scholars have traditionally interpreted this partisan outlook against the background of Josephus' report of the intense rivalry between the Pharisees and the Sadducees (*Ant* 13.10–14.3). The presence within the *Psalms* of several concepts which Josephus characterized as Pharisaic (*JW* 2.8.14)—proper interpretation of the Law (4:8), divine providence and human free will (9:4–5), resurrection (3:12), and retribution (2:7)—might imply that they are a product of the Pharisees. Specific accusations concerning the profaning of the Temple and its sacrifices (1:8; 2:3; 8:12) would suggest, in turn, that the opponents are the Sadducees.

This understanding of the *Psalms*, although still common (Schüpphaus 1977; Lane 1982), has been called into question in recent years. Strong parallels between the *Psalms* and the Dead Sea Scrolls have caused some scholars to label them as Hasidic or Essenic (O'Dell 1961; Wright 1972; Hann 1988), a position, however, which has not proved persuasive. Other scholars, who prefer to leave the question open, point to a growing skepticism regarding the possibility of reconstructing 1st century B.C.E. Pharisaism from sources such as Josephus, and a growing awareness of the diversity within Judaism beyond the classic categories of Pharisee, Sadducee, and Essene (Charlesworth 1976). The identification of the opponents as the Sadducees faces similar problems. The accusations regarding the Temple certainly indicate the priestly nature of the group, but the charge that they set up a non-Davidic monarchy (17:6) points specifically to the Hasmonean dynasty, which was supported at various times by both Sadducees and Pharisees. Thus it is more accurate to see the *Psalms* as reflecting anti-Hasmonean, rather than anti-Sadduceic, sentiment (contrast the pro-Hasmonean 1 Maccabees), a sentiment which was not uncommon in the 1st century B.C.E.

The *Psalms of Solomon* reflect the struggle Jews underwent as they attempted to reconcile a debacle at the hands of a foreign conqueror with the belief that Israel was God's chosen people. The psalmist resolves the struggle by arguing that the evils which have befallen the nation have been caused by the sin of the people (1:7–8; 2:11–13; 8:9–14, 22; 17:5–8, 19–20). Thus, he confidently asserts that God has not abandoned Israel; he has simply chastised his people, upon whom he will have mercy forever (7:3–10; 9:9–11). Such confidence finds a special focus in the hope for the Messiah, which is set forth in *Psalms* 17 and 18. The psalmist looks forward to the day when the Messiah, the son of David, will come and rid the nation of its enemies and restore Jerusalem to its proper place (17:21–25, 45). Yet the psalmist does not really see the Messiah as a military figure—his trust will be in God, not in horse or rider or bow (17:33–34). Rather, the psalmist, building on such traditional texts such as Psalm 2 and Isaiah 11, sees him as king (17:21, 32, 42), judge (17:26–29), and shepherd (17:40–41). Such an explicit and detailed messianic expectation makes the *Psalms of Solomon* an especially important witness to pre-Christian Jewish messianism.

Parallel to such nationalistic concerns are those of an individualistic nature. The precise character of the personal piety in the *Psalms of Solomon* is debated, however. Some have argued that they affirm a piety of works (Braun 1962; Lane 1982). The righteous walk according to God's commandments (14:2) and are characterized by righteousness (9:3). They confess their sins to God (9:6), repent (9:7), and endure his discipline willingly (3:4; 10:2; 14:1). God judges individuals according to their deeds (9:5). Thus, the righteous merit salvation; the piety is one of self-exaltation. Others contend that the focus of the *Psalms* is rather on the unmerited mercy of God (Büchler 1922; Sanders 1977). They are filled with thanksgiving to God for his mercy (4:6; 10:3; 13:12; 16:5–6). The righteous look to him for salvation (3:6; 16:6) and forgiveness of sins (3:8; 9:6–7; 10:1). Unlike the sinners, who receive God's punishment and whose end will be destruction (3:11; 13:11; 14:9; 15:10), the righteous receive God's discipline (13:6–11) and await resurrection to eternal life (3:11). The piety thus exalts God, not humans.

Interest in the historical allusions, the communal perspective, the messianic expectation, and the personal piety of the *Psalms of Solomon* has not been matched by an interest in their poetic structure. According to one analysis (Westermann 1981), however, the *Psalms* exhibit important developments in the basic categories of psalms. The lament psalm has evolved, for example, into the petitionary prayer without a lament (*Ps. Sol.* 12) and the prayer of repentance (*Ps. Sol.* 9). Similarly, the descriptive psalm of praise has become in some instances a one-sided praise of God's grace over his majesty (2, 3), which leads further to the praise of the righteous alongside of God (4, 6, 14, 15). On the other hand, the declarative praise of the people has seen little change (15, 16). Further work on the poetic techniques of the *Psalms* is needed.

The *Psalms of Solomon* are thus an important witness to the rich diversity within 1st century B.C.E. Judaism. The collection testifies both to the political perspective and to the personal piety of a particular group of Jews. In addition, it provides one of the outstanding examples of pre-Christian Jewish messianic hope. It is also a key document for ascertaining developments in postbiblical Jewish poetry. See also *OTP* 2: 638–70; *APOT* 2: 625–52.

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JOSEPH L. TRAFTON

SOLOMON, SONG OF. See SONG OF SONGS, BOOK OF.

SOLOMON, TESTAMENT OF. A 26-chapter pseudepigraphic folktale of the haggadic type which centers primarily on Solomon's building the Jerusalem temple with the aid of the demons under his control, and contains magic, primitive medicine, astrology, angelology, and especially demonology. (See Alexander *HJP*[2] 3/1: 372–75; Charlesworth *OTP*, 933–87; Preisendanz PWSup 8: 660–704.)

A. Contents
B. Genre and Function
C. Author, Language, Sources, Date, Provenance
D. Importance
E. Manuscripts

A. Contents

After a brief prologue, the story opens with a demon named Ornias who sucks the soul out of a boy through the boy's thumb. This lad has been inspiring the Temple artisans in their work and is therefore Solomon's favorite. When Solomon prays for help to gain power over the demon, God grants him a magical ring through the archangel Michael. The boy, given the ring, overcomes Ornias who is then made to fetch Beelzeboul, who in turn is compelled by Solomon to summon up the strange and powerful demons one by one. Solomon interrogates them and learns their names, their impious and monstrous deeds, and their "thwarting" angels. He then commits them to various punishments, usually temple-building tasks (chaps. 1–18). In the last eight chapters, Solomon hears a conflict between an old man and his son. Further he learns how the demons are able to know the future. In addition, he receives a contribution for the temple from the queen of Sheba (a "witch"). In response to a letter from the King of Arabia, Solomon sends the boy with the ring to Arabia to trap the wind demon Ephippas in a leather flask. Ephippas is brought back and, after putting the cornerstone to the temple in place, is made to fetch the Red Sea demon who informs Solomon that he had been called to aid the demons Jannes and Jambres in opposing Moses in Egypt. The demon is then commanded to hold up in the temple the pillar that Ephippas and he had retrieved from the Red Sea. The tale concludes with Solomon's tragic flaw, the love of a "Shummanite" (i.e., Shunammite) woman. He sacrifices to her gods and builds temples for them. This results in his loss of power over the demons.

B. Genre and Function

A "testament" (Gk *diathēkē*) is an ancient, venerated worthy's final discourse usually to his relatives (especially sons), but occasionally to other intimates or successors, prior to his impending death. Though the genre is fluid during the Hellenistic–Roman age, recent research (Nordheim 1980; Collins 1984) attempts to isolate three major parts: an opening narrative framework (e.g., those for whom the document is intended; the scene), a closing narrative framework (e.g., death, burial, mourners), and a central section (a historical treatment of the worthy's life, ethical exhortations, and predictions about the future). The "testament" may also include elements such as the fatal flaw of the worthy, the avoidance of temptations, or, more typically, instructions about righteousness and/or blessings and curses.

The *Testament of Solomon* does not completely conform to this description of the genre "testament": its opening and closing narrative frameworks are different and, as noted, it reads more like a haggadic folktale combined with medico-magical lore. However, like a testament it purports to be Solomon's last words, it gives instructions about the demons, it tells of Solomon's fatal flaw, and it is narrated in the first person. Moreover, two verses explicitly claim that it is a testament. In 15:14 (Recension B, Ms P) Solomon says ". . . at my death I wrote this testament to the sons of Israel and I gave (it) to them so that (they) might know the powers of the demons and their forms, as well as the names of the angels by which they are thwarted".

Further in 26:8 (Recension B), when the fallen Solomon becomes a laughingstock to the idols and demons, he concludes (Recension B), "For this reason I have written out this, my testament, in order that those who hear might pray about, and pay attention to, the last things and not to the first things, in order that they might finally find grace forever. Amen." (cf. 26:8–9, Recension A: "And I wrote this, my testament, to the Jews and bequeathed it to them as a remembrance of my end. Let my testament be guarded for you as a great mystery against the unclean spirits so that you know the devices of the evil demons and the powers of the holy angels; because a great Lord Sabaoth, the God of Israel, prevails, and he made subject to me all the demons, (and) by him was given to me a seal of an eternal testament. [9] And I died in my kingdom and was added to my fathers in peace, and the temple of the Lord God, to whom honor and worship are fitting for ever and ever was completed. Amen.").

In short, the Testament does not neatly conform to the genre, but it has some of its key elements. Because the Vienna papyrus fragment of the *Testament* is in the form of a "rotulus" (an official scroll rolled and read vertically, not in the usual horizontal fashion), R. Daniel (1983: 295) has suggested that its author may have attempted to emulate an official will = testament *(diathēkē)*. Clearly the author was transmitting information about the causes of disease, sickness, calamity, and death, and he attempted to employ a testament genre to do so. Another proposed hypothesis with regard to its function is that he sought to legitimize "white," or protective, magic among Hellenistic (Jewish?) Christians during the early centuries of Christianity when attraction to magic was increasing in Greco–Roman society, but when official Roman law could punish practitioners of "black" magic with death (Duling 1988: 100–1).

C. Author, Language, Sources, Date, Provenance

Rather widespread Jewish legends about Solomon's magical wisdom in antiquity raise the possibility that the author had a Jewish background (Duling 1975; 1984; 1985); yet, clear Christian references (6:8; 12:3; 15:10; 22:20), if these are not later additions, indicate that the author was (also?) Christian (Duling 1988). The near absence of Semitisms points to final composition in Greek, specifically the *koinē*. Similar magical traditions in other ancient literature suggest that the *Testament of Solomon* was written by the early 3d century (McCown 1922b: 3, 59–66, 106–11), but that it probably contains earlier sources, some perhaps as early as the 1st century C.E. when the legend of Solomon's magical wisdom was already well established (esp. *Ant* 8.2. 5). The latest possible date is fixed by a reference to *T. Sol.* 26:5 in the *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila,* a document F. C. Conybeare once dated about 400 C.E. (1898: 14; McCown 1922a: 15); this date is somewhat reinforced by the discovery of the 5th–6th century Vienna papyrus fragment of *Testament of Solomon* 18 (Daniel 1983; cf. Duling 1988).

The provenance of the document cannot be stated with certainty; while Babylonia and Asia Minor are not impossible, Egypt is somewhat more likely, and Syria–Palestine is not out of the question since, apart from chap. 18, Egyptian influence is mostly lacking. Egypt is probably the provenance for chap. 18 because the 36 *decans* (36 "heavenly bodies" [Gk *stoicheia*], in this case demons, each of which rules 10 degrees of the 360 degree Zodiac), often seem to have names of Egyptian origin, and Ms N equates each of the *decans* with ten days of the Coptic month. However these influences could also be later realignments of the document in Egypt since, by the time the Testament is written, *decans* are widely known in antiquity. If the latter is the case, Syria–Palestine is a real option and this location is supported by the legend of Solomon's magical wisdom there.

D. Importance

The Testament's emphasis on Solomon's knowledge of magic and the demons is not explicit in the books that are included in the Jewish canon; rather, as later writers expand Solomon's literary output (e.g., *Pss Sol.;* Wis), so various traditions develop about Solomon's magical wisdom. The root for this development is 1 Kgs 5:9–14 (LXX 4:29–34), and especially 5:13 (4:33): "He [Solomon] could talk about plants from the cedar in Lebanon to the hyssop growing on the wall; and he could talk of animals, and birds and reptiles and fish." In the Hellenistic world such knowledge was typical of magicians. The LXX of the 1 Kings passage states that Solomon composed 5,000 "odes" (*ōdai,* LXX 4:32; MT 1 Kgs 5:12 has 1,004 "songs"), which may have suggested magical "incantations" (*epōdai, Ant* 8.2. 5). Correspondingly, when Josephus describes Solomon's unsurpassed magical wisdom and knowledge, he demonstrates it with the magician Eleazar's exorcism of a demon by means of Solomon's name and "incantations" *(epōdai),* and a root prescribed by Solomon which is placed under a magical ring (the magical ring is also in the Talmud and the *Testament*). Thus, the writings of Josephus in the 1st century C.E. make clear and unmistakable the meaning of the reference to Solomon's understanding of nature in this 1 Kings passage (*Ant* 8.2.5: "every kind of tree from the hyssop to the cedar"; "birds and all kinds of terrestrial creatures and those that swim and those that fly"). Probably the same 1 Kings passage, or at least the tradition built on it, is in mind in Wis 7:15–22 where Solomon is said to know astrology, "powers of roots," and "forces of spirits."

The evidence for the Solomonic magical tradition is rather extensive. Solomon's magical wisdom was probably known among the Essenes (11 QPsApa [Psalm 91]; cf. *War* 2.8.6 on Essene healing and *j. Šabb.* 6:8b, *j. ʿErub.* 10:26c, and *b. Šebu.* 15b on Psalm 91) and to the 1st century author of *Pseudo-Philo* (*L. A. B.* 60). It was certainly known among the Rabbis (esp. *b. Giṭ.* 68ab [the stone-cutting worm legend, cf. 1 Kgs 6:7]; also *Exod. Rab.* 52.4; *Midr. Cant.* 1.1, 5; *Num. Rab.* 11.3; *Pesiq. R.* 6.7; *b. Meg.* 11b; *Pesiq. Rab. Kah.; Tg. Esth. II;* cf. *j. Ber.* 10a; *Pesaḥ.* 56a), the gnostics (NHC II,5:*107*,3; V,5:*78*,30 and *79*,3; VII,2:*63*,11; IX,3:*70*,6,27), the Mandaeans (*Ginza* right, 190), and in the popular Jewish magical traditions of Palestine (*Ant* 8.2.5; *Sepher ha-Razim;* amulets), of Babylonia (the Aramaic Incantation Bowls), and of Egypt (PGM IV.850–929; 3007–86; XCII.1–16; Zosimus; perhaps Hygromancie of Solomon, if early).

The books of the NT canon do not refer directly to Solomon's magical wisdom. However, there is an oblique reference to "something greater than Solomon" in a context of wisdom and demon exorcism (Matt 12:42). Several

modern scholars (Fisher 1968; Lövestam 1972; 1974; Berger 1973; Duling 1975) have in varying ways attempted to relate the distinctive use of the Synoptic Gospel title "Son of David" in healing contexts (Mark 10:46–52 = Matt 20:29–34 = Luke 18:35–43; Matt 9:27; 12:23; 21:9; contrast Mark 12:35–37 = Matt 22:41–45 = Luke 20:41–44) to this tradition since there is no surviving Jewish text which correlates the traditional Davidic messiah with healing. Yet curiously Solomon is called "Son of David" in the later Aramaic Incantation Bowl texts from 5th-century Babylon. The Gk of the Testament is very much like that of the NT, and certain aspects of the apocryphal, pseudepigraphical, and NT world of angelology and demonology can be illuminated by the *Testament of Solomon* (3, 6: Beelzeboul; on Luke 10:17–18, cf. *T. Sol.* 20:15–17).

While both Rabbinic and Christian writings know of a tradition that Hezekiah suppressed Solomon's magical books (McCown 1922a; cf. Hippolytus, *Commentary on Canticles*), it is clear the magical wisdom of Solomon was popular in some Jewish, Greek, and notably early Christian circles (McCown 1922a; cf. esp. Origen, *In Mattheum comm. ser.* [tract. 33] 110). The Solomon legend was also very popular in Arab folklore (Salzberger 1907), as the Testament itself helps to demonstrate, and traces of it can be found in Ethiopian literature. Nor did the interest in Solomon diminish; a great number of scientific and magical books were attributed to Solomon in Judaism and Christianity in the medieval period and beyond, as the preservation of mss shows.

E. Manuscripts

C. C. McCown's critical edition of the *Testament of Solomon* (1922b) was planned on the basis of 10 mss which he divided into three recensions, i.e., A (= Mss HIL), B (= Mss PQ), and C (= Mss STUVW). He decided on an eclectic text founded on Recensions A and B. McCown also printed separately three other mss: a shorter demonologically-oriented biography (Ms D) which he thought contained the original story (hypothetical *d*) behind the *Testament of Solomon*, and two mss discovered shortly before publication, namely, Ms E, closest to Ms D, and Ms N, mainly Recension B. A. Delatte later published another short version (1927). Since these surviving mss were written down from the 15th to the 18th centuries, K. Preisendanz's discovery (in the Austrian Nationalbibliothek) and publication (1956a) of a *papyrus* fragment of *T. Sol.* 18:34–40 (P. Vindob. G 330) dated to the 5th/6th century C.E. is extremely important. In 1983, R. Daniel published a slightly revised edition of the fragment, extended it to include 18:33, and added two previously unpublished fragments from the same column (29436 and 35939), that is, 18:27–28. The Vienna papyrus fragments indicate that at least chap. 18 was known at an early date and, if it was already part of the *Testament of Solomon*, as Duling has argued (Duling 1988: 91–96), these fragments give added support to the theory of a relatively early dating for the document as a whole. Finally, G. Graf has listed an unedited 17th-century Arabic ms in the Vatican Library; this may be related to a ms found by J. H. Charlesworth in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Bib. Nat. Fonds Syriaque 194, ff. 153a–156b [but is Graf's "ethical exhortation" to Solomon's son Rehoboam really *Testament of Solomon* or the so-called Hygromancie of Solomon?]). Charlesworth notes one other text (Vat. ar. 448, ff. 39r–54r).

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DENNIS C. DULING

SOLOMON, WISDOM OF. The Wisdom of Solomon is an exhortatory discourse, punctuated by an encomiastic invocation of Wisdom. It was written in Greek by a learned and profoundly Hellenized Jew of Alexandria, after that city's conquest by Rome in 30 B.C.E. By that time the earlier optimism of the Alexandrian Jewish community for a growing rapprochement with the Greeks and for social and cultural acceptance by them had been replaced by a mounting sense of disillusionment and disappointment. In contrast to Pseudo-Aristeas' mild criticisms of heathen cults, the author of Wisdom's wrathful exhibition of the innumerable crimes and corruptions connected with pagan idolatry and his unrestrained attacks on Egyptian theriolatry are an unmistakable sign of the complete rupture which had in his time sundered the Jewish community from the native Egyptians and Greeks.

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A. Contents

The Wisdom of Solomon is readily divided into three parts: (I) Wisdom's Gift of Immortality (1:1–6:21); (II) The Nature and Power of Wisdom and Solomon's Quest for Her (6:22–10:21); and (III) Divine Wisdom or Justice in the Exodus (chaps. 11–19), with two excursuses, one on Divine Mercy (11:15–12:22), the other on Idolatry (chaps. 13–15).

Part I begins with an address to the pagan rulers of the earth to pursue justice or wisdom, while admonishing those whose deviant behavior will inevitably result in their destruction (1:1–16). In diatribe style the wicked are then allowed to speak for themselves. Convinced that life is chance, and death final, they inevitably conclude that one ought to derive maximum enjoyment from the pleasures at hand without regard for moral scruple. Blinded by their own malice, they are ignorant of God's mysteries, and thus pass up the prize of immortality. Harking back to his earlier statement concerning those who have covenanted with Death, the author points out that though God had indeed created man as an immortal image of his own proper being, through the devil's envy, Death has nevertheless entered into the cosmic order, to be experienced by his devotees (chap. 2).

Next an attempt is made to deal with various paradoxes which beset the question of divine reward and retribution. The suffering and death of the just, we are told, are in reality only brief episodes of trial in the immortal destiny of righteous souls which will bring them peace, future glorification, rulership over nations, and a special divine illumination (3:1–12). The barren woman whose life has been pure shall be fruitful at the great assize of souls, and the righteous eunuch will receive a portion in the temple of the Lord. Bastard offspring, on the other hand, will be cut off, so that even childlessness is to be preferred, if accompanied by virtue (3:13–4:6). Moreover, early death is not necessarily an evil, since it may actually signify early removal to safety through divine providence, and true length of life is in any case not to be measured chronologically but by the attainment of wisdom (4:7–20). A portrait is also provided of the ultimate vindication of the just which apparently involves their elevation to heaven to be among the angelic host, and of the final remorse of the wicked when they come to the full realization of their former folly.

There follows a vivid description of the divine judgment, in which the cosmic elements join battle to crush the all-encompassing power of wickedness (5:1–23). The author concludes this part of his work with a second exhortation, this time to Wisdom, which from this point on becomes the explicit theme of the book, usurping the place of the various synonyms earlier employed in conjunction with her. The lords of the far corners of the earth (the reference is probably to Roman rule under Augustus or one of his early successors) are to take note of the fact that their sovereignty is God-given, and that their criminal acts will be relentlessly scrutinized and punished. It therefore behooves them to seek Wisdom so that they may keep the divine ordinances (6:1–11). This task, we are assured, offers no insuperable obstacles, for Wisdom actually anticipates her lovers, and graciously seeks out those worthy of her. Employing the *sorites*, a standard chain syllogism frequently found in Hellenistic philosophical writings, the author eloquently argues that the desire for Wisdom leads to sovereignty (6:12–21).

In Part II, which forms the core of the book, we find the author at his best. With engaging imagery he describes his unwavering search for the great passion of his life, and with an unbridled exuberance he limns the exalted attributes of his beloved Wisdom. Without mentioning Solomon by name, in accordance with a stylistic feature of certain genres of Hellenistic literature, he nevertheless now clearly identifies himself with that illustrious king. In the opening section, the author promises to reveal the nature and origin of Wisdom (6:22–25). He informs us that he loved Wisdom and desired her above all else, though he quickly discovered that all other good things are also eventually acquired along with her (7:7–14). However, God is the sole source of Wisdom, and her scope includes the entire range of knowledge (7:15–21). Wisdom's twenty-one attributes, borrowed largely from Greek philosophy, are enumerated, followed by an elaborate fivefold metaphor describing her essence and unique efficacy. She is pictured as entering generation by generation into holy souls, rendering them friends of God and prophets. She surpasses even the celestial lights, and nothing can prevail over her (7:22–30). She is God's companion, and Solomon sought to make her his bride, knowing that through her he would have immortality (8:1–16).

There follows a very moving prayer in which the king, acknowledging his feebleness and ephemeral nature, beseeches his Lord to send forth from the holy heavens his throne companion, Wisdom, who was present at the world's creation, to be his guide and guardian (9:1–12). Mortal reason is at best precarious, weighed down as it is by a perishable tent of clay. It is only God's holy spirit of Wisdom descending from on high which has taught men what is pleasing to Him, and has brought them salvation (9:13–18). Part II concludes with a detailed recitation of Wisdom's saving power in history from Adam through Moses and the Exodus (10:1–21).

Part III is constituted by an elaborate *synkrisis*, or comparison, in which the author proceeds with a series of antitheses in order to illustrate the theme that Egypt was punished measure for measure, whereas Israel was benefited by those very things whereby Egypt was punished. This section contains two excursuses. The shorter one (11:15–12:22) concerns the nature of God's mercy as illustrated by his treatment of the Canaanites, whose loathsome practices included sorcery, licentious mystery rites, infanticide, and cannibalism. Though their seed was evil and their viciousness innate, they, too, were nevertheless judged gradually to afford them a chance to repentance (12:3–18). God's mercy thus serves as a model lesson for Israel, to teach them humanity, and at the same time to instill in them confidence in their own relationship with the Deity (12:19–22).

In his second and rather long excursus on the nature of idolatry (chaps. 13–15), those who worship nature are chided for not pressing their search beyond visible reality, which, for all its beauty and dynamic character, only points to its supreme Author. Though not entirely culpable, since they are at least searching for the Deity, neither are they to be excused, for if they were resourceful enough to infer the "Universe," they should certainly have discovered its Master (13:1–9). More blameworthy, however, are the wretches who worship images, addressing their prayers to lifeless objects that are entirely impotent (13:10–19). The author now seeks to explain the origin of idolatry, which he claims did not exist from the beginning but came into the world through the empty illusions of men. A father consumed with untimely grief made an image of the child so suddenly taken from him, honoring him as a god, and handed down to his descendants mysteries and initiation rites. Again, absent rulers were honored by means of images which the artists had overly beautified in order to please their sovereigns, which resulted in the masses mistaking them for objects of worship. This turned out to be the one great trap of human life, for idolatry is the source of every moral corruption (14:12–31).

There follow six further antitheses between the Egyptians and the Israelites (16:1–19:8). The first antithesis (11:1–14) had contrasted the change of the Nile water into blood with the abundant water provided to the Israelites from the desert rock. The second antithesis (16:1–4) now describes the hungering of the Egyptians as a result of the hideousness of the creatures sent to plague them, whereas Israel, after only briefly suffering want, came to enjoy the exotic delicacy of quail food. In the third antithesis (16:5–14), the Egyptians are slain by locusts and flies, but Israel survives a serpent attack through the bronze serpent, symbol of salvation. In the fourth antithesis (16:15–29), the Egyptians are plagued by thunderstorms, while Israel is fed by a rain of manna. The fifth antithesis (17:1–18:4) provides a rhetorically elaborate description of the psychological terror occasioned by the plague of darkness. Deftly and almost imperceptibly the author moves from the physical contrast between darkness and light to the spiritual one which sees in the Egyptian moral villains obsessed with a bad conscience, and in Israel ethical heroes destined to illumine the world with the light of the Torah. In the sixth antithesis (18:5–25), the Egyptian firstborn are destroyed, but Israel is protected and glorified. In the seventh and final antithesis (19:1–9), the Egyptians are drowned in the sea, but Israel passes safely through. The book concludes with the conventional doxology: "For in every way, O Lord, you exalted and glorified your people, and did not neglect to assist them in every time and place" (19:22).

B. Structure

Although many earlier scholars had cavalierly carved the book of Wisdom up into a confusing disarray of units, recent scholarship has succeeded in demonstrating the structual unity of the book and the skill with which it was put together. Fichtner (1938), Maries (1908), and Pfeiffer (1949) had already noted some of its repetitions of vocabulary, but Reese (1965) was the first to recognize the author's skillful use of the rhetorical device of *inclusio* in order to mark off many sections of his work, and his attempt to structure the book on that basis. A recent detailed analysis of Wisdom's structure is provided by Offerhaus (1981).

C. Authorship

The history of the critical literature dealing with Wisdom parallels to some extent that dealing with the Homeric question. By the middle of the 18th century we begin hearing the voices of those who, like the ancient grammarians who ascribed the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to different authors, sought to carve the book up and assign its various parts to diverse authors. In 1795, the year in which F. A. Wolff's *Prolegomena ad Homerum* was published, J. G. Eichhorn (*Einleitung in die apokryphischen schriften des A. T.*, pp. 88–90, 142–49), separated the first ten chapters from the rest, explaining the disharmony between the two parts, either by attributing the second part to another writer, or considering it a product of the earlier years of the author of the first part. A few years later, J. C. C. Nachtigal (*Die Versammlungen der Weisen*, II. Teil: *Das Buch der Weisheit*, pp. 8, 11, 82–192), presented his bizarre view that Wisdom was a mosaic, to which no fewer than 79 wise men had contributed.

All these attempts, however, were soon demolished by Carl Grimm's great commentary, which demonstrated that the unity of Wisdom was guaranteed by the uniformity of language and style characterizing the whole (1860: 15). After a hundred-year gap, however, the search for multiple authorship revived. Focke (1913) divided the book into two parts (chaps. 1–5; 6–19), but suggested that the author of the second part may also have been the translator of the Hebrew original of the first part. More recently, Georgi (1980) considered it to be the product of a collective process. Others, like Gregg (1909), Goodrick (1913), Ficht-

ner (1938), Pfeiffer (1949), and Reese (1983), continued to maintain unity of authorship, and this remains the consensus.

D. Language and Style

The strongest argument for the unity of Wisdom may be drawn from its language and style. In spite of some Hebrew coloring, such as *parallelismus membrorum*, Hebraisms, and the simple connection of clauses by conjunctions such as *kai, de, dia touto, dio, gar,* and *hoti,* Grimm has correctly pointed out that the author's Greek was on the whole rich and spontaneous, and that St. Jerome's judgment that his style was "redolent of Greek eloquence" was completely justified. Thus the author of Wisdom is quite capable of constructing sentences in true periodic style (cf. 12:27; 13:11–15), and his fondness for compound words is almost Aeschylean. His manner at times has the light touch of Greek lyric poetry (cf. 17:17–19; 2:6–9; 5:9–13), and occasionally his words fall into an iambic or hexameter rhythm. He employs *chiasmus* (1:1, 4, 8; 3:15), *hyperbaton* (240 examples), the *sorites* (6:17–20), antithesis, accumulation of epithets (*accumulatio;* 7:22–23), alliteration, assonance, *homoioteleuton, paranomasia, isokōlia,* (balance of clauses), *litotes, anaphora* (chap. 10), and Greek philosophical terminology.

These characteristics, in addition to the author's many favorite "theme" words and expressions which recur throughout the work, argue for unity of authorship, and make the hypothesis that Wisdom is a translation of a Hebrew original virtually untenable. (The Aramaic hypothesis has also had its advocates; Azariah dei Rossi in the 16th century and Zimmermann [1966] in the 20th.) Significant, too, is Wisdom's quotation in 2:12 of the LXX of Isa 3:10, which is radically different from the Hebrew, and of Isa 44:20 and Job 9:12, 19 (in 15:10 and 12:12), a fact which compelled Margoliouth (1900) to conclude that the Greek translators of Isaiah had utilized the Greek text of Wisdom. Although it is possible to maintain that the author may have used an earlier Hebrew document or documents deriving from Palestine in the composition of chaps. 1–10, we should nevertheless have to admit that they were not simply translated by him but rather served as the raw material for a new literary production.

E. Genre

The literary genre employed by the author of Wisdom, as Focke (1913: 86) had already noted, is the *logos protreptikos* or exhortatory discourse. According to the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* (1421b21), "exhortation *(protropē)* is an attempt to urge people to some line of speech or action," and "one delivering an exhortation must prove that the courses to which he exhorts are just, lawful, expedient, honorable, pleasant, and easily practicable (cf. Wis 6:12–14; 8:7, 10, 16, 18). The protreptic was a union of philosophy and rhetoric which originated with the Sophists, whose sham productions were criticized in Plato's *Euthydemus,* which preserves the earliest example of the genre (278E–282D). Socrates' questioning of Cleinias in that section of the dialogue which serves as an illustration of what he desires a hortatory argument to be, leads to the following conclusion: "Since you think wisdom is both teachable and the only thing in the world that makes man happy and fortunate, can you help saying that it is necessary to pursue it and that you intend to do so?"

More recently, P. Bizetti (1984: 55–80), following the lead of P. Beauchamp and M. Gilbert, has sought to demonstrate that Wisdom belongs to the genre of the encomium. The latter is an epideictic discourse which aims at persuading the hearer to admire someone or practice some virtue. Its main parts are: (1) an exordium which introduces and sums up the theme; (2) a eulogy which usually includes a description of the *genos* (ancestry immediate and remote) of the subject of the encomium; (3) the latter's *praxeis* or praiseworthy actions; (4) a *synkrisis* or extended comparison in order to contrast opposite lines of action; and (5) an epilogue with a concluding prayer (cf. Winston 1986).

The protreptic discourse readily lent itself to the incorporation of diatribe, the popular moral invective so characteristic of the Hellenistic period, and Wisdom contains a number of diatribal features: personified abstractions (1:4–6, 8, 16; chaps. 7–10; 18:15); speeches of an imaginary adversary (chaps. 2 and 5); imaginary objections of the adversary accompanied with answers (13:6–9); simple paratactic style (chaps. 1–6); parallelism, *isokōla,* and antitheses (chaps. 1–10); *accumulatio* (7:22–23; 14–25); evocation of mythological heroes or wise men (4:10; 10); elaborate similies (5:10–12); protreptic conclusion with monitory imperatives aimed at deflecting the evildoer from his path (6:1–11); and invective (chaps. 13–15).

F. Date

No consensus has thus far emerged regarding the date of Wisdom, and various scholars have placed it anywhere between 220 B.C.E. and 50 C.E. There is virtual agreement that the author made use of the LXX version of Isaiah which would carry us at least to the end of the 3d century B.C.E. Zeller (1963: 295, n. 1), however, had already suggested that the address to the rulers of the four corners of the earth (6:1) referred to the period of Roman rule, and that the reference to the remoteness of the rulers' dwelling in 14:17 indicated more specifically the age of Augustus.

Although many commentators have interpreted Wisdom 14:16–20 as referring to the period of the Ptolemies, such a view seems to be very unlikely. First, the reference to the remoteness of the rulers' dwelling readily applies to Egypt under Augustus (and his immediate successors), who organized it not as a province under designated military authority, but as his own private domain, and ruled it in absentia through a prefect chosen from the knights. More important, however, is the fact that the Ptolemies had openly and explicitly proclaimed themselves gods, and had established a full dynastic cult, centrally organized with a hierarchy of provincial priests appointed by the crown, whereas our passage envisages a process which only gradually led to the idolatrous worship of rulers, a situation which can only apply to the Augustan period.

The linguistic evidence also points to a period not earlier than that of Augustus. Some 35 words or usages are first attested in Wisdom and do not appear in secular Greek literature before the 1st century C.E. Further considerations, however, seem to point to the reign of Gaius "Caligula" (37–41 C.E.) as the likeliest setting for Wisdom. The

apocalyptic vision in which the author describes the annihilation of the wicked with such ferocious passion (5:16–23) could only be called forth by a desperate historical situation in which the security of the Jewish community of Alexandria was dangerously threatened by a power against which it was hopeless to put up any serious resistance. The riots which broke out in Alexandria in 38 C.E. involved the demolition of many synagogues, and above all a proclamation by the Roman prefect A. Avillius Flaccus declaring the Jews "aliens and foreigners" (Philo, *Flacc* 54) in Alexandria. This measure, as Smallwood (1976: 240) put it, "degraded them from their legal status of resident aliens, on which the existence of the *politeuma* depended, to that of aliens without the right of domicile. Legally they could now all be expelled." Although Flaccus was soon executed, "the situation remained unstable and the Jews lacked security for a further two years and a half, until their rights were officially and explicitly re-established by Claudius in 41" (Smallwood 1976: 242).

Most commentators have assumed an Egyptian provenance for Wisdom (Zimmermann 1966: 132–33 and Georgi 1980: 396, however, opt for Syria), and in this they are undoubtedly correct. The intensity of the author's hatred of the Egyptians can only reflect the persecution of the Jewish community in Alexandria at the hands of the Greeks aided and abetted by the native Egyptians. It is difficult not to see an allusion to contemporary conditions in Egypt in the manner in which the author imputes greater blame to Egypt than even to Sodom (19:13–17).

G. Religious Ideas

1. Preexistence and Immortality of the Soul. In pointing out the superior endowments of young Solomon, the author of Wisdom began by designating the human body as the personal subject which receives the soul (8:19, "having had a noble soul fall to my lot"). However, since he was not satisfied with his initial formulation, and felt constrained to correct it, we must conclude that the words "or rather being noble, I entered an undefiled body," are meant to suggest the preexistence of souls of varying spiritual capacities, and that in the case of Solomon it was a noble soul that had taken the initiative of entering an undefiled body. In this the author was plainly associating himself to some extent with Platonic doctrine, though at the same time suppressing the major elements of Plato's myth about the procession of souls and the fall of some of them into bodies. That this is so may be further inferred from the fact that in 9:15, he reproduces the distinctive Platonic dualism regarding body and soul, replete with verbal echoes from the *Phaedo* (81C) and *Phaedrus* (247B).

It is essential at this point to emphasize those elements in Plato's theory of soul which are conspicuously absent in Wisdom. We have already alluded to the author's suppression of the conception of the soul's fall. This particular omission, however, is neither surprising nor really at variance with Middle Platonism. Although in the *Phaedrus*, the incarnation of souls seems to be the result of an intellectual "fall," in the *Timaeus*, the soul seems to be destined from the beginning to give life to a body. Mortal creatures came into being so that the universe would not be imperfect, which would be the case if it did not contain all the kinds of living being (41 B–C). Middle Platonists had already noted this inconsistency in Plato's writings and attempted to resolve it by emphasizing one or the other of these positions, the majority apparently opting for the pessimistic rather than the optimistic view. It is thus evident, that in suppressing the pessimistic view, the author of Wisdom, though clearly under the influence of Jewish tradition, was not necessarily being innovative even from the Greek point of view, but was simply aligning himself with that Middle Platonic position which was most congenial to his own way of thinking.

Although it is usually claimed that the author of Wisdom never speaks of the immortal nature of the soul as such, as Greek philosophers do, and makes immortality depend on the soul's practice of justice, this assertion thus baldly put is an overstatement. In the first place, Wisdom 2:33, according to which God created man for immortality and made him an image of his own proper being, clearly implies that man's immortality derives from the fact that his soul is an image of the divine Wisdom, the "proper being" of the Deity. Second, even according to some versions of the Platonic myths concerning the soul, we are told that some souls are "judged incurable because of the enormity of their crimes and are hurled into Tartarus, whence they never more emerge" (*Phd.* 113E; cf. *Grg.* 525C; *Resp.* 615E). Nevertheless, it is true that for Plato, the majority of souls are eventually purified through a process of purgation and thus have a natural claim to immortality, and that the Platonists usually offer proofs for immortality from the very nature of the soul, whereas the author of Wisdom places the emphasis not on this natural claim but on whether or not one has lived righteously. In so doing, however, he follows the same path pursued by Philo, who implies that only the souls of the wise enjoy immortality (*Quaes Gen* 1.16; *Op* 154; *Conf* 149). Both he and Philo were undoubtedly influenced in this by biblical tradition, but at the same time could claim to be following the Stoic view adopted by Chrysippus, though without the latter's limitation on the preservation of wise souls only until the next world conflagration (*SVF* 2.809, 811).

The centrality of Wisdom's theory of immortality represents a new emphasis in the history of Jewish tradition, although it must be seen as part of a continuous development in Hellenistic Jewish thought. According to *1 En.* 102:5, the spirits of the righteous descend to sheol, but at the judgment will ascend to a life of joy as companions of the hosts of heaven (103:3–4; 104:6). *Jub.* 23:31 seems to presume an immediate assumption of the spirit, and in *T. Ash.* 6:5–6, the soul of the righteous is led by the angel of peace into eternal life. Finally, in *4 Maccabees*, roughly contemporary with Wisdom, the patriarchs are already in heaven ready to receive the souls of those who have died for the sake of God (7:19; 13:17; 16:25). Wisdom's doctrine of the preexistent soul, on the other hand, may be the earliest attestation of this teaching in Jewish literature (cf. *2 En.* 23:4–5; *2 Bar.* 23:5).

2. Eschatology. The author's eschatological descriptions form a sort of chiaroscuro, lacking any clear definition. He moves fitfully through alternating patches of darkness and light, almost deliberately blurring the points of transition. The picture which emerges is somewhat confused, but its broad outlines are nevertheless not diffi-

cult to draw. The just souls, after passing through the crucible of suffering during their earthly existence, are portrayed as being in the hand of God and perfectly at peace (either in some neutral zone in Hades, or more likely in Heaven). Conversely, the wicked who had oppressed their weaker brothers with apparent impunity, become ignominious carcasses, eternal objects of outrage among the dead. The picture is now abruptly transposed to the "moment of God's gracious dispensation," when the just will blaze forth and in contrast to their formerly passive though peaceful state, will be rendered eminently active. Taking his indignation as full armor, and employing the elemental forces of nature as his weapons, God will now devastate and smash the lawless kingdoms of the earth, thus inaugurating a new, transhistorical era of divine rule. Screened by the divine power, and in receipt of royal insignia of the highest majesty, the just souls (now clearly among the angelic hosts) will, as God's agents, judge the nations of the world, while enjoying an unsurpassed vision of the truth. But what was a gracious dispensation for the just will constitute the day of reckoning for the souls of the wicked, who are pictured as coming forward cringing to be convicted to their face by their own criminal acts. It is not clear, however, whether the wicked face a double judgment, one immediately after death, and a second one at the time of the gracious visitation of the just, or whether they are at first automatically hurled speechless into the depths of Hades, only later to face formal charges in the presence of their former victims.

3. Torah and Sophia. The central figure which strides across the book is Sophia or Dame Wisdom, appearing at first under a variety of names (chap. 1), then gradually coming into sharper focus, until she begins to dominate the stage completely (6:12ff.). But then she recedes into the background and merges almost imperceptibly with the Deity, only suddenly to emerge one last time in full power under one of her alternate titles (18:15). She is no innovation of the author of Wisdom, but had already made her appearance as a cosmic force in Proverbs (8:22–31; 1:20–33) and Job (28:12–28) under the guise of a charming female figure playing always before Yahweh, after having been created by Him at the beginning of His work (Prov 8:30).

The figure of Wisdom also has obvious roots in ANE myth. Hu and Sia, for example, are in Egyptian tradition the creative word and the understanding of the high god Re-Atum, personified and separated from their originator. Similarly, Egyptian Maat is a personification of the concept *maat* or right order in nature and society (originally a function of the high god) who became the daughter of Re, and was vouchsafed a cult of her own. According to one text, "Re has created Maat, he rejoices over her, he delights in her, his heart is joyful when he sees her" (Ringgren 1947: 49–52; Kayatz 1966: 93–119). Examples from the Akkadian sphere are Mešaru and Kettu, Righteousness and Right, who were sometimes conceived only as qualities of the sun-god or as gifts granted by him, and sometimes in a more concrete way as personal beings, independent deities (Ringgren 1947: 53–58). We also have an early Semitic reference (6th century B.C.E.) to Wisdom who is dear to the gods in *The Words of Ahiqar* 94–95 (found at Elephantine): "For all time the kingdom is hers. In heaven is she established, for the lord of holy ones has exalted her" (*ANET*, 428).

Wisdom appears again in The Wisdom of Ben Sira (ca. 180 B.C.E.), a Jewish Palestinian work which, having been translated into Greek, left a distinct mark on Wisdom. Both books, for example, use virtually identical images to describe their authors' ardent pursuit of Wisdom, and both place a similar emphasis on God's mercy. Like Proverbs 8, Ben Sira describes Wisdom as having been created from the very beginning (1:4; 24:9), and as having been infused into all of God's works (1:9). She is further described as traversing the entire cosmos, but finally, at the divine behest, making her home in Israel, in God's beloved city of Jerusalem (24:3–12). More important, going beyond the book of Deuteronomy which had identified the laws of the Torah with wisdom (4:6), Ben Sira identified Wisdom with Torah (24:23), "as a result of which both were conceived together as a heavenly element which descended from heaven to take up its abode among the children of Israel" (Weinfeld 1972: 256; cf. Collins 1977). The author thereby reached the uneasy compromise of a Divine Wisdom which pervades the cosmos, yet maintains its focus in Zion and in the teachings of the Torah, which thus achieves a new universal significance.

In Proverbs, Job, and Ben Sira, however, Wisdom is not yet strictly speaking an hypostasis as that term was broadly defined by Oesterley and Box (1911: 169), i.e., "a quasi personification of certain attributes proper to God, occupying an intermediate position between personalities and abstract beings," since according to these texts she is only the first creation of God. In Philo and Wisdom, on the other hand, where Sophia is considered to be an eternal emanation of the Deity, we undoubtedly have a conception of her as a divine hypostasis, coeternal with Him.

In the light of this tradition of Wisdom speculation, it is no longer difficult to understand why the author of our text chose the Wisdom figure as the mediator of his own message to his contemporaries. She was the perfect bridge between the exclusive nationalist tradition of Israel and the universalist philosophical tradition which appealed so strongly to the Jewish youth of Roman Alexandria. Moreover, as Reese and Mack have recently shown, the author of Wisdom skillfully adapted the Isis aretalogies for his own use in describing Sophia (Reese 1970: 36–50; Mack 1973: 63–107). The cult of Isis and Sarapis was one of the most popular of the oriental religions from the 4th century B.C.E. to the 4th century C.E., though its peak of popularity was reached in the 2d century C.E. The goddess Isis was a savior and revealer, linked to the pursuit of wisdom and associated with the throne. In a relief of the Ptolemaic temple at Esna, she is said to give the king kingship "for the duration of eternity and perpetuity" (Sauneron 1962–1975: 307, 24; cf. Wisdom 6:21). Like Sophia (Wisdom 8:4), she is called *mystis*, initiate, (*P. Oxy.* 1380.111); and, like Hu and Sia, she is an associate of Re, accompanying him in the sun bark and having complete knowledge of his workings. It may be noted that Gaius, who had decorated a room (the *Aula Isiaca*) in his palace on the Palatine with paintings depicting numerous Egyptian religious symbols, had built a temple to Isis, and had instituted Isiac mysteries in which he is said to have participated himself while dressed in female garb (*Ant* 19.1.1.5, 30). Cleopatra VII

was said to have dressed as Isis and to have given audiences under the name of *Nea Isis* (Plut. *Vit. Ant.* 54; see Kloppenborg 1982). It was not only fitting, but also politic, for the author of Wisdom to reclaim the falsely appropriated *aretai* for Her to whom they truly belonged, the remythologized Sophia.

4. Logos and Sophia. The most remarkable feature about the author's description of Sophia is that he depicts her as an effluence or emanation of God's glory. Most Middle Platonists seem to have avoided such a conception, but it was apparently adopted by some of the neo-Pythagoreans, and was clearly implied by Philo, who often "Pythagorizes," though in this case he may have gotten the notion from the Middle Stoa. Since, according to the writer, Wisdom pervades the entire cosmos and yet at the same time enjoys intimacy with God (7:24; 8:1, 3), it may be said that there is an aspect of God's essence in everything, including the human mind, which yet remains inseparable from God. The only thing comparable to this view in ancient Jewish thought is Philo's similar notion of an all-penetrating Divine Logos which reaches into each man's mind, thus converting it into an extension of the Divine Mind, albeit a very fragmentary one (*Quod Det* 90: *Gig* 27; *Leg All* 1 37–38). Like Philo, too, the author of Wisdom evidently teaches that God created the world by means of Wisdom. Although this statement that "God made all things by his word *(logo)*, and through his wisdom *(sophia)* framed man" (9:1–2) is in itself ambiguous, since it is by no means clear that "word" and "wisdom" here refer to Logos/Sophia, the matter appears to be settled by the description of Wisdom as "chooser of God's works" (8:4). This phrase clearly implies that Wisdom is identical with the Divine Mind through which the Deity acts. In the light of this, the assertion that "with you is Wisdom who knows your works and was present when you created the world" (9:9) must signify that Wisdom contains the paradigmatic patterns of all things (cf. 9:8) and serves as the instrument of their creation.

5. Pursuing Wisdom. In depicting Sophia, the author is all aglow with a burning enthusiasm that fills the verses dealing directly with her with a luminous and passionate intensity. His confident words convey a conviction, evidently confirmed by his personal experience, that Wisdom is easily found by those who seek her, to the point of even anticipating them in their search (6:12–16). He speaks of his love for her and his seeking to make her his bride so that he might live with her (8:9; 7:28; 8:16). It is noteworthy that the terms of the description of Wisdom's union with God correspond very closely to those of the description of the student's union with Wisdom. This undoubtedly implies that man's ultimate goal is union with God, which may, however, be achieved only through union with his Wisdom, which is but one of his aspects (*TDNT* 7: 499). This union with Sophia is possible because of man's kinship with her (8:17), through his possession of a mind permeated by the intelligent spirit of Wisdom (7:23–24). But if Wisdom is already present in man's mind, as she is indeed in every part of the universe, what is the significance of man's hot pursuit of her and the need for special supplication to the Lord to send her down from his heavenly throne (9:10)? We have already seen that Wisdom is both immanent and transcendent (she pervades the universe, yet remains in unbroken union with God), so that both forms of description may easily be interchanged depending on the particular focus of the writer. The Neoplatonist Proclus later provides a concise expression of this bifocal perspective: "The gods are present alike to all things; not all things, however are present alike to the gods, but each order has a share in their presence proportioned to its station and capacity, some things receiving them as unities and others as manifolds, some perpetually and others for a time, some incorporeally and others through the body" (*Elements* 142). From the human viewpoint, the Divine Wisdom enters man and departs; from the eternal perspective of God, however, it is ever present to man, though its consummation in any particular case is conditioned by the fitness of the recipient. Hence our author speaks in no uncertain terms of "desire for instruction" (6:17), "training in Wisdom's society" (8:18), and the need for predawn vigilance on her behalf (6:14–15).

The author's highly charged language with reference to Sophia seems to allude to a mystical encounter, and although the more precise delineation of the nature of this type of encounter which is afforded by Philo is missing in Wisdom, the latter's description seems more intensely personal and therefore less likely to be a purely intellectual exercise.

6. The Nature and Efficacy of Wisdom. As the Divine Mind immanent within the universe and guiding and controlling all its dynamic operations, Wisdom represents the entire range of natural science, in addition to the arts, rhetoric, and philosophy. She is man's counselor and comforter and bestows riches and glory on her own, though her greatest boon is the gift of immortality (7:16–21; 14:2; 8:7–13). Above all, she is synonymous with Divine Providence, controlling historical events, and in each generation guiding the friends of God and inspiring his prophets (7:27; 14:3). Unlike Ben Sira, the author of Wisdom nowhere explicitly identifies Wisdom with Torah, and aside from a marginal reference in 18:9 to the Passover sacrifice, makes no mention of the sacrificial cult. Wisdom is conceived by him as a direct bearer of revelation, functioning through the workings of the human mind, and supreme arbiter of all values. She is clearly the Archetypal Torah, of which the Mosaic Torah is but an image. When he insists that unless God send his Wisdom down from on high men would not comprehend God's will (9:17), he is certainly implying that the Torah is in need of further interpretation which Wisdom alone is able to provide. Here, the author closely approaches the position of Philo of Alexandria, in whose view, even before the Sinaitic Revelation, the Patriarchs were already constituted *nomoi empsychoi,* living embodiments of Wisdom. In Wisdom 10, Sophia had similarly already served as a personal Guide to six righteous heroes who lived before the Sinaitic Revelation. An echo of this notion may later be found in the statement of Rabbi Avin (4th century) that the Torah is an incomplete form of the Supernal Wisdom (*Gen. Rab.* 17.5; 44.12, Theodor-Albeck: 157, 239).

7. Universalism and Particularism. Twice Wisdom is described as *philanthrōpos,* humane or benevolent (1:6; 7:23), and in 12:19 we are told that God's mercy is a model-lesson for Israel, teaching them that the righteous man must be humane. God loves all that exists, loathing

nothing that he has created (11:24), and as the lover of all that lives, he spares all. We have here a faint intimation of the Middle Stoic doctrine of *philanthrōpia*, which is fully elaborated in the writings of Philo. The special kinship between God and man, based on the notion of a Divine Logos at once immanent and transcendent, led inevitably to the concept of the unity of man. In this case, as it often happened, a native Jewish idea had converged with a Greek philosophical conception. Going beyond the negative formulation of justice which forbids one individual to injure another, the Stoic Panaetius advanced the positive definition of it as an active beneficence which forms the bond of society (Cicero *Off.* 1.20–22). Following Panaetius, Philo, too, emphasized the positive aspect of justice as an active beneficence (*Virt* 166–70). This quality was epitomized by him in the word *philanthrōpia*. In a section of his treatise *De Virtutibus* devoted to *philanthrōpia* (51–174), Philo pointed out that it had *eusebeia*, piety, as its sister and twin, for the love of God involves the love of man, inasmuch as man "through that higher part of his being, namely, the soul, is most nearly akin to heaven and also the Father of the World" (*Dec* 134).

Many commentators find the "undisguised particularism" of Part III of Wisdom, where God appears "as partial to the Jews and inimical to their enemies" (Reider 1957: 41), and the verses regarding the innate viciousness of the Canaanites and their primal accursedness (12:10–11) irreconcilable with the universalism encapsulated in the adjective *philanthrōpon*. It is evident, however, that the ancient Egyptians and Canaanites merely served the author as symbols for the hated Alexandrians and Romans of his own day, upon whom he visited an apocalyptic vengeance in chap. 5. The intense hatred breathed in Part III can only be understood in the light of contemporary conditions. Finding himself in similar conditions, Philo, who has a much more elaborate doctrine of *philanthrōpia* and is always at great pains to tone down Jewish particularism, is nevertheless quite capable not only of depicting the future divine punishment of Israel's enemies, but also of setting God's people apart as the special concern of the Deity who employs the Romans as pawns in his larger historical plan (*Praem* 169–72). This is not to deny that there is a certain degree of tension between the universalist and particularist tendencies both in Philo and in Wisdom, but it is not distinctly more pronounced in the latter than it is in the former.

H. Purpose

The author is primarily addressing his fellow Jews in an effort to encourage them to take pride in their traditional faith. He seeks to convince them that their way of life, rooted in the worship of the one true God, is of an incomparably higher order than that of their pagan neighbors, whose idolatrous polytheism had sunk them into the mire of immorality. Moreover, he attempts to justify their present suffering through the promise of immortality as a reward for their steadfast perseverance in the pursuit of righteousness. His accusing finger is especially pointed, however, at the pagan kings, i.e., the Roman rulers, who have abandoned the principles of divine justice and who will therefore suffer the consequences of their lawlessness. Following the philosophy of Greco–Roman kingship tracts, he insists that the king, above all, must pursue wisdom (6:21, 24). At the same time, the author naturally tones down the divine nature to which the pagan writers sought to assimilate the king. He emphasizes instead the king's lowly and mortal origins (7:1–5; 9:5).

Moreover, the Greco–Roman doctrines of kingship, as indeed all the high philosophic ideals of Greek thought, are identified by the author with the teachings of Judaism. Indeed, the philosophical tendency of the book is marked by the Stoicizing Platonism, characteristic of the middle Platonic tradition. By representing Judaism in intellectually respectable terms, he sought to shore up the faith against hostile and anti-Semitic attacks from without and gnawing doubts from within, and through a determined counterattack against the immoral pagan world which he threatened with divine retribution he attempted to revive the flagging spirits of his hard-pressed people. Finally, it must be said that in addition to the social and political factors which stimulated the author to write the book, we must reckon above all with his unbounded love and enthusiasm for wisdom, which verged on the mystical, and lent to his writing (at least to its central part) an extraordinary degree of intellectual excitement as appealing today as when the book first left its author's study.

I. Manuscripts and Versions

The best critical edition is the text published by Joseph Ziegler as part of the Göttingen LXX in 1962. The text of Wisdom is well preserved, in whole or in part, in five uncial manuscripts: A or codex Alexandrinus (London, British Museum), 5th century; B or codex Vaticanus (Rome, Vatican Library), 4th century; C or codex Ephraemi Syri rescriptus (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale), 5th century (a palimpsest written over by St. Ephraem in the 12th century, and containing only a part of Wisdom); S or codex Sinaiticus (the "Leningrad" text, now in the British Museum), 4th century; V or codex Venetus (Venice, Library of St. Mark), 8th century (important for its witness to many Origenic readings). According to Ziegler, the original form of the text of Wisdom is best transmitted through the uncials B and S (which are so closely related that Ziegler treats them as a single witness, B–S) and A. When these manuscripts agree and are followed by most of the minuscules, we may be certain of the correct reading of the text.

The book is known as The Wisdom of Solomon in manuscripts A, B, S, and V (B: *Sophia Salōmōnos;* A and V: *S. Solomōntos;* S: *S. Salomōntos*). In the Syriac Peshitta version, it is known as the "Book of the Great Wisdom *(Hakmeta Rabba)* of Solomon, son of David." In the Vetus Latina, it is simply *Liber Sapientiae*, "Book of Wisdom."

For textual criticism, the most useful of the versions is the Vetus Latina, originating in Africa in the second half of the 2d century. Its importance lies in the fact that it represents the reading of Gk mss far earlier than any that have come down to us. Of the Coptic translations, we have the complete text of Wisdom only in the Sahidic dialect, transmitted through two good manuscripts from the 6th–7th centuries, and published respectively by Paul de Lagarde (1883) and Sir Herbert Thompson (1908). There are also three Syriac versions, an Old Ethiopic (Ge'ez)

translation, an Arabic translation, and an Armenian version.

J. Status and Influence

In the Sinaitic and Alexandrian codices, Wisdom stands between the Song of Songs and Ben Sira, with the prophetic books following. The sapiential books thus hold an intermediate position between the historical and prophetic. St. Jerome recognized that Wisdom was a pseudepigraphon and placed it among those books formally excluded from the Canon (*PL* 28:124). St. Augustine, who quotes Wisdom close to 800 times, at first attributed it to Ben Sira but later declared the author to be unknown. In his *De Praedestinatione Sanctorum* 14.26–29, he nevertheless came out in favor of the canonicity of Wisdom. The Council of Trent (1545–63), decided the issue of canonicity raised by the reformers by decreeing the book's canonical status. For the Greek Church, the Synod of Jerusalem in 1672 introduced Wisdom and other deuterocanonical books to a place in Holy Scripture. From the time of the Reformation, Protestant Churches, following the example of Luther, separated the so-called Apocryphal books from the rest of the Scripture.

The oldest reference to Wisdom appears to be in Clement of Rome's *Epistle to the Corinthians* 27 (end of the 1st century). Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* 4.38.3) alludes to Wisdom 6:19, and according to Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 5.26) he mentioned, in a book now lost, Hebrews and Wisdom, quoting passages from both. Wisdom is explicitly mentioned in the *Muratori Canon* (ca. 200): "Further an epistle of Jude and two with the title John are accepted in the Catholic Church, and the Wisdom written by friends of Solomon in his honor" (68–70). In the African Church, the first explicit use of Wisdom is in Tertullian *Adv. Valent.* 2.2, where the Sophia of the Valentinians is contrasted with the true Sophia of Solomon.

Origen admits that Wisdom "is not held by all to have authority" (*Princ.* 4.4.6), but he himself uses it freely. In *Princ.* 1.2.9, he provides an elaborate explanation of the christological meaning of Wisdom 7:25–26. Similarly, Dionysius of Alexandria (3d century), a pupil of Origen, appeals to Wisdom 7:26 to prove a point. (For detailed discussion, see Grant 1967: 70–82; Larcher 1969: 36–63.)

Finally, we must note the close affinities that exist between the *Teachings of Silvanus* (late 2d or early 3d century), the only non-Gnostic document in Codex VII of Nag Hammadi, and Jewish wisdom literature, particularly Wisdom. In one of Silvanus' hymns we have an explicit allusion to Wisdom 7:25–26 (113) (see Schoedel 1975: 169–99). For further discussion, see Winston *The Wisdom of Solomon* AB.

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DAVID WINSTON

SON. See FAMILY.

SON OF GOD. An honorific whose history began ca. 3000 B.C.E. In the biblical period, the title suggested a variety of ideas according to its different adaptations.

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A. "Son of God" in the OT

1. The King. In the entire Near East, the king could be called "Son of God" or even "God." Pharaoh was the "Good God" (Moret 1902: 296). The first of the five "great names" which he received upon his enthronement was "Horus," an old title designating him as the earthly manifestation of the falcon god Horus, the ancient dynastic god of Egypt (Gardiner 1957: 72). His incarnation was assumed: "He descended from heaven and was born in Heliopolis" (Erman 1923: 340).

The Semitic rulers of Akkad (ca. 2350–2150 B.C.E.) claimed divinity for themselves. Thus, Naram-Sin styled himself *ilu-A-ga-de,* "God of Akkad" (Radau 1899: 7). Following the example of the Akkadian rulers, the kings in the ensuing period of Sumerian renaissance had their names prefixed by the determinative for divinity (Dhorme 1910: 170). They even enjoyed worship (Römer 1969: 146). Bursin called himself "the rightful God, the Sun of his country" (Radau 1900: 199, 201). The old titulary continued to apply to the later Semitic rulers. Thus, Hammurabi was the "God" *(ilu)* and "Sun" of his people (Dhorme 1910: 170), and his name was occasionally prefixed by the determinative for divinity (Edzard 1965: 257–58).

The Syrian kings possibly claimed divinity for themselves. Ezek 28:2, 9 mocks the king of Tyre for claiming to be divine and occupying the throne of *ʾĕlōhîm,* "God." According to Virgil (*Aen.* 1: 729 with Servius' note) and Silius Italicus (*Pun.* 1: 86), the kings of Tyre traced their descent to Baal. Frazer (1961: 15–16) argued that the old rulers of Tyre and Damascus, as well as the kings of Edom, were regarded as divine, since their proper names were composed of names of gods, or were simply names of deities. We know that at least the later Seleucide rulers of Syria claimed to be *theos,* "God" (see below, sec. C.3). Morgenstern (1960: 138–76) argues that they continued old rituals in which the king enacted the role of the sun god. Josephus (*Ant* 9.4.6) reports a worship of the deceased rulers of Damascus in his day.

The Israelite king could also be called *ʾĕlōhîm,* "God" (Ps 45:6 [for attempts to explain this away, see Fohrer *TDNT* 8: 349, n. 91]). Among the five names of the royal child who is to sit on David's throne, we find *ʾēl gibbôr,* "Mighty God" (Isa 9:6). In Ps 89:28—Eng v 27, the king is said to be the "Highest" *(ʿelyôn)* of the kings, which is a divine name (cf. Hammurabi's title, *i-lu sar-ri,* "God of kings" [Code, recto III:16]). The parallel in the verse is "firstborn" of God.

It was more common to refer to the king in Israel-Judah as the "Son of God." This was a royal title throughout the ANE. From the 1st Dyn. (ca. 3000 B.C.E.), the pharaohs were regarded as the "sons of Isis," and were represented as being suckled by her and sitting on her lap. The last of pharaoh's royal names was "Son of Re," which he bore from the 4th Dyn. (ca. 2500 B.C.E.) onwards (Gardiner 1957: 74). The title indicated that he was the physical offspring of the sun god, as is shown in particular by the evidence from Deir el-Bahri, where Amon-Re is represented as having united sexually with pharaoh's mother (Sethe 1914: 102–3).

In an inscription for Ramesses II, God says: "I am your Father, who has engendered you as god in order that you be king of Upper and Lower Egypt on My throne" (Roeder 1915: 158–59). Pharaoh ruled in the place of his divine father. He obviously had to answer for his father's possessions with which he had been entrusted.

Beginning with the Sumerian king Mesilim of Kish, the Mesopotamian ruler was seen as the "son" or "child" of his god or goddess (Sjöberg 1972: 87–112). The king is said expressly to have been "born" of the deity, and we should obviously understand this sonship in physical terms. Abisare of Larsa is said to be the "Pride of his physical Father" *(giri$_x$-zal-a-a-ugu-na),* the god Enlil (Sjöberg 1972: 96–97). The male god could also be said to have implanted his seed into the womb of the king's mother, a goddess or a priestess representing her (Sjöberg 1972: 88, 93).

In the Canaanite epic about Keret, the king is called the "Son of El," and it is implied that as one of the "gods" he is not supposed to die. This is "a projection of cultic terminology" used to enhance the royal office and person (Gray 1964: 66–67).

In the Nathan prophecy in 2 Samuel 7, the relationship between God and the Israelite–Judean king (David's "seed") is described as a father–son relationship (v 14; cf. 1 Chr 17:13; 22:10; 28:6). In Ps 89:27–28—Eng vv 26–27, God is the "Father" of the king, his "firstborn." The king was "born" from God when he was installed, as is made clear by the declarations of Yahweh in two Psalms which were used as liturgical texts at the enthronement ceremony: "You are My Son; this day I have begotten thee" (2:7); "In holy ornament out of the womb of Dawn, I have fathered thee as Dew" (110:3; Mowinckel 1955: 235–36; Widengren 1976: 186).

It has been argued that Ps 2:7 ("today") implies that the "Egyptian idea of physical sonship is changed into a legal one" (*TDNT* 8: 351). However, since pharaoh is seen as divine primarily in his role as ruler, the thought in Ps 2:7 is not really dissimilar (*RGG* 6: 118). The enthronement was the definitive act of begetting or deification in Egypt

too (Preisigke 1920: 13–14). The technical term is *smen,* which corresponds to the verb in Ps 2:6, "I have set *(nosakti)* My king on Zion, My holy hill." This is a parallel to the "birth" in the next verse. "The new Pharaoh does not exist, theologically speaking, until he has received . . . all the magico-religious consecrations which transform him into a living incarnation of Ra . . ." (*ERE* 7: 712). Thus, Thutmosis III can say that he is God's "Son, whom He commanded that should be upon His throne . . . and begat in uprightness of heart" (Breasted *ARE* 1: 59). The birth occurs after the call to the throne.

In Mesopotamia, too, the king was "born" on the day of his enthronement. In a description of the enthronement of Shulgi, it is said: "The En-priestess bore a good man, who had been placed in (her) womb. Enlil, the Mighty Shepherd, made the youth stand forth, a son, who is well suited for kingship and the throne" (Sjöberg 1972: 104–5, with a slight change). A description of Shulgi being given the royal insignia follows. At the coronation, the birth of the king was cultically enacted. Sjöberg (1972: 107) also refers to a word of Gudea to the goddess Gatumdu: "My seed [i.e., the seed of my Father] You have received; in the sanctuary, You have begotten me."

"Dawn" (Shahar) in Ps 110:3 corresponds to Gatumdu in the prayer of Gudea (cf. Isa 14:12, where Shahar is the mother of the Babylonian king). In the text about the enthronement of Shulgi, the goddess is represented by the En-priestess. In Ps 110:3, Yahweh has taken the place of Shalem, who is the consort of Shahar in Ugarit. Shalem is really identical with El Elyon, the old city god of Jerusalem with whom Yahweh was merged (Gen 14:18–20, 22; Isa 14:14). Ps 110:3 thus sets forth the king's birth as "Dew," an Ugaritic divine name *(tly),* from Shahar and Shalem-El Elyon-Yahweh (cf. the description of the king in Ps 72:6).

The Nathan prophecy guarantees the perpetuity of the Davidic Dynasty (2 Sam 7:16). This promise gave rise to "messianic" expectations (Isa 7:14–17 [a prophecy based on Egyptian and Canaanite oracles about the birth of the royal child from the queen, a representative of the goddess]; 9:6–7 [an oracle showing influence from the Egyptian royal titulary in the five names of the child who is to occupy the Davidic throne]).

2. The People of God. Israel is also called God's "Son" (Exod 4:22–23; Jer 31:9, 20; Hos 11:1). God is the "Father" of the people (Deut 32:6 [cf. v 18, where God is said to have "engendered" Israel]; Jer 3:4, 19; 31:9; cf. Isa 63:16; 64:7; Mal 2:10). All the individuals of the people are therefore God's "sons" and "daughters," or "children" (Deut 14:1; 32:5, 19; Isa 30:1; 43:6; 45:11; Ezek 16:20–21; Hos 2:1). This usage of the name "Son(s)" of God designates Israel as God's chosen and protected people. The Israelites are obliged to respond to the divine mercy by serving God in subordinate and dutiful obedience (*TDNT* 8: 352).

3. The Heavenly Hosts. The Israelites took over the Canaanite concept of an assembly of gods under the supremacy of El, even designating Yahweh as the "master in the great council of the holy ones" by the name of the Canaanite high god (Ps 89:8—Eng v 7). These "holy ones," an Ugaritic term for "gods" (*TDNT* 8: 347, n. 79), could also be called "sons of gods," as is shown by the parallelism in Ps 89:6–7 (cf. 29:1).

Since the latter term according to usual Hebrew idiom means "gods" (cf. Exod 15:11, where "gods" and "holy ones" are in parallelism, and Ps 82:1, 6, where the "assembly of El" is said to be constituted by "gods"), there were made attempts at suppressing it. In Gen 6:2, the Rescriptor of LXX A has substituted "angels" for "sons." Instead of "sons," the LXX reads "angels" in Job 1:6; 2:1; 38:7. In Dan 3:25, the LXX (3:93) reads "angel of God," whereas the MT has "son of God." In Ps 89:7, the Targum reads "angels" instead of "sons of God."

In Deut 32:8, the MT reads "sons of Israel," while the LXX has "angels of God." A fragment from 4Q, however, reads *bny ʾl* . . . , which obviously represents the original text.

In Deut 32:43, the MT reads: "Praise His people, O ye nations." The LXX is very different: "Rejoice ye heavens, and let all the angels of God worship Him." The Gk text goes on: ". . . and let all the sons of God strengthen themselves in Him." The MT omits these words. The Qumran text, however, has preserved the original: "Rejoice, O ye heavens with Him, and all ye gods worship Him."

There can be no doubt that the "sons" of God were no mere servants of God, as the substitution "angels" endeavors to purport. In Gen 6:1–4, we find a repugnant myth to the effect that the "sons of God" once descended from heaven and had intercourse with women. Psalm 82 appears to reflect a myth about the high god judging certain arrogant "gods, sons of the Most High" (v 6), in the divine assembly (Cooke 1964: 29–34).

B. "Son of God" in Non-Christian Jewish Literature

1. The Case of the Messiah. In the Latin and Syriac versions of *4 Ezra,* God refers to the Messiah as "My Son" (7:28–29; 13:32, 37, 52; 14:9 [in some of these passages, the Copt, Eth, and Arab versions have the same reading or a similar one, "child" or "young man"]). The Gk text, upon which the other translations are based, reads *pais,* which means "servant" as well as "son," and the former appears to be the most appropriate in the lost Semitic original. However, it must be noted that idea of the king as God's "servant" was associated with that of his divine sonship. In a text about Ashurbanipal, "servant" and "son" are found in parallelism (Dhorme 1910: 166–67). The two terms as royal titles are closely associated in the OT (2 Sam 7:4, 8; Ps 89:21, 27–28—Eng vv 20, 26–27). In the description of the righteous in Wis 2:12–20, divine sonship and service are associated. The ambiguity of the Gk version of *4 Ezra* may thus be regarded as having been made by deliberate choice.

In God's promise to Levi in *T. Levi* 4:2, it is said that the patriarch will become God's "Son" *(hyios)* and the "Minister *(therapōn)* and Priest *(leitourgos)* of His Presence." In chap. 8, there is a description of Levi's installation as the priestly Messiah, but the patriarch receives also royal insignia, a crown and a scepter ("staff of equity," the name of the king's scepter in Ps 45:7—Eng v 6). In 18:6, it is said: "The heavens will be opened, and from the temple of glory, sanctification will come upon him, with a fatherly voice, as from Abraham to Isaac. And the glory of the Most High shall burst forth upon him. And the spirit of understanding and sanctification shall rest upon him" (in the water

[probably a Christian interpolation based on Mark 1:9–11]). Here we find a clear reference to Isa 11:2, which describes the Spirit of God which is to "rest upon" the future king as the "spirit of wisdom and understanding."

Thus, although "Son of God" appears as a priestly title in Syriac inscriptions (Harris 1914: 108–13), the evidence of the *Testament of Levi* should be interpreted in the light of the old idea that the high priestly office really belonged to the king (Gen 14:18; Ps 110:4). When the kingship ceased to exist, many of the ruler's functions and paraphenalia were transferred to the high priest (cf. Zech 6:9–14, where the "messianic" prophecy about Zerubbabel, the Davidide who was the Persian governor of Palestine, has been transferred to the high priest Joshua). In later periods of messianic expectations, we therefore often find a priestly Messiah as well as a royal one, even within the same body of literature. Thus, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* also know the figure of the royal Messiah. In *T. Jud.* 24:2–3, there is a prophecy about the kingly Messiah from the house of Judah which is similar to the prophecy about the priestly Messiah from the house of Levi: "And the heavens will be opened upon him to pour out the spirit as a blessing of the Holy Father."

The immediate continuation adds a similar prophecy about the people, who are called God's "sons": "And He will pour the spirit of grace upon you. And you shall be His sons in truth [. . .]."

In the Ethiopic version of *1 Enoch* 105:2, God calls the Messiah "My Son." Chap. 105 is not found among the Greek fragments, but the Aramaic original does seem to contain it (Milik and Black 1971: 208).

In 1QSa 2:11–12, there may be found a reference to the birth of the Messiah as the fulfillment of the words of God in Ps 2:7. But the text may be read in different ways. In any case, the term "Son" is not used.

The Qumran sectarians also took the "Son" of God in 2 Sam 7:14 to be the "shoot of David," i.e., the Messiah, who is to reveal himself "on Zion at the end of the days, as it is written, 'And I will raise up the fallen booth of David' " (4QFlor 1:11–13, quoting Amos 9:11a). A little below, the text quotes Psalm 2, but unfortunately breaks off before v 7.

In a fragment from a presumable Daniel apocryphon (4QPs Dan A^a = 4Q 243), the title "Son of God" is several times applied to a certain king who is to rule over all the world. Fitzmyer (1973–74: 391–94) takes this to refer to a Jewish ruler, but further work on the text is still necessary.

In rabbinic Judaism, the Messiah could be called "Son of God," the oldest tradition being a citation of Ps 2:7 found in a baraitha in *Sukk.* 52a. R. Nathan (ca. 160) is cited as having referred Ps 89:27, where the king is God's "first-born," to the Messiah (*Exod. Rab.* 19:7). Mekhilta *Exod.* 7 (48b [ad 15:9]) calls the Messiah the "Son of the King."

Other rabbinic instances are from the age of the Amoraim. There can also be found rabbinic polemics against the idea of Jesus as the "Son of God." The Christological use of Ps 2:7 may explain the rabbinic reluctance of referring the text to the Messiah.

2. The Righteous of the People. The designation of the people of Israel as the "son" or even "sons" or "children" of God (cf. God as the begetter of the people in *Sib. Or.* 3:726) can be found down to the period of the rabbis (Delling 1977: 18–28). But the collective usage of the term was also narrowed down: God's "sons" were the righteous among the people. Sir 4:10 (Heb) says that the one treating orphans and widows compassionately will be "like a son of the Most High." The righteous thus calls upon God as his "Father" (23:1, 4; 51:10 [Heb]). According to Wis 5:5, the righteous man who is persecuted and killed by the godless is counted among God's "sons," i.e., angels, after death. But already on earth, he calls God his "Father" (2:16; 14:3) and is his "son" (2:18).

Although Philo refers to Deut 13:19–14:1 when discussing the possibility of becoming "sons" of God, it is clear that this is only a formal reference and that Philo does not regard membership of the people of Israel as a requisite for being God's "son." Only the good and wise is the "son" of God (*Spec Leg* I 318; *Quaes Gen* I 92) or his adopted "son" (*Sobr* 56–57). He is born spiritually by God (*Vita Mos* II. 209–10; *Quaes Exod* II. 46). If people cannot become "sons" of God, they should at least try to become children of "His invisible Image, the most holy Word [. . .]" (*Conf* 62, 146).

For the rabbis, sonship was dependent upon the observance of the Law (*TDNT* 8: 359–60; Delling 1977: 26). The thought is implied already in *Jub.* 1:24 (Delling 1977: 19–20).

3. Charismatic Individuals. In Samaritanism, Moses is the "Son of the house of God," a title which characterizes him as belonging to the angelic dynasty. Being the "Elohim from humankind" (cf. Exod 7:1, where God says to Moses: "I make you as God [*ʾĕlōhîm*] to Pharaoh"), Moses is actually the highest among the angelic sons of God (Fossum 1985: 122, 123–29, 150–51). R. Jose ben Halafta (2d century) says that since God calls Moses "faithful in all His house" (cf. Num 12:7), "he ranks higher than the ministering angels" (*Sifre Num.* 110).

In the *Death of Moses*, God addresses Moses as "My Son" and even says: "I am God, and you are God" (Jellinek 1967: 121 and 119). Already in the drama *Exagogē* by Ezekiel the Tragedian, God addresses Moses as "My Son" (line 100).

Honi the miracle-worker is reported to have spoken to God as follows: "Your sons have turned to me, because I am a Son of Your house" (*m. Taʿan.* 3:8). To be a "Son of the house of God," i.e., belong to the angelic family, implies a higher status than being a "son" of God, i.e., a (righteous) Jew.

Rab (3d century) is reported as having said: "Day by day, a *bath gol* was heard saying: 'The entire universe exists on account of My Son Hanina [. . .]' " (*Taʿan.* 24b; *Ber.* 17b; *Ḥul.* 86a). Since the entire universe is sustained because of the Galilean ḥasid, Hanina ben Dosa, it is clear that his divine sonship implies far more than the sonship of the righteous who fulfill the will of God.

When R. Ishmael in his unhistorical role as high priest entered the Holy of Holies on the Day of Atonement, he saw Akatriel Yah (a name of God or, as is the case in later mystical literature, his human-like manifestation) being seated on a throne and addressing him as follows: "Ishmael, My Son, give me your praise" (*Ber.* 7a). In *3 Enoch*, where Ishmael is a type of the mystic who ascends to heaven, God says that Ishmael is "My Son, My Friend, My

Beloved, and My Glory" (1:8). The mystic who draws near to God is called his "Son."

In the Hellenistic Jewish romance *Joseph and Asenath,* Joseph is called "Son of God" (6:3, 5; 13:13) and God's "firstborn Son" (18:11; 24:4 [cf. 23:10, "like the firstborn Son of God"]). The people of Israel or the righteous in general are called "sons" of God (16:14; 19:8), but Joseph is far more than a righteous Jew. He is attired like a king (5:4–6); people prostrate themselves before him (5:7); he is called the "sun from heaven" (6:2); and he is said to be of great beauty and possess omniscience "because of the great light that is inside him" (6:6).

Hengel (1976: 44, n. 87) compares this picture of Joseph to that of Abel in *T. Ab.* chap. 13, where the latter is the heavenly judge of the souls, sitting on a crystal throne which blazes like fire. He is described as a "wondrous man shining like the sun, like unto a son of God *(homoios hyiō theou)*" (Recension A).

The comparison of Abel to "a son of God" may in fact imply more than a comparison to an angel, for the vision is quite similar to that of the "Great Glory" in *1 Enoch* 14, which, in turn, clearly recalls Ezekiel 1. That the image of the enthroned "man" in heaven draws on the portrait of the Glory is seen in the preceding sec. of the *Testament of Abraham.* In chap. 11, Adam is described as an "all-marvellous man" sitting on a golden throne at the gate of paradise. This is the place occupied by Akatriel Yahweh in the *Mystery of Sandalphon.* The *Testament of Abraham* says that the "appearance of the man *(hē idea tou anthrōpou)* was fearsome, like that of the Lord." This obviously alludes to Ezek 1:26 LXX, where the Glory upon the heavenly throne is said to possess a "likeness as the appearance of a man" *(homoiōma hōs eidos anthrōpou)* (Fossum 1985: 276).

4. An Exalted Angel. In *3 Enoch,* Enoch ascends to heaven and is transformed into the angel Metatron, God's vicegerent, who is enthroned before God's hall (10:2; 48[C]:8). God says: "Every secret I revealed to him as a father [. . .]" (48[C]:7). Enoch-Metatron is called by several epithets of honor, even being given the name "the Little Yahweh" (12:5; 48[C]:7; 48[D]:1), but "Son (of God)" is not found.

In a fragment of the *Prayer of Joseph,* we come across a representation of an angel by the name of Israel, who is said to be a "ruling Spirit," the "Firstborn of every living thing," the "Archangel of the power of the Lord," the "Chief Captain among the sons of God," and the "First of those who serve before the Face of the Lord" (Or. *Jo.* 2: 31). That the angel is said to be the "Firstborn of every living thing" derives from an exegesis of Exod 4:22, where God says: "Israel is My firstborn son." This verse could be referred to the patriarch Jacob, who was given the name Israel by God (*Jub.* 19:29; *Exod. Rab.* 19:7; *3 En.* 44:10). In the *Pr. Jos.,* the preexistent angel Israel, who is the chief "among the sons of God," explicitly identifies himself as having become manifested in the patriarch: "[. . .] I, Jacob, whom men call 'Jacob,' but whose name is 'Israel' [. . .]."

Further evidence for the idea of a preexistent angelic Son of God may be found in the synagogal prayers which are imbedded in Books Seven and Eight of the *Apostolic Constitutions.* In the first prayer, God is thanked because of all the gifts he "gave to us through Jesus, Your Son" (7:26:3). The name "Jesus" is of course an interpolation, but perhaps not "through Your Son." The "Son" is possibly identical with the divine "Name" which God caused to dwell among the people (v 2; cf. Deut 12:5, 11). The intermediary may also have been present in the original version as the mediator of the work of creation (v 4).

In another prayer, it is said that God brought everything into being through his "only Son" (8:12:9). The continuation describes him as having been born before all ages, and characterizes him as "Divine Word, Living Wisdom, Firstborn of all creation, Angel of Your great counsel [cf. Isa 9:6 LXX], Your High Priest, both King and Lord of intelligible and perceptible nature, the one before all things, through whom are all things" (vv 9–11).

Although the possibility of a Christian redaction cannot be ruled out, it must be noted that Philo furnishes evidence for the usage of titles such as these in representations of the intermediary in Hellenistic Judaism. In one passage, the Alexandrian Jewish philosopher heaps various epithets upon the intermediary: "[. . .] God's Firstborn, the Word, who holds the eldership among the angels, their ruler as it were. And many names are his, for he is called 'Beginning,' 'Name of God,' His 'Word,' 'Man after His image,' and 'He that sees,' i.e., 'Israel' " (*Conf* 146). In another text, Wisdom (Sophia) is called "Beginning," "Image," and "Vision of God" (*Leg All* 1:43). The intermediary is also "High Priest" (*Migr* 102; *Fuga* 108–18; *Somn* 1:215; 2:183).

The many-named intermediary is also said to be God's "Son": he is God's "true Word and firstborn Son," who oversees the heavenly bodies whose courses regulate the life of the universe, "like a viceroy of a great king" (*Agr* 51); "the incorporeal Man, who is no other than the divine Image, [is] His eldest Son, whom He elsewhere calls 'Firstborn' and the 'Begotten One' [. . .]" (*Conf* 62–63).

Philo also calls the material world God's "younger son," who can teach people about God (*Quod Deus* 31–32; *Ebr* 30; *Cher* 43–45). The "eldest and firstborn Son" is the "Word," which now is seen as the spiritual world of ideas. In this particular construal of the intermediary, a Platonic influence is seen at work, but there can be no doubt that one of the facets of the Philonic intermediary is an adaptation of a Jewish angelic figure with many names, one of which is "Son of God."

Pre-Christian evidence for this intermediary is also found in Sophianism. Wisdom is merged with the figure of the principal angel (Sir 24:4; Wisdom 10 [Fossum 1987: 231, 236–37]), the hypostatized word of God (Wis 9:1–2), and the divine Spirit (Sir 24:3, 5–6; Wis 9:10, 17 [cf. the merger of word and angel in 18:15–6]).

Sophia is the daughter of God, having been brought forth by him (Prov 8:22–25; Sir 24:3; Wis 7:25; Philo, *Fuga* 50; *Virt* 62; *Quaes Gen* 4:97; cf. *Cher* 49–50). She can also be portrayed as God's wife (Wis 8:3; Philo, *Cher* 49–50), who shares his throne in the manner of the Near Eastern ruler (Wis 9:4, 10 [for Pharaoh as God's *synthronos,* see Widengren 1976: 187, n. 8; for the Israelite king, see 1 Chr 28:5; 2 Chr 9:8; cf. Ps 80:1]).

A survey of some later evidence does not seem irrelevant. Justin Martyr is seen to be indebted to a Judaism like that of Philo, only less philosophical, when he refers all the OT theophanies and names of the divine attributes to the Son. In one passage, Justin says: "God has begotten as 'Beginning' before all His creatures a kind of rational

Power from Himself that is also called by the Holy Spirit 'the Glory of the Lord,' and sometimes 'Son,' and sometimes 'Wisdom,' or 'Angel,' or 'God,' and 'Lord' and 'Word.' And on another occasion, he calls himself 'Captain,' when he appeared in human form to Joshua the son of Nun" (*Dial.* 61:1). In an even longer list of names, the apologist includes such names as "Man," "Angel of great counsel," and "Israel" (*Dial.* 126:1). Justin says that the angel bearing the name of Israel is the "Firstborn of all creation" and therefore "God" (*Dial.* 125: 3–5). In another enumeration of names of Christ, we also find "Priest" (*Dial.* 34:1). In all but one of Justin's lists of names of Christ (see also *Dial.* 62:2; 128:1–2; 1 *Apol.* 33:6), "Son" and "Angel" remain constant.

In the Similitudes of the *Shepherd of Hermas,* which is an adaptation of a Jewish writing, we find an intermediary identified variously as "Son of God" (5; 8–9), "Lord" (5; 9), "Holy Spirit" (5), the angel Michael (8), and the "glorious Man" (9). He appears as the leader of six other archangels (5; 9). If it be argued that Similitude 8 does not allow the inference that Michael is the same as the Son of God, a comparison of the Son in Similitudes 5 and 9 with the archangel shows at least that they are interchangeable. In *Sim.* 5:6:2–3, the Son is said to have been set over the people and to have given the Law. This is predicated of Michael in 8:2–3.

In Similitude 9, the Son is represented as very glorious and tall, and is ascribed with the function of judging the people. Michael is represented in the same way.

In Similitude 9, the "glorious Man," who is identified with the Son (12:8; cf. 6:1–3), is said to be the "Lord of the tower" (5:7; 7:1). This corresponds to the representation of Michael as the "Lord" of the people (8:3:3).

The pagan philosopher Celsus reports on certain prophets in Palestine and Syria who claimed to be "God, Son of God *(theou pais),* or a divine Spirit" (Or. *Cels.* 7:9). There does not seem to be a difference between these claims. In view of all the Jewish evidence surveyed above, it does not seem necessary to explain the assertions of these prophets in the light of Christian trinitarianism.

In the *Doctrine of Addai,* a work from Syrian Christianity, which is replete with Jewish Christian terms and concepts, it is said to Jesus: "Either you are God who has come down from heaven and does these things, or you are the Son of God, who does these things" (fol. 3a). In the *Acts of Thomas,* another work from the same provenance, the alternative runs: "This man is either God or the Apostle of God" (chap. 9). The equivalent of being God having come down to earth is to be his "Son" or "Apostle." The latter title is another designation for "Angel." Justin Martyr says: "Now the Word of God is the Son, as we have said before. And he is called 'Angel' and 'Apostle,' because he declares what we ought to know and is sent forth in order to make known whatever is revealed" (1 *Apol.* 63:5). The equivalence of "Angel" and "Apostle" derives from Judaism, where "Apostle" *(šaliaḥ)* could be used as a gloss for "Angel" (Bühner 1977: 281–82, 323–34, 326–29). The "Son of God" is an angel sent by God.

C. "Son of God" in the Greco–Roman World

1. The Hero. Gods proper could of course be regarded as sons of another god (e.g., Apollon and Hermes were sons of Zeus). But heroes could also be called "Son of God." While Achilles, the son of the goddess Thetis and the hero Peleus, had to go to the realm of the dead, Dionysus and Heracles, both sons of Zeus by a human mother, attained the rank of the immortal gods. Dionysus, whose name probably means "Son of Zeus," and who was also called *Dioskuros,* "Child of Zeus" (*Hymn. Hom.* 33:1), was recognized as divine right from the birth, whereas Heracles had to struggle for recognition and attained apotheosis only at death.

Heracles was the prototype of the person who had to serve God and combat evil throughout life (Soph., *Trach.* 248–53; 274–78). Already Theocritus connects him with the expectation of an eternal peace (*Idu.* 24). In Pseudo-Seneca's dramas about Heracles, the hero is called "savior" *(sōtēr)* and "conqueror of the universe" *(pacator orbis)* (*Her. oet.* 1990), and represented as the victor over death and chaos (*Her. fur.* 889–902; *Her. oet.* 147–50). Heracles is here the model of the ruler who has "earned heaven by his deeds of valor," so that he can ask his Father for the "world" (*Her. oet.* 97–98 [Hengel 1976: 25]). It is not surprising that Heracles in some Christian quarters was seen as a kind of forerunner of Christ.

In the philosophy of the Stoics and the Cynics, Heracles was a model of the moral person or even of the ascetic (Epict., *Diss.* 3:26:31). Since it was a Homeric phrase that Zeus was the "Father of men and gods" (*Il.* 1:544; *Od.* 1:28; *et al.*), Epictetus also asserts that Heracles knew his own Father, Zeus, to be the Father of all humans (*Diss.* 3:24.16). Heracles mythology has here been used to convey the Stoic idea that all people are children of God. This is found already in Chrysippus and Cleanthes, and is worked out by Cicero and, especially, by Epictetus (*TDNT* 8: 337). However, people had to realize this fact (Epict., *Diss.* 1:3).

2. The "Divine Man." Lucian calls Heracles "Divine Man and God" *(theios anēr kai theos)* (*Cyn.* 13). Men whose gifts and acts were above normal were called "divine" *(theios)* and even regarded as gods. Already Empedocles says of himself that he is seen as a god (von Martitz *TDNT* 8: 338–39). Pompey is called "Divine Man" *(homo divinus)* and said to have descended from heaven (Cicero, *De imp. Cn. Pomp.* 14:41; *Ad Quint. fr.* 1:1:2:7). The title "Son of God," however, is not used of these people.

Certain physicians were known as "sons" *(paides, hyioi)* of God, but the phrase is here entirely functional and designates these men as disciples of Asclepius, the god of their guild (*TDNT* 8: 336 and 337, n. 18). On the other hand, it must be kept in mind that divine origin was predicated of certain famous individuals, e.g., Pythagoras and Plato (*TDNT* 8: 339). These men were called "divine."

From a later period, we have the evidence about Apollonius of Tyana, the miracle-working Neo-Pythagorean peripatetic philosopher, who was said to be the son of Zeus (Philostr., *VA* 1:6). Lucian of Samosata ridicules Apollonius' pupil, Alexander of Abonuteichos, for claiming to be the offspring of Podaleirus, the son of Asclepius (*Alex.* 11; 14; 18; 35; 39–40 [Hengel 1976: 31, n. 61]).

It was also held that any man might become divine, or realize his inherent divinity, through initiation into certain mysteries. The Hermetic tractate on rebirth teaches that every man through regeneration can become "a god, a child of God" *(theos theou pais)* (*Corp. Herm.* 13.2).

3. The Ruler. The Hellenistic–Roman kingship ideology was taken over from the East. But there were certain antecedents in Greece. The Spartan general Lysander was venerated as divine after his victory over the Athenians in 404 and was accorded a cult in Samos (Plut., *Lys.* 18). In the 4th century, the tyrant Clearchos of Heraclea styled himself "Son of Zeus" (Memnon *apud* Photius, *Bibl.* 224). But the big watershed was in the year 331, when Alexander the Great was called the "Son of Ammon" by an oracle in the Libyan desert. In Greek terminology, this meant that he was the son of Zeus (Plut., *Alex.* 27–28). Alexander addressed Zeus as his "Father" (Arrian., *Anab.* 7.8.3) and was said to have been engendered by him (Plut., *Alex.* 2–3; *et al.* [Pokorný 1971: 15]). Plutarch asserts that Alexander regarded his apotheosis as politically pragmatical (*Dial. mort.* 14), deriving the idea from that of the divine sonship of all men (*Alex.* 27).

The Ptolemaic rulers were styled "Savior God" *(theos sōtēr)* and "Son of Helios" (*TDNT* 8: 336). They could also trace their ancestry to Dionysus. The Seleucide rulers and the smaller Greek kings in the East claimed the title "God" *(theos)*. Seleucus' father was said to be Apollon (Just. 15.4).

In Ephesus, Caesar was declared "God Manifest" and "Savior" of all humankind. Two years after his death, he was declared *divus Iulius*, the "deified Julius" or even the "divine Julius," in Rome. He may even have been held to be the high god himself, as is suggested by the name *Iuppiter Iulius* (Dio Cass., *Hist.* 44.6.4). Like the temples of the gods, Caesar's temple was an asylum (Dio Cass., *Hist.* 47.19). His statue was placed among the statues of the gods in Pantheon (Dio Cass., *Hist.* 53.27.3).

Octavianus, Caesar's adopted son, was *divi filius*, "son of the deified" or "son of the divine," but his names "Caesar" and "Augustus" (the latter often being used as a divine epithet, e.g., of Hercules) associated him closely with divinity (*PW* 4: 828). Virgil even called him *deus*, "God" (*Ecl.* 1.7.1–2). He was said to be the son of Apollo by direct engendering (Suet., *Aug.* 94.4; Dio Cass., *Hist.* 45.1.2).

In the East, this kind of phraseology was common. A stele in Pergamum reads "emperor Caesar, Son of God *(theou hyios)*, God Augustus" (Deissmann 1923: 295). In a resolution in Augustus' honor passed by the provincial assembly in Asia Minor, the emperor is hailed as a "savior" *(sōtēr)* sent to humankind. It is also said that "since the birthday of God [i.e., Augustus] has been for the whole world the beginning of the gospel *(euangelion)* concerning him, let all reckon a new era beginning from the date of his birth" (Deissmann 1923: 313).

The Oriental expectation of a world savior as seen fulfilled by Augustus was also adopted by the Romans. The "great Progeny of Jupiter" ushering in the golden age in Virgil's 4th Ecloge is probably Augustus, or his son (*PW* 4: 829–30). The Roman poet ascribes the same function to the emperor in *Aen.* 6.791–807.

Horace hailed Augustus as the god Mercury, who had been appointed by Jupiter as an "instrument" of "atonement" on behalf of the Romans for their murder of Caesar. He addressed the pre-incarnated emperor thus: "Put on the mortal shape of a young Roman; Descend and well contented to be known; As Caesar's avenger; Stay gladly and long with the people of Romulus; Delay your homeward, skybound journey" (*Ode* 1.2.41–45).

Ruler ideology is probably also to be found behind the legend of Romulus, Mars' son, who, after having been killed, came back to life and was witnessed to have ascended to heaven (Hengel 1976: 38–39).

Some of Augustus' successors were hesitant vis-à-vis the cult of their person, but the idea of the divinity of the Roman emperor had come to stay (*PW* 4: 833–53). Already under Gaius (Caligula), who claimed to be the incarnation of different gods, cult of the living emperor became a duty.

D. "Son of God" in the NT

1. The Case of the Historical Jesus. Jesus spoke of God as people's "Dad(dy)," using the diminutive form *ʾabbâ* (Mark 14:36 [Gal 4:6 and Rom 8:15 show that this memory was preserved]), which appears to have been quite unusual (Jeremias 1966: 59–67). As Hahn (1964: 321–29) and others have shown, it is improbable that Jesus also spoke of God as "my Father," thereby claiming a unique relationship with God. Matt 11:27 = Luke 10:22, where Jesus says that "all things" (= "all authority" [Matt 28:18]) have been delivered to him by his Father, the only one who knows him and who is known only by him and the ones to whom he chooses to reveal him, is a strongly literary passage and markedly different from other passages telling us anything about the self-consciousness of the historical Jesus. On the basis of this universal authority, Jesus can reveal the Father. Scholars have suggested a background in wisdom tradition or apocalypticism including Qumran (Pokorný 1971: 30–31).

While Matt 11:27 = Luke 10:22 portrays Jesus as God's representative as well as his subordinate, Mark 13:32 ("[. . .] not even the angels, nor the Son, but only the Father" knows the last day) teaches the full subordination of the Son. But the intimate relationship between "the Father" and "the Son" is still present (the Son is closer to God than the angels). There is a tension between this absolute usage of "the Father," which corresponds to that of "the Son," and the words of Jesus about "your Father." Mark 13:32 as well as Matt 11:27 = Luke 10:22 is a clear Christological limitation of the Father name of God.

In Matt 28:18–20, the commission of the resurrected Jesus to the disciples to go and baptize people "in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit" follows upon the word about all authority having been given to the Son. The title "the Son" has here found a new place in the baptismal liturgy, and the association of "the Father" and "the Son" has been expanded into a formula containing the names of all the three persons in the divine economy.

In the parable of the vineyard, Jesus speaks about the sending and killing of the owner's "beloved son" (Mark 12:6), in whom the readers are supposed to see Jesus himself (Mark 1:11; 9:7). The allegorical traits of this parable point clearly to the Christology of the community (Kümmel 1965: 214–30).

2. The "Son of God" as the Heavenly Messiah. Since the other honorifics of Jesus were first used with reference to his eschatological function, it stands to reason that also "Son of God," which was closely associated with royal messianism, had the same primary usage (Hahn 1964: 284–92). In his earliest letter, Paul speaks of the expecta-

tion of God's "Son from heaven, whom He [i.e., God] raised from the dead" (1 Thess 1:10). It has been suggested that this originally was a saying about the Son of Man which Paul reinterpreted for his Hellenistic community (Friedrich 1965: 502–16). A merger of the messianic figure of the Son of God and the eschatological Son of Man is found in the account of the process against Jesus, where the high priest asks: "Are you the Christ [= Messiah], the Son of the Blessed?" (Mark 14: 61). Whether or not the original text read that Jesus gave an unequivocally affirmative answer (the versions differ), the continuation of his reply implies that he is the Son of Man who will be seen "seated at the right of the Power and coming with the clouds of heaven." The text takes "the Son of the Blessed," a phrase which contains a circumlocution for the name of God, as a messianic designation and explains the function of the Messiah by reference to his enthronement by the side of God and return as the eschatological Son of Man.

Rev 2:18 describes the "Son of God" with colors from the portrait of the "one like a son of man" in Rev 1:13–15. Rev 19:11–6, which uses the same colors to depict the figure of the eschatological "King," cites Ps 2:9.

1 Thess 1:10 links the advent of the Son of God from heaven to his resurrection. Mark 14:62, although speaking of Messias futurus, does not mention explicitly the ascension but describes Jesus as a heavenly being with reference to Ps 110:1 and Dan 7:13 (and Ps 80:17 [Seitz 1973: 481–85]?). In Peter's Pentecost sermon, Ps 110:1 is cited with reference to the ascension of Jesus (Acts 2:34–35). Being seated at the right of God, he was made "both Lord and Christ [= Messiah]" (v 36). During his lifetime, Jesus was only Messias designatus, "a man attested to you by God with mighty works and wonders and signs [. . .]" (v 22).

In Paul's speech in Pisidian Antioch, it is Ps 2:7, the other enthronement text in the OT, which is cited with reference to the resurrection of Jesus (Acts 13:33). In the beginning of Romans 1, Paul quotes an old confession formula saying that Jesus "was descended from David according to the flesh and designated Son of God in power according to the Spirit of holiness by his resurrection from the dead [. . .]" (vv 3–4). During his life as a Davidide, Jesus was Messias designatus; it was first upon his ascension that he was made the messianic "Son of God in power."

The idea that Jesus was installed as the messianic Son of God upon his ascension appears to have been arrived at by the adaptation of the tradition that an individual could ascend to heaven and become the "Son of God," an angelic being or even the divine Glory (see above, sec. B.3 and 4, the beginning). The Son of Man, with whom Jesus as the heavenly Messiah appears to have been merged at the oldest stage of this layer of tradition, would in fact seem to have been the principal angel or even the Glory of God (Fossum 1985: 279).

3. Installation as "Son of God" on Earth. The account of the transfiguration, according to which Jesus was identified by a heavenly voice as "My beloved Son" (Mark 9:7), may have been an original resurrection story (Bultmann 1957: 278). However, it may also be a text describing Jesus' installation as the eschatological king (Riesenfeld 1947: 182–220, 223–25, 303–6) already during his human life.

Jesus' installation as the Son of God was also pushed back to the beginning of his earthly ministry in order to include this in the rule promised to David. Coming up out of the waters of the Jordan, the heavens were opened, the Spirit descended upon him in the form of a dove, and a heavenly voice said: "You are My beloved Son, with thee I am well pleased" (Mark 1:11). Baptism or ritual washing was part of the royal installation. Upon his accession to the throne, pharaoh was washed with water from a sacred pool representing the primordial waters out of which the sun god was born. When pharaoh came forth begotten out of the water, the sun god had to recognize him as his son (Blackmann 1918: 153–57). 1 Kgs 1:33–34 relates that Solomon was anointed king at the well of Gihon; perhaps he was washed as well as anointed. Ps 110:7 says that the king at his enthronement "drinks from the brook." Drinking was part of ablution rituals. In the Mesopotamian *bit rimki* ritual, the king not only washed his mouth with water (and beer), but was also cleansed with "clean water" (Widengren 1976: 215–16). During his installation as the eschatological high priest(-king), Levi was washed with "clean water" (*T. Levi* 8:5).

That the Spirit appears in the form of a dove is explicable against the background of the Near Eastern idea that the power which filled the king was represented in the figure of a bird. In Persia, the bird actually was a dove (Bultmann 1957: 266).

The unction, which belonged to the Semitic enthronement ritual, conveyed the Spirit of God (1 Sam 16:13). In Luke 4:18, Jesus cites the beginning of the royal hymn in Isaiah 61: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, for He has anointed me [. . .]" (v 1). That this refers to the baptism of Jesus is seen from Peter's speech in Acts 10, where it is said that the word of God went forth "after the baptism which John preached: how God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Spirit and power [. . .]" (vv 37–38).

The words of the heavenly voice recite Isa 42:1 as well as Ps 2:7 (the latter text being quoted verbatim in the parallel in Luke 3:22 Codex D [Bezae], some Itala mss, and many Fathers). In the former text, the beginning of the first of the songs about the Suffering Servant of Yahweh, God says: "Behold My Servant, whom I uphold, My Chosen, in whom My soul delights; I have put My Spirit upon him [. . .]." The Heb text reads *ʿebêd*, which means "servant," while the LXX has *pais*, which means "son" as well as "servant." Even if Isa 42:1 LXX was the sole scriptural support for Mark, it does not have to follow that the heavenly voice originally identified Jesus as the Suffering Servant. Whoever the Servant is intended to be, the song is held in the style of ANE royal hymnology (Widengren 1969: 368). As has been seen above (sec. B.1), "Servant" as well as "Son" was a royal title (for "Servant" as a kingly title, see also 2 Sam 3:18; Ps 89:3; Ezek 34:23). The Targum reads: "My Servant, the Messiah [. . .], My Chosen One, in whom My word has delight" (cf. Targum Isa 43:10, "My Servant, the Messiah, in whom I have My delight"). The close parallelism between Mark 1:10–11 and the eschatological prophecies about the priestly and the kingly Messiah in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (see above, sec. B.1) shows that Mark's unambiguous *hyios*, "Son," is the appropriate term.

In the LXX, "beloved" can translate "only" (Gen 22:2, 12, 16 ["your beloved son," i.e., Isaac]; Ps 127:2; Jer 6:26). *T. Levi* 18:6 compares the priestly Messiah to Isaac (and

God's "fatherly voice" to that of Abraham), but there is really no other non-Christian evidence for Isaac as a type of the Messiah (but see Rom 8:32).

In quoting Isa 42:1, Matt 12:18 substitutes "Beloved" for "Chosen." The former as well as the latter was a Semitic royal title (for the latter, see Dhorme 1910: 150–52; 2 Sam 21:6; Ps 89:4). Although the term "Beloved" in Mark 1:11 is an adjective and no second title, it has to be understood in the light of the royal titulary. As a matter of fact, "Beloved" was also used as an adjective. Thus, Mesilim of Kish was said to be the "Beloved Son of Ninhursaga" *(dumu-ki-ág-^{d}nin-ḫur-saga)* (Sjöberg 1972: 87 [for further Mesopotamian evidence, see Dhorme 1910: 164–66]). Pharaoh Thutmosis is the "Beloved of Hathor" (Gardiner 1957: 72). Solomon the king is "loved" by God (2 Sam 12:24; Neh 13:26). Targum Ps 2:7 reads: "Beloved as a son is to his father you are to Me."

The words that God is "well pleased" with the Son also have parallels in royal ideology. At the installation of Hatshepsut, Re introduces her to the divine assembly and says: "Behold My daughter Hatshepsut; she lives! I love her; I am well pleased with her! (Sethe 1914: 113). As has been seen above, the Targumic versions of Isa 42:1 and 43:10 read that God has found delight in the Messiah.

4. The Sending of the Preexistent "Son of God" from Heaven. At an early stage, Jesus was even conceived of as the preexistent Son who had been "sent" by God into the world in order to bring salvation to humankind (Gal 4:4–5; Rom 8:3–4; cf. John 3:17; 1 John 4:9, 14). Schweizer (*TDNT* 8: 375) has explained this notion against the background of Hellenistic Jewish ideas about God's personified word and wisdom. Now the divine Word is called God's "Son" by Philo, but is not said to have been "sent" into the world, while Sophia in Wisdom 9 is said to have been "sent" (the sending of Sophia and the Spirit in vv 10 and 17 corresponds to that of the Son and the Spirit in Gal 4:4–6), but is not the "Son" of God. We should therefore also take into account that the many-named intermediary in Hellenistic Judaism could be represented as an angel and called the "Son" of God (see above, sec. B.4). Angels were "sent" by God (Gen 19:13; Exod 23:20; Mal 3:1 [cf. 4:5, where the eschatological angel is identified as Elijah, whom God will "send" back to earth]; Tob 12:20 [which is similar to John 7:33 and 16:5, where Jesus says that he will return to the one who has "sent" him]). They could therefore be called "Sent Ones," "Apostles" (see above, sec. B.4, the end).

Furthermore, the idea of the preexistence of the Messiah should be taken into account. The "Man"-Messiah in 4 Ezra 13:26 is said to have been kept by God "for many ages" (cf. 12:32). The "son of man" figure in *1 Enoch*, who is identified as the Messiah (48:10; 52:4), is said to have been brought into being before the world (48:2–3, 6; 62:7). Pesikta R. 36:1 takes the primal light of creation in Gen 1:3 to be the light of the Messiah which God conceals under his throne. This tradition may be quite old, for already Aristobulus takes the light to be Sophia (apud Eus. *Praep. Ev.* 13.12.9–11), and Philo identifies it as the divine Word (*Somn* 1.75). Pesikta R. 33:6 says that the Messiah is preexistent. The proof being advanced is Gen 1:2, since Isa 11:2 says that the Spirit of God will rest upon the "messianic" king. In the 3d century C.E., Simeon ben Lakish took Gen 1:2 to speak of the "Spirit of the Messiah" (*Gen. Rab.* 2:4 [Hengel 1976: 70–71]).

The Jewish Sibyl calls the Messiah "a certain king sent from God" (5.108 [cf. the sending of kings in 3.286 and 652, where the Messiah is probably not indicated]). The Messiah comes from heaven (5.414 [cf. 256, which may be part of the Jewish groundwork, although the next line possibly reveals Christian influence]).

The idea of the preexistence of the Messiah could find some support in the OT. Mic 5:2 states that the Messiah's "origin is from old, from ancient days" (LXX: "from the beginning, from the days of the aion"). Ps 89:28—Eng v 27, which was applied to the Messiah by R. Nathan (see above, sec. B.1), says that God calls the king his "firstborn." The LXX reads *prōtotokos*, which is similar to *prōtogonos*, an epithet which both Philo and the *Prayer of Joseph* bestow upon the preexistent intermediary (see above, sec. B.4 [cf. Col 1:15, where the "Son" of God is *prōtotokos*]).

5. The Use of the Title by Individual NT Authors. According to Paul, God sent his Son in order to set people free from slavery under the elemental spirits of the universe and the Law (Gal 4:3–5; Rom 8:2–4). People were thereby made sons of God by adoption and received the Spirit, through which they could cry: "Abba! Father!" (Gal 4:5–6; Rom 8:15). In the end, they would be "conformed to the image of His Son" (Rom 8:29). The specific act through which the Son effected the salvation was his death on the cross (Gal 2:20; Rom 8:3, 32 [cf. Hengel 1976: 7–15]).

The title "Son of God" is a clue to the identity of Jesus in the gospel of Mark. It is found already in the first verse of the work (accepting the reading of Codex Sinaiticus^{a}, B, D, etc.), which is matched by the exclamation of the Roman soldier centurion at the cross (15:39). Jesus is solemnly declared to be the Son of God by a heavenly voice at two crucial points in his career, i.e., when he is installed as the Messiah (1:11) and right after the confession of Peter before the disciples that Jesus is the Messiah (9:7 [cf. above, sec. D.3]).

The exclamation of the demons that Jesus is the "Son of God" (3:11; 5:17) has another derivation, for the Messiah was not expected to expel demons. The appeal to the miracle-working "divine men" in the Greco–Roman world would not seem to be of any avail, because the pregnant title "Son of God" does not seem to have been applied to those people (see above, sec. C.2). Now in the mouth of the demons, the "Holy One of God" appears to be a parallel title to that of the Son of God (1:24). In Ps 89:5–7, "Holy Ones" and "Sons of God" are parallel titles, designating the members of God's council (see above, sec. A.3). In Zech 14:5, it is foretold that on the Day of the Lord, "God will come, and all the Holy Ones with Him" (the prophecy is repeated in *1 Enoch* 1:9 and Jude 14). Obviously, at the turn of our era, both "Son(s) of God" and "Holy One(s) of God" were regarded as angelic names. The demons' identification of Jesus as the "Holy One of God" and the "Son of God" fits into the Jewish Christian tradition which regarded the miracle-worker as an angelic "Apostle" or "Son of God," the figure of whom has been met with in the *Acts of Thomas* and the *Doctrine of Addai* (see sec. B.4, the end).

Although the title of the Son of God reached Mark from

different sources, it is clear that he attaches a unique significance to it. The demons are adjured to be silent; so are the disciples after the confession of Peter. It is only through his death that the deeper meaning of the divine sonship of Jesus can be grasped (cf. 15:39).

In Matthew, it is not the demons but only the disciples who proclaim that Jesus is the Son of God (14:33; 16:16). As is shown by Peter's confession, it is a title of the Messiah (cf. 26:63). The title implies service of God (3:17–4:10). Suffering is involved. The leaders of the Jews mockingly ask why God does not deliver Jesus from the cross, since he claims to be the Son of God (27:43). This reflects Wis 2:12–20, where the righteous, claiming to be the "Son" and "Servant" of God his "Father," is oppressed, tortured, and killed by the ungodly, who mock him for believing that he will be vindicated in the end by God (*TDNT* 8: 378). In the Sermon on the Mount, the believers demonstrating God's will and love are promised the status as God's "sons" (5:10, 45 = Luke 6:35).

The title "Son of God" in the temptation narrative is a name of a miracle-worker (Matt 4:3 = Luke 4:3; Matt 4:6 = Luke 4:9). A Moses-Israel typology has been pointed out by Dupont (1956/57: 287–304). Now Moses, who was known to be a great miracle-worker, bore the title "Son of the house of God." As was pointed out above, this title, which also belonged to Honi, another miracle-worker, indicated angelic status (see sec. B.3). Exod 4:22, where Israel is called the "firstborn son" of God, could be referred to the principal angel (see above, sec. B.4). Thus, we again come across the Jewish Christian notion of Jesus as a miracle-working angelic "Son of God."

Luke does not assign any significant role to the title "Son of God" (*RAC* 12: 49). It is an equivalent to "the Christ," the latter being preferred above the former, as can be seen when comparing Luke's text to the parallels in Mark and Matthew (Luke 9:20; 22:67–70; 23:47).

In the Annunciation, Jesus is identified as the Son of God and the heir to the throne of David (1:32–33, 35). Here Hellenistic "divine man" and ruler ideology have been merged with messianism, for virgin birth was not predicated of the Messiah (in spite of the fact that Isa 7:14 LXX reads "virgin" where the MT has "young woman" [for the verse, see above, sec. A.1, the end]). Now the "divine men" and the imperial "sons" of God were seen as the progeny of a god, either by direct engendering or by a woman, so there is no exact parallel to what is related by Luke. However, we should consider Plutarch's report that the Egyptians believed that the spirit of a god could work the beginnings of a new life in a woman (*Numa* 4).

John agrees with Paul that the purpose of the sending of the prexistent Son of God was his death for the salvation of humankind (3:16–17; 10:11; 11:51–52; 13; 15; 1 John 4:10). Like Paul (Gal 3:26), John emphasizes faith as the condition for becoming God's son or child (1:12). Again like Paul, John holds that the Spirit is instrumental in this birth (3:5, 6, 8).

In John, God is called "Father" about 120 times. Jesus is "(the) Son"/"Son of God" 27 times. The correlation Father/Son suggests itself. The full title "Son of God" is found primarily in confession-like formulas (1:34, 49; 20:31; also in 1 John 4:15; chap. 5; 2 John 3). While "Son of God" is associated with "the Father" only twice (5:25; 10:36), "the Son," which is found 18 times, is virtually always correlated with the idea of God as Father. The intimacy between the Father and the Son is thereby emphasized (1:18; 3:35–36; 5:19–26; 6:40; 8:35–36; 14:13; 17:10). The Son does only what the Father wants him to do; he is thus a true revelation of God.

The basic theme of Hebrews is the "representative atoning suffering of the Son" (Hengel 1976: 87), who is a preexistent divine being standing above the angels. Old notions about the Near Eastern priest-king are revived in order to explain his work. In contrast to the priest-king, however, Jesus sacrificed himself (9:12, 25; 10:10). He then took his seat at the right hand of God (1:2–3; 10:12–13). Denial of the Son of God by those who have been purged by his death is unforgivable (6:6; 10:29).

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JARL FOSSUM

SON OF MAN [Heb *ben ʾādām;* Aram *bar ʾĕnāš;* Gk *(ho) huios (tou) anthrōpou*]. A Semitic expression that typically individualizes a noun for humanity in general by prefacing it with "son of," thus designating a specific human being, a single member of the human species. Its meaning can be as indefinite as "someone" or "a certain person." Used in Dan 7:13–14 to describe a cloud-borne humanlike figure, the expression—or at least the figure so designated in Daniel—became traditional in some forms of Jewish and early Christian speculation which anticipated a transcendent eschatological agent of divine judgment and deliverance. In the NT that agent is almost universally identified with the risen Jesus. This survey will treat Jewish and Christian texts that use the term "son of man," as well as texts that develop and elaborate the tradition in Daniel 7 without retaining that expression.

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1. In Poetic Parallelism
2. Ezekiel
B. Early Jewish Texts
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2. The Parables of Enoch (*1 Enoch* 37–71)
3. Wisdom of Solomon 1–6
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A. The OT Apart from Daniel 7

With the exception of Daniel 7 (see below), the singular *ben ʾādām* occurs in the Hebrew Bible only in poetic parallelism and in the book of Ezekiel.

1. In Poetic Parallelism. It appears fourteen times, in synonymous poetic parallelism, always in the second half, as an emphatic counterpart to words designating "man" or "human being" (usually *ʾîš, ʾĕnāš, geber* (Num 23:19; Isa 51:12; 56:2; Jer 49:18, 33; 50:40; 51:43; Ps 8:5—Eng 8:4; 80:18—Eng 80:17; 146:3; Job 16:21; 25:6; 35:8). The emphasis in some of these texts is on human beings' difference from God, as well as their mortality and undependability (cf. 1QS 11:20; 1QH 4:30). This appears to undercut the common assertion that *ben ʾādām* is in itself a "lofty" designation for human beings. An evident exception is Ps 8:5 (cf. Ps 80:18), but the point is precisely the paradox that God "is mindful of" man and crowns "the son of man" like a king. This text is noteworthy, nonetheless, because its combination of Gen 1:26–28 with the version of the Eden story behind Ezek 28:12–18—where the first man appears to have been a king—makes it particularly apt to be conflated, in Christian tradition, with Dan 7:13–14 (see below C.6.b, e).

2. Ezekiel. Ninety-three times in Ezekiel, God addresses the prophet as "son of man" (Heb *ben ʾādām*). Interpreters disagree as to whether the expression emphasizes the prophet's mere human status before God or his lofty privilege as *the* man singled out from the rest of the people to be addressed by God and sent as the divine messenger.

B. Early Jewish Texts

Paradoxically, a generic term meaning "human being" develops a theological aura and, eventually, a set of highly technical meanings. At the root of this development is the single occurrence of *bar ʾĕnāš* in Daniel 7, a text almost unequaled for its influence on both Jewish and Christian messianic speculations in the crucial period up to 100 C.E.

1. Daniel 7. Broad consensus sees this chapter as the product of a complex history of tradition with deep roots in non-Israelite mythology. Opinions differ widely, however, on the details of the tradition's history. Where in the ANE are its mythic roots to be found? Was the Israelite form of the text created in one piece? If not, where are the literary seams, and when should one date the creation of the earlier stage or stages? The present discussion will focus on the whole of Daniel 7 as an intelligible unit that dates in its present form and context from the time of the Jews' persecution by Antiochus IV Epiphanes (167–164

B.C.E.) and will emphasize elements that illuminate later Jewish and Christian developments of the tradition.

Daniel 7 divides into two major parts: Daniel's vision (vv 1–14) and its angelic interpretation (vv 15–27). As elsewhere in Daniel 7–12, action occurs on two levels, earth and heaven, both of which are described with strong mythic imagery. Essential to the action is a conflict between the chaotic forces, depicted as fearsome beasts that arise from the primordial deep, and the divine King and his heavenly entourage. The beasts are interpreted as kingdoms (v 17 LXX—MT v 23), and the conflict is for sovereignty over the earth.

The vision focuses on the fourth beast and the blasphemies spoken by its eleventh horn (vv 7–8). The situation is resolved when the white-haired Deity ("the Ancient of Days") convenes the heavenly court for judgment (vv 9–12). The beast is condemned and slain, and its body is destroyed and given over to be burned; dominion is taken away from the other three beasts. The heavenly action concludes when "one like a son of man" is conveyed to the courtroom, where he is presented to the Ancient of Days and is given eternal and indestructible "dominion, glory, and kingship" over "all peoples, nations, and languages" (vv 13–14).

According to the angel's interpretation, which picks up key words and phrases in the vision, the enthronement of the "one like a son of man" means that "the holy ones of the Most High" or "the people (*ʿam*) of the holy ones of the Most High" will be given "kingship and dominion and the greatness of the kingdoms under the whole heaven" forever (vv 18, 22, 27).

Although scholars debate the meaning of almost every element in the vision and interpretation, the following seems the best explanation. "Son of man" is not a formal title, but a designation used in a simile ("*one like* a son of man"), quite possibly to contrast the cloud-borne figure with the beasts. But although this figure has the appearance of a human being, it is, in fact, a heavenly figure (cf. Dan 9:21; 10:5 and in Ezek 1:26 of God), one of the holy ones, who is the patron of the suffering people of the holy ones of the Most High. The relationship of this heavenly figure to suffering righteous Israel is analogous to the relationship between the angelic prince Michael and "your people" in Dan 10:13, 21; 12:1, although in the latter passages Michael has a judicial function not possessed by the one like a son of man. The heavenly enthronement of the one like a son of man will involve Israel's earthly supremacy over all the nations (cf. 1QM 17:5–8).

Although the one like a son of man is never called "king" or "anointed one" (messiah), this heavenly figure is given royal powers and prerogatives ("dominion, glory, and kingship"), and all nations will "serve" him and the people of the holy ones. This terminology repeats the ideas expressed in Dan 2:44; 3:29; 4:1–3, 34–35; 5:19–21; 6:26. Like chaps. 2–6, this vision and its interpretation depict a conflict between earthly kings and the divine Monarch and the latter's ultimate triumph and sovereignty. Different from those chapters, here the bearer of that sovereignty is the enthroned heavenly patron of the people of God who have suffered at the hands of the kings, who have rebelled against heaven—notably Antiochus IV (cf. chap. 3 and 4:27).

Especially significant for subsequent Jewish and Christian interpretations of the tradition is the sequence of events in the vision. The judgment of the fourth beast and his destruction are functions of the heavenly court (v 11); only after this has happened and after a clear break and transition in the text (v 13a), do we hear of the appearance, presentation, and enthronement of the one like a son of man.

The closest known analogies to this chapter's mythic imagery are in Canaanite and Mesopotamian sources. The description of the heavenly court in vv 9–10 and the presentation of one like a son of man also have an earlier, 3d century B.C.E. Israelite counterpart in *1 Enoch* 14:8–24, where Enoch is transported to the heavenly throne room to be commissioned as a prophet.

2. The Parables of Enoch (*1 Enoch* 37–71). This major section of the corpus known as *1 Enoch* attests a crucial step in the development of the tradition in Daniel 7. Although these chapters also transmit and rework traditional material from *1 Enoch* 1–36, their uniqueness within the Enochic corpus lies in a series of heavenly tableaux that depict an unfolding drama whose protagonist is a transcendent figure known as "the righteous one," "the chosen one," "the anointed one," and "this/that son of man," who functions as champion of "the righteous and the chosen" and as judge of their antagonists, "the kings and the mighty."

The date of these chapters is disputed. Some scholars argue that the Parables are post-Christian, and even of Christian origin, while others point to a few details that suggest composition in the late 1st century B.C.E. However one dates the Parables in their present form, their traditions about the heavenly deliverer differ from Daniel 7 in distinctive ways that are paralleled in other Jewish texts and in NT gospel traditions about the son of man.

The Parables' portrait of this agent of deliverance draws much of its language and imagery from three biblical sources or traditional interpretations of these sources. The basic texts are: Daniel 7; Isaiah 11 and Psalm 2; Isaiah 42, 49, and 52–53. Through the use and elaboration of this material, the author has created a composite figure whom he considers to be the referent in texts about the heavenly one like a son of man, the Davidic king, and Second Isaiah's servant of the Lord.

The identification of these figures with one another is understandable; for all their differences, their characteristics and functions can be seen to be compatible and complementary. According to Psalm 2, the Davidic king, the Lord's anointed and son, will exact divine judgment on the rebellious kings and rulers of the earth, whose kingdoms will be given to him as his "inheritance" and "possession." Isaiah 11 emphasizes the royal function of judgment. In Second Isaiah, the servant of the Lord has traits elsewhere ascribed to the Davidic king. The Spirit of the Lord rests on him so that he is an agent of justice for the lowly (Isa 42:1–4; cf. Isa 11:2–5). His word is likened to a weapon (49:2; cf. 11:4). He is God's chosen one and servant (42:1; cf. Ps 89:3, 19–20; [4, 20–21 Heb]). He is exalted (52:13–15) in the presence of kings and rulers (ibid.; cf. 49:7), although they are not his opponents as in Psalm 2. In Daniel 7, after the judgment that destroys or neutralizes opposing monarchs and kingdoms, the heav-

enly one like a son of man is enthroned as the bearer of God's royal power and dominion. That Second Isaiah and the author of Daniel 7 ascribed, respectively, to the servant of the Lord and the one like a son of man the status and some of the functions traditionally attributed to the Davidic king is not surprising; this king is of marginal significance in Second Isaiah (Isa 55:4–5, "witness, leader, commander," and contrast 45:1, Cyrus, the Lord's anointed) and is not even mentioned in Daniel.

The first Parable (*1 Enoch* 37–44) begins by anticipating the appearance of "the Righteous One" (38:2). Here and in chaps. 52–53, this epiphany recalls the theophany in *1 Enoch* 1–5, and this indicates that the Righteous and Chosen One will function as the agent of God's judgment (38:3). "Righteous One" is a title of the servant in Isa 53:11. In *1 Enoch* 38, as throughout, the opponents are the kings and mighty, the exalted and powerful, who possess the earth and oppress the righteous and chosen. In chap. 39, Enoch sees the dwelling of the Chosen One of righteousness and faith (cf. Isa 11:5) in the heavenly court, among the angels and holy ones (cf. Daniel 7).

In the second Parable, chap. 46 takes up the tradition in Daniel 7. Enoch sees one who has "a head of days" (hereafter he is called "the Head of Days") and with him, one who has the appearance of a man and a gracious face like the angels. The term "son of man" is introduced. Here and throughout the Parables (with the exception of 69:27), the term is qualified: "this/that son of man" or "the son of man who . . . ," but, as is often the case in Ethiopic, which has no definite article, the demonstratives, "this" and "that," very likely reproduce the article in the earlier Greek form of the Parables. Thus, the text refers back to a known "son of man," the one already introduced. But even if this definite usage does not indicate a traditional *title* received by this author, chaps. 46–47 leave no doubt that the *figure* is derived from Daniel 7, or, less likely, a common tradition. Because the whole of the Parables is set in heaven and because the narrative begins with the son of man already in the presence of the Deity, no mention is made, as in Daniel, of the son of man coming with the clouds of heaven.

In chap. 47 the heavenly court is seated (cf. Dan 7:10) not for judgment, but for intercession. Then a new scene unfolds. Among the many, inexhaustible fountains of wisdom (48:1; 49:1), the seer witnesses the naming of the son of man, which is described in the language of the servant's call in Isaiah 49 (*1 Enoch* 48). However, in a major difference from Isa 49:1, this naming is traced back not to the womb, but before the creation of the heavenly luminaries (48:3, 6; cf. 62:7, "from the beginning"). From that time, the son of man was hidden with God, but now God's wisdom has revealed him to the righteous, holy, and chosen ones. This language of heavenly, hidden preexistence and subsequent limited revelation indicates that the author's description of this unique heavenly figure has been influenced by Jewish speculations about Wisdom's preexistence, role in creation, and earthly embodiment in the Torah and its exposition (cf. Prov 8; Sir 24; Bar 3:9–4:4; and in the Parables, *1 Enoch* 42). Although the son of man is not identified *as* Wisdom, aspects of the Wisdom myth have colored the Parables' eclectic portrait of this heavenly figure. The description is further complicated in 48:8–49:4. Reference to "the kings of the earth" (the term occurs only here in the Parables) who "have denied the Lord of Spirits and his anointed one" (48:8, 10) recalls Ps 2:2. Then speaking of the Chosen One who stands before the Lord (cf. Dan 7:13), the author takes up the theme of two parallel passages in Isa 11:2–3 and Isa 42:1 and conflates their imagery in order to describe the spirit that will enable the Chosen One to judge rightly (*1 En.* 49:1–4).

This judgment, anticipated again in 51:3; 55:4, is described in chaps. 62–63. This lengthy passage is a traditional reworking of Isa 52:13–53:12 (see below, B.3), and it also incorporates royal language and the term "son of man." The Lord places the Chosen One on the divine throne of glory (a Davidic royal term). As in Isaiah 52–53, the exaltation takes place in the presence and to the astonishment of the kings, who recognize the Chosen One and confess their sins. Different from Isaiah, here the kings and mighty are to be judged and condemned by the exalted one, who will slay them with the word of his mouth (62:2; cf. Isa 11:4 and its application to the Davidic heir in *Ps. Sol.* 17:27, 39). With this scene the heavenly drama of judgment reaches its climax. Vindication comes for the persecuted righteous and chosen, when their heavenly champion condemns their oppressors. Thereafter they will enjoy eternal life in the presence of the son of man and the Lord of Spirits (62:13–16).

The Parables reflect the creative development and mutual modification of complementary traditions. Daniel's heavenly figure is here described in language taken from Davidic royal oracles and Deutero-Isaianic texts about the servant of the Lord. He is not, however, the bearer of God's eternal reign, as in Daniel 7. He is seated on the divine throne of glory in order to execute judgment (cf. 69:27–29). It is in order to describe this function, which Daniel does not attribute to the "one like a son of man," that this author employs language from the servant passages and royal oracles. Conversely, the humanity of the Davidic king is replaced by the transcendence of the heavenly son of man, and the human suffering experienced by the servant (Isa 50:6–9; 52:13–53:12)—and in some royal Psalms by the king—is here a characteristic of the righteous and chosen ones, the earthly clients of the heavenly Righteous One and Chosen One.

These developments reflect an ongoing tradition. With the Exile and the demise of the Davidic dynasty, Second Isaiah reshaped older traditions about king and prophet and applied them to the servant, a mysterious figure who personified Israel and also stood against the nation. The largely nonhistorical and mythical language of the servant passages lent itself to an interpretation about heavenly and cosmic exaltation and judgment, which could easily be coopted into a dualistic, apocalyptic world view. Thus, the pseudonymous author of the Parables, standing in the apocalyptic traditions of *1 Enoch* 1–36, could conflate another part of his apocalyptic heritage, the heavenly enthronement scene in Daniel 7, with the royal traditions in Second Isaiah and their Davidic antecedents in Isaiah 11 and Psalm 2.

A dualism between earth and heaven and a revelation of the heavenly world are essential to the Parables, as they are to the rest of *1 Enoch.* These chapters profess to be a

revelation of the hidden parts of heaven and earth, based on a journey to these remote regions. Central to the revelation are the events, places, and personages involved in the great judgment that will adjudicate the evils and injustices experienced by the author's community—the righteous and the chosen. In particular, the seer brings to his people the knowledge that they have a heavenly champion and vindicator. He is hidden from their eyes, but not from their knowledge, and essential to their righteousness is their belief that he exists in a heavenly realm that prepares for judgment and that he will appear in order to bring vindication and execute judgment. At that time, the kings and mighty who oppress them will see what hitherto they have neither seen nor believed: in the face of the Chosen One they will see the chosen ones whom they have persecuted; they will acknowledge the reality of the realm from which he came; they will recognize the inevitability of their own judgment.

In their present form, the Parables provide one final twist to the drama of the son of man. Chap. 71 recapitulates earlier traditions about Enoch's ascent (especially the commissioning scene in *1 Enoch* 14–16 and the journeys in 17–36) and conflates them with Daniel 7. Enoch is greeted by the Lord of Spirits, who identifies him as the protagonist in his own visions. He is the son of man born for righteousness. This turn of events is totally unexpected. Previously, there has been no hint that the heavenly deliverer had an earthly existence, much less that Enoch had been seeing visions about himself. The text is probably an addition to an earlier form of the Book of Parables, but an addition with important parallels.

3. Wisdom of Solomon 1–6. In this text from around the turn of the era, an author posing as Solomon admonishes the kings and rulers of the earth to practice justice because God rewards righteousness and punishes wickedness. Central to his exposition is the case of an unnamed righteous one, a typical figure who is persecuted and put to death by rich and powerful opponents, but vindicated in the heavenly court, where he stands among the angels and condemns his persecutors. The two scenes that depict his persecution and exaltation (chaps. 2 and 5) are cast in the language of Isaiah 52–53, and significant parallels to the judgment scene in *1 Enoch* 62–63 and to *1 Enoch* 46 indicate that Wisdom and the Parables present variants of a common exegetical tradition, which conflates the Isaianic servant passage with material from Isaiah 14 and identifies the kings of Isaiah 52–53 with the royal figure who storms heaven and is cast down to earth.

Also significant for a comparison with the Parables are elements in Wisdom that reflect royal traditions. The framework in Wisdom 1–6 addresses the kings and rulers in language closely paralleled in Psalm 2 (cf. 1:1; 5:23; 6:1, 11 with Ps 2:2, 10 and cf. 4:18 with Ps 2:4), and the expression "son of God" is used of the righteous one (Wis 2:16, 18; 5:5) as it is of the king in Ps 2:7. In 9:9–17, speaking autobiographically, "Solomon" associates right judgment and kingship with the knowledge and understanding of God's counsel which is mediated by the descent of heavenly Wisdom, the holy spirit, which is present at God's throne of glory (cf. Isa 11:2–5), and in 1:6–11 wisdom is God's agent for the right judgment of all people (cf. *1 Enoch* 49:3–4; 51:3).

These parallels to *1 Enoch* 37–71 notwithstanding, Wisdom never uses the term "son of man" of the righteous one. Possible evidence of the influence of Daniel 7 may be found in Wis 3:8, which alludes to the exaltation of the righteous typified in chap. 5, construing it as governing or judging *(krinein)* nations and ruling over peoples (cf. Dan 7:14, 27).

In light of the aforementioned parallels, the differences between Wisdom and the Parables are especially significant. In Wisdom the protagonist is the persecuted one, who has been exalted as judge or accuser of his own persecutors; he is not a transcendent champion of the persecuted righteous. He is, moreover, a type of the many persecuted righteous and not a unique figure who is identified with Daniel's one like a son of man (note the plurals in Wis 3:8). In this respect, the tradition is logically prior to the form in the Parables, for it is identifiably closer to the Deutero-Isaianic source about the persecuted and vindicated servant. Nonetheless, the Solomonic author appears to have known an Enochic context for these traditions. Thus, 4:10–15 cites Enoch as the righteous one par excellence (does this presuppose *1 Enoch* 71 and its identification of Enoch with the son of man?), and the structure of the text—including its argument against those who deny the possibility of immortality and postmortem judgment—parallels *1 Enoch* 102–4.

The Parables and Wisdom parallel one another both in their use of Davidic material and in their failure to apply it to a future Davidic king. Although the author of Wisdom claims to be the son of David, addressing the (potentially) unjust rulers of the earth, his expected agent of ultimate justice will not be a Davidite. He is described as Second Isaiah's servant of the Lord, the righteous one who will condemn his own persecutors. Nonetheless the Greek author plays on the parallels between the LXX word *pais* ("servant, child") and the royal title "son" (Ps 2:7; cf. Ps 110:4 LXX, "out of the womb before the morning star I begat you" and *1 En.* 48:3 of the servant figure), and he applies language from Ps 2:4, 9 to the fate of the righteous one's antagonists (4:18–19). The author of the Parables also does not expect justice from a Davidic ruler and he applies the Davidic oracles to the servant figure. In this case, however, the Chosen One is not one of many who vindicate themselves; he is identified with the unique heavenly son of man in Daniel 7, who will appear, however, not after the judgment, but as its agent. That Wisdom and the Parables offer variants on a common tradition is crucial for our understanding of NT son of man traditions.

4. *4 Ezra* 11–13. This text from the end of the 1st century C.E. makes no reference to a figure called "son of man," but the two visions in chaps. 11–12 and 13 parallel Daniel 7 and describe in two different ways the coming of the anointed one.

In the first of these visions, the Roman Empire and its kings are opposed and judged by the Davidic king. In the vision (11:1–12:3), an eagle comes up out of the sea (11:1; cf. Dan 7:1) and is opposed by a lion who indicts it for deceit, injustice, and oppression of the meek, which constitute insolence against the Most High (11:36–43; cf. Dan 7:8, 25). For this it is condemned and its body burned (11:44–12:3; Dan 7:11). In the interpretation (12:4–39), the eagle is identified as "the fourth kingdom which ap-

peared to your brother Daniel" (12:11; cf. 11:39), which will arise on earth (12:13; cf. Dan 7:23); the lion is said to be the anointed one who will arise from the posterity of David and denounce the kings represented by the eagle's wings, destroy them, and deliver the remnant of Israel.

Chap. 13 recounts a second vision and interpretation, which corresponds to Dan 7:13–14. The winds stir up the sea (13:1; cf. Dan 7:2) and "something like the figure of a man" comes up out of the heart of the sea and flies with the clouds of heaven (13:3; Dan 7:13). The voice that issues from his mouth melts all who hear it (13:3b–4). When he is attacked by a multitude, he carves out a mountain, and standing upon it, he sends from his mouth a stream of fire that burns up all who have gathered against him (13:5–11). Then he gathers the remnant (13:12–13). According to the interpretation (13:21–58), the man is the one "whom the Most High has been keeping for many ages" to "deliver his creation and direct those who are left" (13:26). He is "my son" (13:32, 37, 52), who is hidden (v 52) but will be revealed (v 32) and will stand on top of Mount Zion to reprove the nations for their ungodliness, destroying them by the flame of the Torah (13:33–38).

Although the form of *4 Ezra* 13 and the image of the cloud-borne man parallel Daniel 7, crucial elements in chap. 13 differ from Daniel 7 and agree with the Parables of Enoch and their use and modification of Davidic oracles and, probably, Deutero-Isaianic servant motifs. Like the anointed one in *4 Ezra* 11–12, the man appears not to rule, but rather to execute judgment and deliver the righteous. The manner of this judgment by a fiery blast is reminiscent of Isa 11:4 and the use of this passage in *1 En.* 62:2 (cf. 49:3–4; cf. also *Ps. Sol.* 17:39, 41). Other motifs recall Psalm 2. The man's title is "my son" (Ps 2:7), and he judges the nations who have gathered against him at Mount Zion (Ps 2:1–2, 6; cf. *1 En.* 48:8, 10). A parallel to the Parables' use of servant material also seems likely. Like the Chosen One of *1 Enoch,* "my son" has been kept for many ages and hidden and will be revealed (13:26, 52, 32; cf. *1 En.* 48:3, 6–7; 62:7 and vv 1–3). Like the Chosen One, he will gather the righteous (13:26, 39; *1 En.* 48:7; cf. Isa 49:6, 8–9). Different from the Parables, *4 Ezra* 13 does not use the titles "the Chosen One" and "the Righteous One" and depicts no recognition scene to correspond to *1 Enoch* 62–63 and Isaiah 52–53. Although there is no enthronement as such, the man on the clouds has the office of executing divine judgment.

The stages of tradition in *4 Ezra* 11–13 are complex and difficult to trace. In their present form, the two visions refer to the Davidic messiah (cf. *4 Ezra* 7:28–29, "my son, the anointed one"). To this end, chap. 13 has domesticated cosmic elements of a vision that described a transcendent deliverer and judge. Precisely how this vision was related to Daniel 7 is debated. *4 Ezra* 12:11 mentions the vision in Daniel 7, but chap. 13 could know a source behind Daniel. In any case, similarities between chap. 13 and the combined son of man, messianic, and servant elements in the Parables suggest that at least one source was closely related to the Parables, if not identical with them.

5. *2 Baruch.* This apocalypse, which is roughly contemporary with *4 Ezra,* presumes the messianic identification of the central figure in Daniel 7 and his judicial functions. In chaps. 36–39, the last leader of the fourth kingdom will be taken to Mount Zion, where "my anointed one" will convict him and put him to death. A scenario like *4 Ezra* 13 is presumed. Both this text and chaps. 29–30 speak of the revelation, or glorious appearance of "my anointed one," thus suggesting a transcendental figure. Chaps. 53–74 make "my anointed one" the agent of a universal judgment, and the image of the lightning (53:9, 12) recalls the gospel logion in C.1.a below. Of importance in all of these texts from *2 Baruch* is the ubiquity of the title "my anointed one," which is missing in Daniel 7 and rare in *1 Enoch,* and the transcendental character of this figure, which is foreign to the biblical texts about the king.

6. Reconstruction of the Tradition. The evidence presented here indicates that the idea of a transcendent judge and deliverer was a known element in Jewish eschatology by the latter part of the 1st century C.E. The texts in question attest a common model that was composed of elements from Israelite traditions about the Davidic king, the Deutero-Isaianic servant/chosen one, and the Danielic "son of man." The model surely existed apart from these texts, and, in order to posit belief in such a transcendent savior figure in any given case, we need not presume that any one of the texts was known and used as a literary source. For the modern critic, however, the texts serve as extant testimonies and expressions of the belief. The texts and their sources in the Hebrew Scriptures do not represent successive developments in a single continuous process. The tradition was fluid and its components interacted with one another in different ways. The transcendent deliverer was often identified with Daniel's one like a son of man, although he was not always called "son of man." In *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch,* e.g., royal and messianic terminology predominated. In other cases not discussed here (Dan 12:1 and the Qumran texts about Melchizedek), a different kind of transcendent savior was envisioned without employing the imagery and terminology of Daniel 7. (See ESCHATOLOGY.) Common to all of these texts is an emphasis on the judicial functions of the exalted one—an element foreign to Daniel 7 but central to the Davidic texts and taken over into Second Isaiah.

The creative milieux for these traditions were situations of persecution or suffering, as is clear in Daniel 7 and *1 Enoch.* Although *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* do not mention persecution, the nation's suffering after the events of 70 C.E. is the omnipresent context in these works, and Roman injustice is singled out in *4 Ezra* 12:40–43 and is generalized in *2 Bar.* 72:4. In Wisdom 2 and 5, the persecution and vindication of the righteous one are in focus. In all of these texts, kings, princes, or the rich and powerful are the source of suffering, and thus the royal prerogative and function of judgment is understandably ascribed to the respective protagonists. A similar situation provides the context for parallel speculation about a Davidic messiah in *Ps. Sol.* 17.

The dating of the son of man-servant-messiah tradition is difficult because its clearest attestation is in the Parables, which are notoriously difficult to date. Nonetheless, the evidence in *4 Ezra* 13 indicates that something very close to the tradition in the Parables was known and substantially domesticated by the end of the 1st century. An earlier date is indicated by the Wisdom of Solomon (ca. 40 C.E. at

the latest) and its modified form of the conflation of servant and messianic traditions. Thus the conflated tradition attested in the Parables appears to have been extant early in the 1st century C.E. This hypothesis provides a context for the study of NT son of man traditions.

C. The New Testament

The term "son of man" occurs in the NT, with four exceptions (Acts 7, Hebrew 2, and Revelation 1, 14), only in the gospels, and there always on the lips of Jesus. With one exception (John 5:27), the gospels always use the definite article ("*the* son of man"), thus introducing the term as a known quantity, even in contexts where it has not been previously defined. Modern scholarship has raised a plethora of questions about the usage in the gospels. How does one classify the sayings? What are the various connotations of the term? To what extent does the usage reflect the Jewish traditions in Daniel, *1 Enoch, 4 Ezra*? Was there, in fact, a concept of a son of man figure prior to the gospel traditions? Did the historical Jesus use the term, and if so, which sayings are genuine and was Jesus referring to himself or another figure?

Since the term's use or nonuse by the historical Jesus has been very much at the center of the discussion, extensive debates have revolved about the philological issue. How was the Aramaic term *bar (ʾĕ)nāš(ā)* used in 1st century Palestine? If Jesus used it, could he have meant, simply "I," "me," or "this man"? If so, then one need not assume that his use of it implied a messianic allusion to the figure of Daniel 7.

The present discussion will build on the treatment of the Jewish texts provided above, with two questions particularly in focus. To what extent do the NT son of man texts reflect the conflated traditional developments described above, in their imagery and in the status and functions they ascribe to "the son of man"? Are there NT texts that do not use the expression, but appear to reflect these traditional developments? Such a study and classification of the texts may also help historical queries about earlier forms of the sayings that may be attributed to the historical Jesus.

Since the investigation is textually oriented, primary consideration must be given to the contexts and functions of the passages in the documents that presently contain them. Only in the case of "Q," the hypothetical source of the material common to Matthew and Luke, are the texts discussed with reference to an antecedent context, although the present contexts in Matthew and Luke are also discussed.

1. The Document "Q." a. Matt 24:26–27; 37–39 = Luke 17:22–37. The son of man's epiphany is compared to the flashing of lightning and to the coming of the flood in the days of Noah. This double comparison emphasizes the universal dimensions of the son of man's appearance and the sudden and unexpected character of the judgment it will bring. Both the Matthean–Lukan comparison with Noah and the additional Lukan comparison with Lot (which could be original; cf. Sir 16:7–8; Wis 10:4–7; 2 Pet 2:4–10) indicate that a few righteous will be saved, but the saying emphasizes the damning judgment that will fall on the majority of humanity. Although the comparison with lightning recalls the heavenly setting of the scene in Dan 7:13–14, the association of judgment with the son of man and the analogy of the days of Noah parallel the Enochic form of the tradition, for which the flood/final judgment typology is commonplace. The verb "revealed" in Luke 17:30 is not typically Lukan and may be original to the saying. The verb is used in *1 En.* 48:7; 62:7 of the present time and in *2 Bar.* 29:3; 39:7 and *4 Ezra* 7:28; 13:32 of the future. The idea is consonant with the public manifestation indicated by the comparison with the flood and the judgment of Sodom and recalls the judgment scenes in *1 Enoch* 62–63, *4 Ezra* 7 and 13, and *2 Baruch* 40 and 72.

b. Matt 24:43–44 = Luke 12:39–40. Like the previous saying, this logion emphasizes the sudden, unexpected nature of the son of man's coming, here compared to a thief's break-in. Thus, although judgment is not mentioned as such, the admonitory function of the saying indicates that judgment rather than Israel's salvation and exaltation (Daniel 7) is associated with the coming of the son of man. Knowledge of the saying is widely attested in the NT. It may well be reflected in Mark 13:32–36, which occurs shortly after the reference to the coming of the son of man in 13:26–27 (cf. Matt 24:42). On the tradition in Paul, Revelation, and 2 Peter, see below, C.6.a, C.7, C.8.

c. Matt 10:32–33 = Luke 12:8–9; cf. Mark 8:38 (below). These passages and their contexts emphasize the ultimate consequences of human confession or denial of Jesus, probably in courts of law. The preceding context in both Matthew and Luke (and hence Q) anticipates the final judgment when secret words will be publicly manifest. Physical death is contrasted with eternal destruction, and divine protection is promised to those who do not fear to give up their lives (cf. Mark 8:34–37). The one who "has authority to cast into Gehenna" (Luke 12:5; Matt 10:28) would seem to be God, but the idiom appears in Daniel 7, and in *1 Enoch* the son of man is the agent of the judgment that condemns to Sheol. Luke 12:8–9 and its Markan parallel agree against Matt 10:32–33 in their reference to the son of man. He is a future judicial figure in the heavenly court, whose function is specifically related to Jesus; he will respond in kind to human responses to Jesus. Presumed is the Enochic formulation: the son of man is the heavenly vindicator of the wronged righteous. Matthew's use of "I" rather than "the son of man" could be due to the evangelist's redaction based on his identification of the son of man with Jesus. Alternatively, it could reflect the earliest form of the saying, or at least a pre-Matthean variant that identifies the heavenly vindicator with the righteous one, as in Wisdom 2 and 5. The original verb in the second part of the saying is uncertain. "Ashamed" (Mark 8:38) is a verb that is used in judicial contexts to mean "lose one's case," and the noun "shame" occurs in *1 En.* 62:10; 63:11 in connection with the son of man's condemnation of the kings and the mighty. However, the use of "deny" in Mark 8:34 may reflect knowledge of the version of the saying in Q, where that verb occurs, and its omission in Mark 8:38 could be an attempt to avoid application to Peter (cf. 14:68, 70). Mark's reference to the "Father" and the "angels" has parallels in the Matthean and Lukan versions of the Q saying respectively.

d. Matt 19:28 = Luke 22:28–30. In the future, Jesus' disciples will be enthroned with the son of man to judge the twelve tribes of Israel. Although only Matthew men-

tions "the son of man," Luke's statement that "my Father has assigned me the kingdom" and the reference to enthronement parallels the wording of Daniel 7. It is uncertain whether judging *(krinein)* here connotes judicial functions *(1 Enoch)* or ruling (as in Daniel), or both. Important, however, is the relationship between one's association with Jesus and one's future exaltation with the son of man, which parallels C.1.c, above.

e. Matt 12:38–42 = Luke 11:29–32. Luke's reference to the son of man being a sign like Jonah is usually regarded as more original than Matthew's explicit reference to the son of man's death and resurrection (which reflects the passion predictions). Different from C.1.c and d, the son of man is identified as Jesus the prophet, who is compared to Jonah and wise Solomon. Unlike their preaching and teaching, Jesus' preaching is rejected in his own time. As in C.1.c, this rejection will have consequences at the final judgment, when the obedient Queen of the South and the penitent inhabitants of Nineveh will condemn the wicked of Jesus' generation. The term "son of man" may be used here of the earthly Jesus because he is expected to be the one who will preside over the final judgment. In such a case, another element in C.1.c is present, although the rejection that will be punished is here located in Jesus' earthly ministry rather than in the postresurrection community. The reference to "the wisdom of Solomon" is noteworthy; the book of that name recounts the career of the rejected and vindicated sage, using as a pattern the Isaianic tradition that *1 Enoch* applies to the exaltation of the son of man (above, B.3).

f. Matt 11:16–19 = Luke 7:31–35. As in the previous saying, "this generation" is criticized for rejecting the prophetic ministry of Jesus, the son of man. Indeed, they have rejected both the stern preaching of John and the joyous proclamation of forgiveness announced by the son of man. The wrongness of this rejection will become evident when "wisdom is vindicated." The motif recalls both Wisdom 2 and 5, whose rejected and vindicated protagonist is the spokesman of Wisdom, and the Parables of Enoch, whose exalted protagonist has some of the characteristics of preexistent Wisdom. Paradoxically, the son of man's ministry is characterized by the reconciliation of sinners in contrast to John's announcement of the kind of judgment that the Parables of Enoch associate with the son of man.

g. Matt 12:32 = Luke 12:10. This free-floating logion also refers to opposition to the human Jesus, the son of man, but it contrasts such words against Jesus in his ministry with blasphemy against the Holy Spirit in the postresurrection situation. In Matthew the logion precedes the saying about the sign of Jonah and is compatible with it because the sign of the son of man is his resurrection. In Luke, it is also compatible with its context because the son of man's future judicial functions relate to confession and denial in the postresurrection situation (cf. Mark 13:9–11).

h. Matt 8:20 = Luke 9:58. "Son of man" here is sometimes taken as a surrogate for "I," but at the very least, a contrast is indicated between Jesus the human being and the animals. This could imply the contrast evident in Dan 7:3, 13 and, thus, also Jesus' future status as son of man. Perhaps more to the point is Ps 8:4–8. Ironically, the son of man, who has been given glory and honor as well as dominion over the beasts of the field and the birds of the air, does not have the shelter they possess. If other NT applications of Ps 8:4–8 to Jesus' future power indicate traditional usage (below, C.6.b), the present text may imply an ironic contrast between present lowliness and future glory. In its Lukan context, the saying follows Jesus' rejection by unhospitable Samaritans, but it is uncertain whether Q understood Jesus' homelessness as a result of his rejection.

i. Matt 4:1–11 = Luke 4:1–13. Although the title here associated with Jesus is "son of God," Satan's offer to give Jesus all the kingdoms of the world and their glory or power is phrased in the language of Dan 7:14. The verb *paralambanein* ("take along") is typically applied to the accompanying, interpreting angel in journey visions, and the idea here may be that Satan disguises himself as a member of the heavenly court and offers Jesus the prerogatives of the eschatological son of man. The close connection between "son of man" and "son of God" occurs in other texts (see below).

j. Summary. Texts in this early stratum associate the son of man with the coming judgment. In 1.a, b, in their Q form, this future figure was not specifically connected with Jesus. In the remainder of the texts, human reactions to Jesus are a touchstone for the future judgment, although in 1.c, d it is not certain that the original form of the saying identified future son of man as the exalted Jesus. In 1.e–h the term "son of man" is used of Jesus in his earthly ministry. The double usage, with reference to Jesus' earthly and future activities, will be fixed in Mark.

2. The Gospel according to Mark. a. The Son of Man in the Future. (1) Mark 8:38. Like its parallel in Q (C.1.c; cf. C.1.d, e, f), this text envisions the son of man as the future judicial functionary who will act in accordance with human reactions to Jesus. In context it follows Peter's confession of Jesus and his rejection of Jesus' announcement that "the son of man" must suffer and die. This is a reminder that Mark's various usages of "son of man" cannot be dissociated from one another. The major elements in v 38 ("comes, glory, Father, angels")—all missing in the Q parallel—have counterparts in Mark 13:26–27, 32 (see C.2.a.3), which may indicate Markan redaction (but see below, C.6.a).

(2) Mark 14:62. In context, this reference to the future son of man parallels Mark 8:27–29. Different from Simon, who confessed Jesus as messiah, Caiaphas has cynically asked about Jesus' status as the messiah (v 61). His implied rejection, which will be explicit in v 63, leads to the threat that Caiaphas and his court "will see" the enthroned son of man as their judge. Although Daniel 7 is the source of the idea that the clouds of heaven will convey the son of man (here from the heavenly throne room rather than to it), other elements in the description parallel the tradition in the Parables of Enoch and Wisdom 2, 5. The son of man is also the messiah (v 61), seated at God's right hand (Ps 110:1). He will be seen (*1 Enoch* 62) by those who have rejected him (Wis 5:1–2) not only as messiah but as God's son (Wis 2:16–20; 5:5).

(3) Mark 13:26–27. The context is a description of the end time. When *false* messiahs have been proclaimed, the son of man will appear on clouds, as predicted in Dan 7:13–14, but coming from heaven, with the power and

glory he has received there (Dan 7:14). Although the judicial function described in *1 Enoch* is not explicit, the influence of that tradition is suggested by two elements not found in Daniel 7. Certain unnamed persons "will see" the son of man, who will send angels to gather "the chosen ones" (cf. *1 Enoch* 51; 61:2–5; 62:14–15).

b. The Son of Man on Earth. Mark's gospel reflects the semantic ambiguities in the term "son of man" and plays on these ambiguities, referring to Jesus the man.

(1) Mark 2:1–12. With an evident allusion to Dan 7:14, Jesus makes the paradoxical claim that in the present, on earth, this human being possesses divine "authority," which tradition said would be given in the future to the glorified heavenly "son of man." Different from Daniel, this authority involves not political dominion over the nations, but the forgiveness of sins. Thus Jesus exercises divine judgment, but the formulation differs from *1 Enoch,* where the son of man *punishes* sinners and saves the righteous. Both the emphasis on forgiveness and the scribes' opposition to this aspect of Jesus' ministry recall the Q saying about John and the son of man (C.1.f), and the opponents' rejection of the son of man's authority parallels other son of man texts in Q and Mark.

(2) Mark 2:23–28. This story repeats the paradox in Mark 2:1–12. As son of man, Jesus states what is permissible (*exestin,* the verb from which *exousia* "authority" is derived) on the divinely created sabbath.

c. The Son of Man who Dies and Rises (8:31; 9:9–12, 31; 10:33–34, 45). These passages predict the events that constitute the climax of Mark's gospel (cf. 14:21, 41), in each case using verbs that occur in Second Isaiah's last servant passage (52:13–53:12). The pattern of suffering and vindication will be embodied in chaps. 14–16 in a literary genre whose prototype is found in the recasting of Isaiah 52–53 in Wisdom 2 and 5. The use of the term "son of man" in these predictions again plays on the ambiguity of the expression. Jesus the man will be vindicated in his resurrection and will then appear as the glorified son of man. The term is further legitimated in the present usage because of the traditional conflation of servant and son of man materials in the Parables of Enoch. Mark identifies the vindicator with the persecuted one, as in Wisdom, but he parallels the Enochic form of the tradition by using the term "son of man" as a designation for the unique future champion of the chosen.

d. Summary. Mark uses "son of man" both as a designation for the human Jesus and in its traditional specific sense to denote his future status as the exalted messianic judge. Bridging the two usages are the formulas that describe the death and resurrection of Jesus; the suffering man will become the exalted son of man when the rejection that led to his death is overcome in the vindication constitutive in his resurrection. In the future as son of man, he will participate in the judgment of those who rejected him in his lifetime or during the time of the church. The purposeful ambiguity of the expression, which is an integral part of Mark's plot, is evident in the author's decision never to use "son of man" as the predicate of the verb "to be," as he does with the titles "son of God" and "messiah." Jesus is never said to be the one who "is the son of man." The lack of such explicit identification allows the ambiguity of the term to stand, and thus perpetuates the mystery of Jesus' identity among the human characters in the story in spite of his use of the term.

e. Son of Man and Son of God. Mark's theology has a peculiar terminological twist. Jesus the son of man is also son of God. The relationship of the two terms is evident in Mark 8:38, which refers to God as the Father of the son of man. Although the title "son of God" may well be a messianic designation derived from Psalm 2 (see Mark 1:11, where it is conflated with servant language also used in *1 Enoch* 49:4), its use by demons designates him as a unique divine being. Because he is such, he can forgive sins, rule the sabbath, and exercise God's power to still the sea (4:35–41). But son of God is not simply contrasted to son of man, as Jesus' divine status is contrasted to his human status. In the tradition of the Parables, the son of man who will judge is a preexistent heavenly being with some of the characteristics of divine Wisdom. Between such a preexistence, which Mark presumes for the son of God, and the future glory which he attributes to the exalted son of man, Mark posits an earthly incarnation as the son of man, Jesus of Nazareth. But like the righteous one in Wisdom 2 and 5, this man is shown to be son of God by obediently submitting to God's will in the human fate of death (Mark 15:39; cf. Wis 2:12–20; 5:1–5). Mark's three stage pattern of preexistence, incarnation, and exaltation results from his overlaying of two related patterns: *Enoch*'s preexistent and exalted son of man, and Wisdom of Solomon's persecuted and exalted righteous man/son of God. This overlaying of patterns appears to have been present also in Q, which presented Jesus as Wisdom's persecuted spokesman who would also be the exalted son of man.

3. The Gospel according to Matthew. a. Matt 13:24–30, 36–43. In this parable and its interpretation, judgment is the purpose of the son of man's parousia (explicating Mark 13:26–27 = Matt 24:30–31), and the son of man is identified with the earthly Jesus. The notion that the righteous will "be sown" as seed (contrast Mark 4:1–20 = Matt 13:1–23, where the unnamed sower sows the word of God) recalls similar terminology in *1 Enoch* 62:8 (see below). In the eschatological part of the parable's interpretation (13:41–43), the son of man dispatches his angels not to gather his chosen ones (Mark 13:27; cf. in the parable, v 30), but to gather the wicked and cast them into hell (cf. *1 Enoch* 62–63 and the discussion of C.1.c above). The positive side of judgment is present in the interpretation in v 43—a democratizing of the exaltation of the wise in Dan 12:3. The language describing the harvest parallels John's preaching in Matt 3:11–12 and thus ascribes to the baptist a proclamation about the future activity of the son of man as the judge.

b. Matt 25:31–46. This extensive description of the great judgment is rooted in Daniel 7: The central figure is the son of man who comes in his glory. The scene, however, is closely related to the tradition attested in *1 Enoch* 62–63 and Wisdom 2 and 5. As in the Parables, the son of man is a royal figure ("the king," vv 34, 40) who is seated on "the throne of his glory" (v 31; cf. the Parables of Enoch) for the purpose of judgment. In this judgment the nations recognize in the enthroned one the little ones whom they had helped or maltreated on earth, and on the basis of these actions they are granted eternal life or consigned to

eternal punishment (cf. *2 Baruch* 72). The passage is a hybrid of the forms of the tradition in the Parables and Wisdom. As in the former, the son of man is the champion and avenger of the persecuted little ones. As in Wisdom, there is a kind of identification between the persecuted ones and the exalted one: "what you have done to the least of these, you have done to me" (vv 40, 45). In its focus on the judgment of those who have responded to Jesus' persecuted alter egos in the world, this text complements the Q and Markan tradition about the son of man's eschatological judicial functions vis-à-vis those who have confessed or denied Jesus under duress (see above).

c. Other Passages about the Son of Man in the Future. Matthew's editorial work also reflects his interest in the future activity of the son of man. Although it is possible that he changed "son of man" to "I" in the Q logion in 10:32–33, he has changed Mark's "I" to "son of man" in 16:13, and in 16:28 he has altered Mark 9:1 to refer to the son of man's coming in his kingdom. Other additions define the son of man as judge. According to 16:27 (= Mark 8:38), the son of man will "render to each according to his deeds." In 10:23, he concludes Markan material about the disciples' persecution by promising that the son of man's parousia will cut it short. The juxtaposition parallels the Q saying about confession, denial, and the judgment, which follows in vv 32–33.

d. The Son of Man Exalted before the Parousia (26:64; 28:16–20). In Mark 13:26 and 14:62, Jesus predicts the future coming to earth of the enthroned son of man without indicating when the enthronement will take place. Matthew defines this more closely in 26:64, where Jesus informs Caiaphas that "hereafter *(ap' arti)* you will see the son of man . . ." (cf. Luke 22:69). The time of the enthronement is made explicit in 28:16–20. By the time he commissions the eleven in Galilee, the resurrected Jesus has already been "given all authority in heaven and on earth" (Dan 7:14), something he earlier refused, when Satan offered it to him.

e. Summary. Much more than Mark, Matthew emphasizes Jesus' identity and functions as son of man. The combination of Markan and Q traditions creates a relatively large number of references to Jesus' earthly activity as son of man, and Matthew's redactional touches and unique passages employ the language and imagery of Daniel 7 and the Parables of Enoch in order to allude to or describe Jesus' postresurrection exaltation and, notably, his future function as judge.

4. Luke–Acts. Luke, like Mark and Matthew, uses the term "son of man" in connection with Jesus' ministry, his death and resurrection, and his future eschatological activity, and with reference to each of these, Luke shows some predilection for the term.

a. The Ministry of the Son of Man. In his use of Mark 2:10, 28 (at 5:24; 6:5) and in his placement and redaction of some of the Q traditions (about the Baptist and the son of man, the son of man's homelessness, the sign of Jonah, and words against the son of man), Luke depicts Jesus' ministry as the activity of the son of man which leads to opposition and rejection. In a similar vein, Luke moves the material from Mark 10:35–44 to Luke 22:24–27, and revises Mark 10:45 to describe not the death of the son of man, but Jesus' mission, in his ministry, to seek and save the lost (19:10).

b. The Death and Resurrection of the Son of Man. Of Mark's sayings about the son of man's death and resurrection, only 9:9, 13 have been dropped. The second of these references reappears, however, in 17:25, where it is incorporated into the eschatological timetable that will culminate with the days of the final revelation of the son of man. The death-resurrection formula is also inserted into each of the three stories in chap. 24 to vindicate Jesus' predictions; the term "son of man" is used in the first instance (v 7), while messiah (Christ) occurs in v 26.

c. The Son of Man in the Future. The future judicial functions of the son of man are essential to Luke's eschatology, as is evident in his use of tradition and the details of his redaction and composition. Throughout, he admonishes the church to act with an awareness of the connection between its present existence and its future accountability to the son of man. The beatitude in 6:22 promises heavenly reward to those who are rejected not "for my sake" (cf. Matt 5:11, the Q parallel) or "for my sake and the gospel's" (Mark 8:35; 13:9–10), but for the sake of the one who will be identified as the eschatological judge—the son of man (cf. the parallel Markan and Q traditions at Luke 9:26; 12:8). Warnings about indifference concerning the time of coming of the son of man are expressed in the Q sayings in 12:35–38; 39–40; 41–48. The second of these speaks explicitly of the son of man's coming. The first and third are partly paralleled in Mark 13:32–37, which comments on the time of the coming of the son of man. Luke 17:20–18:8 is held together by the common theme of the coming of the kingdom and the end (cf. also 17:1, 7, 12). First, Jesus disclaims the possibility of apocalyptic calculation (17:20–21). Then after the Q tradition about the suddenness of the son of man's revelation (vv 22–37), Luke inserts a parable that promises speedy vindication to God's chosen ones (18:1–8). The placement of 18:8b indicates that the son of man will be the agent of that vindication and the judge who will look for faith on earth. In chap. 21 (= Mark 13), Luke announces the glorious coming of the son of man (vv 27–28 = Mark 13:26–27) and defines the gathering of his chosen ones as "your redemption." In vv 34–36, which replace Mark's ending to the section (cf. 13:32–37), traditional material (see below, C.6.a) has a Lukan nuance that recalls 18:1–8. The promise of redemption for the chosen ones is qualified with an admonition to be ready to "stand before the son of man," the judge.

d. The Present Exaltation of the Son of Man. Like its Matthean counterpart, Luke's version of Jesus' statement to Caiaphas specifies that "henceforth" *(apo tou nun)* the son of man will be enthroned (22:69; cf. Matt 26:64). Different from Matt 28:16–20, Luke documents the enthronement not in the account of Jesus' commissioning of the eleven (24:44–49), but in Acts, in two stages. First, drawing on Dan 7:13–14 and its typical NT revision, Luke compares Jesus' ascent on a cloud with his return on a cloud (Acts 1:9–11). Secondly, Stephen's vision reveals that Jesus' enthronement as son of man is an accomplished fact (Acts 7:55). The threat implicit in the Caiaphas scene recurs. Stephen's revelation vindicates the preaching that

led to his trial and triggers his condemnation to death for the sake of the one he has revealed to be son of man.

e. Jesus as the Chosen One and Righteous One. Although we must be cautious in our conclusions about early Christian applications of multiple titles to Jesus, Luke–Acts is especially noteworthy for its combination or interchanging of son of man, messianic, and servant terminology and imagery. Simeon, who awaits "the Lord's anointed one," blesses Jesus as "the light of the nations" (Luke 2:25–32; cf. Isa 49:6; *1 En.* 48:4, 10). In the crucifixion scene, Luke replaces Mark's "the anointed one, the King of Israel" with "God's anointed one, his Chosen One" (Mark 15:32; Luke 23:35). The voice at the transfiguration designates Jesus as "my Son, my Chosen One" (9:35), a messianic-servant conflation that differs from Mark's "my beloved Son" (9:7). In Acts the crucified and resurrected Jesus is three times designated as "the Righteous One" (3:14; 7:52; 22:14), a term applied to the son of man in Enoch and the persecuted protagonist of Wisdom 2 and 5. A nontitular use occurs in the centurion's confession (23:47; cf. Matt 27:4, 19, 24). This usage should not obscure Luke's interest also in Jesus' status as the anointed one who has entered his glory (see 23:42; 24:26; Acts 2:36).

5. The Fourth Gospel. John's use of "son of man" is an integral part of his whole, many-faceted view of Jesus. Although the term occasionally appears where one might expect "son of God," it is usually accompanied by elements familiar from the Jewish traditions or the Synoptic son of man passages. It is associated with judgment and with Jesus' humanity and his death. Most striking are the uses of the verbs *hypsoun* ("lift up, exalt"), which John uses only in conjunction with "son of man," and *doxazein* ("glorify"), which he applies to Jesus mainly in connection with his proper name or the term "son of man." Both verbs denote a status traditionally ascribed to the son of man in the future, but both are also used of the servant of the Lord in the LXX of Second Isaiah. This tendency to make "son of man" the subject of verbs that Second Isaiah applies to the servant parallels the Synoptic tradition and especially its passion predictions (above, C.2.c). Thus, in his use of the conflate Jewish tradition, John, like the other evangelists, employs the Enochic term "son of man" but also uses the notion in Wisdom 2 and 5 that the exalted one is identical with the persecuted one. John's special nuance is the use of verbs that interpret Jesus' death as his exaltation. The idea parallels Wisdom, and it also replaces the Synoptic notion of a future glorious parousia of the son of man. For John, as for Mark, a tension exists between Jesus' identity as son of God and son of man, but in John, Jesus' heavenly preexistence is explicit both to the reader and in Jesus' public discourse.

a. John 1:43–51. The strangeness of the comparison of Jesus with Jacob's ladder (Gen 28:10–17) should not obscure the close connection between this passage and Synoptic references to the son of man, in particular the accounts of Peter's confession and Caiaphas' rejection of Jesus. Nathaniel identifies Jesus as "son of God" and "King of Israel" (messiah) and Jesus responds with a reference to "the son of man." As in Mark 14:62 = Matt 26:64, he refers to heaven and what "you will see" *(opsesthe);* "the angels" add another traditional son of man detail. John's unique touches are these: the exalted son of man will not come on a cloud at the eschaton; in the time after the acension/exaltation, when greater things happen (cf. 14:12), the angels will minister to the church because of the activity of Jesus, the son of man. The title may imply the death/exaltation of Jesus and its corollary, his humanity.

b. John 3:13–16. The parallelism in v 14 indicates the centrality of Jesus' crucifixion, but the ambiguous verb *hypsoun* expresses the paradox that the lifting of Jesus on the cross is his exaltation to the place from which he came (v 13). This paradox, that the son of man is also the heavenly son of God (cf. 1:49, 51) is expressed in v 16. The verb *dei* ("it is necessary") prefacing a statement about the death/exaltation of the son of man parallels the formulation of the Synoptic predictions about the necessity of the son of man's death and resurrection (Mark 8:31 par.; Luke 24:7, 26).

c. John 5:25–29. This double tradition again identifies Jesus as both son of God and son of man and ascribes to both the uttering of the voice that will raise the dead. If v 26 states that the Father has "granted" *(edōken)* his son to have life, v 27 employs the language of Dan 7:14; he has also "given him authority . . . because he is the son of man." Like the traditional extension of Daniel 7 in *1 Enoch* and the Synoptics, it is the authority to execute judgment (vv 27–30).

d. John 6:27, 53, 62. In the present form of this complex chapter, which is marked by repetitions, developments in the tradition, and redaction, the following data are relevant. The "son of man" is the functionary of "the Father," and the terms are almost juxtaposed in v 27. He is the one who gives "food" for life (v 27), and is also the "bread" of life itself that has descended from heaven (vv 35–38). The "bread" that he gives is unexpectedly identified in vv 51–56 as the "flesh" (and "blood") of the "son of man." This may be a legitimate exposition of v 27 (Jesus *qua* man gives his life; cf. 3:14–16). The wording of v 62 recalls Synoptic passages about seeing the exalted son of man. Here the ascent that will be seen is the return of the son of man/son of God to his former glory.

e. John 8:28. As in 3:14, Jesus describes his crucifixion with the verb *hypsoun,* whose ambiguity is evident in the fact that those who lift up the son of man will learn from that who he is. Close at hand is Wisdom 5, where persecutors see the one whom they denied and put to death exalted among the sons of God and ready to condemn them. Jesus' identity as the heavenly one is clear in the context here, and his function as judge is mentioned (v 26).

f. John 9:35. Here alone in John, the son of man is the object of belief, and some mss read "son of God." The reference to judgment in v 39 is consonant with the term "son of man," and the point may be, "Do you believe that this man is the expected son of man?" As in 5:27, with its reference to judgment, the importance of Jesus' identity as the "son of man" is indicated by the term's syntactical function as predicate of the verb "to be."

g. John 12:23–41. This passage is a remarkable Johannine reformulation of Synoptic passion material. Verses 23, 25–26 recall Mark 8:31, 34, 35, 38. Verses 27–29 are a Johannine reformulation of the Synoptic Gethsemane tradition, and possibly the long reading attested in some mss

of Luke 23:43–44. Although the allusion to the cross in 12:32–33 need not reflect the saying in Mark 8:34, the verb *dei* ("must") in John 12:34 parallels Mark 8:31, as it did in John 3:14. A typical Johannine feature running through the passage is the interpretation of Jesus' crucifixion as the exaltation/glorification of the son of man, which the Synoptics see as separate events. The conflated citation of Isa 53:1 and 6:9–10 (vv 38–40) adds another Johannine nuance. The former passage, which begins Isaiah's description of the suffering of the servant, follows the description of the servant's exaltation *(hypsoun)* and glorification *(doxazein)*. The quotation of Isaiah 6 allows John to equate the servant's glory with the glory of the son, which the prophet saw in his inaugural vision. Now, as then, the people do not believe.

h. John 13:31. This last Johannine reference to the son of man employs the verb "glorify" four times in a way that parallels the servant passages in Isa 53:12 and 49:3. As earlier, the glorification is Jesus' crucifixion.

6. Paul and the Pauline Tradition. The term "son of man" never occurs in the writings of Paul; the Semitic expression would not have been understood by Paul's gentile audience. Nonetheless, at least two Pauline passages appear to reflect knowledge of Synoptic son of man traditions.

a. 1 Thessalonians. This earliest of Paul's extant writings is dominated by the expectation of the parousia of Jesus, who is called variously "Lord" and "Son." Several passages indicate the judicial nature of the parousia or of Jesus' functions in connection with it, and in some cases, the language or imagery parallels Synoptic son of man traditions.

According to 1:10, Jesus will come from heaven as the divine vindicator to rescue Christians from the coming wrath. In 2:19–20, Paul focuses on his own judgment (cf. 1 Cor 3:13–15; 4:1–5). When he stands "in the presence of *(emprosthen)* our Lord Jesus Christ at his parousia" (cf. Luke 21:36), the Thessalonians will be the cause for his hope and joy, his crown of boasting and his glory (cf. Wis 5:16). The references to blamelessness (cf. Jude 24–25) and holiness in 3:13 (cf. 5:23) indicate that judgment will be effected "in the presence of *(emprosthen)* God and our Father at the parousia of our Lord Jesus Christ with all his holy ones" (cf. the wording of Mark 8:38, and see also Did. 6:6–8).

With the death of some of the Thessalonians, Paul found it necessary to augment his preaching about the parousia by integrating reference to the resurrection into his eschatological scenario (4:13–18). A creedal formula about Jesus' resurrection from the dead is Paul's basis for his proclamation of the Christian's resurrection, and an appeal to "a word of the Lord" (4:15) introduces a brief description of the parousia, which places the resurrection in the context of events that are mentioned in Mark's description of the coming of the son of man (13:26–27) and Matthew's elaboration of the passage (24:31): the voice of an archangel; the trumpet of God (Matthew); Jesus' descent from heaven; and the Christians being caught up in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air.

This Pauline description is followed immediately by an admonition to vigilance, which also has echoes of Synoptic tradition (5:1–11). The comparison of the day of the Lord with a thief recalls Matt 24:43–44 = Luke 12:39–40. The vocabulary in 1 Thess 5:3, 7 and the admonition to pray constantly (v 17) occur in Luke's ending to the "Synoptic apocalypse" (21:34–36), with its warning to be watchful in order to be able to stand before the son of man. The imagery about sleeping and watchfulness is typical of several Synoptic passages about the parousia. Paul's comparison to a woman's birth pangs parallels the metaphor in Mark 13:8 and, more closely, the simile in *1 En.* 62:4.

b. 1 Cor 15:23–28. As in 1 Thessalonians 4, Paul argues from Christ's resurrection to the Christians' resurrection at the time of the parousia. Verses 23–28 describe events leading to the parousia and resurrection, employing language from a royal Psalm (Ps 110:1) and from two biblical texts that speak of "son of man," namely, Dan 7:14 and Ps 8:7 (cf. the conflation of Ps 110:1 and Dan 7:14 in Mark 14:62). Until the parousia, Christ is occupied with the destruction of "every rule *(archē)* and every authority *(exousia;* cf. Matt 28:16) and power *(dynamis)*." When he has finished this, Christ will deliver the kingdom *(basileia)* to God. The vocabulary is Daniel's with *dynamis* paralleled in Mark 13:26. Paul's special nuance is to interpret the Danielic nouns to refer to angelic powers (cf. Matt 24:29). He develops this theme first in the words of Ps 110:1; the resurrected Christ is in the process of placing "all his enemies under his feet." Then he brings in language parallel to Ps 8:7. The reigning Christ is "subjecting all things under his feet" (cf. Eph 1:21–22)—something the psalmist attributes to "man" and "the son of man," whom God has crowned with honor and glory. Different from Daniel 7, the enthronement here envisioned is temporary; final kingly rule will belong to God. The language of v 24 suggests the reversal of Dan 7:14; the enthroned Jesus will give back what was given to the son of man. Also different from Daniel 7, but like *1 Enoch*, the judicial function of subduing of evil powers is attributed to the exalted one and does not occur before his enthronement. The subduing of death, i.e., Jesus' association with the final resurrection, parallels 1 Thess 4:14–16, as well as *1 Enoch* 51 and 62. That God is here called "Father" (v 24) is consonant with the gospel son of man traditions that speak of God in these terms. In his argument about the resurrection body (vv 35–44), Paul's reference to "sowing" and "raising" parallels *1 Enoch* 62:8.

c. Other Pauline Texts about Jesus the Judge. 1 Cor 3:10–14; 4:1–5 emphasize that Paul and Apollos will be judged for their ministry. The first passage, with its reference to judgment by fire, reflects a Jewish judgment tradition like that in *Testament of Abraham* 12–13. The references to revelation and disclosure, not specifically found in the *Testament of Abraham*, are picked up again in 4:1–5, which has some remarkable terminological parallels with Luke 12:2–9, 39–46 = Matt 10:26–32; 24:42–51, where the relevant language is related to judgment and appears in the context of sayings about the son of man.

2 Cor 5:10 explicitly asserts the judicial functions of Christ, before *(emprosthen)* whose tribunal *(bēma)* all must appear to receive what they deserve for their good and evil deeds. The passage provides a context for Rom 2:1–16, which emphasizes that God is the righteous judge of human deeds and the secrets of the heart (v 16; cf. 1 Cor

4:5), but indicates that Jesus will be the agent of that judgment (v 16).

d. 2 Thess 2:1–12. This Pauline or Deutero-Pauline text about the parousia of "our Lord Jesus Christ," like its counterpart in 1 Thessalonians 4–5, employs the Synoptic tradition known from Mark 13. Here the transcendent messiah is depicted like the Man from the Sea in *4 Ezra* 13. In a formulation unique to this passage, the fiery blast from his mouth destroys the man of lawlessness, a satanic incarnation whose claims to deity recall texts about rebel kings in Isaiah 14 and Ezekiel 28, and whose performance of signs and wonders is paralleled in the descriptions of the false prophets in Mark 13. A similar confrontation is described in the latter chapters of Revelation (see below).

e. Heb 2:5–9. In this text and its context, the author reinterprets the exposition of Ps 8:7 in 1 Corinthians 15. Nothing is excepted from Jesus' authority (2:8; contrast 1 Cor 15:27). Whether this author believes that this authority is already in place for the exalted Christ is not clear. The "not yet" of the tradition, different from 1 Corinthians 15, refers to the incarnation and the passion of the preexistent Jesus, who "for a little while" was made lower than the angels, but whom God has seated at his right hand (Ps 110:1), crowned with honor and glory, and set over all things. Hebrews is remarkable both for its agreements with and differences from the Synoptic tradition. Son of man designates the human existence of the preexistent Wisdom, who is also son of God (1:1–4), but the author never refers to the coming judge as such.

7. The Book of Revelation. The risen and exalted Jesus, who dominates the action in this apocalypse, is a composite figure who parallels the Chosen One in the Parables of Enoch and the Man from the Sea in *4 Ezra* 13 and draws on the same biblical traditions that underlie the two Jewish texts.

In 1:7 he is presented in the imagery of Dan 7:14, but it is immediately clear that the glorious one who will come with the clouds is the persecuted one who will be seen by his enemies. The idea is conveyed through the language of Zech 12:10, which is used both at the conclusion of John's passion narrative and in the Matthean elaboration of Mark's description of the son of man's parousia (Matt 24:30 = Mark 13:26; cf. *Ep. Barn.* 7:9–10).

Although the description of the risen one in 1:12–16 recalls the angel in Daniel 10, the analogy, "one like a son of man" (v 13) suggests the figure in Dan 7:13. Elements in the letters that he dictates draw on traditional messianic language and Synoptic son of man traditions. The sword that issues from his mouth (1:16, 2:12, 16) is an element drawn from Isa 11:4 which recurs in *1 Enoch* 62:2 and *4 Ezra* 13:4, 10–11. His status as the son of God who will rule the nations with a rod of iron (2:18, 27) is also messianic, and the language derives from Ps 2:7–8, a text used in *1 Enoch* 48, Wisdom 2 and 5, and *4 Ezra* 13.

The letter to Sardis draws on the Synoptic tradition that compares the Day of the son of man to a thief (3:3; Matt 24:43–44 = Luke 12:39–40; cf. 1 Thess 5:1–7), and Rev 3:5, 8 reflect elements of both the Matthean and Lukan wording of the Q tradition about confessing and denying (Matt 10:32–33; Luke 12:8–9).

The scene in chap. 5 is a reshaping of Dan 7:13–14, with some remarkable differences. The Lion of Judah (5:5) recalls the Davidic messiah of *4 Ezra* 12, but he is quickly defined as the Lamb who was slain (5:6, 12). Although much debate has centered on the meaning of this image and its parallel in John 1:29, an appeal to Isa 53:7, 11 is supported by the traditional conflation of son of man, messianic, and servant language in the Jewish and Christian texts already cited. The lamb stands before God's throne as the Chosen One does in *1 Enoch* 49:2 (cf. Wis 5:1; Acts 7:55). According to 5:7–12, the taking of the scroll from God's right hand (cf. Ps 110:1) is related to the Lamb's receiving of power, might, honor, and glory (cf. Dan 7:14). Hereafter one hears about "him who sits on the throne and the Lamb" (5:13; 6:16; 7:9, etc.). Thus, the Lamb's relationship to God parallels that of the Lord of Spirits and the Chosen One in *1 Enoch* and God and God's anointed in Psalm 2.

Reference to the royal psalm recurs in 11:15, 18; 12:5, 10, although the last verse associates with God and his anointed one the power, kingdom, and authority which are delegated to the one like a son of man in Daniel 7.

Revelation 13 returns to Daniel 7 and the beast who rises from the sea, but the opponent of the two beasts of chap. 13 is the Lamb on Mt. Zion, the son of God—the Lord's anointed mentioned in Ps 2 and also placed on Mt. Zion in *4 Ezra* 13. Jesus' messianic status is again explicit in the vision in 19:11–21, where the imagery of Psalm 2 and Isaiah 11 recurs. He is seated, not on a throne, but on a horse, ready for battle against the kings of the earth. Functionally, this is the equivalent of the Parables' description of the Chosen One, who is seated on the throne of glory in order to judge the kings and the mighty (also a cliché in Revelation).

According to Revelation 20, Christ and those beheaded for the testimony of Jesus and for the word of God (cf. "for me and the gospel . . . me and my words," Mark 8:35, 38) will be enthroned with Christ for a thousand years, after which the judgment will take place in a court that is described like the tribunal in Dan 7:10. The book concludes with the promise with which it began: the exalted one is coming to commence the events already described (22:20).

Much more than any of the other NT texts, Revelation emphasizes Jesus' functions as ruler (whether in the present, in the millennium, or afterward), and in this sense John returns to Daniel 7. Nonetheless, the Jewish and early Christian developments of the tradition are evident in the importance that John assigns to the coming judgment as the resolution of the present crisis, and in the judicial functions that he ascribes to the exalted Jesus.

8. 2 Peter. Belief and disbelief in the parousia of Jesus is a central problem in this text. In 1:16–21, the guarantee of this parousia is the glorious vision which the Synoptics describe as a transfiguration. Here Peter seems to depict the event as the postresurrection exaltation of the son of man; Jesus "received honor and glory" (cf. Rev 5:12). A divine oracle "from heaven" announcing Jesus as "my son" and the location of the event on "the holy mountain" recall motifs from Ps 2:4, 6, 7. 2 Peter 2 alludes to the Enochic story of the rebel angels and the flood/final judgment typology (cf. 3:5–7), and the successive references to Noah and the Flood and Lot and Sodom recall Luke's version of the Q saying about the days of Noah and the day of the

son of man. The reference to the sudden appearance of that day (3:10) reflects the Synoptic saying about the thief, also cited in 1 Thessalonians 5 and Revelation 3. Knowledge of the context of the son of man saying in Mark 13 may be indicated in chaps. 2 and 3, in the warnings about false teachers and prophets in the last times, and in 3:5–7, which appears to know the logion in Mark 13:31.

9. Summary of NT Evidence. In a wide variety of ways, NT texts evidence knowledge of the forms, themes, and conflations in Jewish traditions about the son of man. Often taken for granted is the Jewish interpretation that identified the heavenly figure in Daniel 7 as God's anointed one and, sometimes, God's servant. The gospels usually echo the language of Daniel rather than *1 Enoch*, although occasionally the Enochic form of the text is especially evident (e.g., Matthew 25). Outside of the gospels, one finds in many places the belief in an eschatological parousia of the transcendental messiah, which is most probably traceable to a conflate tradition from which the Danielic and Enochic term "son of man" has disappeared.

Perhaps the most remarkable fact about the NT son of man traditions is their consistent ascription of judicial functions to the exalted Jesus. In spite of the frequent use of Danielic language and imagery, these texts, with the exception of Revelation, do not emphasize the Danielic motif of "kingship," much less an eternal reign. Constitutive and central is Jesus' role as judge (or, occasionally, witness), an element introduced into the tradition from non-Danielic, albeit royally oriented sources. This judicial element, more than any other, identifies the NT texts as derivative from the conflated Jewish traditions.

Most of the gospel texts about the exalted eschatological son of man presume that this figure is identical with the risen and exalted Jesus. Reference to the earthly Jesus as "son of man" reflects a complex process of speculation. The Wisdom-*1 Enoch* parallels, and perhaps the identification of Enoch as son of man, allowed one to find for the future son of man and exalted servant an earthly existence as the persecuted one. By the same token, the Enochic idea that the future son of man/Chosen One had an existence before creation allowed Christians—different from the author of the Parables—to posit the descent, suffering, and death of the preexistent son of man. This viewpoint was further facilitated by other Christian speculation about Jesus as the incarnation of heavenly Wisdom. The complexity of these speculations is further attested in Phil 2:6–11, which imposes the myth of descending and reascending Wisdom (cf. *1 Enoch* 42) on the story of the suffering and exalted servant of the Lord.

These complexities in early Christian speculations about Jesus are consonant with the manner in which Jewish traditions had already spun out many variations, reinterpretations, and conflations of basic texts, themes, and mythic patterns. The early Church's constitutive faith in the resurrected and exalted Christ led its teachers to conflate further what they saw to be compatible traditions in their Jewish heritage. Of this process of developing christology, we have only remnants and hints. Attempts to reconstruct this history must consider the possible extent to which the origins of Jesus' identity as "the Christ" may have been influenced by the traditions about a transcendent son of man-servant-messiah described above, which would have functioned as an interpretation of the Easter experience in the primitive Church.

10. The Historical Jesus and the Son of Man. For all of the reasons developed and reiterated by modern NT scholarship, we can never be certain whether and to what extent Jesus of Nazareth made reference to "the son of man." Nevertheless, several observations follow from the present exposition:

a. Some of the traditions about the exalted son of man found in Q and Mark seem to be attested very early in Paul.

b. With a few exceptions, gospel traditions about the exalted son of man assume, in their present context, an identification with the risen Jesus.

c. Texts that describe the opposition to Jesus (whether the rejection of his message or his condemnation to death) with reference to the son of man indicate that the variants of the tradition now found in Wisdom 2 and 5 and the Parables of Enoch were being read in light of one another. The suffering righteous one will be exalted as unique son of man; the son of man had an earthly existence that was characterized by rejection and that culminated in violent death.

d. In the light of this clear tendency to identify the son of man with Jesus, one must consider carefully whether texts like C.1.a, b and possibly C.2.a.3 may be traced back to Jesus. The fact that the last of these assumes an identification with Jesus in its Markan context and that Paul reads all of these as references to Jesus should not obscure the fact that in no case does the gospel form of the saying itself necessitate such an identification. This is in striking contrast to those sayings which clearly refer to the rejection or death of Jesus the son of man, to the church's persecution for his sake, or, probably, to the apostles' future association with the glorified son of man.

e. It is far more problematic to maintain that any of the sayings which identify Jesus as the son of man are genuine sayings of Jesus. To accept them as genuine more or less in their present form, one must posit that Jesus cast himself in the role of the suffering prophet or sage and, more important, that he believed that his vindication from death would result in his exaltation to the unique role of eschatological judge. Alternatively, one could expunge the term "son of man" as a secondary Christian interpretation of a genuine saying in which Jesus cast himself in the role of a rejected and suffering servant who anticipated vindication. Such a self-understanding is evident in a number of Qumran hymns ascribed to the Teacher of Righteousness, but neither in these hymns nor in this hypothetical interpretation of the gospel logia does the speaker anticipate for himself the unique eschatological status attributed to the central figures in the Parables of Enoch and *4 Ezra*.

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SONG OF SONGS, BOOK OF.

Also known as the Song of Solomon or Canticles, this is one of the poetical books of the Hebrew Bible, included among the Megilloth in Jewish tradition.

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A. Introduction

1. Title. The title is taken from the editorial superscription in 1:1, *šîr haššîrîm.* The duplication is Hebrew idiom for the superlative: the greatest song (cf. "King of Kings"). It is also known as the "Song of Solomon" in the tradition of English versions, and "Canticle" or "Canticle of Canticles," following the Vulgate *(Canticum Canticorum).* Its position in the Bible has varied. It comes after Job in the Hebrew Bible, and it is the first of the five "Scrolls" *(mĕgillôt),* where it is designated for the Passover reading. In the Greek and Latin tradition it comes after Ecclesiastes. It is often associated with Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, among the "books of Solomon."

2. Canonicity. The book is accepted as part of the Bible in both the Jewish and Christian traditions. It is not possible to discern the reason for its inclusion in the biblical canon, or when the decision was finally made. Solomonic authorship and a religious interpretation of the book are commonly alleged as reasons, but these are not conclusive. At an early date doubt was expressed about the work. In the time of the great rabbi Akiba (died about A.D. 135) a question arose whether it "defiled the hands," i.e., was canonical. He is recorded as saying that the whole world was not worth the day on which the Song was given to Israel (*m. Yad.* 3.5). Except for aberrant instances, no real opposition to the canonical standing of the book has been voiced.

3. Authorship and Date. The first verse ("the Song of Songs which [is] 'to' Solomon") has usually been interpreted as indicating Solomonic authorship. That may well be the editor's intent for the preposition "to," but of itself the preposition can suggest other meanings such as subject matter (about), or possession (belonging to). The association of the Song with Solomon is due to the mention of his name six times (1:5; 3:7, 9, 11; 8:11–12), as well as references to a "king" (1:4, 12; 7:6). In none of these instances does "Solomon" speak; all the references are in the third person, except for a vocative, "O Solomon," in 8:11. None of the passages demands Solomonic authorship. It must be admitted that no one has identified the author(s).

By the same token the date of the work cannot be ascertained. Dates before and after the Exile have been proposed, but none has established itself. As M. Pope (*Song of Songs* AB, 27) has remarked, "The dating game as played with biblical books like Job and the Song of Songs, as well as with many of the Psalms, remains imprecise and the score is difficult to compute. There are grounds for both the oldest and the youngest estimates." The tendency of modern scholarship has been to assign a postexilic date. But the arguments, based primarily on language, are fragile. The appearance of a Persian word, *pardēs,* in 4:13. can be balanced against *ʾappiryôn* (perhaps of Gk derivation, *phoreion*) in 3:9. No solid inference can be drawn from the appearance of alleged "Aramaisms," or of "archaic survivals" (Albright 1963).

Pertinent to the question of the dating is the unity (see below) of the work. It is conceivable that several poems within the eight chapters were written by different hands at various times, and only later were assembled into the present form of the book. But this is also a matter of conjecture.

4. ANE Love Poetry. Although love poetry has flourished in all cultures and ages, it is the literatures of ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt which are most pertinent for comparison with the Song of Songs.

For the most part the Mesopotamian poetry deals with divine love between gods and goddesses. In his study of the ancient Sumerian texts S. N. Kramer (1969) has pointed out such similarities as the portrayal of the male as shepherd and king, while the woman is both bride and sister. In a poem to Shu-Sin (who has the role of the god, Dumuzi) the woman hails the king as the "brother," who provides life and abundance (*ANET,* 644–45). King Shulgi invites his "sister," Inanna in the following words: "I would go with you to my field . . . I would go with you to my garden" (Kramer 1969: 100). Thus, some themes which occur in the poems relating to sacred marriage are also reflected in the Song. This is to be expected. There will always be commonplaces in love language, whether one is speaking of deities or of humans. But there is no sure way of detecting the direction of the influence (e.g., that the love life of the divinities provided motifs for the expression of human love). It seems probable that there was mutual influence.

Only a few texts deal with love between humans. The most pertinent is a dialogue between a man and woman (Held 1961). It reflects a broken love affair, and a reunion. The similarity to the Song lies in the love experience itself; searching for the lover, and enjoying the lover's favors.

The love poetry of ancient Egypt presents impressive parallels to the Song. See also EGYPTIAN LITERATURE (LOVE SONGS). There are four substantial collections, all dating from about the 14th–12th centuries B.C. (*AEL* 2: 181–93; Fox 1985: 3–81). They differ from the Song in that they present no dialogue between lover and beloved. They are rather soliloquies (and here they resemble the Song; cf. 2:8–17) by the man or by the woman. The woman addresses the man in the second person and sometimes in the third person (cf. Cant 1:2–4). The woman is described as "sister" (Cant 4:9–12; 5:2) and the man is called "brother" (never in the Song, but cf. 8:1). The collections manifest the same literary genres as are found in the Song: poems of admiration, yearning, description of physical charms, boasting, etc. (White 1978: 150–53). In both literatures the senses are deeply involved: touching, seeing, hearing, smelling (fragrance). Compliments, sometimes extravagant, abound. The beloved is most beautiful, unique, as in the Song (1:8; 6:9). The atmosphere in both the Egyptian and the Israelite poems is remarkably similar.

Other parallels between the love poetry of various ages and cultures have been pointed out (Robert 1963: 329–426). The similarities to the Song are evidence of the common experience of love, not of mutual influence.

B. Interpretation

1. Language and Literary Form. Considering the length of the Song, there is an extraordinary number of *hapax legomena,* and some defy translation, such as *talpiyyôt* (4:4), *taltallîm* (5:11), *ḥărûzîm* (1:10). Other words are rare in the Hebrew Bible, or are used differently from their normal usage elsewhere, such as *śzp* (1:6), *dgl* (cf. 2:4; 5:10; 6:4, 10), and *ḥnṭ* (2:13). In many instances the commonly received translation is uncertain, e.g. "rugged mountains" (RSV) for "mountains of *btr.*" A striking grammatical peculiarity is the use of the relative particle, *še-.* Except for the title, it is used throughout the work. But no conclusion about the date can be drawn from this. It occurs as early as the song of Deborah (Judg 5:7) as well as in late biblical books.

The metaphors ("your eyes are doves," 4:1) and similes ("your hair is like a flock of goats," 4:1) are not easily understood by the modern reader. Keel (1984) wisely insists on the dynamic and cultural character of the comparisons: "eyes" are really glances; "doves" are understood as messengers of love. All kinds of animals appear: sheep, horse, stag, fox, dove, goat, fawn, lions and leopards, ewe, gazelle and hind. Memorable is the oath, "by the gazelles and hinds of the field" (2:7; 3:6). There is a profusion of fruits and flowers, many of them exotic: vineyard, henna, cedars and cypresses, lilies and thorns, apples and raisin cakes, figs and pomegranates, myrrh and aloes, nard and saffron, calamus and cinnamon, palms, herbs, mandrakes, and nut garden. The comparison of the woman to a garden in 4:12–16 is singular in that no one garden in Palestine could have harbored all these plants, many of them foreign. Another unusual characteristic is the high number of proper names: Kedar, En-gedi, Sharon, Tirzah, Lebanon, Gilead, Amana, Senir and Hermon, Heshbon and its pools, Beth-rabbim and Carmel. The exquisite literary style, decorated with a large number of hapax legomena, is perhaps easier to explain on the view that the work derives from a highly educated author(s). But standards of comparison are lacking; we have no established "folk poetry" in the Bible which can be compared with the Song.

The literary form of the Song can be considered from two points of view. What is the genre of the book as it stands, and what subgenres can be found in it? The answer to the first question is hard to determine. Is the Song more than a collection of poems? Is it a work that has been given a certain unity and message by its structure (see the treatment of unity and structure below)? Or is it a haphazard anthology of poems, as 8:6–7, 8–10, 11–12, 13–14 might suggest? An overall designation of the genre of the book does not seem possible. The most neutral designation might be "love song." Even here the term "song" should not be pressed. It is reasonable to suppose that there were love songs in ancient Israel. The references in Jer 7:34; 16:9; 25:10; 33:11 to the "voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride" are probably to wedding songs. It is surely possible that some wedding songs are preserved in the Canticle, but we cannot prove this. As the work stands, it is a poem to be read rather than a song to be sung, despite the title (1:1) which gives it the unity of *one* Song.

The subgenres within the Song can be established with some success (Murphy 1981b). Modern scholarship has been able to characterize the following types: yearning (e.g., 1:2–4), admiration (e.g., 1:12–14), reminiscence (e.g., 2:8–17), *waṣf* (a description of the physical charms of the beloved, e.g., 4:1–7), boasting (e.g., 8:11–12), teasing (e.g., 2:14–15), and self-description (e.g., 1:5–6).

The interpretation of the Song as a *drama* is an attempt to provide a higher unity for these various types of poems. Origen (d. 253) was the first to use the word drama, and he also distinguished between several speakers, or *dramatis personae.* But it was not until modern times that this approach to the Song took hold (Ewald 1826; Delitzsch 1891; Pouget and Guitton 1948). Perhaps the most telling argument against the theory is that none of the proponents

agrees with the other. In some instances the text has to be rearranged in order to suit the theory, and in all cases the interpreter has to supply very subjective "stage directions." Again, there is a difference even in the identification of the main characters. According to Delitzsch there are two main characters, Solomon and a shepherd girl, the Shulammite (7:1). The drama deals with the development of their love, how Solomon takes her to Jerusalem, and how his love for her is ennobled. But the interpretation by Ewald recognizes three main characters. King Solomon and a shepherd are suing for the hand of the Shulammite. She ultimately remains faithful to her rustic lover and rejects the royal blandishments of Solomon (8:11–12). Moreover, the conflict and plot development that are characteristic of drama are not evident in the Song. One may agree that the Song is dramatic, but it is not drama as this term is understood in our culture.

The basis for the dramatic interpretation lies in the indisputable fact that there are various speakers within the eight chapters of the Song. Due to the gender indications, there is wide agreement on whether a man or a woman is speaking. It is more difficult to determine if the male speaker is one and the same person, because two identifications are offered: a king (1:4.12; 7:6) and also a shepherd (1:7–8). It seems better to recognize only one man, in view of the common literary fiction which endows the beloved with more than one identity (king, shepherd, etc.). The tendency is to endow the beloved with a social class above the one to which he or she actually belongs. This is the "make-believe" language of love, feeding off imagination and exemplified in love literature across the centuries, as Hermann (1959: 111–24) has pointed out.

How many other speakers can be identified in the Song? The "Daughters of Jerusalem" clearly speak in 5:9 and 6:1, and they are addressed several times by the woman (2:7; 3:5; 5:8). They do not seem to be significant persons in the Song; they serve more as a foil for the woman to speak (especially 5:9; 6:1). The "brothers" of the woman are alluded to in 1:6, and the woman recalls their words of long ago in 8:8–9. The "companions" of the man are mentioned in 1:7 and 8:13, but are not further identified.

Several modern translations (NAB, NEB, NJB) have followed the practice of the ancient Greek ms, *Sinaiticus* (about A.D. 400), in which the identification of "bride" and "bridegroom" was supplied by a copyist. In the main, there is a wide consensus on the identity of the speakers (male or female), and the marginal identifications are an aid to understanding the sequence of the text. It is worth noting that more lines are to be ascribed to the woman than to the man.

Many commentators (Budde 1898; Würthwein 1969: 31–33; Krinetzki 1964, but not 1980) have claimed that the original setting of the poems is a marriage celebration. But there is little in the text to sustain this. It is clear that 3:6–11 refers to a wedding procession—of Solomon "on the day of his marriage" (3:11). But this is the only explicit reference to marriage in the entire work. Elsewhere the man refers to the woman as "sister," and "bride" (4:8–10), but these terms of endearment do not establish the setting of the poems.

Another setting has been proposed by scholars who adhere to the so-called cultic interpretation of the Song (*IB* 5:98–148). This interpretation is an hypothesis concerning the *original* meaning of the poems in their *original* liturgical setting: the sacred marriage rite, or the marriage between a god and a goddess (Haller 1940; Kramer 1969; Schmökel 1956; Waterman 1948). The arguments are by their very nature hypothetical, since so much depends on the reconstruction of the original background. Pope (*Song of Songs* AB, 145–63) presents a sympathetic and critical view of the development of this interpretation, and he is convinced that the cultic view is "best able to account for the erotic imagery" in the work (*Song of Songs* AB, 17). However, at the most this approach deals with the prehistory of the text. Even Meek explains the Song in its present form as (human) love poetry: "The transforming influence of later Yahwism has almost completely obliterated the elements of the dying and rising god, the sacred marriage, and the place of the king in the rites; but enough traces remain to show that they were once there, although long since forgotten" (*IB* 5: 95). It is difficult to favor a view that does not deal with the meaning of a text as we presently have it, and insists on making the hypothetical prehistory of the text the determinant of meaning. Of itself love poetry is applicable to the human and the divine levels, and each level doubtless influences the other. But it is precarious to tie the meaning of the Song into a reconstructed history of Israelite religion.

More intriguing is the question of the setting which the poems receive by being made into a book of eight chapters and promulgated as a unit. What was the occasion and purpose of this? It has been surmised that it would have been the Hebrew sages that were responsible for the preservation and publication of the work. They would have recognized that the poems nurtured the ideals which were part of the wisdom teaching, and the attribution of "authorship" to Solomon, the wise man par excellence, gives some credence to this hypothesis (*IOTS*, 574–76; Würthwein 1969: 31).

2. Structure and Unity. The content of the eight chapters emerges clearly enough from the literary forms mentioned above (yearning, admiration, etc.), and from a discussion of the structure of the work. Even though there are many unsolved problems concerning the structure and unity of the book, there seems to be a drive towards unity in the text, whether this is to be ascribed to an original author or an editor of the collection (Murphy 1977; 1979).

There is no scholarly consensus concerning the structure of the Song. As few as six poems have been suggested (Miller 1927), and some scholars have recognized as many as twenty-five or more (Landsberger 1954; Krinetzki 1980). Angénieux (1964) established eight poems on the basis of primary (e.g., 2:7) and secondary (e.g., 1:4; 2:4; etc.) refrains, but he had to resort to a hypothetical reconstruction of the text. Exum (1973) has a more sophisticated analysis which establishes eight poetic units by means of the repetition of key phrases and themes and parallelism between the poems.

For convenience the following structure is proposed as a key to understanding the coherence of the Song in its present form. These units may very well have been formed out of previous poems, but this question cannot be treated here. The key to this structure is recognition of dialogue as the dominant thread of unity. Where dialogue is inter-

rupted, and cannot be continued in a consecutive manner, separate poems should be recognized. The structure presumes that there are only two main speakers, the man and the woman (see above the discussion of literary form).

1:2–6. Introduction. The woman expresses her yearning for her lover (who is present apparently only in spirit), and associates other women ("maidens") with herself. Her description of herself to the Daughters of Jerusalem (vv 6–7) introduces the theme of the vineyard (herself; cf. 2:15; 8:12).

1:7–2:7. A sustained dialogue between the man and the woman, in which a request for a rendezvous is answered in a teasing way by him (vv 7–8). Both continue the dialogue in terms of mutual admiration (1:9–2:7) until the woman finishes with an adjuration to the Daughters of Jerusalem (2:7, this serves as a kind of refrain; cf. 3:5; 8:4).

2:8–17. This is a reminiscence in which the woman describes a visit from her lover and his invitation to her ("Arise, my beloved, my beautiful one, and come!" 2:10). Her response closes with an inclusion (gazelle, stag, and mountains in v 17; cf. vv 8–9) as she invites him to herself.

3:1–5. The woman describes to the Daughters of Jerusalem the search for and discovery of her beloved (contrast 5:2–8). The theme of absence and presence of the lover is common in love poetry. The poem ends with the adjuration (cf. 2:7).

3:6–11. These lines end up with an address to the Daughters, but it is difficult to determine who speaks them. They describe a solemn procession of Solomon and his retinue, apparently on the day of his marriage (v 11).

4:1–5:1. The man delivers a *waṣf,* or description of the physical charms of the woman, from head to breasts, and invites her to come from Lebanon (a symbol of her inaccessibility), as he describes the ravishing effect which she has upon him (vv 1–11). He continues with the garden poem (vv 12–16) which envisions her as a paradise of exotic plants and as a sealed fountain. The last couple of lines are probably her response: "let my lover come to his garden and eat its choice fruits." In 5:1 he announces his coming to the garden (the very last line is obscure, 5:1d).

5:2–6:4. This is a dialogue between the woman and the Daughters of Jerusalem. She begins with a description of a visit from her beloved, reminiscent of 3:1–5. He disappears, but this time she cannot find him. When the Daughters ask her for a description of the man (5:9), she responds with a *waṣf* detailing his physical charms. Their interest aroused, the Daughters want to join in the search, but she replies that he has never been really lost; he has come to his garden, and they belong to each other (6:2–3).

6:5–12. The man delivers a poem in admiration of the woman, her beauty, and uniqueness. The final verses are obscure, and v 12 seems to be hopelessly corrupt.

7:1–8:4. This dialogue issues into a *waṣf* describing the woman's beauty. It begins as bystanders express an interest in gazing at her. After the description the man clearly expresses his passionate yearning for her (vv 7–10). She interrupts him in order to proclaim their unity (vv 10–11), and invites him to a rendezvous in the fields. Her declarations to him end with an adjuration to the Daughters (8:4; cf. 2:7; 3:5).

8:5–14. These verses are not united by dialogue, and have to be interpreted as separate units: vv 5, 6–7, 8–10, 11–12, 13–14. Vv 6–14 have been aptly characterized as "appendices" (Robert 1963: 308). The most famous lines, and apparently a high point in the poem is the woman's description of love as being as strong as death, as hard as Sheol. Just as death/Sheol pursues every living being, so does the lover pursue the beloved. In vv 8–10 the woman responds to her brothers' plans concerning her. Either the man or the woman proclaims the triumphant comparison between the woman and Solomon's vineyards (harem?). The Song ends in 8:13–14 on the mysterious note that characterizes the whole work. He asks to hear her voice, and she responds with an echo of 2:17.

3. Levels of Meaning. In a sense the interpretation has already been indicated in the analysis of the literary forms and structure given above. The Song clearly deals with sexual love between a man and a woman. There is an almost unanimous consensus among modern scholars that the literal historical meaning of the Song has to do with sexual love. This seems to be the obvious meaning of the many expressions of both physical and spiritual affection between the lovers, and should need no further proof. It is not to be described as "naturalistic" (Robert 1963: 52–54) nor as "free love" (Rudolph, *KAT,* 106). Both of these terms are pejorative, and "free love" is a modern, not an Israelite idea. The Song must be appreciated simply for what it is in itself. It needs no defense for its "naturalism." It is in line with the basic affirmation of creation, especially of man and woman, as good (Genesis 1). It also harmonizes with the sages' understanding of sex as portrayed in Prov 5:15–19, and in Prov 30:18–19 ("the way of a man with a maiden," a great mystery). In the rest of the Bible marriage is usually viewed from a social point of view, the union of families and property, and the importance of descendants. In the Song sexual love is treated as a value in and for itself.

But the question can be asked whether this level of understanding exhausts the meaning of the Song. Is another meaning possible? Perhaps this question would not even be raised were it not for the striking history of interpretation (see below) which the work has enjoyed. For centuries readers have consistently interpreted the Song in terms of divine love. What can be said about this view?

First of all, the development of modern hermeneutical theory has shown that there is no "one" meaning for a religious classic. The literal historical sense does not exhaust the meaning of a literary work. The tension between what a literary work meant "back then," and what it means "now," still remains, and the history of the interpretation of the work is a good indication of how meaning has evolved in relation to a given work. However, the historical methodology applied to biblical works cannot be dismissed. It remains all the more important, for it helps to eliminate exaggerations and vagaries of interpretation to which the text may be subjected. One must seek continuity between what the text said to its original audience and what it continues to bring to its inheritors.

Secondly, it is clear from the history of the interpretation of the Song (see below) that it has been understood as dealing with more than human love. Can one find a basis for this in the text itself? Two aspects come to mind. First there is the powerful symbol of sexual love as this has been

developed within the Bible itself. The relationship between the Lord and his people was symbolized early on in terms of sexual attraction. The Lord is a "jealous God" (Exod 20:5). The covenant with Israel is not merely a legal contract. It is a covenant of love, and the prophets develop this theme to the full (Hosea 1–2; Isa 1:21; Jer 3:1; Ezekiel 16 and 23). While this theme appears more often in the context of Israel's infidelity, there are many passages which use the symbol to express fidelity (Hos 2:14–23; Isa 62:4–5). It is true that these writings explicitly identify the lovers as God and Israel, whereas in the Song there is no such indication. Yet one cannot deny the power of the symbol of sexual experience to evoke another level of meaning. It can even be said that sexual love is mentioned in the Bible more frequently in the case of the Lord and the people than in the case of human beings. As a statement on human love, the Song remains open-ended. It can be, and actually was interpreted in terms of divine love.

Perhaps there is another reason, emerging from the text of the Song (8:6):

> Set me as a seal on your heart,
> as a seal on your arm;
> Strong as death is love,
> relentless as Sheol is ardor;
> Its darts are fiery darts,
> the flame of Yah (8:6).

Not all translations would agree with the above (but cf. NJB). The last line is a literal translation of *sālhebetyáh* in the MT: "the flame of Yah." The term is to be interpreted as a noun to which the short form of *yhwh,* namely *yāh,* has been added. Most modern translations interpret this as a kind of superlative (a Yah flame, or an intense flame). But the above version is also possible, and it expresses a relationship between the flames of human and divine love. One cannot define this any more clearly, as though Yah were the agent or origin of the flame. But the text is susceptible to broad interpretation, even to the idea that human love is in some way a participation in divine love (cf. 1 John 4:7–8).

C. History of Interpretation

The history of the interpretation of the Song is not as bizarre as some are inclined to think. Although Pope (*Song of Songs* AB, 89) writes that no other biblical book "has had so many divergent interpretations imposed on its every word," there is a remarkable unity to be found in the history of its interpretation. Basically this has expressed itself in two directions. As indicated above, the modern view, especially from the 17th century on, is that the Song deals with human love. But for centuries before this, the common understanding of the Song was that it described the love of God and God's people. There is extraordinary agreement between both Jewish and Christian tradition on this point. For the Jewish community, the Song reflected the love relationship between God and Israel. For Christians, the theme was the love relationship between God (Christ) and the Church (or also, the individual person).

This view has been called "allegorical," because the use of allegory as an interpretive method has been employed. But the view can be divorced from the allegorical method, and simply called the "traditional" understanding. Properly speaking, an allegory is a literary work in which the various details in the text have a transferred meaning (cf. Ezek 17:1–24; Eccl 12:3–4). But an allegorical interpretation is not to be foisted on a text which is not intended as an allegory. The Song was not written as an allegory, but the allegorical method of interpretation, so popular in the Hellenistic age and later, has been employed in exaggerated fashion by the representatives of the "traditional" interpretation.

The Targum interprets the Song (Gollancz 1973) as an historical allegory of Israel's history from the Exodus through the entry into Canaan and the establishment of the monarchy, down to the exile and restoration. The same view is reflected in the Midrash Rabbah, a verse by verse commentary on the biblical text. Ginsburg (1857: 20–60) has provided a brief sketch of the steady development of the traditional view among Jewish scholars through the medieval and modern periods. He notes that the translation of the Song by Moses Mendelssohn in 1788 marks a turning point, as a tendency to the literal sense began to appear (1970: 58–59). The literal understanding has been continued by several Jewish scholars (Gordis 1954; Jastrow 1921; Fox 1985).

The most influential Christian commentator on the Song of Songs has been Origen, whose homilies (covering 12:1–2:14) and three volumes of a ten volume commentary (covering 1:1–2:15) have been preserved (see Lawson 1957). While he is aware of a literal sense, his exposition is motivated by what he considers pastoral concerns, and hence the Song deals with the relationship between Christ and the Church (and the individual soul). He has recourse to allegory in order to develop this point of view. Another major influence was Gregory the Great (d. 604). He too was aware of the obvious meaning of the text, but he used allegory "as a certain machine" to elevate the soul to God (Murphy 1981a: 511). Obviously, the traditional interpretation of the Song in the Christian community was motivated by certain ascetic and spiritual views that prevented a proper understanding of the literal historical sense. Yet the Song became one of the most popular books in the Middle Ages, when it was accorded more "commentaries" than any other OT book. In the 12th century alone, there were some thirty commentaries written on the Canticle. Outstanding among these is the work of Bernard of Clairvaux: Eighty-six sermons delivered over a period of eighteen years, 1135–1153 (see Bernard 1980). These were conferences to his fellow monks, the Cistercians of Clairvaux where he was Abbot, and he did not succeed in getting beyond chap. 2! Again, the interpretation is the traditional one, but the outlook is refreshing. Although the allegorical method is not absent, Bernard had the knack of recognizing the experience of love which is in the Song. He called it "the book of experience" (Sermon 3, 1), and for him the greatest experience is love: "Love is alone sufficient by itself; it pleases by itself, and for its own sake. It is itself a merit, and itself its own recompense. It seeks neither cause, nor consequences, beyond itself. It is its own fruit, its own object and usefulness. I love, because I love; I love, that I may love" (Sermon 83, 4).

The traditional understanding is reflected also in a

masterpiece of Spanish poetry, the "Spiritual Canticle" of John of the Cross (d. 1591). It was composed in the sufferings of imprisonment, and utilizes the phraseology of the Song in order to express a spiritual union with God. The influence of the traditional interpretation has been paramount in the history of literature (Scheper 1971).

With the Reformation, there is only a slight deviation from tradition. Luther's commentary accepts Solomonic authorship, and he interprets the work as "an encomium of the political order, which in Solomon's day flourished in sublime peace" (*WA* 15: 194–95). The allegory remains, but the referents have changed. However, the allegorical approach continued to be dominant among Protestant writers for the next several centuries. Among Catholic writers there was a practical unanimity inherited from the past, concerning the traditional meaning of the Song up to the middle of the 20th century. Since then the common understanding has shifted to the recognition that the direct literal sense deals with human love. Further dimensions of interpretation are indicated as the "typical" sense (Miller 1927), or *double entendre* (Tournay 1982), or as simply another level of meaning (Murphy 1981a).

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SONGS OF THE SABBATH SACRIFICE. A Dead Sea Scroll text Extant in 8 fragmentary copies from Qumran Cave 4 (4Q*400–407*), one from Cave 11 (11QShirShabb), and one from Masada (MasShirShabb), as reconstructed, the original composition contained a cycle of 13 songs, one for each of the first 13 Sabbaths of the year. Each song began with a heading and date (e.g., "By/ for the instructor. Song of the whole-offering of the 7th Sabbath on the 16th of the month"). A call to praise God, addressed to the angels, followed. The body of the songs were variously developed, but each contained some description of angelic praise, the heavenly temple, and the angelic priesthood. From the imperative calls to praise and the occurrence of some first person plural forms (e.g., "How shall we be considered," "let us exalt"), it appears that the songs were intended for communal worship.

Although many of the songs are preserved only in a highly fragmentary condition, there seems to have been an overall structure to the work. The first 5 songs contain an account of the angelic priesthood. Songs 6 and 8 are formulaic descriptions of the praises and blessings of the 7 chief and deputy princes. The 7th song consists of 7 calls to praise addressed to the 7 angelic councils, followed by an account of the praises of the heavenly sanctuary itself. The 9th through the 13th songs describe the heavenly temple and its praise of God. The 12th song contains a lengthy description of the *merkābāh*, the chariot throne of God (see Ezek 1:10). In the final song the vestments of the angelic high priests are described.

It is difficult to say with certainty whether the Sabbath Songs were composed by the Qumran community. The presence of one copy at Masada and the use of *ʾĕlōhîm* as a divine name (avoided in other Qumran sectarian literature) could indicate a pre-Qumran origin for the text. Whether that is the case or not, the large number of mss at Qumran and the influence of the Sabbath Songs on

certain clearly sectarian compositions (the *Songs of the Maśkil* [4Q*510–511*] and the *Blessings and Curses* [4Q*Berakot*$^{a-f}$]), indicate that the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* were highly influential at Qumran. The content of the material makes it likely that the Sabbath Songs were composed for a group with a strong priestly identity. While there is no evidence from the content for a date of composition, the paleography of the oldest mss suggests a date not much later than the beginning of the 1st century B.C.E.

As liturgical texts, the Sabbath Songs are not apocalypses. But their description of the heavenly temple is in many respects close to what one finds in *1 Enoch* 14, the *Testament of Levi,* and Revelation. Similarly, although they do not appear to have been used in individual mystical praxis, the Sabbath Songs share many features of content and style with the texts of *hêkālôt* or *merkābāh* mysticism.

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SONS OF GOD. In Greek literature from Homeric times there is the idea of Zeus as "father of gods and men." In the later Greco-Roman Mediterranean world, Stoic philosophy stressed the unity of humankind on the basis that all are by nature children of God. An echo of this appears in the quotation of a well-known verse of the poet Aratus put on Paul's lips in the Areopagus speech (Acts 17:28). But the biblical idea of divine sonship and more specifically the Christian conception of believers as "sons/children of God" owes little to such external influences, having its roots in ideas and forms of expression enshrined in early Israelite theology. This article will trace divine sonship patterns in the OT, Intertestamental and Rabbinic Literature, before examining the NT data. See also SON OF GOD.

A. Old Testament

The designation "sons (son) of God" occurs in the OT in three clearly definable categories depending on whether it refers (1) to divine or angelic beings; (2) to Israelites or Israel as a whole; or (3) individually to the king.

The use of the expression "sons of God" (more correctly "sons of the gods") with reference to heavenly beings does not imply actual progeny of God (or the gods) but reflects the common Semitic use of "son" (Heb *ben*) to denote membership of a class or group. "Sons of the gods," then, designates beings belonging to the heavenly or divine sphere. Such allusions to a plurality of divine beings, occurring especially in the Psalms and related poetic literature, represent a stage when Israel's Yahwism found room for a pantheon in many ways similar to Canaanite models (cf. the literature of Ugarit). In the Bible, however, such beings are clearly subordinate to Yahweh, forming his heavenly court or council (Job 1:6; 2:1; 38:7; Pss 29:1; 82:6; 89:6; cf. Deut 32:43 LXX). Echoes of deliberation with such a court can be heard in the mysterious plural references of Gen 1:26; 3:22; 11:7. As shown by the episode related in Gen 6:1–4, where the "sons of the gods" take wives from the daughters of men, and also by Ps 82:6–7, a key point of distinction between the "sons of the gods" and human beings lay in the matter of life and death: humans remain mortal, unless given a share in the "spirit" common to Yahweh and his host. Eventually the "sons of the gods" were fused with the concept of angels—a development already to be seen in Dan 3:25 and reflected, for the most part, in the LXX.

The description of Israel or Israelites as "sons (son) of God," together with the corresponding idea of God as "Father," is hardly a leading or frequently occurring motif in the OT, though it does feature across a fairly wide cross section of texts. The usage never implies real paternity on God's part. Rather, in a metaphorical way it expresses the intimate and unique relationship between Yahweh and Israel, founded upon the fact that he has chosen and created this people for himself (Deut 14:1; 32:5–6, 19–20; Isa 43:6–7; 64:8; Jer 2:27; Mal 2:10). This filial relationship, while offering assurance and hope for Israel (Isa 63:8, 16; Jer 31:9, 20), also requires a faithful pattern of life. Thus assertions of sonship often serve to heighten reproach (Deut 32:5–6; Isa 1:2–4; 30:9; Hos 11:1–2). In such situations Israel can expect the kind of discipline that sons receive from their fathers (Deut 1:31; 8:5; Mal 1:6; 3:17; Prov 3:11–12). The simple metaphor of sonship becomes a more formal and explicit statement in certain contexts where Israel's status as God's people is affirmed over against other nations (against Pharaoh in Exod 4:22–23; cf. Deut 14:1–2). The association of sonship and "people of God" comes out in a particularly striking way in the oracle of salvation in Hos 2:1 (—Eng 1:10): ". . . and in the place where it was said to them, 'You are not my people,' it shall be said to them 'Sons of the living God.' " Thus sonship emerges from the OT tradition as the unique privilege of Israel, chosen and created by God. Upon Israel it imposes a peculiar loyalty and obedience; from outsiders it draws acknowledgment and respect.

The privilege of sonship in the OT is focused upon an individual solely in the person of the king. Although the actual phrase "son of God"—let alone "son of Yahweh"—never occurs, the idea appears in two ancient "royal" psalms (Pss 2:7b: "He [the Lord] said to me, 'You are my son, today I have begotten you' "; and 110:3 [assuming that the LXX (Psalm 109) represents the original reading]). Likewise, a filial relationship to God, with its threat of admonition as well as assurance of protection, features in the dynastic oracle to the house of David spoken by Nathan the prophet (2 Sam 7:14: "I will be his father and he shall be my son"; 1 Chr 17:13; 22:10; 28:6; Ps 89:19–37). The idea of a divine "begetting" of the king echoes the royal ideology of surrounding cultures (esp. Egypt). But the Israelite dynastic oracle sets the filial relationship firmly within the framework of the covenantal theology that applies to the people as a whole. While sonship bestows dominion and divine protection, it also promises on God's part intolerance of disloyalty and sin. The "royal" sonship is, then, a microcosm of the divine sonship of all Israel.

B. Intertestamental Literature

The usage of "sons (son) of God" to denote heavenly beings continues in a broad range of Jewish texts right up

to the time of the rise of Christianity. But now, as already in Dan 3:25, the reference is simply to angels (Wis 5:5; *1 En.* 6:2; 13:8; 14:3 [all as "sons of heaven"]; 69:4–5; 71:1; 106:5–6; *T. Ab.* 12:6; Seth fragment in Cedrenus [Migne, *PG* 121 Col. 8 (p. 41)]; *Jos. Asen.* 16:14; *L.A.B.* 3:1; 1QHf 2:3).

Somewhat isolated references to Israel (Israelites) as "(firstborn) son(s) of God" occur in a broad scattering of texts, especially in contexts where a sharp distinction is made between Israel and other nations (Sir 36:12 [LXX 16b]; Wis 9:7; 12:7, 20–21; 16:10, 21, 26; 18:4, 13; 19:6; Jdt 9:4, 13; *2 Bar.* 13:9; *3 Macc.* 6:28; 7:6; *Pss. Sol.* 17:30; *Jub.* 1:25–28; 2:20; *4 Ezra* 5:28; 6:58; *Assum. Mos.* 10:3; *L.A.B.* 32:10; 4QDibHam 3:4–6). "Son(s) of God" (or its equivalent) becomes virtually a synonym for "people of God" (= Israel), while the OT associations of election, closeness to God, and special protection continue. The ethical aspect of the sonship metaphor also continues (Add Esth 16:14–16; *Pss. Sol.* 17:30; *L.A.B.* 16:5), often associated with the idea of disciplinary chastisement (Wis 12:20–21; 16:10–11; *Pss. Sol.* 18:4).

A fresh development, however, is the considerable frequency with which the motif occurs in eschatological contexts. This suggests that it was an epithet felt to be particularly apt to describe the ideal Israel of the end time, the holy and purified people of God, destined to possess or actually in possession of the blessings of salvation (*Jub.* 1:25–28; *Pss. Sol.* 17:30; *Sib. Or.* 3:702–4; 5:248–50). Frequently, acknowledgment of sonship suggests the idea of rescue from or immunity to death. Connected with this is a widespread tendency in the intertestamental period to characterize the future awaiting the righteous as a restoration of the angel-like immunity to death enjoyed by human beings before the fall (*1 En.* 69:11; *2 En.* 30:11; Wis 1:23–24), along with other angelic characteristics and privileges such as a shining countenance, vision of God, and presence at the heavenly liturgy (Wis 5:5; *2 Bar.* 51:3–12; *Pr. Jos.* A). The combination of these motifs in the eschatology of several texts suggests a conflation in the later period of the formerly separate categories of "Israelite" and "heavenly being (angelic)" divine sonship (Byrne 1979).

For the intertestamental period there is as yet no direct evidence of the individual "son (child) of God" title applied to a Davidic ruler in the titular way associated with later Christian messianism—though fragmentary texts from Qumran (4QFlor; 4QpsDan ar[a]) point to some degree in this direction. More striking is the frequent use of the singular "son/child *(huios, pais)* of God" in Wisdom 2–5 to denote the individual righteous person, whose ultimate immunity to death and whose destiny to eternal life is acknowledged by his persecutors (Wis 2:16–18; 5:5). The frequent occurrence of the sonship theme in the final part of Wisdom, the great midrash upon the rescue of Israel from Egyptian persecution and pursuit (chaps. 10–19), represents a "democratization" of the individual usage occurring in the early chapters; like the righteous person of chaps. 2–5, the righteous nation, made up of God's sons, receives mild discipline, special favor, and rescue from the clutches of the enemy (12:7, 20; 16:1, 26; 18:4, 13; 19:6).

Though sometimes proceeding from the relevant biblical texts (Deut 14:1 and 32:18 in Philo, *Conf.* 145–46), expressions of divine sonship in Philo have more in common with Stoic-Platonic models and are used to reinforce the moral qualities required for the ascent of the truly wise person to the knowledge and vision of God. Significantly, it is God's Word *(Logos)*, himself the "Firstborn Son," who assists human beings in this process, which involves, according to one passage (*Sobr.* 56), becoming "by adoption" God's only son.

C. Rabbinic Literature

The motif of Israel (Israelites) as "son (sons) of God" occurs fairly frequently in Rabbinic literature from the earliest period onward (R. Akiba, *m.* *ʾAbot* 3:15; R. Yose the Galilean, *Mek.* on Exod 15:18). These show an explicit awareness of sonship as a unique privilege. In the 2d century there is a dispute as to whether sonship is an abiding privilege independent of behavior or whether it is to be seen in ethical terms, coming and going according to practice (*b. Qidd.* 36a). Later texts seem to reflect long-standing disputes with Christians as to whether Israel's sonship privilege can be extended to gentiles (*Pesiq. R.* 5:1).

All this material reflects an explicit consciousness of divine sonship as a distinctive privilege of Israel, especially in connection with eschatological restoration, at the time of the rise of Christianity.

D. The New Testament

In the NT the designation of believers as "sons *(huioi)*" or "children *(tekna)* of God" occurs as a major motif in the Pauline and Johannine literature, although there are isolated references elsewhere. However, the sense of God as "Father" and the disciples of Jesus, correspondingly, as "sons/children" is probably far more central in the Synoptic tradition than the scattered allusions might suggest: Matt 6:9 = Luke 11:2 (the Lord's prayer); Matt 5:45 (the exhortation to love one's enemies in order to be "sons of your Father in heaven"); the implications of the exhortation to petitionary prayer (Matt 7:9, 11 = Luke 11:11–13). While the references just mentioned bring out the ethical side of sonship (Eph 5:1), the eschatological sense emerges in the beatitude of Matt 5:9 and more strikingly in the teaching on the resurrection in Luke 20:36 (where being "sons of God" and "sons of the resurrection" is linked with being equal to angels). A similar sense seems to attend the allusion in Heb 2:10 to God's leading "many sons to glory"; here Christian sonship is clearly patterned upon that of Christ, who bears the "Son" title in a unique way (1:1–13). Later in Hebrews (12:5b–6 [a quotation from Prov 3:11–12]) the "disciplinary" aspect emerges to explain the trials of persecution.

1. The Pauline Literature. In Rom 9:4 Paul lists *huiothesia* (sonship) among a traditional list of Jewish privileges. The term does not occur in the LXX or in any Hellenistic Jewish texts but its use is widespread in Greek literature and inscriptions to denote the common Greco-Roman custom of "adoption." There is a sense in which adoption well suits the Jewish idea of sonship with its basis in election and creation rather than any suggestion of divine procreation. On the other hand, adoption in the strict sense was not a Jewish custom and it may be best not to tie *huiothesia*

too narrowly to this meaning, but rather to see behind the term (also in Rom 8:15, 23; Gal 4:5; Eph 1:5) principally the long-standing biblical tradition of Israel (Israelites) as "son (sons) of God."

In Galatians the motif of divine sonship indicates the status of freedom which believers enjoy in the new age, in contrast to the slavery and fear of the old age. The Galatians are tempted to go back into the old age of slavery and set about earning the eschatological blessings by taking on the yoke of the law. But Paul points to the experience of the Spirit (3:2, 5; 4:6–7) as empirical evidence that their believing response to the gospel has ushered them into the new age in which they already enjoy the status of sons. He blends the argument from experience with a complex scriptural proof showing Christ, as unique "seed" (3:16), to be the sole heir of the promise to Abraham "and to his seed." Believers, including most notably Gentile believers, share in the sonship status and the inheritance only by "entrance" into Christ through faith and baptism (3:26). Thus Christian sonship is God's eschatological gift, enabled by the redemptive death of Christ. It has a totally christological base, attested by the fact that the Spirit of the Son impels the baptized to address God in the way distinctive of Jesus: "*Abba*, Father" (4:6; Rom 8:15; Mark 14:36).

In Romans 8, Paul introduces sonship at the point where his discussion of the new freedom made possible by the Spirit opens the prospect of the hope for eternal life (the statement in v 14 that "all who are led by the Spirit of God are sons of God" picks up the "will live" at the end of v 13). Sonship is a present reality, attested, as in Galatians 3–4 by the experience of the Spirit (vv 15–16). But this is so in a hidden way, surrounded by suffering. The public revelation of sonship awaits the fullness of eschatological existence and will be shown by resurrection (8:23), in which the freedom and glory of the "sons/children of God" will be revealed, accompanied by the restoration of all creation (8:19, 21). All this is simply the unfolding of God's eternal plan that human beings should share the "image of his Son (the risen Lord)" so that he would be "Firstborn among many brethren" (8:29–30).

The upshot of Paul's argument in Romans 8 is that God has conferred the eschatological sonship upon all believers, Jewish and gentile alike. The acute problem this raises with respect to the unique Jewish privilege implied in the traditional understanding is part of the general problem addressed in chaps. 9–11. In a complex scriptural argument, Paul first establishes that sonship does not derive from fleshly descent from Abraham nor does it involve any human meriting, but rests entirely upon God's free choice and election (9:6–18). He finally employs the text of Hos 1:10 (blended in a creative way with 2:23) to indicate God's purpose to include the Gentiles (originally "not my people") within the scope of God's eschatological call to sonship (9:22–26).

An isolated reference in Phil 2:15 shows a more ethical view of sonship based on Deut 32:5. In 2 Cor 6:18, possibly a fragment from an earlier text, we have eschatological sonship in the shape of the Davidic oracle (2 Sam 7:14) rendered in a more "inclusive" and "democratic" form: "you will be to me sons and daughters." A similar use of the oracle occurs in Rev 21:7.

2. The Johannine Literature. In contrast to the more fluid Pauline usage, the Johannine literature reserves the strict sonship language *(huios)* for Jesus Christ, describing believers as "children *[tekna]* of God."

In the Gospel of John the expression occurs only twice (1:12; 11:52), but there are indications that the title and status occupy a central place in the self-understanding of the Johannine community. In the first instance a structural analysis of the Prologue shows that the "power to become children of God" (v 12), those who are "begotten of God" (v 13) is in fact the central affirmation (Culpepper 1980). To Nicodemus, representative of sympathetic Pharisaic Judaism, Jesus insists that entrance into the eschatological age likewise involves a being "born from above" (3:3, 5). Although the actual title does not occur, the identity of the real children of God and the criterion by which this is established stands at the center of the debate between Jesus and "the believing Jews" in 8:31–47. The latter base their claim to sonship and freedom on the basis of being "seed of Abraham." Jesus contests that they are true descendants of Abraham and asserts that they, in fact, have the devil, not God, as their father because of their murderous intent towards himself (vv 39–44). Such passages appear to reflect debates between the Johannine community and Jewish groups as to the criterion of the eschatological divine sonship and its true possessors. Similarly, the comment in 11:51–52 that the high priest's prophecy unwittingly but accurately foretold the effect of Jesus' death, namely that it would serve to gather into one all the "scattered children of God," shows a Christian redefinition of the epithet, reminiscent of Paul: the eschatological Israel is gathered from all believers, Jewish and gentile, who constitute the "children of God."

In 1 John the sonship claim again features in a context of dispute—this time dispute within the Johannine movement itself. Sonship is a status conferred by God and, as in the Gospel, stems from being begotten of God (2:29–3:2; 3:9–10; 5:1–4). It is a present possession but, as in Romans 8, there is a completion of sonship, yet to be revealed (3:1–2). The polemical context, however, in a way reminiscent of John 8, brings to the fore the ethical aspect of sonship: the "children of God" are distinguished from the "children of the devil" by the fact that they do not sin, that they do righteousness (3:10), that they love both God and the "children he begets," that is, the true members of the community (5:1–2).

From both the Pauline and Johannine literature it is clear that the motif of divine sonship, traditionally understood as a distinctive eschatological privilege of Israel, had a place at the center of Christian attempts at self-definition both with respect to Israel and also to the inclusion of the gentiles until the close of the 1st century C.E.

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BRENDAN BYRNE

SOOTHSAYER. See MAGIC (OT).

SOPATER (PERSON) [Gk *Sōpatros*]. A Christian from Beroea identified as the son of Pyrrhus (Acts 20:4). Sopater, along with numerous others, accompanied Paul from Greece (probably Corinth) through Macedonia as Paul made his way to Jerusalem, presumably carrying a collection (cf. 24:17). Sopater and Paul's other companions sailed ahead to Troas (20:5) where Paul caught up with them and stayed for seven days (20:6). Sopater and the others were probably present at Paul's preaching in Troas when Eutychus was overcome with sleep and fell out of the window (20:7–12). It is not evident whether Sopater went on with Paul to Jerusalem.

Because Sopater's name is a shortened form of Sosipater, he may be identical to the person of the latter name mentioned in Rom 16:21. See SOSIPATER. The linking of Sopater with various Thessalonians in Acts 20:4 and of Sosipater with Jason in Rom 16:21 argues for the identification. See JASON #2.

FLORENCE MORGAN GILLMAN

SOPHERETH (PERSON) [Heb *sôperet*]. Var. HASSOPHERET. Head of a family of SOLOMON'S SERVANTS who returned from the Babylonian exile to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel and Jeshua, between 538 and 520 B.C.E. (Ezra 2:55; Neh 7:57; 1 Esdr 5:33). Written as Hassophereth in Ezra 2:55 and 1 Esdr 5:33 (lit. "the female scribe") and as Sophereth in Neh 7:57 (lit. "female scribe"), this name may denote a profession which had become a proper name (Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 27) or "the guild or office of scribes" (Fensham *Ezra and Nehemiah* NICOT, 55). The definite article in Ezra 2:55 suggests the latter. The feminine form is of special interest. Although conclusions from names are always tenuous, it is worth considering the possibility that this family owes its origin to a female scribe. The presence of female scribes in the ANE has been documented (Meier fc.). Ezra-Nehemiah itself indicates that a clan may take the name of its matriarch: according to Ezra 2:61 (Neh 7:63 and 1 Esdr 5:38) the Barzillai clan is named after the wife because the man has taken her name. Similar developments may account for this name.

The clan of Hassophereth comes second in Ezra-Nehemiah's lists of Solomon's servants and first in 1 Esdras's, a position which may indicate prominence within this guild. The origin of the guild is possibly preexilic. Some scholars conclude from 1 Kgs 9:20 that they were originally enslaved foreigners. Levine (1963), however, suggests that the term denotes Israelite officials supervising foreigners. In the postexilic era, the term "servant" typically refers to officials. Like the Temple servants (NETHINIM), Solomon's servants were temple functionaries (Weinberg 1975). They were members of the congregation of Israel and separated thereby from slaves (Ezra 2:64). The size of the clan of Hassophereth is unknown. Its members, combined with the rest of Solomon's servants and temple servants, add up to 392 in Ezra-Nehemiah (372 in 1 Esdras).

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TAMARA C. ESKENAZI

SOPHIA OF JESUS CHRIST (NHC III,*4*). See EUGNOSTOS AND THE SOPHIA OF JESUS CHRIST.

SORCERER, SORCERY. See MAGIC (OT); PUNISHMENTS AND CRIMES.

SOREG [Heb *sôreg*]. See TEMPLE, JERUSALEM.

SOREK, VALLEY OF (PLACE) [Heb *naḥal šōrēq*]. A valley mentioned by name only once in the Bible (Judg 16:4). The name refers primarily to a relatively broad valley in the Shephelah some 21 km (13 miles) W of Jerusalem, but also to the occasional river (Nahal Soreq) and to the system which includes the Chesalon and the Rephaim valleys which join the Sorek to drain a 16 km (10 mile) section of the watershed W of Jerusalem extending from Ramah to Bethlehem. These wadis drop ca. 610 m (2000 ft) through the Judean mountains, cutting deep v-shaped canyons into the hard limestone as they flow from E to W. This canyon system, along with those of the Aijalon and Elah, make N–S travel in Judah virtually impossible W of the ridge route. As the Sorek reaches the softer limestone and chalk of the Shepehlah (foothill region), the valley broadens out. And as the flow slows in the lower elevations, alluvial soil is deposited making a rich fertile valley. Travel both N–S and E–W is much easier.

The lower valley served as the border between the territories allotted to the tribes of Dan and Judah (Josh 15:9–12; 19:40–49). However, because of its strategic location and fertility, it was also greatly desired by the Philistines whose domination of the area adjacent to the Philistine Plain eventually led to the migration of Dan to Laish in the N (Judges 18).

Samson was from the Sorek: born in ZORAH (Judges 13) and buried between there and Eshtaol. He married a Philistine woman from Timnah and later loved Delilah who was also from the Sorek (Judg 16:4). The Philistines returned the Ark of the Covenant from Ekron via the Sorek Valley to Beth-shemesh (1 Sam 6:1–7:2).

The strategic importance of the valley is illustrated by the fact that during the divided monarchy, Zorah along with a number of other cities along the Shephelah was

fortified by Rehoboam and successors to defend the hill country from any incursions from the coastal plain (2 Chr 11:5–12; cf. 14:6–7). Around 780 B.C., Joash king of Israel defeated and captured Amaziah king of Judah at Beth-shemesh, and from there climbed up to plunder Jerusalem (2 Kgs 14:11–14). Hezekiah (715–686 B.C.), conquered the Philistine Plain once again only to find it overtaken by Sennacherib in 701 (2 Kings 18–19; 2 Chronicles 32; Isaiah 30; 36; 37).

PAUL WAYNE FERRIS JR.

SORES. See SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

SOSIPATER (PERSON) [Gk *Sōsipatros*]. The name of two different persons mentioned in the Greek canon of the OT and in the NT.

1. One of the commanders under Judas Maccabeus in the war against Timothy in Transjordan. He and Dositheus, who served with him, took Timothy prisoner, but were later convinced by him to let him go (2 Macc 12:19–25).

2. A Christian referred to by Paul in Rom 16:21, along with Lucius and Jason, as Paul's "kinsman." Presumably this meant that like Paul these three men were also Jewish Christians. Sosipater and the others are mentioned by Paul as sending greetings to the recipients of the Epistle to the Romans. Thus he must have been present with Paul in Corinth as that letter was being written in ca. 58 C.E. It is possible Sosipater is identical to the Sopater mentioned in Acts 20:4, who at approximately the same time travelled with Paul as he left Corinth to deliver the collection to Jerusalem. See SOPATER; JASON #2.

FLORENCE MORGAN GILLMAN

SOSTHENES (PERSON) [Gk *Sōsthenēs*]. A "ruler of the synagogue" *(archisynagōgos)* in Corinth, mentioned in Acts 18:17 in connection with Paul's being haled before Gallio. Sources suggest the *archisynagōgos* fulfilled a variety of leadership roles in the ancient synagogue.

Acts 18:12–17 relates an incident where "the Jews" accuse Paul before the Roman proconsul Gallio, claiming he teaches others "to worship God contrary to law." Gallio refuses to judge, declaring it an internal Jewish matter. Following this unsuccessful attempt to trap Paul, the crowd seizes Sosthenes, the "ruler of the synagogue" and beats him before the tribunal. Gallio is indifferent and takes no action. Several commentators have suggested Sosthenes' beating is a burlesque touch, where the one who sought to persecute another becomes a victim himself. However it is not clear that Sosthenes was one of Paul's accusers. Nor does the text make explicit whether the angry mob which attacks Sosthenes is his own Jewish constituency turning on him for his failure to secure Paul's arrest, or a crowd of gentile bystanders in an anti-Semitic frenzy. However, opinion seems to favor the latter view.

Sosthenes need not have succeeded Crispus, who had become a Christian, as some commentators maintain, since ancient sources show there could be more than one *archisynagōgos* at a time.

Paul refers to "our brother Sosthenes" in 1 Cor 1:1. Some interpreters have assumed that this is the same Sosthenes mentioned in Acts, but such an identity cannot be proven. If the two are one and the same person, then he would have become a believer in Jesus sometime after the incident before Gallio. See Acts commentaries in Hermeneia, MeyerK, and HTKNT.

CLAUDIA J. SETZER

SOSTRATUS (PERSON) [Gk *Sōstratos*]. Sostratus was the Seleucid governor (Gk *eparchos*) of the citadel in Jerusalem while Antiochus IV Epiphanes was king and Onias-Menelaus was serving as high priest (172 B.C.E.). 2 Macc 4:28–29 states that Sostratus as governor was responsible for collecting monies owed to Antiochus IV by the high priest. 2 Maccabees 4 appears to indicate that Sostratus, as governor of the Syrian garrison in Jerusalem, collected taxes *(diaphora)* on behalf of the king. As reasonable as this seems, at least in this case the issue is not tax money but arrears owed to the king by the high priest (Bickerman 1980: 163–64). Onias-Menelaus held the office of high priest at the good will of the Syrian king and by force of Syrian arms in Jerusalem. Antiochus' need for funds had moved him to replace the high priest Jason with Onias-Menelaus as the latter had promised access to the Temple treasury (Tcherikover 1977: 170). The high priest Onias-Menelaus was not forthcoming with the promised funds and the Syrian commander Sostratus was unable to collect on the debt.

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MICHAEL E. HARDWICK

SOTAI (PERSON) [Heb *soṭay*]. Head of a family of SOLOMON'S SERVANTS who returned from the Babylonian exile to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel and Jeshua, between 538 and 520 B.C.E. (Ezra 2:55, Neh 7:57). The family of Sotai heads the list of ten families of Solomon's servants in Ezra-Nehemiah, perhaps denoting its distinction in this guild. 1 Esdras, however, omits the name altogether. Each occurrence of the name is slightly different although the consonants remain the same. None of these variations helps to identify the family's origin or its specific role among Solomon's servants.

The guild of Solomon's servants is probably preexilic. Some scholars conclude from 1 Kgs 9:20 that they were originally enslaved foreigners (See Weinberg 1975). Levine (1963) however, suggests that the term denotes Israelite officials who supervise foreigners. In the postexilic era, the term "servant" typically refers to officials. Like the Temple Servants (NETHINIM), Solomon's servants are temple functionaries. Although they appear last in the list of members of the congregation (which suggests a low status), they are clearly separated from slaves, who are not included as members (Ezra 2:64). The size of the Sotai family is unknown. Its members, combined with the rest of Solomon's servants and temple servants, add up to 392

in Ezra-Nehemiah (372 in 1 Esdras). See also Blenkinsopp *Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL; Fensham *Ezra and Nehemiah* NICOT; Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC.

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TAMARA C. ESKENAZI

SOUL, EXEGESIS ON THE. See EXEGESIS ON THE SOUL (NHC II, *6*).

SOULS, PREEXISTENCE OF. A doctrine which teaches that the souls of humans and even animals had a prior existence before being born into mortal bodies. In its appearance among Jewish and early Christian writings, this teaching commonly exhibited influences from Platonic thought. But it also has biblical ties. A notable example consists of these words of the Lord to Jeremiah: "Before I formed you in the womb I knew you, and before you were born I consecrated you; I appointed you a prophet to the nations" (Jer 1:5). A second excerpt which recalls this notion is found in the series of questions put to Job by the Lord about the formation of the earth: "On what were its bases sunk, or who laid its cornerstone, when the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy?" (Job 38:6–7). Antecedent influences on this excerpt are difficult to trace, although the Psalms speak of celestial hosts who sing praises to the King of Heaven, echoing Ugaritic poetry (cf. Pss. 19:2; 29:2; 148:2–3).

In the NT, the idea appears in the story of Jesus healing the man born blind. At its outset, "his disciples asked him, 'Rabbi, who sinned, this man or his parents, that he was born blind?' " (John 9:2). The concept of a premortal life, in which an individual is able to make choices, lies at the base of the question, indicating that at least the evangelist and his audience shared this view. One must not rule out the possibility that Jesus' disciples also believed the doctrine.

It is conceivable that this concept formed an aspect of Paul's belief, its origins likely lying in his Jewish background. Referring to his turning away from persecuting followers of Jesus, Paul speaks of God as "he who had set me apart before I was born" (Gal 1:15). Another passage, which consists of a thanksgiving to God, reads as follows: "even as he [God] chose us in him before the foundation of the world" (Eph 1:4). Aside from the issue of the Greek vocabulary used here, the verse seems to affirm that in the beginning a celestial plan had been formulated to select persons to fulfill God's purposes; a second dimension may be that God's selection was carried out among persons during a preexistent state.

Jewish sources also reveal the idea of a preexistence. The Wisdom of Solomon, dating to the 1st century B.C.E. and exhibiting Platonic influence, has Solomon say the following in a prayer: "As a child I was by nature well endowed, and a good soul fell to my lot; or rather, being good, I entered an undefiled body" (8:19–20). *2 Enoch,* whose origin is likely Jewish, states that "all souls are prepared for eternity, before the composition of the earth" (23:5), and later hints at Adam's preexistence (chap. 32). In a passage that may be laced with Greek influences, Josephus records that the Essenes, who denigrated the body, believed that "the soul is immortal and imperishable. Emanating from the finest ether, these souls become entangled, as it were, in the prison house of the body, to which they are dragged down by a sort of natural spell" (*JW* 2.8.11). Later rabbinic writers, as well as Philo of Alexandria, also held to this teaching.

Among early Christian writers, the most notable proponent of the doctrine of the preexistence of souls was Origen. For him, the eternal goodness of God required that, since he now dispenses gifts to his creatures, he must always have done so. "It is absurd and impious to suppose that these powers of God have been at any time in abeyance for a single moment. . . . We therefore can imagine no moment whatever when that power was not engaged in acts of well-doing. Whence it follows that there always existed objects for this well-doing, namely, God's works or creatures" (*Princ.* 1.4.3). The justice of God, which operates even in the station of life which one inherits, demands that "all rational creatures [be] of one nature, and it is only on this ground that the justice of God in all his dealings with them can be defended, namely, when each contains within himself the reasons why he has been placed in this or in that rank of life" (3.5.4). Thus Origen's concept affirmed a premortal period in which individual souls were able to make choices. His views were condemned officially in A.D. 553 in the opening Anathema of the Second Council of Constantinople.

Texts recovered in the Nag Hammadi library, of both Jewish and Christian origin, illustrate that the belief in a preexistence was shared by some gnostics. According to the *Gos. Eg.* in Codex III, Adam was known as a premortal great one who associated with the "holy men of the great light," "men of the Father" (50:12–14). In a related vein, the heavenly Seth was said to have proposed the gathering of a council of premortal souls, then spelled out a plan "to the whole multitude of the multitudinous assembly" which was received with rejoicing by "the whole house of the Father of Truth." Consequently, Seth was sent "to reveal the glory [of the Father] to [his] kindred and [his] fellow spirits" (*Treat. Seth,* 50.1–24). In addition to notable personalities, there is evidence that the souls of others enjoyed a preexistent life. In Saying 4 of the *Gos. Thom.,* the following is attributed to the risen Jesus: "The man who is old in days will not hesitate to ask a child seven days old about the place of life, and he will live." The sense is that a child who has not yet been circumcised on the eighth day has retained an impression of the "place of life," which allows the old man to inquire. Both the *Ap. Jas.* and the *Tri. Trac.* hint at the notion of a premortal life for at least the souls of the elect. See also *IDB* 3:869–70; *ERE* 10: 235–41.

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S. KENT BROWN

SOURCE CRITICISM. Formerly called "literary criticism" or "higher criticism," source criticism is a method of biblical study which analyzes texts that are not the work of a single author but result from the combination of originally separate documents. This method has been applied to texts of the Old Testament (especially but not exclusively the Pentateuch) and New Testament (especially but not exclusively the gospels). This entry surveys the application of this method to those texts.

OLD TESTAMENT

A. Definitions
B. History and Development
C. Evidence for Composite Character
   1. Inconsistencies
   2. Repetitions and Doublets
   3. Stylistic Differences
D. Stages of Source-Critical Analysis
   1. Breaking Up the Text
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E. Terminology
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A. Definitions

Modern literary conventions forbid plagiarism, and require authors to identify and acknowledge any material they have borrowed from another writer. But in ancient times it was common to "write" a book by transcribing existing material, adapting and adding to it from other documents as required, and not indicating which parts were original and which borrowed. The OT contains few books which are the work of a single author throughout; for the most part its books are composite, and in some cases the source materials are drawn from original documents that may be spread over several centuries. Source criticism seeks to separate out these originally independent documents, and to assign them to relative (and, if possible, absolute) dates.

Source criticism is to be distinguished from other critical methods. Where original documents prove not to have been free compositions, but to rest on older, oral tradition, FORM CRITICISM may then be used to penetrate behind the written text. The study of the editing process, whereby the sources have been linked together and incorporated into the present, finished text belongs to the province of REDACTION CRITICISM. Source criticism should also be distinguished from textual (sometimes called lower) criticism, which is concerned to establish the exact wording of the earliest manuscript of the present text, not to reconstruct hypothetical earlier stages in the text's growth. Nevertheless, there is some overlap between source and textual criticism, since the telltale signs that a text is composite may include the kinds of minor inconsistency that scribes were apt to correct when copying manuscripts, and the textual critic needs to be aware of this when making conjectures about textual transmission. Conversely, source critics must be careful not to appeal to such inconsistencies without first making sure that they cannot be accounted for as slips in copying.

B. History and Development

Source criticism, the oldest of all the critical "methods" of biblical study, began in the 17th and 18th centuries, but it was during the 19th century that it seemed to offer the answer to most of the puzzles posed by the pentateuch in particular. By mid-century the present division of the Pentateuch into J, E, D, and P was widely accepted among critical scholars, though P was generally known as E2, or the "second Elohist." See TORAH. A decisive end to older, alternative theories such as the "Fragmentary Hypothesis" (which resisted the idea of a few continuous sources) and the "Supplementary Hypothesis" (a basic outline enriched with accretions) came with the work of Julius Wellhausen (1844–1918). Building on earlier work by de Wette and Karl-Heinz Graf, Wellhausen established, in a series of articles (Wellhausen 1885), that the four-source hypothesis was the most satisfactory explanation of the evidence that pointed to the composite character of the Pentateuch. But he went beyond this to provide for the first time a reasoned dating of the sources. Previously, most scholars had assumed that E2—what we call P, and Wellhausen called Q—must be the oldest of the sources; but Wellhausen showed that the sacred ordinances which form the bulk of the legislation in P found no echo in the actual practices of preexilic Israel, and accordingly placed P in the early postexilic age (see Wellhausen 1957). This, together with the already accepted 7th century B.C. date for D, had the effect of providing an entirely new framework for the history of Israel's religion, and suggested that the religious life of the preexilic age was vastly different from the Judaism that began with Ezra.

Wellhausen's paradigm for understanding ancient Israel continues to be widely influential even where his specific conclusions are rejected, and with his breakthrough in Pentateuchal source criticism the modern era of OT study begins.

In the early years of the 20th century, Wellhausen's conclusions were accepted in the English-speaking world as well as in Germany, despite fierce opposition in the name of orthodox religion. Source-critical work on the prophets had already been pioneered by Bernhard Duhm (1847–1928), and the now usual division of the book of Isaiah into three "sources" of different date found general acceptance at the same time as Wellhausen's analysis of the Pentateuch (see Duhm 1875). Despite the rise of form criticism, which eventually diverted interest from source-critical work, ever more detailed work on the sources of the Pentateuch continued until the Second World War, but from the 1930s onwards a feeling grew that source critics were overreaching themselves by dividing the Pentateuch up too minutely into ever more and more fragmentary sources. One of the first casualties of this skepticism was the belief that the Pentateuchal sources might continue into the books of Joshua and even down to 2 Samuel: Martin Noth's theory, (first articulated in 1943) of a Deuteronomistic History beginning with Deuteronomy eventually established itself as an alternative orthodoxy (See Noth, *NDH*). See DEUTERONOMISTIC HISTORY.

Most German- and English-speaking scholars have continued to accept some version of Wellhausen's hypothesis, but without pressing the details of the source division; moreover, the existence of E has come to be widely

doubted. Scandinavian scholars were always less than enthusiastic about source criticism, preferring to think in terms of an extended period of oral tradition in which a basic narrative was supplemented, rather than to assume the existence of discrete written documents. See SCANDINAVIAN SCHOOL. Since the Second World War Israeli biblical specialists have called in question the whole conceptual basis of Wellhausen's work, and have defended the antiquity of P. See PRIESTLY (P) SOURCE. A renewed interest in source analysis has characterized the work of H. H. Schmid (1976) and J. Van Seters (1975). These scholars, far from sharing the suspicion that P is older than Wellhausen thought, have argued that J, too, is postexilic. OT studies seem in this as in many other ways to have arrived at a pluralist phase, with no one theory holding the field (see Habel 1971; Armdering 1983; Barton 1984).

C. Evidence for Composite Character

1. Inconsistencies. Suspicion that a book is not the work of a single author, composing freely, is most readily aroused when inconsistencies are noticed. These may be of various kinds. In narrative texts it may be impossible to extract a coherent sequence of events. For example, in Gen 12:1, Abram is told to leave Haran after the death of his father, Terah. According to 11:26, Abram was born when Terah was 70; according to 11:32 Terah died at the age of 205; hence Abram must have been 135 when he was called to leave Ur. But 12:4 says that he was only 75 when he left Haran. The difficulty is explained if the story in Genesis 12 is drawn from a different source from the genealogical information in Genesis 11. Thematic inconsistency arises when a text seems to give expression to two incompatible points of view. Thus in the stories about the rise of the Israelite monarchy in 1 Sam 8–12, some accounts seem to regard Saul's election and anointing as reflecting a decision by God (e.g., 9:15–16; 10:1), while others present the people's insistence on selecting a king to be a sinful rejection of God (e.g., 8:1–22; 10:17–19). The simplest explanation is that the compiler of the books of Samuel used more than one already existing account of the origins of the monarchy, and that these accounts did not agree among themselves. On a smaller scale, there are often puzzling inconsistencies of detail, such as the variation in the names used for God in Genesis and Exodus ("Yahweh," "Elohim," "El Shaddai," "El Elyon," etc.).

2. Repetitions and Doublets. In almost every narrative book in the OT a careful reading reveals difficulties in following the sequence of events because the same incident seems to be related more than once. The earliest example is in Genesis 1–2, where in 1:27, "God created man in his own image," but then in 2:7, "the LORD God formed man of dust from the ground," just as if the man's creation had not been mentioned before. Where this kind of repetition is found, the simplest explanation is often that two versions of the same story have both been allowed to remain in the finished form of the book, unreconciled with each other. In some cases material from two or more sources seems to be interwoven: the classic example is the Flood Narrative of Genesis 6–9, where one version speaks of a 40-day flood and the other of a 150-day flood, with incidents from the two versions set down in alternating blocks. Similarly repetitious accounts, often extremely complex and hard to analyze, may be found in Exodus 24, where Moses seems to go up the holy mountain three times, and Joshua 3–4, in which the account of the crossing of the Jordan under Joshua's leadership is impossibly convoluted. Where two accounts or versions are closely similar in extent, they are often called a *doublet:* compare, for example, 2 Kgs 24:10–14 with 24:15–16, or Gen 37:21–22 with 37:26–27.

3. Stylistic Differences. Some OT books show extraordinary variations of style, ranging from a preference for particular words or phrases to peculiarities of grammar and syntax. In the Pentateuch, variation is particularly marked in Genesis and Exodus, where some sections are written in a lively narrative style akin to that of the books of Samuel, while others are marked by a stylized and repetitive manner, full of recurring formulas, lists, and technical terms. Compare, for example, the vivid narrative of Exodus 2—the childhood and early career of Moses—with the ponderous accounts of the building and equipping of the tent sanctuary in Exodus 36–40. Such variations in style can also be found in poetic books. Among the oracles in Jeremiah, for example, there are some (e.g., chapters 30 and 31) whose similarity to the style of Isaiah 40–55 (the so-called "Second Isaiah") is so close, and whose dissimilarity from the rest of Jeremiah is so great, that they seem likely to derive from a different hand than the rest of the book. Other chapters in Jeremiah, especially those in prose, seem close to the style of the Deuteronomistic History (Joshua–2 Kings). While an appreciation of stylistic difference is often to some extent subjective, the variations within books such as these are wide enough to make it unlikely that a single author is responsible for all the material. English translations of the Bible tend to flatten out such differences by using a uniform "biblical English," but in the Hebrew they are easily detected.

D. Stages of Source-Critical Analysis

1. Breaking Up the Text. Source-critical analysis begins not with a quest for continuous sources, but with an analysis, into fragments, of each section of the biblical book under consideration. The source critic must note each point where there is a break, inconsistency, or discontinuity in the text, and so establish for each chapter how many different pieces of underlying material are present. In a comparatively simple case such as Genesis 1–2, most scholars are agreed that there are only two basic parts: 1:1–2:4a and 2:4b–25. Where there is interweaving, however, a more complicated picture may emerge: the Flood Narrative shows a change of source material every few verses. In the process of analysis, there will sometimes be very brief fragments which seem to derive, not from underlying materials, but from the editor who put the materials together. Such short "link passages" (e.g., "After these things . . ." in Gen 22:1, or "a second time" in 22:15) are *redactional*—they are necessitated by the juxtaposition of two originally separate stories by the redactor or editor. The study of these portions of text belongs to Redaction Criticism.

2. Reconstructing the Sources. Though some books of the OT may have been assembled from a host of tiny fragments and so are little more than anthologies, this process of growth seems unlikely for most of the narrative

books of the Bible. For example, when the fragments into which the Pentateuch has been analyzed are examined, they group themselves naturally into a few piles, each marked by a very strong family resemblance. Thus the creation story of Gen 2:4b–25, the account of the building of the tent in Exodus 36–40, and the laws of Leviticus have so many points of style, expression, and theology in common that they probably derive from the same document. More strikingly still, when the fragments of the Flood Narrative are examined they prove to belong to two families, and if each family is joined up in the order in which its fragments occur in Genesis 6–9 the result is two more or less complete *parallel* accounts of the Flood, amounting to an extended doublet. Similarly the "pro-" and "anti-monarchy" stories in 1 Samuel fall into two basic narratives which may derive from two sources, rather than a multitude of documents. Painstaking work along these lines resulted in the classic "four-source" hypothesis for the Pentateuch outlined above, according to which the whole work was assembled from only four underlying sources, three of them continuous, parallel accounts of the history of the world from creation to the death of Moses (J, E, P) and the fourth basically the book of Deuteronomy and some related narrative materials (D). Each of the four sources is marked by a uniform style, certain preferences of vocabulary and theme, and its own chronological framework. It is the unresolved clashes between the four, mutually incompatible presentations that make the Pentateuch so bewildering to the casual reader. See also YAHWIST (J) SOURCE; ELOHIST (E) SOURCE; PRIESTLY (P) SOURCE; DEUTERONOMY. Other books yield to the same kind of analysis. Thus scholars distinguish three or four basic kinds of material in Jeremiah, each of which may have had an independent existence as a self-contained work before being edited to produce the present book.

3. Dating the Sources. Relative dating of source-materials is sometimes possible, where it seems likely that one source-document was written by someone already familiar with another. Thus, in the case of the Pentateuch, it is sometimes argued that the P narrative of the events at Sinai presupposes an acquaintance with the J version and therefore must be later. Where there is no such presumption, however, the relative dating of sources depends, like their absolute dating, on external points of reference. One of the oldest critical observations in biblical studies was that certain verses in the Pentateuch could not be by Moses, because they presupposed a far later period. Thus the statement, "The Canaanite was then in the land" (Gen 12:6), can only have been written by someone living after the Canaanites had ceased to be in the land, that is, long after Joshua. But it has only been since the triumph of critical biblical scholarship in the 19th century that such arguments have been applied rigorously to the whole OT, with the result that many sources can now be given, if not firm dates, at least a *terminus post quem* and a *terminus ante quem*—earliest and latest possible dates.

E. Terminology

1. Alternative Terms. As noted above, "source criticism" is a comparatively recent term. Traditionally the critical study of the Bible was known as higher criticism wherever it ventured beyond the study of the transmission of the text. This term indicated that questions of a higher order were being asked—questions about the origins of the material, not just about the accuracy of its transmission by scribes; questions about the interrelation of large complexes of material; and questions about authorship and dating. There was also a general recognition that as criticism became "higher," less tied to purely "textual" matters, it became both more ambitious and also, inevitably, more speculative and hypothetical. If the term "higher criticism" had survived into this century, it would have included such disciplines as form and redaction criticism; the fact that we can now equate it with "source criticism" stems purely from the fact that this was the only form of higher, i.e., nontextual, criticism current when the term was still in general use. During the period when British biblical scholarship was generally hostile to source analysis of the Pentateuch and saw in it merely a liberal, rationalist "attack" on the inspiration of Scripture, "higher criticism" tended to be a term of abuse in English-speaking theology, and to be regarded contemptuously as a pretentious term. But the term was never intended to imply a moral or intellectual superiority, rather it merely indicated a method which built upon and went beyond textual criticism and was in that, non-evaluative sense, "higher."

Once biblical criticism developed techniques such as form, traditio-historical, and redaction criticism, the kind of higher criticism we have been calling source criticism became generally known as "literary criticism" *(Literarkritik)*. The method was termed "literary" to emphasize that it concentrated on written documents, rather than on orally transmitted units or traditions. This usage continues in German-language works, but in the English-speaking world there has been an increasing sense that the term is misleading, because of the very different use of the term "literary" found in the secular study of literature. In Britain and North America "literary criticism" usually refers to the evaluative and interpretative study of literature, not to investigations into the origins or sources of a literary work. The term "source criticism" is therefore the preferred designation. It has its own disadvantages, however: "source criticism" can tend to imply that the critic's business is to discover sources, whereas in reality it is to discover whether a passage is composite, and is therefore composed of several sources, *or not*. The more neutral term "literary criticism" may therefore still be preferred, as not prejudging the results of the analysis.

2. The Word "Source." The modern use of "source" to mean one of the underlying documents detected in a biblical book by literary-critical analysis has an interesting history. We may distinguish three phases.

At the Reformation, theology began to share the particular concern of Renaissance scholars for authentic "sources," that is, genuinely early and authoritative texts to which appeal could be made as arbiters of what was authentic in matters of religion. In this sense, the Bible could be called the primary "source" for the Christian faith. In this usage, nothing was being said about the literary character of the biblical books.

After the Enlightenment, scholars began to think of the Bible as a source in a different sense: as important historical evidence from which the history of Israel or of the early church could be reconstructed. This is the sense in

which 19th-century secular historians spoke of studying historical *sources*, meaning by this valuable primary documents; and when Wellhausen suggested that the Pentateuch consisted of four sources, he meant four sources for reconstructing the history of Israel and its institutions. If a history of Israel was to be written, it was essential to establish which were the primary sources of evidence—and the four-document hypothesis maintained that there were four such sources, rather than (as a superficial reading of the Pentateuch would suggest) only one.

Modern usage has moved from saying that the Pentateuch contains four historical sources (of information) to saying simply that the Pentateuch consists of four sources, thereby losing contact with the original reason for using this particular term, and treating it simply as a synonym for "underlying literary document."

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JOHN BARTON

NEW TESTAMENT

The term "source criticism" can be used in a very general as well as in a restricted sense. Used in the general sense, "source" is actually synonymous with "tradition," no matter how extensive it is or how it is handed down. Applied in the restricted sense, "source" refers to a written text that has been used by an author in his own writing. It is the task of NT source criticism to find out whether or not individual NT writers have made use of older written texts as sources. If the source in question is still extant (as in the case of Mark, a source used by Matthew and Luke), the task is confined to establishing the very fact that this writing was used as a source by another writer. If it is necessary to assume that an author used a source that is now lost, then, additionally, its size, structure, wording, and provenance need to be determined insofar as this is possible.

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   1. Mark as a Source for Matthew and Luke
   2. A Pre-Markan or Deutero-Markan Gospel as a Source?
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A. Results

When the use of sources in an individual book of the NT is established to a reasonable degree, it is possible to clarify the genesis of this book and to reach a better understanding of it. The literary and theological character of Matthew and Luke, for example, can be defined substantially better if these gospels are interpreted as further developments of Mark (and of Q).

At the same time we obtain a better knowledge of the different historical and theological developments to which the sources and the extant writings belong. Particularly if it is possible to determine a writing not known until now as a source of an extant writing, the knowledge of the history of the early church will be increased considerably. The reconstruction of the Sayings Source (Q), for example, reveals the fact that the eschatological preaching in the Syro-Palestine area (from where Q is supposed to have come) obviously differed from that of Mark's gospel and its traditions.

B. Development of Source Criticism

The rise of source criticism is part of a fundamental change in the approach to the NT. It means not anything less than the attempt to cast off a dogmatical view of scripture in order to reach a historical understanding of the NT and the origins of Christianity. It is therefore no mere accident that source criticism arose in the Age of Enlightenment and reached its high-watermark in the 19th century. The problem posed by the close relationship between the first three gospels was the first battlefield of source criticism. It was solved by the so-called "Two-Source theory," according to which Matthew and Luke independently used the same two sources, namely Mark and (for the materials common to both Matthew and Luke but not derived from Mark) the so-called Sayings Source (Q). This theory has won almost general acceptance because it provides a rather simple explanation for the complex relationship between the Synoptic Gospels. See TWO-SOURCE HYPOTHESIS.

The intensive source critical work applied to the Synoptic Gospels was guided by the endeavor to gain a firm

historical basis for the reconstruction of the life and preaching of Jesus. In a similar way, the analysis of Acts was undertaken out of historical interest. In this case, however, the different proposals have not led to convincing results and the question as to whether or not it is possible to detect sources behind some parts of Acts has remained very controversial until now.

Today, however, source criticism focuses on the literary process which can be traced beyond the extant texts of the NT. This applies to the gospel of John, the sources of which are intensively debated although they do not provide information concerning the historical Jesus. The sources made use of in Revelation are another example. Further fields of source criticism are the relationships of Colossians to Ephesians and of Jude to 2 Peter.

C. Methodological Problems

Simultaneously the methodological problems were intensively discussed. Principally there are two different reasons leading to the assumption of a source. First, there are similarities between two or three extant writings and the extent and nature of these similarities makes the use of common oral traditions improbable. In the case that the supposed source itself contained oral traditions, a decisive criterion is a common order of this material in these two or three writings. As far as the result of the investigation is concerned, two different solutions are possible: either one of the two (or three) writings was the very source of the other(s), or the writings related to each other had a common source, which is now lost. Second, there are discrepancies within one single writing which cannot be assigned to the independent work of a single author, and these discrepancies, on the other hand, cannot be explained by the use of oral traditions. In this case the assumption of a source by all means involves the hypothesis of a written document which is now lost.

The assumption of a lost text being used as a source depends on the following criteria, especially if the evidence is based on indications derived from one extant writing only:

(a) The traditional material included in an extant writing cannot be regarded to be transmitted orally either because of its size (e.g. the material common to Matthew and Luke lacking in Mark) or because of its literary structure (e.g. the "speech" of Stephen in Acts 7).

(b) This material forms a text which can reasonably be assumed to have been an independent writing; that is the case, if it reveals a literary structure and theological ideas fundamental to the whole body of material.

(c) In addition, insertions interrupting the body of the supposed source are clear indications for the use of a source. Such insertions point to the author of the extant writing, who is interpreting in this way an already written text.

(d) If the supposed source forms a collection of different traditions originally orally transmitted, a decisive criterion is the proving that there are editorial links or remarks which cannot be assigned to the author of the extant writing. Such editorial links or remarks point to an early stage of editorial activity, i.e. to the editorial framework of the source (for an example for the last three criteria see the discussion of the Signs Source of the gospel of John, below).

(e) No definite evidence, however, can be drawn from differences of vocabulary and style, as any author is able to remold a written text (although not all NT writers do this), or, on the other hand, to adopt the style and vocabulary of a source in passages which he is going to write himself. Therefore, observations on different style and language can only have subsidiary importance.

The validity of these criteria is generally accepted, but their application is vehemently disputed in some cases.

D. The Synoptic Gospels

1. Mark as a Source for Matthew and Luke. The close relationship of the three Synoptic Gospels is based on two facts: (1) a bulk of material common to all three, or at least two, of the Synoptic Gospels, and (2) a common ordering of this material. See also SYNOPTIC PROBLEM.

About 35% of the material which is contained in the Synoptic Gospels is common to all of them. Because of the different extent of the three Synoptic Gospels the percentage of the common material differs considerably from gospel to gospel. The gospel of Mark consists to 85% of this common material, while the percentage in Matthew is 50% only, and in Luke is only 40%. Moreover, and this is very important, if one singles out these materials, there emerges a common order for it. As for the great majority of the materials, there is a common order in all three gospels and the rest is arranged in at least two of the gospels in the same way. Since this common order could not have been arrived at two or even three times anew, it can only be explained as the result of literary dependency: there must have been a source in which this common order of the material had once been established.

To identify this source, a more detailed analysis is necessary. Of special interest are those cases where the material common to all three gospels occurs in the same order only in two of them. Such a common order can be seen between Matthew and Mark (while Luke deviates: he reproduces the same material in another context), and between Luke and Mark (while Matthew deviates); however, there is no case where Matthew and Luke have a common order from which Mark deviates. This fact is explained best by the assumption that Mark presents the material common to all three gospels in exactly the same order in which it was also used by Matthew and Luke. Matthew and Luke changed (to a limited extent) the given order independently from each other and therefore never reached coinciding results. This leads to the conclusion that there was either a source common to all three gospels, which was identical with the gospel of Mark as far as the arrangement of the material is concerned, or that Mark itself was the source used by Matthew and Luke.

The hypothesis of the priority of Mark becomes a firm conclusion, if the differences of content are additionally taken into consideration. About 95% of Mark's material reappears in Matthew, 85% of it in Luke. Assuming Mark as the common source of Matthew and Luke, most of these omissions can be understood as resulting from the editorial aims of Matthew and Luke, respectively. However, if one considers—as does Farmer (1964)—Matthew as the source of Mark and thinks Mark to be the latest gospel

making use of both Matthew and Luke, then one is faced with serious difficulties. But see TWO-GOSPEL HYPOTHESIS. Firstly it would be necessary to explain the differences between Matthew and Luke as being due to the editorial activities of Luke. This possibility is already ruled out if one tries to explain Matthew's Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 5–7) as source for Luke's Sermon on the Plain (Luke 6). Secondly it would be necessary to explain why Mark has taken up only 50% of the materials known to him from Matthew (or even only 40% of the materials contained in Luke), and why he has left out even the materials common to both Matthew and Luke, which include such prominent traditions as the Beatitudes and the Lord's Prayer.

The assumption of the priority of Mark is confirmed by the fact that in this way there emerges a comprehensible relationship between the three Synoptic Gospels, both in literary and theological respects. Matthew and Luke turn out to be further developments of Mark: literarily by prefixing the infancy narratives, by inserting the Sayings Source (see below), and by attaching the appearance narratives; theologically by presenting a more elaborated ecclesiological concept (Matthew) or an advanced position in the development of early Christian eschatology (Luke).

2. A Pre-Markan or Deutero-Markan Gospel as a Source? The fact that four pericopes of Mark are missing in Matthew and Luke (Mark 3:20–21; 4:26–29; 7:31–37; 8:22–26) has led to the assumption that it was not the canonical gospel of Mark which was the source for Matthew and Luke, but rather an earlier version (*"Ur-Markus"*) which did not contain these texts. Similarly, the absence of Mark 6:45–8:26 in Luke has been explained by the assumption that Luke used a mutilated copy of the gospel of Mark (this would mean a Deutero-Mark). These assumptions, however, are precarious, because there are no reasons for these alleged developments of the gospel of Mark; on the other hand, most of these omissions can be explained as deliberate shortenings by Matthew and Luke.

One further observation, which led to the assumption of an *"Ur-Markus,"* concerns the so-called minor agreements, i.e., the variations of both Matthew and Luke concerning their *Vorlage* Mark. These agreements consist of (a) common shorter versions of the Markan material (Matt 17:14–21 and Luke 9:37–43a in comparison with Mark 9:14–29) and (b) positive agreements or versions which Luke and Matthew have in common against Mark (Matt 14:13 and Luke 9:11, "the crowds . . . followed him" while Mark 6:33 differs).

Most of these shorter versions, however, can be explained as abridgments of Mark made by Matthew and Luke independently. The extent of positive agreements is very limited in all cases. Most of these agreements can be seen as improvements resulting from the editorial activities of Matthew and Luke, which being similar to each other produced, in some cases, a similar wording. Otherwise it would be necessary to suppose that the postulated *Ur-Markus* has undergone a process of deterioration after having been used by Matthew and Luke. Besides, one will have to take into account the possibility that in some cases Matthew and Luke were aware of a slightly different version of Mark's material transmitted by oral tradition and that they to some extent preferred this to Mark's text.

3. Pre-Markan Sources. Often it is argued that Mark itself made use of orally transmitted collections of materials or shorter written sources for some parts of his gospel: (a) controversies, Mark 2:1–3:6; (b) parables, Mark 4:1–34; (c) miracle stories, Mark 4:35–8:26; (d) pronouncement stories, Mark 11 + 12; (e) apocalyptic discourse, Mark 13; (f) Passion narrative, Mark 14:1–16:8.

In all of these cases, however, there is no indisputable evidence. As far as Mark 4:35–8:26 and 11 + 12 are concerned, positive arguments are lacking altogether. As to Mark 2:1–3:6 and 4:1–34, the assumption of sources depends on the question as to whether or not Mark 3:6 (or 2:27) and 4:10–12 (and 4:33–34) are editorial remarks (or adaptations of such remarks) that can be distinguished from Mark's own editorial framework. In any case, however, the arrangement of the traditional material in Mark 2–8 and 11 + 12 can be understood without the assumption of written sources. On the other hand, the impression cannot be rejected that Mark often adapts his material as if he would be making use of it in written form (cf. the technique of "sandwiching" in Mark 5:21–24/25–34/35–43); for explaining this, however, it is more appropriate to assume that Mark himself, while collecting his materials, first wrote them down separately before inserting them in the framework of his gospel.

As far as Mark 13 is concerned, it is discussed as to whether or not Mark made use of a short Jewish source, which is supposed (Hölscher 1933) to have been an apocalyptic pamphlet from the year A.D. 44. The proof depends on three problems: (a) The historical events alluded to: Can they be understood more easily as elements of an earlier source or as parts of a text written by Mark on his own account? (b) The reconstruction of the source: Do the parts of Mark 13, which are supposed to be derived from the source, form a literary unit which can have existed as an independent writing? (c) The structure of Mark 13: Is it easier to be comprehended if the use of a source is assumed? There are sound reasons to answering these questions in the affirmative, especially if one argues (Brandenburger 1984) for the origin of this source from Judeo-Christian circles during the Jewish war (ca. A.D. 68/69).

The Passion narrative of the gospel of Mark (Mark 14:1–16:8) has undergone a complicated process of development, but there is no agreement between the different proposals to explain this process. Accordingly it is a completely open question as to whether or not the pre-Markan Passion narrative was a written document. See also PASSION NARRATIVES.

4. The Sayings Source (Q). After accepting the proof that Mark was used as a source by Matthew and Luke, there remains the task of explaining the agreements between Matthew and Luke which go beyond Mark's material. A source has to be assumed for this material, too. If one singles out the material common to both Matthew and Luke but without counterpart in Mark, one obtains a common sequence of at least 13 passages out of 24 (nos. 1–5, 8–9, 12–13, 15, 21, 13–24 of the list below), which contain more than 50% of the whole material. A common sequence like this could not have been arrived at independently by Matthew and Luke.

Since a direct literary relationship between both gospels is ruled out by the assumption that Mark has been used by

Matthew and Luke independently, there remains only one solution, viz. to suppose a second source consisting of sayings and some pronouncement stories, commonly labelled as Q. See Q (GOSPEL SOURCE).

The analysis of the Sayings Source has arrived at the following widely accepted consensus. First, for methodological reasons the size has to be limited to the pericopes which are contained in both Matthew and Luke. It cannot be ruled out, however, that one of the two evangelists has omitted some materials contained in Q (that means that some texts from the material peculiar to Matthew or Luke would belong to Q, too), but it can hardly be definitely proven either. The woes in Luke 6:24–26 which are lacking in Matthew 5 are a case in point. Second, insofar as Matthew and Luke are not in agreement, the disposition of Q has to be reconstructed rather from Luke, because Matthew often changes the arrangement in order to compile longer speeches (cf. the insertion of the Lord's Prayer and other Q materials into the Sermon on the Mount). Third, the wording has to be examined in every case to determine whether Matthew or Luke has preserved it more precisely.

According to the order of the material in Luke, the Sayings Source can be reconstructed in the following way:

1. Luke 3:7–9, 16–17 = Matt 3:7–12 John's Eschatological Preaching
2. Luke 4:2–13 = Matt 4:2–11 The Temptation of Jesus
3. Luke 6:20–23, 27–49 = Matt 5:3–6, 11–12, 38–48; 7:1–5, 15–27 The Sermon on the Plain/on the Mount.
4. Luke 7:1–10 = Matt 8:5–13 The Centurion of Capernaum
5. Luke 7:18–35 = Matt 11:2–19 John the Baptist and Jesus
6. Luke 9:57–60 = Matt 8:19–22 On Following Jesus
7. Luke 10:1–12 = Matt 9:37–10:15 Commissioning of the Disciples
8. Luke 10:13–15 = Matt 11:20–24 Woes to Unrepentant Cities
9. Luke 10:21–24 = Matt 11:25–27; 13:16–17 Jesus' Thanksgiving to the Father and The Blessing of the Disciples
10. Luke 11:1–4 = Matt 6:9–13 The Lord's Prayer
11. Luke 11:9–13 = Matt 7:7–11 Encouragement to Pray
12. Luke 11:14–23 = Matt 12:22–30 The Beelzebul Controversy
13. Luke 11:24–26 = Matt 12:43–45 The Return of the Evil Spirit
14. Luke 11:29–32 = Matt 12:38–42 The Sign of Jonah
15. Luke 11:39–52 = Matt 23:4, 23–25, 29–36 Discourse against the Pharisees
16. Luke 12:2–9, 10 = Matt 10:26–33; 12:32 On Confession and Blasphemy
17. Luke 12:22–31, 33–34 = Matt 6:25–33, 19–21 Various Sayings
18. Luke 12:39–40, 42–46 = Matt 24:43–51 The Parables of the Householder and of the Faithful Servant
19. Luke 13:18–21 = Matt 13:31–33 The Parables of the Mustard Seed and of the Leaven
20. Luke 13:24, 26–27, 28–39 = Matt 7:13–14, 22–23; 8:11 Eschatological Sayings
21. Luke 13:34–35 = Matt 23:37–39 The Lament on Jerusalem
22. Luke 14:16–24 = Matt 22:1–10 The Parable of the Great Banquet
23. Luke 17:23–24, 26–27, 30, 34–35 = Matt 24:26–27, 37–41 Final Apocalyptical Sayings
24. Luke 19:12–27 = Matt 25:14–30 The Parable of the Pounds.

In Matthew the material derived from Q is often closely interwoven with material only found in Matthew (Matthew's *Sondergut*). This has led to the assumption that Matthew was familiar with Q in a further-developed version than was available to Luke. However, one has to take into account the fact that Matthew usually reshaped his material to a great extent (cf. the conflation of Jesus' speech of the commissioning of the disciples from Mark 6:7–13 and Q [Luke 10:1–12] in Matt 10:1–16). This weakens the possibility of substantiating the theory of a special version of Q earlier than Matthew and unknown to Luke.

Q is a collection of sayings, including some parables, controversies, and pronouncement stories, whereas narratives are lacking almost completely. Insofar it is to be compared with the Jewish wisdom literature (Proverbs, Ben-Sirach, Wisdom of Solomon), and it has a later parallel in the *Gospel of Thomas*. But there are differences, too, resulting from content. Q presents the authoritative teaching of the Son of Man, who will arrive to act as judge and savior (Luke 12:2–9 = Matt 10:26–33; Matt 24:43–44 = Luke 12:39–40). His preaching is, therefore, no mere teaching of human wisdom, but divine revelation, which is superior even to all former prophecy (Luke 10:21–24 = Matt 11:25–27; 13:16–17), and his disciples are instructed to proclaim this very teaching (Luke 10:1–12, 16/Matt 9:37–38; 10:7–16, 40).

Accordingly, Q opens, after the eschatological preaching of the Baptist and the temptation of Jesus, with the authoritative promise of salvation for the poor (Luke 6:20–23 = Matt 5:3–6, 11–12) and closes with a broad eschatological outlook. It is an astonishing feature that the Passion seems to have been ignored completely in Q. Indeed, Q does not contain a soteriological interpretation of Jesus' suffering and death; but Jesus' suffering is present, nevertheless: it is interpreted according to the fate and the murdering of the prophets (Luke 13:34–35 = Matt 23:37–39). The stress, however, lies on his coming as the Son of Man, on his future role as judge and savior.

This question of the historical and geographical setting of Q can only be answered by inferences. One has to distinguish between the age of the individual traditions and the time of the source's composition. In any case it is clear that the traditions are not homogeneous (Luke 4:2–13 = Matt 4:2–11; Luke 10:21–24 = Matt 11:25–27; 13:16–17 can all be considered as younger traditions), which is an argument against a too-early dating. This is corroborated by the polemic attitude against "this generation" pointing to an increasing distance to Israel, and the positive view of the gentiles (Luke 7:1–10 = Matt 8:5–13; Luke 11:29–32 = Matt 12:38–42). Therefore, the com-

position is generally dated between A.D. 50 and 70. Judging from the rural features of many Q traditions, most scholars argue for the N part of Palestine and the S part of Syria as being its place of origin.

5. Other Sources for the Synoptic Gospels. For the materials which cannot be traced to either Mark or Q, the existence of other sources has also been considered. B. H. Streeter (1924) presumes a separate source for Matthew's *Sondergut* ("M"); and as to Luke, he thinks that Luke has at first combined Q with the Lukan *Sondergut* ("L") to form a "Proto-Luke," into which he later incorporated Mark. Neither from "M," however, nor from the alleged combination Q and "L," can there be a comprehensive source reconstructed.

In the case of Luke's Passion narrative, which in parts differs clearly from Mark, there are no sufficient arguments to assume a special source. More appropriate is the assumption that some parts of the Lukan Passion narrative are derived from orally transmitted versions circulating in Luke's congregations differing to some extent from the narrative taken up by Mark.

Finally it has to be stressed that the Two-Source theory has to be regarded as a hypothesis; but all other theories concerning the interrelationship between the Synoptic Gospels are also hypotheses. No hypothesis can solve all aspects of such a complicated question in a totally satisfactory way, but an alternative hypothesis will only gain wider acceptance, if it is able to excel the Two-Source theory, i.e. if it can solve the questions still unsettled without raising other and more difficult problems.

E. The Gospel of John

1. The Signs Source. The assumption that the seven miracle stories of John are derived from a special source has been widely approved. Arguments in favor of this source are: (1) The numbering of the two miracles in John 2:11 and 4:54, and especially the fact that 4:46–53 is counted in 4:54 as Jesus' second miracle, although the evangelist mentions other miracles already in 2:23. (2) The editorial transitional phrase in 2:12a, which is without function in its present context and obviously was intended originally to connect the first two miracle stories (2:1–11 and 4:46–54). (3) Insertions by the evangelist in the miracle stories which lead to the assumption of a written *Vorlage* (especially clear in 4:48; cf. also 6:4.6). (4) The conclusion of the gospel of John in 20:30–31a, which cannot be understood as a summary of the whole ministry of Jesus by the evangelist, because the speeches and Passion of Jesus are nowhere else called *sēmeia*. Here the author of the gospel has made use of the conclusion of a source, consisting of *sēmeia* (= signs), i.e., of miracle stories. (5) The critical attitude of the evangelist towards the view that faith is based on miracles (4:48; 6:26–35), which is incompatible with the view put forward in the single traditions (4:53) and in editorial remarks not deriving from the evangelist (2:11; 20:31a). Since the miracles are called *sēmeia* in the editorial framework of the source, the term Signs Source has become common. See SIGNS/SEMEIA SOURCE.

The size of the Signs Source is fiercely debated. Basically there are three possibilities. The first is a minimal solution, according to which the source consisted exclusively of the seven miracle stories and a limited editorial framework (John 2:11–12a; 4:54; 12:37–38; 20:30–31a). The second is a midway solution, according to which the source contained additionally some further materials like the traditional layer of John 1:35–51 and 4:1–42. As far as the history of these traditions is concerned, there is a close relationship between these materials and the miracle stories; this relationship, however, does not prove that these materials are derived from the same source. The additional argument that the mentioning of the disciples in 2:1 presupposes a story that tells how they became Jesus' followers is not compelling. Third is a maximal solution: the source additionally contained a Passion narrative so that it was a gospel resembling the Synoptics. In this case, however, John 20:30–31a cannot be claimed as the end of the source, and the source itself cannot be labeled "Signs Source" any longer. As far as the theology of the source is concerned, it is difficult to see how this alleged source solved the tension between the miracles which have become much more marvelous (cf. John 11) on the one hand and Jesus' suffering and death on the other hand.

If one opts for the minimal solution, one obtains a distinct profile of the source: It contained seven miracle stories, each of them representing a different type of miracle. This is an argument in favor of the assumption that the source has been incorporated *completely* into the gospel of John. (A striking difference to the Synoptics is the fact that the Signs Source did not contain an exorcism.) The sequence appears to be the result of a conscious composition: at the beginning there is a miracle revealing Jesus' power over inanimate nature (2:1–11), which leads to the disciples' faith, and at the end occurs a (massively enhanced) resurrection story (chap. 11).

The intention of the source is clearly expressed in 20:30–31a: The collection of miracle stories is intended to cause faith in Jesus as the Son of God because of his mighty deeds (2:11); but the source is aware of the fact that miracles may be rejected (12:37–38).

The selection of seven miracle stories, each representing a different type of miracle, and the fact that the miracles have become much more marvelous (in comparison with the Synoptics) point to a later date of origin. Whether names of places as in 1:28 and 10:40 (Peraea) or in 4:1 (Samaria) have something to do with the source's provenance depends on the question as to whether or not these remarks can be assigned to the source.

2. A Source for the Speeches? Regarding the speeches of John, the use of a source has also been discussed. R. Bultmann (1971) argued for the use of a gnostic writing consisting of speeches by the gnostic redeemer revealing his own mission; these were critically interpreted by the evangelist. The arguments in favor of this far-reaching hypothesis are now very doubtful, however. The stylistic differences within the speeches of the gospel of John (between poetic and more prosaic sentences) are not sufficient as proof, and that a gnostic writing already existed in the 1st century A.D. is extremely unlikely. Additionally, Bultmann is often forced to rearrange the sequence of the sentences within the speeches of the gospel of John in order to reconstruct the supposed source. However, the difficulties in the composition of these speeches are obvious and call for further explanation.

3. The Problem of a Passion Source. The close relationship between John 18–20 and Mark 14:1–16:8 (and the additional agreements with Luke 22–24) shows that John is dependent here on a given tradition which he adapted. However, this seems to have been not a written source, but rather a relatively stable oral tradition closely related to the Markan Passion narrative. Additionally, this tradition was influenced by the written version of Luke 22–24 (which does not imply that the author has made use of Luke 22–24 directly). One has to take into account an intensive redaction at central points as well (e.g. John 18:28–19:16).

F. Book of Acts

It cannot be doubted that Luke has made use of traditional material on a great scale in Acts, but there are evidently no continuous sources behind Acts 1–12. All attempts to reconstruct such sources (referring to the development of the congregations in Jerusalem and Antioch) have led to no convincing result. A special problem is posed by the speech of Stephen (Acts 7). It interrupts not only the continuity between Acts 6:8–15 and 7:54–60, but it is also not Lukan, as is shown by the comparison with Acts 13:17–25, where Luke develops his own contrasting view of the history of Israel. Moreover, Luke breaks off the rendering of his tradition in Acts 7:48 abruptly (cf. 17:24). It is more difficult to answer the additional question as to whether or not Luke has expanded his source by way of insertions (possibly in 7:35, 37, 42b–43). The rough transition from 7:47 to 7:48 and the possible Lukan insertions point to the use of a written source. The critical review of God's election and Israel's disobedience shows that the source shares the Deuteronomistic view of history, although it is probable that it was written by a (Judeo-) Christian author. The fact that it has been assigned to Stephen may indicate that Luke got to know it as an Antiochene tradition.

In relation to Acts 13–28 two sources are discussed: (a) a source of the so-called "we sections" (in Acts 16; 20+21; 27–28), and (b) an itinerary source for the names of the places to which Paul came during his travels.

Both assumptions lead to considerable difficulties. First, the "we sections" do not point to a continuous source, for they only contain sea voyages. If one thought of a source (the journal of an eyewitness?), one would have to assume that Luke has reshaped all parts not bearing on sea voyages. In this case, however, the contrary assumption is more probable, viz. that it was Luke himself who has introduced the "we" into his narrative. This is a common literary device in describing sea voyages in Hellenistic romance literature.

Second, if an itinerary has been used, one either has to assume that it was of a very disparate character or that Luke has shortened it considerably (cf. the roughly sketched journeys in Acts 16:6–8 and 18:20–23 with 16:11–12 and 20:6, 13–15; 21:1–18). However if one restricts the assumption of an itinerary to Acts 20:4–21:15, a positive proof seems to be possible. The list of names in 20:4 is pre-Lukan, because it is only here in Acts that Paul is surrounded by such a delegation, and Luke does not give any reason for this escort. Only if one takes into account 1 Corinthians 16 and 2 Corinthians 8 and 9, does the purpose become clear: The delegation has the task of delivering the collection to Jerusalem, a fact known to Luke (24:17) but suppressed almost completely. The list of harbors and islands in Acts 20:6–21:15 (the only real itinerary in Acts) also seems therefore to be pre-Lukan. It is not unlikely that Luke has used a report of the journey written down by a member of the delegation some time after their return. Some single items of 20:4–21:15 can also be attributed to this source (21:8–9, but not 20:8–35). The source will certainly have reported something about the result of the journey (the delivery of the collection), but Luke has omitted this theme almost completely, so only speculations are possible. It is not astonishing, by the way, that this source, being the report of a delegation, was written in the "we form"; this might have also caused Luke to put other sea voyages in the we form. See also Jackson and Lake 1922: 121–75.

G. Sources Within the Epistles

Colossians and Ephesians have very close affinities; and if one assumes that at least Ephesians is Deutero-Pauline (Colossians is probably also Deutero-Pauline), one has to accept a literary dependence: One-third of the vocabulary of Colossians appears also in Ephesians, whereas 73 of the 155 verses of Ephesians have a counterpart in Colossians. (Especially in Eph 2:1–3:19, the affinities to Colossians are very close.) Ephesians presupposes the understanding of important terms like *sōma* (body), *kephalē* (head), *mystērion* (mystery), *oikonomia* (office), peculiar to Colossians, and develops them further. Instances in favor of a direct literary dependence are phrases of Ephesians which can only be explained by assuming that they were taken over from Colossians (for examples, see Kümmel 1975: 340–46, 358–60). Colossians is therefore to be seen as the source adapted by the author of Ephesians and remolded to a great extent.

Likewise, the affinities between 2 Peter 2 and Jude 4–13 (2 Peter 2:10–12, 17 with Jude 10, 12–13) are so close that a literary dependence has to be reckoned with: 2 Peter incorporated the shorter Jude; the author of 2 Peter has polished his source in parts and has omitted offensive points, such as the quotation from the apocryphal book of *Enoch* in Jude 14–15.

H. The Book of Revelation

The numerous difficulties of Revelation have caused many attempts to prove the use of sources in order to explain its complicated composition. In the visions of the seven seals and of the seven trumpets there is, in each case, one larger interruption (Revelation 7; 10:1–11, 14). As an explanation for these interruptions, as well as for chapters 12 and 17, the use of sources has been assumed. Farther-reaching hypotheses take into account a Jewish *Grundschrift* (basic writing), which has been adapted by a Christian author; or two different versions by one and the same author which have been interwoven only superficially. It cannot be disputed that the author has made use of very different materials in many cases, but until now not even a limited agreement could be reached concerning the differing proposals. If written sources are to be assumed at all, they are of rather limited size and have been reworked intensively by the author to a degree that a differentiation

between sources and orally transmitted traditions is hardly possible.

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DIETRICH-ALEX KOCH

SOUTH. One of the cardinal compass points in Hebrew and most ANE cultures. Several different words in Hebrew expressed the direction south (S). The Hebrew word *yāmîn* literally means right or right hand. It is frequently used as the direction S because of the typical Hebrew means of orientation. The Hebrew would face E and get his orientation from his body: E was in front of him, W was behind him, N was to his left, and S was to his right. See also DIRECTION AND ORIENTATION. A good example of this use is Ezek 16:46 which speaks of those living to the N *(śĕmō'l)* and to the S *(yāmîn).* Ps 89:13—Eng v 12 states that Yahweh has created the N *(ṣāpôn)* and the S *(yāmîn).* From the same Hebrew root comes the word *tēmān* used frequently as the direction S, but also used at times as a proper name, Teman, an area in the S, in Edom.

Two other terms are sometimes used to describe regions in the S, *negeb* (or *negbâ*) and *midbār.* These two terms refer to the conditions of the region: dry (or parched) and desert, respectively. Neither term was used exclusively to refer to the direction S however. The term Negeb came to refer to the entire S region of Israel from approximately Beer-sheba and Arad southward. That *negeb* was not limited to a region in the S of Israel is clear from its use to refer to a land S of Babylon (Isa 21:1) and to Egypt (Daniel 11). *Midbār* referred quite often to the wilderness of the Wandering period (Numbers 14), primarily the Sinai region, and to the Arabian desert (Judg 11:22), both of which were in the S. Additional uses of *midbār* refer to the desert/wilderness condition rather than direction.

S is often used in conjunction with the other cardinal compass points, N, E, and W (cf. Gen 13:14; 28:14) to indicate directions or expanse. At times S is used to refer to a particular position or object: i.e., south of a designated object. Often the pair N and S are used together as a merism to indicate a totality, especially in the phrase, "from north to south" (Ezek 20:47; 21:4).

In a more theological meaning, S can be the direction from which God comes or appears (Hab 3:3; cf. Deut 33:2; Judg 5:4). Some translators understand *tēmān* in this instance to refer to a particular place, and hence a proper name; others assume the word refers to the direction "south." Since no other passage relates Yahweh to the particular place Teman, it seems preferable to understand the reference to the direction, since other passages speak of Yahweh coming from Sinai and Paran (around Kadesh-Barnea), both locations to the S of the kingdom Israel. A parallel can be seen in the reference to God dwelling in the far N (Isa 14:13), probably influenced by Canaanite religion. See NORTH.

JOEL F. DRINKARD, JR.

SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION OF. Our knowledge of the South Arabian paganism rests predominantly on archaeological data and on the contents of some thousands of monumental stone inscriptions (many of them fragmentary), relating constructions and dedications to the gods. They are solemn texts, drawn up in the third person. Their contents is not comparable, in volume and variety, to the documents found in Mesopotamia and Egypt, which include mythological and other literary texts as well as personal archives and private letters. Only two short hymns are known from South Arabian inscriptions, but the recent discovery of private texts scratched on wooden sticks indicates that other kinds of written documents were in use and may soon enrich our sources on religion.

The original South Arabian notion of the state was theocratic and expressed through the formula "National god, ruler, nation," for instance in Saba: "Almaqah (the

national god), Karib'il (name of the king) and Saba." In ancient times the ruler might call himself the "firstborn" *(bikr)* of the god, while the nation was the "progeny" *(wld)* of its national god.

A. The Pantheon
B. The Temples
C. Magic and Funerary Customs
D. The Monotheistic Religions

A. The Pantheon

The South Arabian pantheon rested originally on an astral basis, as is shown by such divine names as Šams, "sun"; Rubᶜ, "(moon) Quarter"; ᶜAṯtar, a god whose name corresponds to that of the Assyro-Babylonian goddess Ištar, identified with Venus. But it remains unclear if those astral identifications were still really perceived as such. Many deities are known only under a vague denomination which does not reveal their nature nor even their sex. Some divine denominations give scattered evidence on theogonic myths: a goddess is named "mother of ᶜAṯtar," another one "mother of (the) goddesses"; there are "daughters of (the god) Il," and finally a "son of (the goddess) Hawbas."

In historical times, the male god ᶜAṯtar, apparently identified with the planet Venus, was the supreme god: all the South Arabian nations venerated him under the same name and he takes the first place in enumerations of several gods. He had superseded the primitive supreme god of the Semites, ʾIl or ʾEl, who plays only a secondary role in the South Arabian religion. ᶜAṯtar was the god of the natural irrigation by rain, in contrast to the artificial irrigation of the arid zones, which depended on rainwater fallen elsewhere and conveyed and distributed by an irrigation network. This could explain a distinction between two kinds of Sabaean lands in the first centuries A.D.: the "domain *(mulk)* of ᶜAṯtar," in contrast to that "of Almaqah," the national god of Saba.

The gazelle, the symbol animal of ᶜAṯtar, was the object of a sacred hunt in honor of "ᶜAṯtar and Kurūm," performed by the ancient rulers and kings of Saba. Kurūm certainly equals "Attarquruma," a North Arabian idol mentioned in the annals of Assyrian kings. As a god of thunder and thunderstorm, ᶜAṯtar, qualified as *Šarīqān*, "the eastern one" (probably Venus as the Morning Star) was invoked in the epitaphs as an avenger of the violators of sepulchers. ᶜAṯtar is frequently named with the goddess Hawbas, probably his consort, also named in Sabaean inscriptions of the 5th–4th centuries in Ethiopia, where her symbol was the vulva.

Along with the main god ᶜAṯtar, each of the major kingdoms venerated its own national god. In Saba this was the god named Almaqah (or Ilmuqah), whose principal temple was near Mārib, the capital of Saba, a federal shrine of the Sabaean tribes. According to the widely contested old theory of the Danish scholar D. Nielsen, who reduced the whole South Arabian pantheon to a primitive triad: father Moon, mother Sun (sun is feminine in Arabic) and son Venus, Almaqah was until recently considered a moon god, but Garbini and Pirenne have shown that the bull's head and the vine motif associated with him are solar and dionysiac attributes. He was therefore a sun god, the male counterpart of the sun goddess Šams, who was also venerated in Saba, but as a tutelary goddess of the royal dynasty. Among other Sabaean feminine denominations, that of *ḏāt-Baᶜdān*, a goddess who received dedications of votive statuettes of horses, was probably a sun goddess, since the horse generally is associated with the solar cult in the Mediterranean culture. In Maᶜīn, the national god Wadd, "love," originated from North Arabia. The protective formula *Waddʾāb*, "Wadd is father," written on amulets or on the walls of the buildings, is frequently associated with the symbol of the moon crescent and a small disc (the planet Venus?), so that he probably was a moon god. In the Ḥadhramawt the national god, lord of the main temple of the capital city, Shabwa, was *Syn* (Sīn?), probably a sun god; his symbol animal, figured on coins, was the eagle—a solar animal. In Qatabān, the national god was ᶜAmm, "paternal uncle," a well known Semitic divine name. There is no good reason to consider him a moon god. The sun goddess Šams was also venerated in Qatabān. In Ḥimyar, Šams was the national goddess, venerated at the rock sanctuary at al-Miᶜsāl, near the site of the ancient city of Waᶜlān.

Among the other local gods, many are known only through epithets which do not reveal their nature. The better known are listed here. In Qatabān, the gods Anbay and Ḥawkam are invoked together as (the gods) "of the order and of the decision." The name Anbay, probably derived from a root meaning "to speak, to prophesy," is comparable to that of the Babylonian god Nabū, identified with the planet Mercury. The name Ḥawkam belongs to the root meaning "to be wise." Both gods probably personified two aspects (as evening and morning star?) of Nabū-Mercury, the god of fate and science, spokesman of the gods, in the Assyro-Babylonian religion. In the Ḥadhramawt Ḥawl probably was a moon god: his name expresses the idea of a recurrent movement, suggestive of the cycle of the moon, to be compared with the Qatabanian god Waraḥ, "month," and to such Sabaean divine names as Rubᶜ or Rubᶜ Šahar, "moon quarter."

Some tribes or tribal confederations had their own tribal *šym*, "patron." In Saba, Taʾlab ("ibex") of Riyām (a mountain now called Itwa, N of Ṣanᶜāʾ), was the patron of Sumᶜay, a confederation of tribes in Central Yemen. His sanctuary, on top of the mountain, was the center of an important pilgrimage. In the kingdom of Maᶜīn, the patron god Nikraḥ was venerated on an isolated hill close to the ancient city of Yaṯil, nowadays called Barāqish. He was a healer patron: inscriptions found there reveal that his sanctuary was an asylum to dying people, or to women in childbirth or who had aborted. In votive inscriptions they confessed their sins against ritual purity. In the plain around the hill, nine inscribed pillars were found, each bearing the same text: "marker of this sanctuary." They served to mark the sacred perimeter of the sanctuary. Some tutelary deities called *Munaḍḍihāt* were called upon to protect the irrigation systems. Lares gods were invoked as "Lord of the house (or family)."

Next to Wadd, other North or Central Arabian gods were locally venerated in South Arabia. Bedouin caravaneers in North Yemen offered statuettes of camels to *ḏū-Samāwī*, "the heavenly one," a god from Central Arabia, for the well-being of their camels. Qatabanian women

dedicated inscribed clay feminine figurines to the so-called "Daughters of Il," who correspond to the "Daughters of Allah" of pre-Islamic Mecca: the goddesses al-Lāt, al^{c}Uzzā and Manāt alluded to in the Koran. The first two appear also on South Arabian amulets.

The South Arabian gods are above all represented by their respective animal symbol: bull, snake, eagle, lion, ibex, etc., but also by particular symbols similar to those in use in the Assyro-Babylonian religion—thunderbolt, club, door flap, arrow, etc. Less frequently they appear in anthropomorphic form (or as winged angels) in funerary reliefs or in statuettes as a young male deity or as a fertility goddess with cornucopia, sitting on a throne. Many traces have been recognized of syncretic influences of oriental cults of the Roman Empire; statuettes or reliefs have been found of Dionysios-Sabazios, Harpocrates, Dioscures riding a lion, Janus trifrons, etc., but the inscriptions never give the name under which such gods were known in South Arabia. Various reliefs show clearly an influence of Indian religious motifs.

B. The Temples

The sanctuaries consisted essentially of a sacred, open precinct *(ḥaram* or *maḥram),* accessible only on conditions of ritual purity. Expiatory confessions inform us as to the details of those rules. Women accuse themselves of having entered the temple during their menses. Men confess having had sexual relations with menstruating women, or women in childbirth, or of having omitted the ritual washing after sexual relations. Such rules, borne out by inscriptions several centuries older than the birth of Islam but using technical terms identical or very close to those of the Muslim jurisprudence, obviously were part of an ancient common Semitic heritage. There is therefore no reason to assume—as some islamologists have done—that the similar Islamic rules were borrowed from the Jews in Medīna, instead of being a mere survival of pre-Islamic Arabian usages.

The South Arabian temples show various forms derived from the pre-Islamic *ḥaram:* a precinct, mostly rectangular, in which a sort of canopy supported by four pillars may have sheltered the statue of the god and/or an altar for sacrifices. A rather primitive form of temple is that of the temple of Almaqah near Mārib, which must date back to the 5th century B.C. It consisted of a large elliptical precinct of approximately 110 m of great axis, surrounded by a powerful wall more than 8 m high and 4 m thick. A small rectangular temple of later date is embedded into the precinct, to which it served as an entrance hall. That smaller temple was excavated in 1951–52 by American archaeologists. The entrance between two pylons was preceded by six pillars bound by an architrave. The sanctuary consisted of a rectangular court surrounded by a portico with pillars, within which numerous stone slabs were erected, inscribed with dedications of statuettes (now missing). In several ancient temples of the Jawf (in the N part of North Yemen), the peristyle consists of low pillars bearing horizontal stone beams supporting broad slabs forming a ceiling. The internal surface of the pillars and of the ceiling bear an incised ornementation of motifs associated with the ritual hunt.

In the Ḥadhramawt, a series of ancient temples present the common structure of a single (or double) small rectangular cella built on a terrace overlooking the ancient settlement. The shrine is reached by a long flight of stairs up to 70 m in length. Finally, rock sanctuaries like the one at al-Mi^{c}sāl in Ḥimyar, are high places, roughly fitted out on a natural terrace on a particularly imposing rock outcrop. Some mountain tops in Yemen are crowned by such sanctuaries.

The temples played an important role in public life. Each place of importance had its temple or temples, dedicated to one or to several gods. No temple archives have been recovered yet, but the main temples were certainly the centers of the administration in charge of the properties of the god and of collecting the sacred tithe. A stone copy of important acts was kept in the courtyard of the temples. The temples were managed by various kinds of priests and administrators *(rśw, śḥr, qyn, św^{c})* directly attached to the service of the god, but whose functions are not clearly distinguished. Ancient rulers, for instance in Qatabān, bore priestly titles. Certain priests *(rśw,* and *śḥr)* formed a hereditary caste. They played a role in the interpretation or oracles, and in collective official sacrifices. In Saba, a caste of priests *(rśw)* of ^{c}Aṯtar were recruited on a hereditary basis from three separate clans, each of which supplied in turn an eponymous priest, called *kabīr,* who remained up to seven years in office. The official acts were dated according to the year of office of that eponym, who was in charge of the collection and allocation of the proceeds of the tithe, and performed the magical practices aimed at obtaining rain. Elsewhere in South Arabia a similar institution was limited to two years.

The cultic utensils consisted of bronze receptacles and various kinds of bronze or stone altars: *maḏbaḥat* for sacrifices of animals; *maslam* used for libations and as incense burners, and *mqṭr,* incense burners. The *maḏbaḥat* and *maslam* are generally in the form of a stone table with a hollowed-out shallow basin, extended by one or two gutters ending with a bull's head. Numerous incense burners testify to the importance of aromatic fumigations as a rite against evil influences or in order to obtain a favor from the gods. The incense burners in stone have the form of a piedouche supporting a cube with a hollowed out upper surface, or of a small four-legged parallelepiped, bearing the name of a different aromatic on each of its sides. Many small incense burners of that type belong to the furniture of tombs or were used for the domestic cult.

The slaughter of animals as a sacrifice of expiation or of thanksgiving was probably, as in the Islamic cult, an individual rite performed by the faithful himself. But collective sacrifices took place in connexion with the pilgrimages, and—along with the burning of aromatics—at the inauguration of public buildings. The sacrifice of animals normally implies a rite of communion under the form of ritual meals. The offering of a ritual meal *^{ɔ}lm* or *m^{ɔ}lm* (which reminds one of the Islamic *walīma,* a meritorious banquet), in honor of ^{c}Aṯtar, appears in the texts as a rite performed by several ancient rulers of Saba. In a rock inscription which states the rules of the pilgrimage to his sanctuary in Riyām, the patron god Ta^{ɔ}lab orders banquets *(ʔlm)* to be drawn out from the proceeds of the tithe *(^{c}uśr)* due to him. Pliny (*H.N.* 12.63) remarks concerning the temple of Shabwa in the Ḥadhramawt that the sun god

Sabin (probably Sīn) entertained his guests a number of days every year on the proceeds of the tithe. That pilgrimage in Shabwa is also mentioned in a Sabaean text. A similar pilgrimage took place in the month of Abhay at the shrine of Almaqah near Mārib.

In 1981 the French Archaeological Mission in North Yemen visited the ruins of two temples containing votive objects and inscriptions, at the foot and on top of Jabal al-Lawdh, which closes the N side of the Jawf depression of North Yemen. The sanctuary on the mountain lies 1000 m higher than the one at the foot. They are linked by a 6-km-long paved, processional way with a constant slope that clings to the side of the mountain or is carved into it. They include large courtyards containing numerous parallel stone benches from 10 to 16 m in length. Inscriptions mention the offering of ritual meals by several Sabaean rulers, so that those considerable installations probably were used for the ritual meals of the pilgrims. In one of the temples a remarkable engraving on a wall shows a procession of elderly musicians with (masks imitating?) bird heads.

During the ancient period of the kingdom of Saba persons were dedicated in thanksgiving to the tutelary god of a temple, probably in order to perform some temporary duties in his service. But in the kingdom of Ḥimyar, the historical rock inscriptions of the 3d century A.D. at the sanctuary of the goddess Šams in al-Miʿsāl mention the ritual slaughter of civilian and military prisoners as a sacrifice in gratitude for a military victory. A similar custom is mentioned in inscriptions of Ethiopian kings in the 4th century A.D. Such human sacrifices were apparently exceptional. The ancient dedications of persons for the service of the god evolved relatively early into dedications of bronze or silver statuettes representing the dedicator, or even the god to whom the dedication was offered. Other objects of dedications were incense burners, statuettes of animals (offered for the well being of cattle), but also figurines of male or female sexual organs, offered in view of obtaining children. Many such dedications were normally described in an inscription and offered on the injunction of the god expressed through his oracle as a condition to the granting of the requested favor. The oracle is generally designated by the word *masʾal*, "interrogation," or "place of interrogation," without any indication as to the procedure involved. That was probably the most commonly used oracular term in pre-Islamic Arabia. A more specific method of divination was *istiqsām* or rhabdomancy: the drawing of lots represented by arrows or rods, each of which was supposed to give a specific answer (positive, negative, etc.) to a question asked from the god, possibly by a priest. Another type of oracle was oniromancy, or divination based on dreams. This appears in inscriptions in which the god is said to have expressed his will through "visions," which he had "shown" to his servant "during his sleep," or "in the temple" (an allusion to incubation), and sometimes "for him," i.e., through the offices of a professional "seer." One such medium, a woman, is called a *ḫlmt*, "seeress of dreams."

Another important cultic rite is what has gone down to Islam under the name *istisqāʾ*: a "supplication for rain" in case of severe drought. A Sabaean inscription from the 3d century A.D. relates that after a long period of severe drought the whole population of Mārib went to the temple outside the city and presented supplications to the god, while the women magicians were performing their tricks. On the same day, rain fell on the mountains; the flood reached Mārib during the following night, and filled with water the whole irrigation system around the city.

The hunting *(ṣd)* of the gazelle, the game devoted to ʿAttar, was a rite of the ancient rulers of Saba aimed at obtaining good rains or favorable omens. This cultic rite was also performed on other kinds of game in honor of other gods. In a Sabaean text the goddess Šams orders a tribe to go hunting in her honor two days every year, in order to obtain protection and prosperity. Hunting the ibex as a charm and—when successful—as a presage of forthcoming rain, is a rite still performed nowadays in certain parts of the Ḥadhramawt.

C. Magic and Funerary Customs

Magic was of course linked to religious practice. Various terms designate the "evil eye" and the "evil spells" which one asked the god to be protected from, or to exert against one's enemies. Amulets carried the name or symbol of a god. The magic formula Wadd'āb, "Wadd is father," or reliefs representing a bucranium and called *śḫr*, "talisman," were inserted into the façade of buildings. Astrology also played a role; people asked for children endowed with "a good astrological configuration," and late reliefs figure the signs of the zodiac.

Funerary customs testify to a belief in an afterlife. Collective tombs consisting of several chambers, sometimes underground, were dug out in the soft limestone. Inscriptions at the entrance of a collective sepulcher specify the title deeds and respective share of ownership of the various occupants and utter threats against any usurper. During their 1986–87 campaign, the Soviet-Yemeni Archaeological Expedition in South Yemen discovered a ritually slaughtered camel in the middle of such a collective underground sepulcher. Several surgically prepared mummies, buried without a coffin, were discovered in 1983 in funerary chambers dug out in a cliff at Shibam Sukhaym, northeast of Ṣanʿāʾ. Next to the usual pottery in clay or stone and to artifacts such as weapons or jewels, the burials contain small incense burners or bull heads in alabaster. Various types of funerary inscriptions are found in the graves: stone plinths bearing the name of the deceased supporting a bust, a head or a stone statuette, or even a plain polished alabaster plaque (on which a portrait may have been painted). Stelae were found bearing a name and a human face or bust incised or carved in the round. More elaborate epitaphs called *nfs* of *nṣb* are stone slabs which may include, next to the name of the dead and a threat against any usurper, a single or double relief illustrating the daily activity of the deceased (hunting, ploughing, riding a camel, etc.) and a scene of the other world, such as the presentation of an offering to a seated goddess.

D. The Monotheistic Religions

After A.D. 350 the dedications to pagan gods give way to monotheistic invocations to "(the) God," "the Lord of Heaven," "the Lord of Heaven and Earth", *Raḥmānān*, i.e., "the Merciful," etc. Since expressions of this kind were later used by Jews and Christians, the problem arises of

the true nature and origin of that monotheism. Jewish colonies were founded in the Ḥijāz probably around the middle of the 1st millennium B.C., and Judaism must have penetrated into South Arabia during the first centuries A.D. As a result of a Byzantine embassy to the land of Ḥimyar in the middle of the 4th century; the chief of the Himyarites allegedly became a Christian in spite of the Jewish influence in his court and had Christian churches built in his country. That conversion is, however, far from being confirmed. Monotheistic formulas are used by members of the Himyarite dynasty from about 380 A.D., but while no outspoken Christian (e.g., trinitarian) expression appears before the beginning of the 6th century, specific Jewish ones (e.g. the use of the word *slwm*, corresponding to Heb *šālōm*, "peace," the mention of Israel, or the plural *ʾlhn*, "God," obviously a calque of Heb *ʾĕlōhîm*) already occur around the year 430 in inscriptions emanating from Abūkarib Asʿad, a king who according to the Arab tradition was converted to Judaism by rabbis from Yathrib (Madīna). Owing to the recognized presence of Jews (or Jewish converts) in South Arabia from about the middle of the 4th century, it seems unfounded to suppose that the first South Arabian monotheism belonged to Ḥanīfism, that alleged and elusive Abrahamic monotheism which the Arab tradition claims having existed in pre-Islamic Arabia.

Syriac and Arabic sources attribute to Syrian missionaries at the beginning of the 5th century the conversion to Christianity of Najrān, an oasis at the N frontier of Yemen. An Ethiopic account describes the martyrdom there of Azqīr, a Najranite Christian, at the hand of Jews, during the reign of Šuraḥbiʾil Yakkuf, a king known from inscriptions after the middle of the 5th century.

Somewhere around the year 520 a Jewish convert, Yūsuf Asʾar (the sinister ḏū-Nuwās of the Arab tradition), took hold of the throne, and later (523?) attacked the Christians, mainly foreigners, in the country; Ethiopians were burnt alive in the blaze of their church in the capital Ẓafār, and in the haven of Mokhā, while the king prepared the siege of Najrān by barring the northern access to the oasis to possible relief from Christian Syria or Central Arabia. Those events are described in three rock inscriptions set up in the desert by Jewish generals of Yūsuf. In October–November of the same year the king and one of his generals put to death hundreds of foreign and indigenous Monophysite Christians in Najrān, by having them burnt alive in their church, or beheaded by the sword. That persecution is described in various hagiographic accounts. Having been told of the events, the Ethiopian Negus Ellā Aṣbeḥah decided to build a fleet in order to invade Yemen and avenge his fellow Christians. This he achieved two years later (525?) by landing in Yemen with his troops, by killing the Jewish king, and by installing an indigenous Christian, named Sumyafaʿ, as his viceroy. Sumyafaʿ is the author of a long inscription written "In the name of the Merciful, of His Son, the Victorious Christ, and of the Holy Ghost."

A few years later a former Ethiopian general named Abrahah seized power and made himself independent from the Negus. His long inscription about repairs at the famous dam of Mārib is drawn up "By the might and the help and the mercy of the Merciful, of His Messiah and of the Holy Ghost." Near the end of his reign he made in Central Arabia an expedition, mentioned in a rock inscription which is drawn up "By the might of the Merciful and of His Messiah." That expedition may have some connection with the Arab tradition of an abortive expedition he launched against Mecca around the year 570, traditionally assigned to the birth of Muḥammad. A few years later the Persians invaded Yemen which later became a satrapy. No inscription is recorded since that occupation, which ended in 628 when the last satrap embraced Islam, followed by many Yemenis. In 631 the Jewish and Christian communities in Najrān formally accepted, in a convention with the Prophet Muḥammad, the political domination of Islam in exchange for the right to continue to practice their religion.

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JACQUES RYCKMANS

SOUTH ARABIC LANGUAGES. See LANGUAGES (PRE-ISLAMIC SOUTH ARABIA).

SPAIN (PLACE) [Gk *Spania*]. The S European peninsula protruding into the Atlantic Ocean at the W end of the Mediterranean Sea, now comprised of Portugal and Spain (1 Macc 8:3; Rom 15: 24, 28). From paintings, Spain's history has been traced back at least to Paleolithic times. The Phoenicians had established trading posts on the SW coast by the time of Israel's conquest of Canaan. By the time the N kingdom of Israel was overrun by Assyria, the Greeks, apparently lured by Spain's precious metals, controlled Spain's commerce. Not much later, Phoenician Carthage became regionally ascendant and pushed the Greeks back to the NE corner of Spain and dominated the coastal area. Financed by Spain's resources of gold, silver, tin, copper, lead, and iron, the Carthaginians rivaled Rome until the Second Punic War (218–201 B.C.). Rome subsequently defeated Carthage in the Spanish peninsula and undertook the subjugation of Spain in order to protect themselves from further Carthaginian provocation (1 Macc 8:3). This task took almost two centuries, but by the turn of the era the Romanization of Spain had built up a full head of steam (Schulten *CAH* 8: 187–298; Sutherland 1939). Besides wealth, Spain made many substantial contributions to Rome. Five Caesars (Galba, Trajan, Hadrian, Maximus and Theodosius) came from this geographic region along with a host of literary greats including the two Senecas, Lucan, Martial, Pomponius, Mela, Columella, Quintilian, Prudentius, and Orosius (see Collins 1983; Rostovtzeff 1979).

Perhaps the significance of Spain's place in the Roman Empire gave Paul the inspiration to evangelize this W frontier (Rom 15:24, 28). Strategically placed churches in this important region would have been consistent with Paul's missionary strategy, but whether he actually traveled to Spain remains in doubt. Although Clement, writing approximately thirty years after Paul's death, records that the apostle reached "the boundary of the West" (*1 Clem.* 5:7), an expression that probably refers to Spain, and the *Acts of Peter* and the *Muratorian Fragment* concur explicitly, this evidence has not removed the uncertainty from the minds of most scholars. The tradition which asserts that James introduced Spain to the Gospel (PL, LXXXIII, 151) has not been taken seriously.

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SPAN. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

SPARROW. See ZOOLOGY.

SPARTA (PLACE) [Gk *Spartē*]. SPARTAN. The name of a city in S Greece also known as Lacedaemon. During the Dorian settlement, ca. 1000 B.C., the city-state Lacedaemon, later known as Sparta, was probably founded. Slowly, after protracted wars with Amyclae and Messenia, Sparta

became a regional power. By the conclusion of the Peloponnesian War (404 B.C.), Sparta had become the most significant city-state in Greece (37°04′N; 22°25′E).

During the reign of the high priest, Onias I (320–290 B.C.), Sparta apparently courted the Jews resulting in a friendly relationship between the two parties. In fact, correspondence between these 2 parties discussed the possibility that both the Spartans and the Jews were descendants of Abraham (1 Macc 12:20–23). Though some doubt the authenticity of the Spartan correspondence, it is not impossible that the supposed Spartan letter in 1 Macc 12:20–23 is essentially authentic (Goldstein *I Maccabees* AB, 447–60). Apparently a colony of Jews had settled in Greece and had facilitated warm relations between Israel and Sparta because, in 168 B.C., Jason found asylum in this community after he failed in an attempted coup (2 Macc 5:9).

Later, ca. 146 B.C., Jonathan apparently also tried his hand at statesmanship with Sparta. Jonathan appealed to the city-state to renew their friendship; he based his appeal upon the above-mentioned letter from Sparta to Onias I which supposedly had inaugurated a friendship between the two parties (1 Macc 12:1–23; cf. Josephus *Ant* 8.5.8; 12.4.10). Some scholars, however, have also doubted the authenticity of Jonathan's letter. Again the genuineness of Jonathan's letter is not impossible, especially if the letter from the Roman proconsul Lucius to the pharaoh of Egypt is authentic. This latter letter alludes to an effort by the Jews to renew a friendly relationship between the Jews and the Romans (cf. 1 Macc 15:16–21). If the Jews were taking the political initiative with the Romans, then it becomes probable that they also courted Sparta.

After Jonathan's death, Sparta seems to have corresponded again with the Jews, this time with Simon, the high priest. This correspondence apparently was an attempt to restore the past political friendship (1 Macc 14:16–23). The final mention of Sparta occurs in 1 Macc 15:16–22 (cf. Josephus, *Ant* 14.8.5). This text mentions a letter from the proconsul Lucius to the king of Egypt (139 B.C.) with copies sent to other nations as well. The letter requests the recipients not to engage the Jews in conflict. Most importantly, the letter singles out Sparta (1 Macc 15:23) and thereby encourages the enduring friendship of the two nations.

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SPEECH IMPEDIMENT. See SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

SPICE. See PERFUMES AND SPICES.

SPIDER. See ZOOLOGY.

SPIKENARD. See FLORA.

SPIRITS IN PRISON. The identity of "the spirits in prison," to whom 1 Peter 3:19 refers, is disputed. An exegetical issue which cannot be separated from this is the connection with v 18, where "made alive in the spirit" is now generally recognized to refer to Christ's resurrection. Some take "in which" *(en hō)* to refer loosely to the whole process of Christ's death and resurrection, and so are able to date his journey to preach to the spirits in prison between his death and resurrection, while others take it to refer to "spirit" in the sense of the spiritual realm and so are able to date his preaching to the spirits in the time of Noah, before his incarnation. But it is most plausibly taken to refer to Christ's risen condition ("alive in the spirit"), with the result that his journey to preach to the spirits must be dated after his resurrection. This means that the journey can probably be identified with that of v 22, i.e. his ascension to heaven.

There are three major views on the identity of "the spirits in prison" (for the history of interpretation, see Dalton 1965).

First, they are Noah's human contemporaries, who refused to heed his preaching while God's patience gave them opportunity to repent by delaying the Flood. Some form of this view was held by most exegetes until recently. According to one version of it, Christ's preaching to them occurred during his "descent to Hades" and is the same as the preaching of the Gospel to "the dead" to which 4:6 refers. A difficulty with this view is that, whereas references to the descent of Christ to Hades in the early extracanonical literature often refer to his preaching to the dead, it is always a question of the righteous dead of OT times, not notorious sinners such as those who died in the Flood. A second version of this view (Feinberg 1986; Grudem *1 Peter* TNTC) holds that the preexistent Christ preached *through Noah* to Noah's contemporaries while they were still alive. They rejected his message and are called "the spirits in prison" because that is what they are now, at the time of writing. This view can appeal to the Jewish tradition of Noah's preaching repentance to his contemporaries (to which 2 Pet 2:5 refers).

Second, the "spirits in prison" are angelic beings, which the word "spirits" alone (rather than "spirits of . . .") probably most naturally suggests (though human spirits is not at all an impossible meaning of the word). Specifically they are the fallen angels (the Watchers) as known especially in the Enoch traditions (and cf. Jude 6; 2 Pet 2:4; Dalton 1965). These ("the sons of God" of Gen 6:1–4, according to the commonest early Jewish interpretation) disobeyed God by descending to earth, mating with women, and teaching humanity evil practices. Thus they were responsible for the corruption of humanity which led to the Flood. Although their descent from heaven occurred well before the time of Noah, the evil which they were still perpetrating reached its peak in the time of Noah. They were subsequently confined in a prison which *1 Enoch* locates beneath the earth, but which *2 Enoch* (7; cf. 18) locates in the second of the seven heavens. In this case, Christ could have confronted them during his triumphal ascent to heaven, and his preaching would be his

proclamation to them of his victory over evil. Their submission to him would be included in that of the angelic powers to which v 22 refers.

Another recent view (Michaels *1 Peter* WBC 49, 203–11) is that the spirits are not the Watchers but the evil spirits derived from them. According to *1 Enoch*, the Watchers themselves are no longer active in this world, but the spirits of their children, the giants, became the evil spirits who continue to promote evil in the world until the last judgment. On this view, the spirits would be the evil spirits so often mentioned in the gospels, and Christ's proclamation of his victory in order to receive their submission would be more relevant to 1 Peter's readers than a reference to the Watchers. However, this view is obliged to take *phylake* in the sense of "refuge" rather than "prison": wherever they sought a safe haven Christ went to proclaim his victory to them. This is not the most natural interpretation. Moreover, there is a good reason why the Watchers, rather than the evil spirits active after them, should be mentioned. According to the Enoch traditions, they were the source and origin of all subsequent evil on earth. It was appropriate that Christ as victor over all evil should especially receive their submission.

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SPIRITUAL GIFTS. See GIFTS, SPIRITUAL.

SQUID. See ZOOLOGY.

STABLE, STABLES.

A building or architectural subunit in which domestic animals, particularly equids, are housed and fed.

A. Stables in the OT.
1. Terminology.
2. Within the Ancient Near East.
3. Archaeology.
4. Historical Implications.
B. In the NT

A. Stables in the OT

1. Terminology. The term "stable" does not appear in the RSV, and only once in the AV (Ezek 25:5), where it mistranslates Heb *nawēh* (RSV "pasture"), with reference to camels. Instead, the Bible speaks of "stalls" (or "spans/teams"? [see below], Heb *ʾurôt*) "of horses for his [Solomon's] chariots" (1 Kgs 5:6 —Eng 4:26; cf. 1 Kgs 10:26; 2 Chr 9:25), and "for all kinds of cattle" (2 Chr 32:27–28; where the term is in apposition with "treasuries" [Heb *ʾōsārôt*], "storehouses" [Heb *miskĕnôt*], and "sheepfolds" [Heb *ʿadorîm*]). This last occurrence is probably a rhetorical flourish of the Chronicler, and need not be taken into serious consideration, except that it occurs in parallel with terms signifying built structures or buildings. The problem comes into focus when we consider that the Hebrew term *ʾurôt* (sing. **ʾurwâ*) is a loan-word from Akk *urû(m)*, "stall." In Middle Babylonian, however, the term may also mean "stallion," and in Neo-Assyrian, "span," or "team" (von Soden *AHW* 3, 1435, I, II). Thus, while "span" or "team" would make a fitting translation for the earlier usage (1 Kgs 5:6 —Eng 4:26; 2 Chr 9:25), it would not suit 2 Chr 32:27–28. Whatever the translation, the earlier usage reflects the military-political viewpoint, since what is of immediate significance is the number of horses in active military service or training, which necessitated their stalling (see below), and not the number of buildings, or the total number of horses owned by the crown. Within the OT, stalls for young "feeder" cattle seem to be distinguished by the term *mārbēq*, "calf [/calves] from the stall", i.e., specially fattened calves: 1 Sam 28:24; Jer 46:21; Amos 6:4; Mal 3:20 —Eng 4:2. The term *ʾābûs* in the phrase *šôr ʾābûs* "stalled [= fatted] ox" (Prov 15:17) may elsewhere equal "crib" in its more ambivalent English usage as either "manger" or "stall," cf. Job 39:9 (wild ox); Isa 1:3 (ass). From these indications, as also from more general considerations, we should expect the archaeological attestation of "public"/royal stables, cities whose primary function might be to garrison chariot troops, and private stabling facilities within the economies of ancient Israel and Judah.

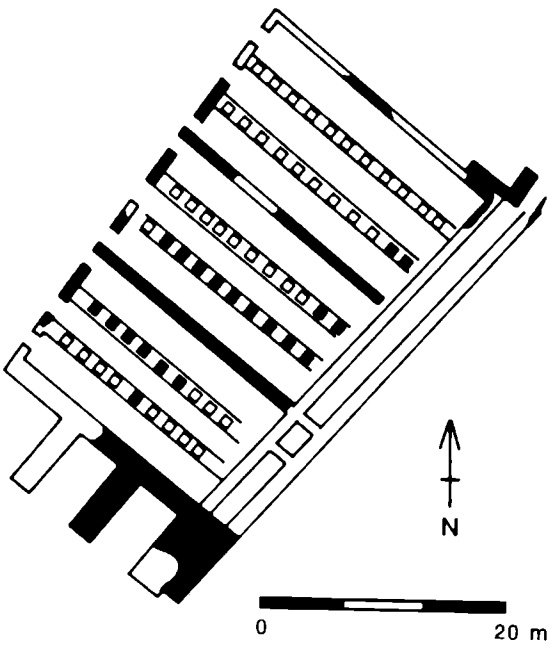
2. Within the Ancient Near East. Chariot teams in the ancient Near East were invariably stallions (Pope 1970: 59–60), or upon occasion possibly geldings. Stabling provisions would be needed only for those horses which were in training. In all probability, the studs, brood mares, and foals were allowed to roam freely through the upland valleys, as in ancient Greece (Anderson 1961: 4), cf. 1 Kgs 18:5 and 1 Sam 9:3. In the latter instance, the narrative concerns asses. It may be assumed, however, that, within a given culture-region, large-scale breeding practices for horses and asses would be similar.

The number given in 1 Kgs 4:26 for Solomon's horses (40,000) is either legendary, or, more likely, a copyist's error of one order of magnitude, a probability suggested both by one of the major manuscripts of the LXX, Codex Vaticanus, which reads "four thousand," and by 1 Chr 9:25 ("four thousand"). From this viewpoint, the translation "stall" clearly suits better than "span/team," which again yields overly large figures. Note further that the numbers of "horsemen" *(pārāšîm)* and "chariots" (*rekeb*, the term is also used with reference to chariot horses), 12,000 and 1,400 respectively, that Solomon is said to have stationed in the chariot cities (*ʿarê hărekeb*) and in Jerusalem (1 Kgs 10:26) are more consonant with the lower figure, especially when includes trainers, grooms, supply personnel, other stable hands, etc., in addition to the charioteers themselves. That this is an idealized, but nevertheless attainable figure, retroverted into the Solomonic period by later generations, is suggested by the fact that Ahab is credited with 2,000 chariots, i.e., at least 4,000—and probably 6,000—horses, in Shalmaneser III's account of the

Battle of Qarqar (853 B.C.; Luckenbill, *LAR* 1, 223, para. 611). Some of these may have been Judean (1 Kgs 22:1–4). This figure has, however, also been questioned (Na'aman 1976: 97–102), but see below. Given what we presently know of the archaeology of early Israel, even if one accepted such a large number for the time of Ahab, it is quite unlikely that it could have held true for the historical Solomon.

The importance, and accompanying economic burden, of chariot forces both to Israel and Judah is abundantly witnessed in the OT (Deut 17:16; 1 Sam 8:11–12; 1 Kgs 4:26–28; 9:19; 16:9; 18:5; 22:4, 29–38; 2 Kgs 8:21; 10:2; Ps 20:7; Isa 2:7; Mic 6:10). Certain unnamed cities were expressly designated "chariot cities" (1 Kgs 9:19; 10:26, 2 Chr 1:14, 8:6, 9:25). Regardless of the historicity of their attribution to Solomon, it seems clear that the appellation was consonant with functional types of cities known to the later Judean historiographers. "Horses . . . and . . . chariots of the sun" (2 Kgs 23:11), almost certainly related to terracotta images found in some quantity in Iron Age Cyprus (e.g., Gjerstad et al. 1935: 789, pls. 234–35 [Ajia Irini]; Karageorghis 1977: 38, 67–73, pls. 8: 12, 13; 25: 1–4 [Meniko]), and which were among the cultic paraphernalia destroyed during Josiah's cleansing of the temple. There was a "horses' entrance" to the royal palace in Jerusalem (2 Kgs 11:16), and the slain kings Ahab and Josiah were borne home from the battlefront in chariots (1 Kgs 22:34–38; 2 Kgs 23:30).

3. Archaeology. The numbers of tripartite pillared buildings of standardized design, first identified as stables by the principal excavators at Megiddo, have multiplied during the past century's excavations in Palestine to the point that they are now, after domestic houses, the second-most-common architectural entity known from the period of the Hebrew monarchy. See Fig. STA.01; also MEG.05. Buildings of this general plan are known from Tell el-Hesi, Megiddo, Beth-shemesh, Lachish, Hazor, Beer-sheba, and Tell el-'Ureima (Tel Kinrot). Furthermore, chariots are among the items rained down from the walls of Lachish upon the forces of Sennacherib in the siege-relief scenes of the 701 B.C. campaign against Judah, and a Judean chariot is depicted in the procession of captives leaving the city (Ussishkin 1982: 105, figs. 69, 82, 90).



STA.01. Tripartite buildings at Beer-sheba—Stratum II. *(Redrawn from* EAEHL *1. 161)*

Outside Israel and Judah proper, similar structures have been found at Tell Qasile, and Tell Abu Hawam (Mazar 1967: 11, fig. 6; Hamilton 1935: pl. 4). The "Military and Police Stables" at Tell el-Amarna (Pendlebury 1951: 131–35; pls. 21, 53: 1–3) provide a large LB example of somewhat different architecture, while a small "private" stable was discovered at Ugarit, also in the LB II period (Schaeffer 1938: 313–17; 1939: 284; 1962: 3, 18, fig. 13). From further afield, a building closely similar to those from Israel and Judah, but with double the intercolumnar spacing, has been excavated at the Urartian site of Bastam (Kleiss 1970: 22–23; 1972: 14–18; 1974: 107–9, *Abb.* 3). Two late Nabatean structures interpreted as stables, incorporating many of the features of the above, have recently been found at Kurnub (Negev *EAEHL* 3: 723–27; 1983: 101–3; further, on Roman Period stables in the Hauran and Syria, see Negev 1988: 104–7). It is of interest to note that the "perforations for tethering horses," appear erratically in this building as at Megiddo and probably at Beer-sheba strata III–II (Negev 1988: 102–3, photos 79, 80).

Beginning with the excavations at Hazor in the late 1950s, and gaining fresh impetus with the subsequent discovery of substantial quantities of pottery and other domestic artifacts (loom weights, grinding stones, etc.) in units excavated at Beer-sheba, various scholars have raised questions regarding not only the interpretation of these particular buildings, but of the Megiddo buildings as well, rightly insisting that, given the common building plan, one interpretation should equally apply to all (Aharoni 1973: 115; Pritchard 1970; Herzog 1973: 26–27). These criticisms were answered in part by Yigael Yadin (1976), who concentrated on proving that stables involving such things as stone mangers were known in the ANE well before, and during the time of the Hebrew monarchies. J. Holladay (1986) addressed the question in greater length and approached the problem from the perspective of functional architectural design as applied to the care and keeping of highly conditioned, carefully trained horses of great economic and military significance.

In this work, Holladay evaluated the extant building materials and methods and the housing requirements of highly conditioned horses, and from these postulated what elements would go into the design of military horse barracks and how those considerations relate to the Palestinian structures in question. The result demonstrated that, from an architectural perspective, the tripartite pillared halls are an extended series of modules, measuring 1.45–1.80 m wide and 3.00–3.5 m deep (i.e., from the back wall to the inside front lip of the manger), which conform exactly to modern horse "standings," complete even to

matters of lighting, ventilation, and ease of cleaning. Further obvious features include the mangers, hardened surfaces, and, in many cases, tethering devices, on either side of a central maintenance aisle. Given this degree of "fit" between the requirements of horse management and the design of these buildings, so widely distributed in time and space throughout the cities of the Sea Peoples, Israel, Judah, and Urartu, it seems clear this particular class of buildings was designed *and perpetuated* with only one function in mind: that of providing an efficient, workable setting for the care and maintenance of stalled horses, which, in the setting of ancient Israel, meant chariot horses.

The typical Israelite and Judean "public" or "royal" stable was thus a long hall, longitudinally divided into three aisles by a double row of pillars arising from low walls which ran the length of the structure, except for a transverse aisle at the front of the building. The latter provided access to the two side aisles from the main—most often the only—doorway, which was usually situated in the center of the front wall. In most cases the stables were located near a gateway, and in at least the case of the S stables at Megiddo, the stables fronted onto a large parade yard. See Fig. MEG.05. The hallmark columnation offered the potential for non-glare clerestory lighting and excellent no-draft ventilation for the entire length of the building, which regularly (Megiddo, Tell el-Hesi, Lachish, Beer-sheba), shared common party walls with other units of the same design. Other sites (Beth-shemesh, Hazor, Tell el-ʿUreima [Tel Kinrot], Tell Qasile, and Tell Abu Hawam) have individual units. As already noted, most units had a single main doorway, leading from the service aisle into a courtyard or street. In their first phase (Stratum III), the Beer-sheba units had one doorway for each aisle, which was replaced in their final phase (Stratum II) by a single central doorway for each unit. The Beth-shemesh stable, the small Tell Abu Hawam horse and donkey stable and the Bastam building also had a small rear doorway suitable for use by the handlers. The Hazor stable, and probably the Beth-shemesh building as well, was distinguished by having a single doorway at the end of one side wall, opening directly out from the transverse aisle. Well-cut limestone *(nari)* mangers, roughly 1.2 × 0.60 m and 0.70 m high (ca. 0.90–1.05 m above floor levels, including the height of the underlying wall), with a recessed trough roughly 90 × 30 cm by ca. 12–15 cm deep, topped the low intercolumnar walls at Megiddo, their place being taken by stone and mud-mortar mangers at other sites. The horses faced inward (the preferred modern orientation) toward the center aisle, which was invariably of packed chalk/limestone or packed earth, while the two side aisles were invariably paved with cobblestones, in conformity with the triple requirements of durability, ease of cleaning, and preservation of the horses' hooves (Xen. *On Equitation*, 4.3–5). Some columns at Megiddo and Beer-sheba had holes bored through their corners just above manger level, possibly for use as tethering points. One unit at Beer-sheba had a pair of stalls converted into a loose-box, possibly for difficult, sick, or injured horses. No other partitioning devices have been noted, and it is probable that, in keeping with military stables down to modern times, "bails", i.e., poles or heavy planks suspended from the roofing timbers, were used to keep each horse on his ground. A few smaller units, probably serving only a few teams, have been found, e.g., the small Stable 401–359, in the N complex at Megiddo, and, possibly, Building 416 at Beer-sheba, each probably housing the select teams (5 or 6) of the commanding officers (so already Lamon and Shipton 1939: 47).

Grain-storage facilities suited to the scale of the stables have been found at Megiddo, particularly for the S stables, where the great Storage Pit 1414 (attributed, probably incorrectly, to Stratum III) could accommodate almost exactly the yearly feeding requirements *in barley* of the 150 horses of the S stables at a rate of 10 lbs./day plus 10% waste: (150 × 11 × 365)/48 lbs. per bu. = 12,547 bushels, against the pit's estimated capacity of 12,800 bushels (Lamon and Shipton 1939: 66). The capacity of the N Pits 414 and 415 was considerably less, and the supply must either have been augmented during the year or there must have been other storage facilities nearby. A pit very like the three Megiddo pits was near the Beth-shemesh stable, and a two-halled stone-floored storehouse, possibly for grain-storage, adjoined the Hazor stable. If uniformly filled to a depth of 1 m, it could have accommodated about 6,250 bushels, half the capacity of Megiddo Pit 1414, and about 4.15 times the annual barley requirements of 18 horses. Filled to a depth of 2 m, it could have fed 150 horses for a year. It is, however, possible that one hall could have been devoted to other staples, e.g., wheat, for human consumption.

The similarity of the stalling arrangements in the large tripartite pillared buildings to standard layouts on the ground floors of typical three- and four-roomed houses (Pritchard 1970: 272), as well as in larger houses such as those near the citadel at Hazor, is, in a sense, unremarkable. The latter facilities, which are based on a smaller module (roughly 1.05 wide × 2.00 m deep, although this varied), unquestionably served as domestic stables, housing donkeys, mules, and cows and bulls/bullocks (the latter being a smaller breed or breeds than those commonly seen in present-day Europe and N America). Arc-shaped floor-level mangers made of small boulders overlaid with straw-and-mud mortar, often termed "bins," probably served for cattle. An interesting example of nondomestic stalls with bench-style mangers based on this smaller module is the facility in Hazor Locus 3103, which occupies a clearly "public" location immediately by the stairs leading to the main floor of the Citadel (Yadin et al. 1960: pl. 204). At ca. 1.05–1.10 m wide and 2.00–2.25 m deep, including the depth of the manger, these are obviously too small for horse standings (see above) and probably served as the Citadel's stable for riding-donkeys and mules, the normal mode of personal transportation.

4. Historical Implications. a. During the 10th and 9th Centuries B.C. The geographical and temporal distribution of the large military stables within Israel and Judah is a matter of some interest, in that it allows at least a partial glimpse at the otherwise obscure military establishments in the twin states. For the Solomonic period, G. Davies has demonstrated a poorly published stable unit predating the N stables at Megiddo (Davies 1988). To date, this is the only unit from that horizon.

From the period of Omri and Ahab come the roughly

450 stalls in the N and S stable complexes at Megiddo and the 19-stalled single unit at Hazor (the odd place may have been occupied by a night watchman's post [Yadin et al. 1960: 6], or, as in some modern stables, by the horses' "pet," e.g., perhaps a goat—or by both entities). Probably contemporaneous with these better-attested facilities are the 4 early units beside the palace-fort gate at Lachish (Starkey's "Government Storehouse," which may once have had an E analog; Ussishkin 1983: 147–54) and the 4 larger units of the "Northern Building" in the same palace compound, which would include Loci 1050, 1051, and 1052. At between 19 and 20 m internal length, and using the low figure of 1.45 m for the width of individual stalls, the "Government Storehouse" complex could have accommodated about 44–48 horses (4 × 11–12 stalls). If there had been an E counterpart, it would have added another 44–48 horses. The "Northern Building," some 29 m deep, could have accommodated about 72 horses (4 × 18 stalls). Thus, assuming a team of two horses per chariot, the forces available to a combined Israelite-Judean contingent (this possibility is at least allowed by 1 Kgs 22:4; so also Yadin 1963: 300) at the time of the Battle of Qarqar from *known* units at Hazor, Megiddo, and Lachish alone would have amounted to about 294 chariots. These could have contributed about 14.7 percent of the 2,000 chariots of Ahab, or nearly 50 percent in excess of a total of 200 (assuming an order of magnitude mistake in the text of the "Monolith Inscription from Kurkh" of Shalmaneser III; cf Na'aman 1976: 97–102). For the lower figure, the stables at Megiddo alone would suffice. Assuming, as a maximal figure for normal troop complements, three horses per chariot, the third animal being an outrigger or trace horse (Littauer 1976: 218–19, 223–24; Yadin 1963: 298, 386–87; Littauer and Crouwel 1979: 113–16), the respective figures would be (a) 9.8% of 2,000 chariots, or (b) 98% of 200 chariots. Assuming an E counterpart to the "Government Storehouse" at Lachish, we would have 10.5% of 2,000 chariots and 106% of 200 chariots.

Obviously the number of horses in a team makes a great difference in the reconstruction. Unfortunately, for Israel and Judah during this period, it is not possible to be certain of this figure. We are almost totally dependent upon the Assyrian reliefs (Nagel 1966; Madhloom 1970), with important details from a variety of other sources, mostly Cypriot and other models, and actual exemplars (Littauer 1976, Littauer and Crouwel 1979). Lamon and Shipton (1939: 44) consider three horses a likely figure, and Na'aman ([1976: 99] who cites Nagel's [1966: 53–60] analysis) contends that four horses were typical for Assyrian chariots from the time of Assurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.) forward (note that these are mostly royal).

There is however, one reason (below) to suspect that the number of horses hitched to a *typical* (i.e., nonroyal, nonstandard-bearing) Israelite battle chariot of the 10th–9th centuries B.C. was greater than the classical ANE two-horse team (note, however, Yadin's observation [1963: 88–89] that the standard ratio of horses to chariots in LB booty counts was 3:1). Large, heavy Assyrian royal chariots were only just making the transition to three- and four-horse teams (i.e., two horses under yoke, with one to two outriggers) in the time of Assurnasirpal II. On the other hand, to judge from the rather meager evidence, N Syrian chariots of the 9th and 8th centuries, with which the Israelite chariots would most closely have been allied, were "small and light . . . generally occupied by two men, the warrior and the charioteer" (Madhloom 1970: 27). A logical inference is that these N Syrian chariots were probably drawn by a team of two horses. By the end of the 8th century, however, at least the (state?) chariot of the governor of Lachish was drawn by four horses. (Cf. the depiction of the captured Judean chariot in the "Lachish Reliefs," where the four-horse yoke is prominently figured in the victory procession; see Ussishkin 1982: 77, 84–85, 88–91, 116). After the Assyrian occupation of the N kingdom for a third of a century, the borrowing of such a status symbol/technological innovation by rulers of the S kingdom is hardly surprising. Even so, this one attestation does not reveal much about the standard configuration of the typical Judean battle chariot of the late 8th or 7th centuries B.C., let alone that of the mid-9th century.

One final consideration, however, may indicate the number of horses required to support the Israelite-Judean contingent at the Battle of Qarqar (853 B.C.). From the logistical perspective, it seems reasonable to argue that foreign campaigns would have necessitated each charioteer taking along a spare horse to replace a yoke horse lamed or otherwise incapacitated while on campaign. To be effective under battle conditions, this spare horse must have been trained with the primary team, perhaps the use of outriggers, which are not all that helpful with respect to traction (Littauer and Crouwel 1979: 128, but cf. also p. 29), developed from, and was a natural concommitant of the practice of campaigning in foreign lands (Littauer and Crouwel 1979: 128; cf. Yadin 1963: 88–89, 298).

To return to the historical analysis: The single stable unit at Beth-shemesh is overlaid by "later walls," i.e., possibly of the same period as those associated further to the NW with the late Iron II casemate wall system, so it probably should also be assigned to this early period. If the Tell el-Hesi stables were to be dated to this period, together Beth-shemesh and Tell el-Hesi would add about 40 more two-horse teams to the available pool, bringing it up to 16.7% of a 2,000-chariot contingent, or 11.1% based on a 3-horse team (using the larger figure for Lachish, 17.9% or 11.9% respectively). Insisting upon the exclusively Israelite composition of these forces does not alter the equation very much. Megiddo and Hazor alone could have contributed up to 234 two-horse teams: 11.7% of a force of 2,000 (or 7.8% of a 2,000-chariot force comprised of three-horse teams).

The significance of these figures for understanding the potential chariot forces available to Ahab is simple. With far less than 16.7%, or 11.7%, or even 7.8% exposure of the potentially relevant 9th century stratigraphy of the twin states of Israel and Judah (or the single state of Israel), we have already accounted for those respective percentages of the chariot forces attributed to Ahab in the Monolith Inscription. If a scribal error is posited, even reckoning on three-horse teams and disallowing the larger figure for Lachish, we have already located all but one of the necessary stables. It is inconceivable, however, that we have already located almost all of the stables of the early 9th century with so little exposure. Nor is it certain that all stables were located on tell sites. This would distinctly

reduce the likelihood of discovery of such units. The statistics currently available allow, and, in fact, favor the larger number, which is, in any case, not an exact figure.

The numbers of troops and chariots listed in the Monolith Inscription are large, and major losses in battle (implied by Shalmaneser III's "in that battle I took from them their chariots, their cavalry, their horses, broken to the yoke" [*LAR* 1, 126: 223]) would keenly have been felt, but the numbers are not beyond reason, and it can be demonstrated that the economic drain upon the country/countries would not have been intolerable in the short term (contra Na'aman 1976: 100–2; note that in 1986–87 "tiny" Israel had more tanks [3,660] than the German Democratic Republic, Egypt, or France, and it also had more armored fighting vehicles and tanks combined than Iraq [9,960 vs. 8,600]; International Institute for Strategic Studies 1987). On the other hand, public perceptions about the acceptability of maintaining such a powerful force may have altered radically in the face of widespread crop failures and famine (1 Kings 17–18). That Israel probably suffered a major loss of chariotry at about this time, followed by a declining interest in such forces (or inability to finance following the breakdown of relations with Tyre), is suggested by the degeneration of later building phases of the N stable units at Megiddo and by the crown's failure to rebuild the ruined stable at Hazor (see below).

b. 8th (and 7th?) Centuries B.C. Following the high point of the Megiddo stables under the Omride dynasty, some of the units (Stable 364 at least, but probably others as well) in the N complex were rebuilt, with stone and mud mangers replacing the monolithic stone mangers of the time of the Omride dynasty (Lamon and Shipton 1939: 63–64). Presumably, these inferior stables were those in use during the last years of Megiddo's service as an Israelite city (the years immediately prior to 733 B.C.), possibly suggesting a modest rebuilding of forces following an earlier nearly complete decline (e.g. 2 Kgs 13:7). While it is clear that there were not as many units in these rebuildings, because of the confusion of the excavations of Megiddo Stratum IVA, it is not possible to say very much about what actually was there. At the relatively small site of Tell el-ʿUreima (Tel Kinrot), Fritz dates the destruction of a "pillared building" to the conquest of the N kingdom by Tiglath-pileser III in 734/33 B.C. (1986: 61). At about 15 m long, it could have accommodated some 18–20 horses.

This general picture of decline in Israelite chariot forces during the later parts of the 9th century and, probably, most of the 8th century is supported by the failure to rebuild the unit at Hazor following the destruction, apparently by earthquake, of Stratum VII, ca. 760 B.C. (Yadin et al. 1960: 14–16, 19). However, the building had been once rebuilt during the general period ca. 885–760 B.C. (Yadin et al. 1960: 6–7, 9, 14, pls. 200–1), presumably indicating that the decline following the Battle of Qarqar was not total.

In the S, stables were still prominent through the period of Lachish Level III (see below). We have already noted the depiction of a Judean chariot in the "Lachish Reliefs." The later 4 units of "Building 1034" and its E wing (Ussishkin 1983: 147–51) may belong to this later phase of the city's history. Whether or not the "Northern Building" was still serviceable is a moot point. Little can be said regarding the date of the three units at Tell el-Hesi, which could just as easily have functioned in this period as in the former. Finally, the three Beer-sheba stables were newly built in Stratum III (we have no knowledge of their predecessors, if any), and were destroyed at the end of Stratum II (= Lachish Level III), in a wave of destruction generally attributed to the campaign of Sennacherib in 701 B.C. (Ussishkin 1977: 52), although arguments can be mounted in favor of a later date, nearer to or at 597 B.C. (e.g., Holladay 1976: 259–70). During this brief period, Beer-sheba may be taken as a model example of a "chariot city": a government chariot-garrison expressly posted to police and patrol either Judah's S border, or, more plausibly, the important Beer-sheba–Zered trade corridor.

c. 7th (?) and Early 6th Centuries B.C. For the period following the generalized destructions characterized by pottery of the Lachish Level III horizon, and terminating with the destruction of Lachish Level II (587 B.C., by general consent), we have, at the present, no evidence for the existence of stables, although it must be admitted that the basis for our knowledge is severely limited.

B. In the NT

Uniquely in the Lukan birth narratives, the infant Jesus is said to have "been laid in a manger (*'en phatnē*), because there was no place for them in the inn" (Luke 2:7, cf. 2:12, 16). Alternatively, in this account, *phatnē* may mean "stable", or even an open-air feeding place for animals (*BAGD*). Traditionally, the cave underlying the Church of the Nativity has been understood to be the stable concerned. The use of cave stables, both natural and artificially made, is still widespread in traditional Arab villages, and elsewhere in the Middle East, and a largish cave converted into a horse stable complete with about 100 hewn rock mangers, presumably by the Tobiad Hyrcanus, has been discovered at Araq el-Amir, in the Transjordan W of Amman (Conder 1889: 65–87). Notwithstanding, virtually every house, not to mention inn, in Bethlehem must have had stalling provisions, i.e., a domestic stable, for the owner's asses and cattle, and each of these would have been equipped with either—or probably both—the floor-level stone and mud "bin"-type manger, or the mud and rock (exceptionally, cut stone) bench-type mangers better witnessed in earlier Israelite and Judean archaeological contexts (see above). The ubiquity of these features across the social landscape is central to the thrust of the saying of Jesus in Luke 13:15: "You hypocrites! Does not each of you on the sabbath untie his ox or his ass from the manger and lead it away to water it?"

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JOHN S. HOLLADAY, JR.

STACHYS (PERSON) [Gk *Stachys*]. A Roman Christian who received greetings from Paul in Rom 16:9 as "my beloved." Having been close to Paul in the E of the Roman empire, he had immigrated to Rome. This latter fact is confirmed by the inscriptions of the city of Rome; that only thirteen epigraphical matches of "Stachys" exist shows that the Romans seldom used the name (Lampe *StadtrChr*, 139). Stachys was probably a gentile Christian. See NEREUS. It has been proposed that Stachys was a (freed) slave, but the inscriptions do not reveal a significant occurrence of the name for slaves (see Lampe *StadtrChr*, 150, 152–53); only three out of eleven possible 1st-century "Stachys" inscriptions refer to slaves of freedmen. For further discussion see the commentary on Romans in EKKNT.

PETER LAMPE

STADIA [Gk *stadion*]. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

STAG. See ZOOLOGY.

STAIRS OF THE CITY OF DAVID (PLACE) [Heb *maʿălôt ʿîr dāwîd*]. A staircase about 75 meters SE of the present-day "Pool of Siloam" that descended a rocky scarp from the City of David to the Fountain Gate. Nehemiah notes that Shallum son of Col-hozeh from Mizpah repaired the Fountain Gate and a section of the wall by "the stairs that go down from the City of David" (3:15), and that the dedicatory procession came to the Fountain Gate and ascended the "stairs of the City of David" (12:37).

R. Weill's second campaign of excavations (1923–24) in the City of David uncovered this staircase (about 1.5 meters wide) that descended a rock scarp from a platform area within a well-fortified area dating from before the Iron Age (Weill 1947: 15, planche, VII). The upper access to the stairs was found at the S tip of Weill's massive wall A and at the N face of the great square defensive tower D (Weill, 1947: 15, planche II). It descends nearly 11 meters to the Fountain Gate, and runs a distance of about 13.5 meters to the SE from the defensive tower at the top of the stairs. Weill found that the staircase was abruptly cut off near the bottom by intersecting canals (II and IV, Weill, 1947: 60–73) from the Pool of Siloam, with Canal IV exiting the Fountain Gate under the Staircase. The staircase survived until its materials and route were used to construct a drainage system for the City of David (Weill's shallow catch basin "O", trench "S–S" and small oval basin "B") during the Second Temple period (Weill, 1947: 15). Contrary to a general consensus (Simons, 1952: 127–28), Weill proposes that this staircase exiting the citadel is the "way of the gate between the two walls" through which

Zedekiah and all the men of war escaped Nebuchadnezzar's siege (2 Kgs 25:4; Jer 39:4; 52:7; Weill 1947: 95–96).

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DALE C. LIID

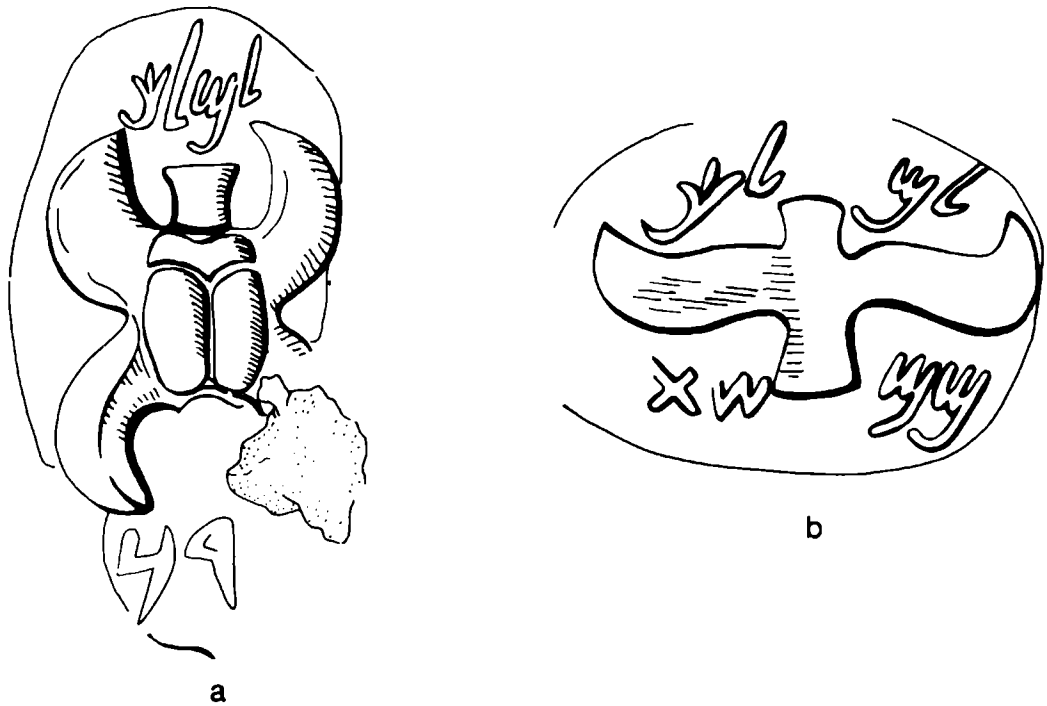
STAMPS, ROYAL JAR HANDLE. Handles of Judean storage jars on which were impressed a seal containing a symbol plus the word *lmlk,* "to the king," or "belonging to the king," and usually the name of one of four cities, Hebron, Socoh, Ziph, and *mmšt.* The last of these is not mentioned in the Bible, and the pronunciation is unknown. See MMŠT.

First discovered in Jerusalem by C. Warren in 1869, examples of the stamps now number well over a thousand. Considering the relatively small amount of excavation that has occurred thus far in the territory of biblical Judah, the total number of these stamps originally produced must have been enormous.

The stamps occur in two major types with a number of variations. The first type, the "four-winged" stamp, depicts a flying scarab beetle. See Fig. STA.02a. The word *lmlk* stands above the symbol and the city name below. The second type, the "two-winged" stamp, has the same arrangement except that the flying scarab is replaced by what is generally interpreted as a winged sun disc. See Fig. STA.02b. Some examples have only *lmlk* with no place name, some have a place name without *lmlk,* and some have only a symbol with no writing at all. Despite the possible variations, the total number of master seals was apparently quite small, perhaps no more than twenty-two (Lemaire 1981).

With few exceptions, the stamped handles come from a single type of storage jar. (Two examples belong to a larger pithos of very different type and manufacture.) Often referred to as the Type 484 jar after the number assigned to it in the British excavations of Lachish, it stands 60 cm high (about two feet) and has four vertical handles spaced symmetrically around the shoulder. The handles have one or two ribs running vertically; and the stamps are placed at the upper end, sometimes with care, sometimes with obvious haste. The jars average slightly more than 45 liters in capacity (about 10.5 U.S. gallons) or about two biblical baths.

A totally persuasive explanation for the use of these jars has yet to be found, but ongoing research is providing valuable new data. Analysis of the chemical composition of the 484 jars has demonstrated that all of them were made in one place somewhere in the Shephelah, probably near Lachish (Mommsen et al. 1984). This gives support to the hypothesis that they originated in a royal pottery (1 Chr 4:23). Also enough complete jars have now been recovered to show that there is a considerable variation in capacity, thus ruling out the long-standing theory that the jars represented a royal standardization of measures (Ussishkin 1983: 162–63). Also new is the demonstration that the stamps of private individuals commonly occur on handles of jars which also bear a royal stamp (Ussishkin 1976). These private stamps seem to be found, however, only with the two-winged stamps. Finally, the renewed Lachish ex-



STA.02. Stamps on royal jar handles. (a) four-wing scarab beetle stamp; (b) two-wing stamp. *(Redrawn from Y. Aharoni,* Excavations at Ramat Rahel: Seasons 1959 and 1960 *[Rome, 1962], pls. 15:1 and 31:9)*

cavations have established that the four-winged and two-winged stamps were contemporary, pointing to a briefer period of use for the stamps than many had supposed (Ussishkin 1977).

The exact dating of the stamps has long been a vexed problem. However, the issue has been resolved to the satisfaction of most scholars by the new excavations at Lachish since 1973. See LACHISH. The archaeological and literary evidence point to the campaign of Sennacherib in 701 B.C. for the destruction of Level III, the stratum where the *lmlk* stamps largely occur, meaning that their *floruit* was the reign of Hezekiah at the end of the 8th century B.C., although it may have begun slightly earlier and continued for a time into the 7th century.

There are perhaps two factors in the royal stamps which have presented the most difficulty for interpreters, namely, the meaning of the four city names and the evidence of both pattern and randomness in the geographical distribution of the stamps.

One influential theory, most highly developed by Aharoni (*LBHG*, 394–400), proposes the four cities to be administrative centers for the four districts of Judah, charged with collection and storage of taxes in kind. But the four cities, Hebron, Socoh, Ziph, and the unknown *mmšt*, form a puzzling group. Hebron and Ziph are only a few miles apart. And why would one chief city be the enigmatic *mmšt*? Linguistic arguments that would interpret *mmšt* as the Hebrew word *memšelet* or "government" and hence a metaphorical expression for Jerusalem have persuaded only a few. See MMŠT. Furthermore, one would expect to find handles bearing the names of the cities heavily concentrated in four distinct regions of Judah, but this is not the case: Hebron stamps form the largest group at Lachish and *mmšt* is common in the N but all four names are found in all parts of the country.

Another theory would construe the four names as royal vineyards (most recently Rainey 1982). This would explain why an obscure *mmšt* would be on the list and why the names are found all over the country. But no stamps bearing the city name Socoh have been found among the many picked up at Socoh itself, nor have *lmlk* stamps been found at Hebron or the most probable site of Ziph. Moreover, some royal stamps have no city name at all which would seem to indicate that the stamps have a broader purpose than simply indicating the geographical origin of a product.

Despite the interpretive difficulties posed by the royal-stamp jars, there does seem to be some movement toward elements of a consensus (Aharoni *LBHG;* Rainey 1982; Mommsen et al. 1984; Na'aman 1986): in the reign of Hezekiah, the Judean government undertook to move massive quantities of liquid goods—oil, wine, or both—and, by implication, grain to the N and W regions of the country. (The stamps have been found largely in the N [Gibeon, Tell en-Naṣbeh, Jerusalem, Ramat Raḥel] and in the Shephelah from Gezer S to Lachish. Finds in the hill country S of Ramat Raḥel and in the Negeb have been negligible.) This provisioning system was organized out of some fourfold pattern represented by the city names that we cannot yet fully understand. The preponderance of the jars on the borders hints at preparations for the Assyrian attack of 701 B.C., and the observable geographic distribution of the stamps represents moments in that system frozen in time by the progressive Assyrian campaign.

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H. DARRELL LANCE

STARDISKS. See JEWELRY.

STATISTICAL RESEARCH ON THE BIBLE.

The first proposal of a statistical method for biblical research was made in 1851 when Augustus de Morgan suggested the use of mean word-length for the comparison of Hebrews with those Epistles which open with "Paul . . ." (Lord 1958: 282). Just under a century later, actual statistical studies of biblical authorship began, stimulated by the work of Udny Yule on the authorship of *De Imitatione Christi* (Yule 1939). The three main foci of interest have been the Pentateuch, Isaiah, and the Pauline Epistles. Based on statistical analysis, it has been asserted that the first twenty-three chapters of Genesis do conform to the Documentary Hypothesis (Chenique 1967; Houk 1983), and it likewise has been asserted that they (and indeed the entire book) do not (Radday and Shore 1985). It has been asserted that Isaiah is not from one hand (Radday 1973), and that it is (Adams and Rencher 1973). It has been asserted that Philippians, Colossians, and 1–2 Thessalonians are from one hand (Wake 1948), and that they are from three hands (Morton 1978). To quote Tallentire (1971: 117):

> The conclusions reached about style, via computational methodologies, far from being "definitive" by virtue of their objectivity, are mutually contradictory.

Some unreliable conclusions have stemmed from faulty data, many from faulty statistical method, but most from faulty interpretation. Often, both of a pair of contradictory results are incorrect in that neither is a valid inference derived from the data. That, thus far, the end results of most research in this area have been seriously flawed indicates not that statistical methods have little to contribute to biblical studies, but rather that much greater care must be exercised in their application and interpretation.

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A. Preliminaries

1. The State of Affairs. The status of statistical methods in biblical research is well described by M. Halle (1958: 28), substituting *biblical scholar* for *linguist:*

> Some of us regard anything in mathematical garb as if it were a revelation from on high, while others reject it out of hand as an endeavor to bully the [biblical scholar] into accepting conclusions he is not in a position to verify. Crude attempts at applying unsuitable mathematical techniques to irrelevant problems, therefore, not only waste the time of those who carry out the research, but also increase the resistance among [biblical scholars] to developments that represent genuine progress.

Responsibility for this state of affairs lies with the often-reverential users of statistics, whose enthusiastic expositions frequently substitute assertion for carefully crafted explanation, and with their critics, who frequently register technical quibbles rather than engage the fundamental issues. Add occasional barrages of ad hominem argument, and it is little wonder that the nonplussed noncombatant leaves the field.

2. Arguments Against the Use of Statistics. There are those for whom the enterprise *feels* inappropriate, those who "look askance at any method of literary study which tries to find the truth of conscious literary composition in numerical statistics from which the spirit of the computer has flown" (Knox 1963: 116). To these one can only offer reassurances that they can understand and critique properly explained methods, and that statistical methods are but one way among many of gaining insight into our texts.

There are those who argue that language is rule-governed so that statistical methods are not applicable. Such arguments were common during the rise of generative grammar when the new method was clearing the way for its ascendancy (Chomsky 1957: 18). While it has been proved that "language cannot be exactly a Markov process"—a process wherein the probability of encountering a particular item is determined solely by the items which have preceded it (Good 1969: 374)—one can get a very long way indeed modeling language as a Markov process. Perhaps an analogy will be helpful: while it is true that Newtonian physics must be supplanted by Einsteinian physics in order fully to account for observed phenomena, in most situations Newtonian physics provides a totally adequate approximate representation.

Finally, there are those who hold that the usual methods of inferential statistics are inappropriate for studying language because the requirements for their applicability are not met. Instead, descriptive methods should be used (Weil 1974: 29). (*Inferential statistics* makes inferences as to the characteristics of entire [actual or hypothetical] populations based on samples drawn therefrom. It is contrasted with *descriptive statistics*, which compresses the description of data and/or transforms the data in ways that allow the analyst to hypothesize previously hidden relationships.) This attitude is certainly understandable, given the excessive inferential zeal manifest in much of the literature. But it also is an instance of "the all too common error of overreaction" (Mallows and Tukey 1982: 114). There is a need both for exploratory descriptive analyses and for carefully formulated inferential procedures.

3. Assessing the Literature. Repeatedly in this essay, the literature applying statistical methods in biblical research will be assessed by answering the following five questions:

1. *Are the data sound?* Usually, one must accept on faith that the primary data are accurate. Occasionally, internal checks and/or comparisons of gross counts with those obtained from other data sets allow one partially to assess data integrity.

2. *Are the data sufficient to the task?* This is a fundamental issue in statistical studies: the problem of sample size. If the data set is too small, the confidence one can have in inferences based on it or hypotheses suggested by it will be too limited.

3. *Has the method been proven in the current context of use?* The assumptions which underlie the method should be explicit, and evidence should be provided that the data conform sufficiently to the assumptions so as to make use of the method defensible.

4. *Has the method been used with adequate safeguards?* Proper research includes safeguards taken to ensure that the (computer) manipulations used to extract results are carried out reliably.

5. *Are the conclusions warranted?* Given results obtained via appropriate, validated methods applied to a sufficient sampling of accurate data, the researcher must not leap to unwarranted conclusions as to causative mechanisms and as to the confidence one may place in results.

4. The Analysis of Style. Before surveying the literature, we shall present the main ideas of a sensitizing paper by Doležel (1969). Its precepts supply an antidote against

the many faulty assertions and inferences we shall encounter.

A writer X_i of language L in some practical context Q_j produce a set of texts $T(X_i,Q_j)$. Here X_1 might be Isaiah, X_2 might be Jeremiah, X_3 might be Ezekiel, etc.; Q_1, Q_2, etc., might refer to various life situations encountered by the prophets. The range of possibilities across all speakers in all possible contexts for language L is summarized by Table 1, adapted from Doležel's paper.

When we sum texts across the top row (over all conceivable contexts), we obtain $T(X_1)$, the set of all texts producible by Writer X_1. When we sum texts down the first column (over all possible writers), we obtain $T(Q_1)$, the set of all texts producible in context Q_1. When we sum across all combinations of writer and context, we obtain T(L), the set of all texts in language L.

Doležel distinguishes three sorts of writers: if composition is independent of context, we have a *context-free* writer, a poet. If composition is fixed by context, if individuality has no effect on composition, we have a *context-bound* writer, a bureaucrat. If both individuality and context affect production, we have a *context-sensitive* writer, a "common writer." Sociopathology aside, the subjective and objective factors differentially affect everyone's writing at one time or another. That is, we are all sometimes context-free, sometimes context-bound, and sometimes context-sensitive writers.

The set of all texts in a language, T(L), can be classified in terms of the subjective factors (X_i and the objective factors (Q_j) conditioning their characteristics. Some characteristics will be homogeneous across all texts. These Doležel refers to as *supra-stylistic*. His example of such a characteristic is the distribution of graphemes in texts. Other characteristics, termed *sub-stylistic*, vary unpredictably across the texts of a language. (Doležel speculates that the variations are the result of pragmatic factors not taken into account by his theory.) *Sub-stylistic* characteristics are the bane of any statistical theory of style as they are confounding variables, variables which can lead the unwary to infer effects where none exist.

When one removes the supra-stylistic and sub-stylistic characteristics from consideration, one is left with a set of characteristics (Doležel symbolizes them by C_k) whose dependence on subjective factors (X_i) and objective factors (Q_j) it should be possible to map. Some of the C_k will depend only on subjective factors, others will depend only on objective factors, while still others will depend on both.

Table 1.
Texts and Their Conditioning Factors

	Contexts				
Writers	Q_1	Q_2	. . .	Q_m	
X_1	$T(X_1, Q_1)$	$T(X_1, Q_2)$	. . .	$T(X_1, Q_m)$	$T(X_1)$
X_2	$T(X_2, Q_1)$	$T(X_2, Q_2)$	. . .	$T(X_2, Q_m)$	$T(X_2)$
.	.	.	. . .	.	.
.	.	.	. . .	.	.
.	.	.	. . .	.	
X_n	$T(X_n, Q_1)$	$T(X_n, Q_2)$	. . .	$T(X_n, Q_m)$	$T(X_n$
	$T(Q_1)$	$T(Q_2)$	. . .	$T(Q_m)$	T(L)

Unfortunately, "alternations of factors controlling the same characteristic are possible." For example, sentence length may in some texts be controlled only by subjective factors (be author-specifying). In others, it may be controlled only by objective factors (be context-determined). And in yet others, it may be controlled by both. In the second case, sentence length will be utterly misleading for studying authorship; in the third case, it will only be of use given careful controls over context.

B. Early Authorship Studies

1. De Morgan on Hebrews (1851). In 1851, the eminent logician and mathematician A. de Morgan wrote to his clergyman friend W. Heald proposing the use of mean word-length for the comparison of Hebrews with each of the Epistles whose opening word is "Paul . . ." He averred (Lord 1958: 282):

> I should expect to find that one man writing on two different subjects agrees more nearly with himself [as regards mean word-length] than two different men writing on the same subject. Some of these days spurious writings will be detected by this test. Mind, I told you so.

We have no record that either de Morgan or Heald ever carried out such research.

2. Mendenhall on Shakespeare (1901). Taking his cue from de Morgan, but using the distribution of word lengths rather than the mean word length, the American physicist T. C. Mendenhall studied the works of Shakespeare along with those of other Elizabethans. He found that the word-length distributions for Shakespeare and Bacon were considerably different, while those for Shakespeare and Marlow were very similar, producing "something akin to a sensation . . . among those engaged in the work" (Mendenhall 1901).

3. Yule on *De Imitatione Christi* (1939). G. U. Yule introduced sentence-length statistics as author-specific indices. These were used to select Thomas à Kempis rather than Jean de Gerson as the author of *De Imitatione Christi*. Note that Yule had writings shown to be by each candidate author and asked whether the behavior found in *De Imitatione Christi* was closer to one or the other, a particularly straightforward situation. In *The Statistical Study of Literary Vocabulary* (Yule 1944), Yule introduced his "characteristic K," a measure of vocabulary diversity. This work was the triggering event for the use of statistical methods in biblical research.

C. Studies in the NT

We first take up NT statistical studies, since these got underway almost twenty years before statistical work on the Hebrew Bible. We shall lavish attention on the earliest work because its limitations reappear repeatedly in the literature.

1. Wake on the Authorship of the Pauline Epistles (1948). Leaving aside research involving simple counts, W. Wake was first to apply statistical methods to a biblical problem. His paper sets an unfortunate precedent: because the texts are short and the range of sentence lengths limited, the discrimination problem "can be solved only by means of certain modern statistical techniques, the results

of which are given here but not the working nor the detailed argument establishing the validity of use" (1948: 51). These omissions turn the evaluation of Wake's work into a frustrating exercise.

Using the *Textus Receptus* of 1863 from which lists have been removed and treating the Greek colon as a full stop, Wake tabulates the sentence-length distributions for the Pauline corpus. That is, he tallies how many sentences are between one and five words in length, between six and ten words in length, and so on for each epistle. (The five-word intervals are chosen so each contains sufficient counts to make statistical analysis reliable.) He excludes Philemon and Titus on the grounds that they are too short for analysis. For critical reasons, 2 Corinthians is divided into 2 Corinthians 1–9 and 2 Corinthians 10–13. By dividing the various epistles into sections, Wake characterizes the sentence-length distributions (by examining how critical points of a distribution, such as the median, vary across the sections) and clusters the twelve texts into two major groups plus four stragglers: (1) 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians 10–13, Galatians, Romans; (2) 1–2 Thessalonians, Philippians, Colossians; (3) Ephesians; (4) Hebrews; (5) 1–2 Timothy; (6) 2 Corinthians 1–9. He concludes that the two major groups each had its own author.

Are the data sound? Wake provides far too little information to allow a meaningful assessment. He states that for Ephesians the mean sentence length is 18.2 words and the ninth decile (length below which 90 percent of the sentences lie) is 36.7 words. Morton (1978: 173) reports values of 30.31 and 58.75, respectively. These differences may be due to the use of different NT editions and/or to different ways of specifying words and sentences. (Indeed, Morton [1978: 167] mildly criticizes Wake for using an outdated NT edition. In a later paper, Wake discusses sentence-length definition [1957: 334].)

Are the data sufficient to the task? Wake only gives the reassurance that the sections are "each sufficiently long." His later paper (1957) gives more detail on text sectioning but makes no reference to what methods were used in his earlier work.

Has the method been proven in the current context of use? Since Wake gives few details, we can but surmise. From his few clues, we infer that his methods assume the distributions are Gaussian, that is, shaped like the standard bell-shaped normal grading curve. In fact, they are not. The data appear to be such that their logarithms follow the bell-shaped Gaussian distribution (Morton 1978: 176). In his later work (1957: 331), Wake appropriately transforms nonbiblical sentence-length data so that they are more nearly Gaussian.

Has the method been used with adequate safeguards? In addition to comparing the scatters of distributions to allow clustering of texts, Wake also carries out an "analysis of variance" (ANOVA), yielding similar results. We shall not explain ANOVA. While it is robust to departures of data from the assumed Gaussian distribution, it involves other assumptions with regard to which the data should be assessed (Sachs 1984: 494).

Are the conclusions warranted? According to Wake (1948: 54): "The most obvious explanation for the existence of two separate and distinct groups is that they are the work of different authors." That an explanation is "obvious" does not make it true. Yule, in his study of *De Imitatione Christi*, used sentence-length distributions to compare his questioned text with texts known to be from the two candidate authors he considered. Wake's problem is more difficult. He has several texts and wishes to decide how many authors they must have had. Yule's situation involved supervised learning, while Wake's situation is the much more difficult case of unsupervised learning. For Wake to succeed, he must show that for his chosen criteria the differences among certain texts are greater than the differences within the texts. If he succeeds convincingly, he must then show that the inter-text differences are accounted for by purely subjective factors, that objective factors, such as audience or genre or author's age, have no effect.

Wake may have shown that some inter-text differences in sentence-length distributions significantly exceed intra-text differences, making the identification of clusters of texts reasonable. Unfortunately, he has provided insufficient information to allow us to judge. But he does not show that the differences he detects are due solely to differences in author. Consider three findings not available to Wake; (1) C. B. Williams (1970: 60–63) showed that sentence lengths for the "descriptive" prose and the "dialogue" of Lord Dunsany differed greatly. (2) He also showed that rhyming greatly affected the sentence lengths of Masefield. (3) K. R. Buch (1969) showed that one author's sentence-length distributions for works written twenty years apart differed greatly. None of these results involved Koine Greek, so they do *not* disprove that sentence length is author-specifying for the Pauline corpus. But they do illustrate that it is not "obvious" that differences in sentence-length distributions indicate changes in author. In his later paper (1957: 345), Wake concludes:

> The markedly skew distributions of sentence lengths of passages of continuous prose seem to display a constancy which enables them to be used as objective criteria of authorship style. The distributions only vary from sample to sample in a manner expected for samples drawn randomly from a fixed population of sentence lengths. This seems to be true for all Greek as well as English authors and the exception that Plato's works provide can be accounted for by the literary form adopted. In any case they are characteristic even though their variability is greater than would be obtained by random sampling of a single population for there seems to be trend with age superposed.

In condensed form: Sentence-length distributions are author-specifying, except when they are not. When they are not, reasons can be found (literary form, age trend).

2. Grayston and Herdan on the Authorship of the Pastorals (1959). Grayston and Herdan sympathetically expound and critique Harrison's "vocabulary connectivity" analysis of the Pastorals (Harrison 1921) in preparation for carrying out a more rigorous analysis. They introduce "the alternative probability that a word is either peculiar to the part or common to all parts" of the corpus under study. If $V_{peculiar_i}$ is the number of word types (vocabulary items) peculiar to part i of a corpus, V_{common} is the number of word types common to all the parts of the corpus, and

V_i is the number of word types in part i, then this probability is: $C_i = \frac{(V_{peculiar_i} + V_{common})}{V_i}$. For the Pauline Corpus, the values of C_i range from .30 to .35 for the non-Pastorals, while $C_{Pastorals} = .46$, due to the very large number of unique vocabulary items. They conclude (10): "The magnitude of C for the Pastorals [that is, of $C_{Pastorals}$] supports strongly the hypothesis of non-Pauline authorship."

They also plot the logarithm of the vocabulary size *(logV)* versus the logarithm of the text length *(logN)* for each Epistle. The Pauline Epistles, excluding the Pastorals, lie close to a straight line, while each Pastoral Epistle lies a fair distance above the line. "This confirms in a formal way the suspicion as to the Pauline authorship for these Epistles" (14). Weitzman (1971) demonstrates that the observed behavior is likely merely a result of variations in text length.

With commendable reserve, Grayston and Herdan finally state (15):

> Altogether, it may be said that the linguistic evidence is strong enough to justify the conclusion of a very different style in the Pastorals. Whether this implies a difference in authorship depends upon one's conception of what style means. Statistics can do no more than establish such differences.

(Readers wishing additional details on these methods should consult Herdan's later work [1960: 245–52; 1966: 219–49], where both the Pauline Epistles and the entire NT are studied. Note also Weitzman's brief treatment of the NT epistles in his search for text characteristics which are independent of text length [1986b: 872].)

As to the soundness of the data, the study obtains its counts from Morgenthaler's reliable volume (1958), and hence it may be trusted.

As to the correctness of sample preparation, samples of the texts are nowhere involved, exhaustive counts being used. Were each epistle, however, viewed as a sample drawn from an unseen population of writings by its author, it would be possible to attach confidence intervals to the various results. That is, Grayston and Herdan could have indicated what confidence the reader could have in the various results as reflective of what would be found had we access to more extensive texts.

As to the correctness of their methods in this context, little background information is supplied. Viewed as two descriptive approaches, it is difficult to fault their method. When inferences are drawn as to what constitute significant differences, the work ceases to involve statistics and lapses into impressionism.

As to the adequacy of safeguards, the paper includes full details of the arithmetic, allowing the reader to check the work.

Are the conclusions warranted? The haste in jumping to conclusions as regards multiple authorship in the body of the paper is offset by the evenhandedness of the final words. Most would agree that they have shown that the Pastorals differ from the Pauline Epistles as regards vocabulary diversity. That this behavior is due to differing authors rather than literary form, subject matter, etc., has not been shown.

3. Morton on the Authorship of the Pauline Epistles (1963). Starting with his quarrelsome article in *The London Observer* of November 3, 1963 ("A Computer Challenges the Church") and culminating in chap. 14 of his book *Literary Detection* (1978: 165–83), A. Q. Morton and his collaborators have written repeatedly on the problem of the authorship of the Pauline corpus. The following exposition is based on the 1978 book, with references to earlier work as necessary. We include most of our comments as we proceed. (The critique of Morton's presentation before the Royal Statistical Society remains relevant [Morton 1965: 224–33].)

According to Morton (38): "The fundamental principle of stylometry can be set down thus: the authorship of texts is determined by looking at habits which are common to all writers of the class under examination. The habits are used by each writer at his own rate. The different writers are separated by calculating the differences between their rates."

Morton points out that observed distributions can be characterized in terms of the usual mean, median, percentiles, etc., or an attempt can be made to fit them to theoretical distributions. The reader interested in theoretical distributions would be well advised to learn about them elsewhere than in chap. 5 of *Literary Detection*. There, one finds confusing pedagogical misadventures: symbols that stand for counts on one page and probabilities on the next (p and q on 54 and 55), expressions called equations (55), negative probability (60), the assertion (68) that "the chi squared distribution is: $x^2 = \frac{\sum(0\text{-}E)^2}{E}$" with both the assertion and definition incorrect. The definition should read: $X^2 = \sum_i \frac{(O_i\text{-}E_i)^2}{E_i}$. (Here, the O_i are observed counts and the E_i are counts estimated using some model. We shall use this definition below.) The assertion should be that "X^2 obeys the chi squared (χ^2) distribution." One also encounters a profusion of typographical errors and careless notations, all told more than twenty in the chapter. All these miscues debilitate an important chapter in Morton's otherwise clear book.

Morton gives the characteristics of any writing habit used for author identification (96):

> First, it must be a habit apparent in a choice which frequently confronts all authors; second, it must be a habit which can be numerically expressed; and third, it must be a habit which can be shown to be unaffected by changes in subject matter, by the passing of periods of time, by reasonable differences in literary form and all other possible influences which might affect the habit.

Thus (98), "any habit which is bound up with nouns, tied as they are to subject matter, is unlikely to make a good indicator of authorship." And (101): "An uninflected language—English, for example—makes sentence length distributions much less useful . . . the mean length is greater but the variance even more so." The former observation makes Morton wary of vocabulary-richness criteria. The

latter, his distinction between inflected and uninflected languages, is often ignored by critics of his methods.

In their classic work, Mosteller and Wallace relied heavily on function-word frequency (1984: 39). Uncritical use of function words for determining authorship was attacked by Herdan (1966: 172–74) and seriously questioned by Damerau (1975). Morton sees difficulties with relying on common function words. He writes (102, 104):

> . . . it would appear that . . . common words would make good indicators of authorship if it could be shown that an author used them at a constant rate and individual authors differed in their rates of use. The difficulty of using them as a test of authorship is that their occurrence is too readily influenced by the literary form of the work being studied . . . For problems [with] a plenitude of samples and a limited choice of authors, the rate of occurrence of frequent words offers ample material for decision. But if these two factors are lacking, there is much less scope.

Morton thereby backs off from criteria central to his early work (1963; 1965). He now asserts the best author-discriminators are the absolute positions of words in sentences (for inflected languages) and the positions in terms of nearby words (for uninflected languages).

In Greek, sentence-length distributions "are an effective indicator of authorship" (108). For the Greek speech writer Isocrates, Morton finds differences in sentence-length distributions which he concludes are due to differences in literary form rather than due to the passage of time. He then notes that there are some tests (129):

> . . . which are completely unaffected by the variety of literary form, some which are affected by a change in literary form and others which are affected by the passage of years. As long as care is taken in making comparisons of texts which are in contrasting literary forms, tests of authorship are reliable.

One author hardly typifies all writers of Greek. As Morton elsewhere admits (102), "literary form cannot be clearly defined in detail." (Note that Brainerd [1979 and 1980] has produced convincing studies of Shakespeare wherein one set of text characteristics separates his works into genre clusters while another orders them chronologically.)

Chapter 14 of *Literary Detection*, "The Authorship of the Pauline Epistles," presents arguments based on sentence-length distributions plus limited results for positional studies. Where useful, we draw supporting materials from the fuller exposition of Morton and McLeman (1966). Morton sees the evaluation of the Pauline corpus as having two phases: first, establish the authorship of the individual epistles and, second, determine the internal integrity of the individual epistles. The first phase is executed via sentence-length analysis plus other tests independent of sentence length, the second via positional analysis. Following detailed discussions of sample-size determination and appropriate data transformations, Morton (180) discloses his conclusions based on sentence-length distributions:

> Romans, I and II Corinthians and Galatians form one group and the others are separate from it. In the linear scale [i.e., for the untransformed data] there is an anomaly in the third quartile of II Corinthians [the sentence length below which three-quarters of the sentences lie] and this may be due to chance. The table has five statistics for five epistles and one 5% difference is likely to appear in it, for it might turn out to be some indicator of the emendation of this text.

This passage is misleading in two respects, one factual and one interpretive.

Factual: The table referred to holds statistics for ten, not five, epistles. Thus, if his tests chance erring in five percent of the cases, he may obtain as many as two "significant" differences that are spurious.

Interpretive: Since Morton provides scant explanation as to how he reaches his conclusions, we must reconstruct his procedures. The basic ideas are hinted at in his early work (Morton 1965: 217; Morton and McLeman 1966: 53).

For each epistle and parameter (mean, median, etc.) he adds and subtracts twice that parameter's standard error (S.E.) so as to form its 95% confidence interval. That is, he determines the range of values within which the true parameter lies (with one chance in twenty, on average, of erring) based on the estimates of the parameter computed from the data. He then determines for which epistles which statistics show significant differences from the behavior of Galatians, his Pauline gold standard. He announces in the notes to his table which epistles have confidence intervals which do not overlap with those of Galatians. (Underlying all this is his assumption that his parameters are Gaussian.) He finds these epistles are significantly different from Galatians; 2 Corinthians (for one parameter), Ephesians (for 5), Colossians (for 2), 1 Thessalonians (for 4), and Hebrews (for 5). He next examines how Galatians and the rest compare as regards the means of the distributions based on the logarithmically transformed data, finding that Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1 Thessalonians, and Hebrews differ significantly from Galatians. From these results emerge his conclusions quoted above.

There are at least three problems with his method and his interpretation of its results: (1) Morton asserts that Romans, 1–2 Corinthians, and Galatians form a group and the others are separate from it. In fact his analysis shows (to his satisfaction, see below) that 2 Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1–2 Thessalonians, and Hebrews are not from the same population as Galatians. In terms of inferential statistics, this does not imply that the others are from the same population; it merely shows that the tests do not allow one to decide if the others are or are not from populations differing from Galatians. They may be. If his assertion is based on some hidden practice of descriptive statistics, then he should explain why although 1 Timothy and 2 Timothy fail no tests, they are not included with the "genuine" Paulines. (2) 2 Corinthians fails one test but is restored to the Pauline fold on the grounds that one miscue in twenty-five tests may be expected. Why restore 2 Corinthians? Philippians fails only one test, so why not restore it? Or, since there are fifty tests for the statistics describing the raw data, why not

restore both? If a priori information is to be excluded, it must be consistently excluded. (3) The criticisms of sentence-length distributions as author-specifying in C.1 above apply equally here.

As an independent (conservative) probe, we carry out a contingency table analysis of the sentence-length distributions. We have elsewhere explained such analysis (Andersen and Forbes 1986a: 15–25). Here we give only a brief explanation. Table 2 shows Morton's sentence-length data (1978: 172–73).

We follow Morton in taking Galatians as the Pauline fixed point. We test each epistle to determine if it originated from the same population as did Galatians. We form a 2 × 8 contingency table for each pairing of an epistle with Galatians. For example, for the test as to whether Romans and Galatians are likely from the same population, we get Table 3.

If Romans and Galatians are samples from the same population, then we expect any cell entry in the table will be adequately estimated by multiplying its row total by its column total and dividing by the grand total for the table. This amounts to insuring that each epistle will receive its observed total of sentences, as will each range of sentence lengths [1–5 words, 6–10 words, etc.]. (For these estimates to be reliable, we must insure that each cell-count estimate exceeds unity by at least a bit [Sachs 1984: 464]. This is the case for all the epistles save Titus and Philemon; rather than resort to procedures for sparsely occupied tables, we put Titus and Philemon aside.) By carrying out the arithmetic for each cell in the table of observed sentence-length counts, a second table can be built up, a table of estimated counts based on an assumed common underlying population. Table 4 shows the estimates for Romans and Galatians, as the reader may verify.

In general, the OBSERVED and ESTIMATED tables will differ, either because the hypothesis that they originate from a common population is faulty or because of random sampling fluctuations. To decide if the former explanation accounts for the differences, one computes the X^2 statistic defined earlier, selects a significance threshold (we follow Morton in using 5%), and (taking into account a subtlety known as "degrees of freedom") looks up a threshold value in statistics tables (symbolized by $\chi^2_{.05}$). If X^2 exceeds this threshold, we reject the hypothesis that the pair of epistles is from the same population; if X^2 is below the threshold, we *may not reject* the hypothesis of a shared origin. For our comparisons, statistical tables inform us that $\chi^2_{.05} = 18.5$. The X^2 values resulting from our pairwise tests, arranged from smallest to largest X^2, are shown in Table 5.

With one chance in twenty of erring, we may assert that an epistle which when compared with Galatians yields an X^2 less than 18.5 may come from the same population as Galatians. With one chance in twenty of erring, we may assert that an epistle which when compared with Galatians yields an X^2 greater than 18.5 is not from the same population as Galatians. Thus, our analysis tells us that, as far as sentence-length distributions are concerned, Philippians, 2 Corinthians, Colossians, 1 Thessalonians, Hebrews, and Ephesians do not come from the same population as Galatians. (Note well that the magnitude of X^2 does *not* indicate the extent of dissimilarity from Galatians. The length of an epistle influences the size of X^2.)

Morton tells us that "the odds which sentence length distributions left as odds for Pauline authorship [are] around a hundred to one against" (182). Would that we could see how the odds were obtained. As recovering odds from significance tests and compounding the results of multiple comparisons are both areas where statistical errors are *very* frequently made, the mere assertion leaves us unsatisfied.

The odds are moved from a hundred to one against Pauline authorship to "over a million to one against" (182) by evidence contributed by four vocabulary items in sentence positions one and two: *kai* (in sentence position one), *de* (in position two), *gar* (in position two), and *ei* (in position one). These four positional tests are, if Morton's assertions are taken at face value, a hundred times more powerful than sentence length in determining authorship, yet he

Table 2.
Sentence Lengths in the Epistles

	Sentence Lengths (in Words)								
Epistle	1–5	6–10	11–15	16–20	21–25	26–30	31–35	>35	Totals
Romans	78	160	101	52	51	14	12	30	498
1 Cor	99	190	126	73	32	15	7	13	555
2 Cor	40	70	44	43	31	19	9	17	273
Gal	21	54	46	24	7	5	2	7	166
Eph	3	5	24	10	8	4	4	22	80
Phil	9	20	19	13	3	5	5	15	89
Col	5	14	10	7	6	8	2	10	62
1 Thess	4	15	7	11	7	4	6	12	66
2 Thess	3	7	9	5	0	3	1	7	35
1 Tim	14	22	19	20	10	4	5	4	98
2 Tim	14	13	22	10	5	4	5	4	77
Titus	5	5	7	3	3	2	0	4	29
Phlm	0	7	3	2	0	1	1	3	17
Hebrews	13	47	73	39	29	22	12	27	262
Totals	308	629	510	312	192	110	71	175	2307

Table 3.
Observed Sentence-Length Distributions for Romans and Galatians

OBSERVED	Sentence Lengths (in Words)								
Epistle	1–5	6–10	11–15	16–20	21–25	26–30	31–35	>35	Totals
Romans	78	160	101	52	51	14	12	30	498
Galatians	21	54	46	24	7	5	2	7	166
Totals	99	214	147	76	58	19	14	37	664

Table 4.
Estimated Sentence-Length Distributions for Romans and Galatians

ESTIMATED	Sentence Lengths (in Words)								
Epistle	1–5	6–10	11–15	16–20	21–25	26–30	31–35	>35	Totals
Romans	74.25	160.5	110.25	57	43.5	14.25	10.5	27.75	498
Galatians	24.75	53.5	36.75	19	14.5	4.75	3.5	9.25	166
Totals	99	214	147	76	58	19	14	37	664

Table 5.
Sentence-Length Test Results for the Epistles

Epistle	X^2
1 Corinthians	5.91333
2 Timothy	12.33053
Romans	12.39933
1 Timothy	12.51209
2 Thessalonians	16.52812
$\chi^2_{.05}$	18.5
Philippians	19.20194
2 Corinthians	20.49888
Colossians	24.87708
1 Thessalonians	33.71813
Hebrews	35.3673
Ephesians	51.73470

devotes only one page to their exposure (180). Once again, methods receive minimal exposition. For this analysis, Morton considers two sets of epistles: Romans, 1–2 Corinthians, and Galatians make up Group I; the remainder (less Titus, 2 Timothy, and Philemon) make up Group II. Note that Morton is using the outcome of his previous analysis to group the epistles for this analysis. The resulting odds, therefore, are *not* independent of the former odds. But there is a more serious lapse, one common in authorship studies. Morton appears to perform a sequence of contingency table analyses and then compound their P-values. That is, he reckons the probability that the entire sequence of results could happen by chance. So far so good, assuming all this was done properly. He then appears to convert the compound P-value into odds. This step can only be taken in very special circumstances, the existence of which must be shown, not assumed (Meier and Zabell 1980; M. W. A. Smith 1983). From a purely statistical perspective, odds of a million to one have not been demonstrated.

(Morton [1986] has recently claimed that the positioning in sentences of once occurring words is writer specific; M. W. A. Smith [1987] has raised fundamental questions regarding Morton's claim. In addition to work on the Pauline corpus, Morton and his collaborators have written several books on the Gospels [MacGregor and Morton 1961; Morton and MacGregor 1965; Morton and McLeman 1980]. We refer interested readers to these and some associated reviews [McCasland 1961; Cadbury 1965; Fortna 1983].)

As to the soundness of Morton's data, we have little to go on. His set of criteria has evolved, so even checks via internal consistency are rarely feasible. For example, Morton uses counts of *de* as second or third word in sentences in one study (Morton 1965: 222) and as second word only in another (Morton 1978: 181), making comparison impossible. The sentence-length data in his Royal Society paper (1965: 218) differ quite significantly from those in his book (1978: 172). For example, in the former, Romans has 584 sentences; in the latter, it has 498. And so on, through the entire Pauline Corpus. To trace one profile of sentence lengths from 1965 to 1978: Philemon loses one sentence each from the 1–5, 6–10, 11–15, and 26–30 word categories, loses three sentences from the 16–20 word category, and gains one sentence in the 36–40 and one in the 56–60 word category. Much more drastic changes occur for other epistles. Morton supplies no explanation for these differences.

As to the sufficiency of the data samples for his tests, his requirement that "no expectation should be less than five" (1978: 69), is by modern standards, conservative (Sachs 1984: 475; Andersen and Forbes 1986a: 206). He gives repeated evidence of appropriate sensitivity to the issue of sample size.

The propriety of the statistical methods used and the validity of the conclusions reached have been commented on in the course of our exposition. One further point merits emphasis: the important effect that choice of significance level can have. In his early work, Morton chose to use a significance level of one percent (1965: 217) so that *each* test had a 1 percent chance of yielding a faulty result.

In his later work on the Pauline Epistles, Morton chose to use a significance level of 5 percent (1978: 180), yielding the results given above. Had he retained the 1 percent level, his tests would have pointed to neither 2 Corinthians nor Philippians as being anomalous. Therefore, by *his* logic, Morton would have had to grant Philippians entry into his list of true Pauline Epistles.

4. Kenny on Stylometry (1986). Anthony Kenny has written a quite accessible, low-key volume. Its first four chapters carefully introduce the basic ideas of stylometry. Chaps. 5 through 11 are descriptive, taking up common words, conjunctions and particles, prepositions, the article, nouns and pronouns, adjectives and adverbs, and the verb. The focus is exclusively on intertext comparisons. Intratext comparisons are not made, an unfortunate omission. Chaps. 12 through 14 briefly consider the Lucan, the Johannine, and the Pauline problems. Chap. 15 critiques several of the methods used by Morton and colleagues and finds them wanting. The final chapter addresses "Constraints and Prospects."

Kenny's data appear sound and sufficient to the tasks attempted. The modest methods are appropriate to the limited goals sought. In the main, the conclusions drawn are warranted. Weitzman (1987) rightly judges Kenny's volume a "timely corrective to the exaggerated claims of some earlier stylometric studies in the New Testament." For those seeking an introduction to stylometry, Kenny's book is an excellent place to begin.

5. Neumann on the Pauline Epistles (1990). Kenneth Neumann provides an introduction to "The Problem of Authenticity" followed by a clear survey of the text-describing variables used by his predecessors in statistical analyses of authorship. While exhaustive in its cataloguing of the variables used, the survey lacks the sustained critical component necessary to aid would-be researchers in their own selection of variables. (In Neumann's defense, it should be noted that central to his method of analysis is a mechanism which selects from his huge list of possible discriminators the putative best few.)

Following a detailed statement of his research plan, Neumann reports his results and comments on their significance. Using teaching text samples from seven authors (Paul, the writer of Hebrews, Clement, Ignatius, Epictetus, Josephus, and Philo), his method decimates an initial 617 candidate variables to six. While these six variables perfectly classify the teaching texts used to select them in the first place, they misassign a third of a new wave of (testing) texts. Neumann attributes this unacceptable behavior to genre differences between the Christian and non-Christian authors. And so, the method is supplied teaching texts from only the four Christian authors and winnows the variables afresh. After a bit of disconcerting fiddling, all of the teaching and testing samples are properly assigned. When the disputed Pauline Epistles (Ephesians, Colossians, and 2 Thessalonians) are classified, all are assigned to Paul but not with much confidence. "These results, despite the Pauline classification, may still indicate a non-Pauline authorship" (Neumann 1990: 195). There are signs that the method is not robust. For example: (1) text from Galatians is assigned to Ignatius with a probability of .99; this awkward behavior is suppressed by deleting—on nonstatistical grounds—two sections from the misbehaving Galatians text sample (1990: 196); (2) Revelation 2–3 is assigned to Paul; this embarassing result is explained away unconvincingly (1990: 220).

Neumann's approach is promising. However, his results vary greatly as variables are selected and deselected and as text samples are altered. This sensitivity suggests that his present conclusions are too brittle to be convincing.

D. Studies in the Hebrew Bible

Research on the Hebrew Bible using statistical techniques is too far-flung to cover exhaustively here. Some of our bibliographic entries receive no discussion. We shall concentrate on exposition of studies on style/authorship and on spelling.

1. The Isaiah Problem. a. Radday (1970). For our critique of Radday's work on Isaiah, we focus on his book (1973) rather than on his earlier article (1970). After tracing the history of the Isaiah problem and countering some criticisms of approaching the problem via statistical linguistics, Radday describes the preparation of the text of Isaiah for analysis. The consonants of the Letteris text of 1852 are used, homographs having been carefully resolved by attaching to each word a grammatical code indicating whether it is: (1) a noun, (2) a finite verb, (3) other type of verb, (4) residue. Sentence boundaries are marked. As Radday points out, carrying out this program requires considerable subtlety as to the definition of "word," "part of speech," "sentence."

The data having been prepared, Radday examines sentence-length distributions (1973: 65–92). He cautions (1973: 66):

> But it must be stressed that before Yule's test [on sentence-length distributions] is taken as an infallible means of ascribing an anonymous text to a certain author, sentence length will first have to be examined in the works of a very great number of writers, each in various periods of the author's life and in different topics and genres of his literary output. Not before the variance "within" a writer is sufficiently known, will sentence length become a criterion credible enough for comparison between two writers.

Radday immediately ignores his own advice, his reason being that many others have "put their trust in Yule's test."

To study behavior of parts of a text by a single author, Radday constructs two samples by bisecting a set of 360 sentences scattered across Ezekiel (about 20 percent of the book by word or verse count). He computes the descriptors of the sentence-length distribution for each sample (mean, median, first quartile, third quartile, ninth decile). *By eyeball,* he decides that each pair is sufficiently close save the third quartiles. But this "was only to be expected because of the prosaic character of the second half of the book where Ezekiel deals in necessarily longer sentences with matters of cult and architecture" (1973: 77). The agreement of the statistics for the two (sampled) halves of Ezekiel "thus proves for the first time that qualitative individual language properties find their quantitative expression also for Biblical Hebrew authors." This is disconcerting. (1) Supposing there is a genuine discrepancy, it will not do simply to explain it away. (2) Even supposing

that Ezekiel has satisfactorily been shown to be homogeneous as regards sentence length, the result is for two samples from one book, not for "Biblical Hebrew authors."

Radday next divides Isaiah into chunks and computes the sentence-length distribution descriptors for each. More eyeballing: "Sentence length alone warrants the assumption of two Isaiahs" (1973: 83).

Radday is aware that tests, rather than impressions, are needed. Unfortunately, few details of the tests he uses are given, and the results are reported in a confusing way. Since his tests involve unproved assumptions about the sentence-length distribution, we analyze the data using contingency table analysis. Because the two parts of Isaiah (chaps. 1–35 and 40–66) each involve nearly a thousand sentences, our analysis involves an additional step beyond what was done in C.3. When contingency tables involve large counts, fairly slight departures of the observed data from model-generated data get magnified, leading to quite large values of X^2. (Recall that when X^2 is below a critical threshold, departures of observed data from estimated data based on a model are attributed to statistical fluctuations; when X^2 exceeds the threshold, the model is rejected on the grounds that it inadequately accounts for the observations.) To avoid being misled, we use a measure of association, Cramér's v, defined *in our case* by $v = \left[\frac{X^2}{N}\right]^{\frac{1}{2}}$, where N is the number of pieces of data in our table (Andersen and Forbes 1986a: 23, 240). This quantity varies between zero and one. A value of zero indicates the row and column variables of the contingency table are independent; changes in one have no effect on the other. A value of one indicates the two variables are completely associated, they co-vary in lockstep. Intermediate values imply intermediate degrees of association. For the two parts of Isaiah, we obtain $v_{Isaiah} = .29$; for the two samples of Ezekiel, we find $v_{Ezekiel} = .33$. These results indicate that the degree of association between the portions of Isaiah and sentence length (.29) is actually less than that between the samples of Ezekiel and sentence length (.33). Thus, Radday's reasons for assuming two Isaiahs lead equally, or even a little more strongly, to the assumption of two Ezekiels, contra Radday's assertion that Ezekiel is homogeneous.

Radday next takes up word length, as gauged both by syllable and phoneme count. Concluding a survey of previous work, he comments (1973: 99):

> Summing up, it may be said, with all due caution, that word length is not a characteristic specific enough for deciding problems of contested authorship as long as it stands alone. Together with other parameters, however, and within the limitations of statistical linguistics in general, the test seems sufficiently reliable to be attempted.

Radday bases his analysis on: (1) pairs of 250-word samples drawn from five "irrefutably homogeneous Biblical books:" Hosea, Ezekiel, Job, Esther, and Deuteronomy (500 words per control book) and (2) trios of 250-word samples for each of his six sections of Isaiah. (Many scholars find these control books to be nonhomogeneous.) For the control books, the word-length distributions show "a remarkable consistency," except for Job. "But even there, the incongruity between the two samples is still less than within Tolstoy." Evidence from *War and Peace* having set his mind at rest, Radday proceeds to examine the behavior of Isaiah. "One must admit that [the] data are, for our purpose, poor." Various other measures incorporating word-length information for syllable and phoneme counts are introduced in turn. Our explanation of all of these measures would consume an unjustifiable amount of space. Therefore, we shall take up only one particular favorite of Radday, *redundancy*, which he persistently mislabels *relative entropy*. (*Redundancy* is one minus *relative entropy*.) A proper exposition of the concept of redundancy is beyond the scope of this essay. For present purposes, redundancy may be viewed as a measure of the relative "wastage" of symbols in a given text. If many symbols could be deleted without losing the message of a text, that text has a large value of redundancy. If the suppression of even a single symbol would affect the meaning of a text, that text has zero redundancy. Estimating the redundancy of a text is fraught with subtleties (Johnson 1979: 221–23). We shall focus on only one of these. Radday's redundancy estimates for Isaiah are given in Table 6.

For Radday, the table "proves the unity of Sections I and II, shows Section III as an unrelated part of the 'First' Isaiah, and Section IV as isolated among the rest of the book" (1973: 127). But the weight of these conclusions is even lighter than their impressionistic origins suggest. We are informed that there are *five* six-syllable words in Isaiah (Radday 1973: 94). The redundancy estimates are based on three 250-word samples from each portion of Isaiah, *and they depend critically on the luck of sampling six-syllable words.* (This is because the estimator of redundancy Radday uses involves the logarithm of the maximum number of syllables observed in any word in a sample.) As it happens, Radday's samples miss the single six-syllable word in Section I and the one in Section II but include the single ones in Sections III, V, and VI. (Section IV has no six-syllable word.) Now suppose the luck of the draw had snared the two six-syllable words in Sections I and II instead of the two in Sections III and VI, a change in the sampling of four words in samples totaling 4,500 words (.1 percent). Then the redundancy estimates would be as shown in Table 7.

Would these results prove the unity of Sections I, II, and III, show Section V to be a dislocated part of the "First" Isaiah, and show Sections IV and VI as forming Deutero-Isaiah? Quite a revolution based on the sampling or non-

Table 6.
Redundancies of Sections of Isaiah

Section	Chapters	Redundancy
I	1–12	.30
II	13–23	.30
III	24–35	.36
IV	40–48	.24
V	49–57	.35
VI	58–66	.31

Table 7.
Redundancies of Sections of Isaiah under Alternative Sampling

Section	Chapters	Redundancy
I	1–12	.38
II	13–23	.37
III	24–35	.36
IV	40–48	.24
V	49–57	.35
VI	58–66	.23

sampling of four words. Clearly, a criterion this sensitive is better left unused.

Radday next considers the relative frequencies of parts of speech. His results for single, homogeneous books

> appear to ruin all hope of having here discovered a diacritical means for determining authorship. In spite of this, word categories were counted for Isaiah [141] . . . Sections I and II are very similar and Sections I and IV are diametrically opposed to each other [154].

So, a criterion which fails on control texts is used nevertheless on Isaiah as if the control tests had proved its validity. Abandon triumphs over sound method.

Next come the transitions between parts of speech. Comparing transition frequencies between pairs of samples from a given book discloses few cases where the rates differ from one sample to the other. The table of counts of excess deviations of transition frequencies

> alone makes it difficult to go on assuming that Sections I [chapters 1–12] and III [chapters 24–35] have a common origin and—exactly!—twice as difficult to believe that Isaiah ben Amoz who surely wrote Section I [chapters 1–12] also wrote Section IV [chapters 40–48].

He deletes transitions for "parts of speech that are feebly realized," namely, for prepositions plus free pronouns, free conjunctions, residua, and stops. But he retains proper nouns and nonfinite verbs in spite of the fact that these are more feebly realized than some of those categories he has deleted. Radday's measures of similarity are ad hoc. When we examine the transitions (via contingency table analysis), we find that Sections III (chapters 24–35) and V (chapters 49–57), for which Radday shows no results, are more similar than are Sections I (chapters 1–12) and II (chapters 13–23), for which he does show results. Are we to conclude that sections III and V have the same author?

He considers the frequencies of particles. Radday's "control texts are books generally considered as being more or less homogeneous" (1973: 198). Included is Genesis. For his six basic sections, Radday finds that the percentage of the vocabulary contributed by his four particles (his "f_r") is as shown in Table 8.

From the table, he concludes:

> The special character of Section IV . . . becomes absolute here: Its percentage is not only the lowest, but by 50% lower than the second lowest (Section III). Furthermore, values of Sections I and II are again identical up to one-hundredth p.c. [percent], Section III behaves differently from its neighbours and Sections V and VI are at least not dissimilar.

Table 8.
Particle Frequencies in Sections of Isaiah

Section:	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
f_r:	6.03	6.04	4.74	2.55	5.79	4.96

Table 9.
Corrected Particle Frequencies in Sections of Isaiah

Section:	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
f_r:	6.00	4.09	4.71	2.41	5.80	4.94

Arithmetic errors mar this table. Based on Radday's counts, it should read as shown in Table 9.

Sections I and II no longer exhibit uncanny agreement.

And so it continues through vocabulary related to "war," vocabulary richness, and vocabulary eccentricity. Criteria of unproven author-specifying power are introduced. Methods are not explained. Results are generated. Confirmatory evidence is given fanfare. Contrary evidence is explained away. Finally (1973: 274–76), Radday reaches five conclusions:

> a) The book is composed of two parts, i.e., chaps. 1–35 and chaps. 40–66.
> b) The most dissimilar parts are chaps. 1–12 and chaps. 40–48. Since Isaiah ben Amoz was beyond any doubt the author of the first, he cannot have written the latter.
> c) Chaps. 13–23 must be ascribed with a very high degree of probability to the author of chaps. 1–12, namely to Isaiah himself.
> d) Chaps. 49–57 and 58–66 display so many affinities with each other and so few with the rest of the book that one has to attribute them to yet another prophet.
> e) As to chaps. 23–35 the verdict is inconclusive, but they belong in any case to the first part of the book.

Publication of Radday's book (and its predecessor papers) resulted in several commentaries and reviews. Almagor (1971) criticized Radday for relying on impressions not statistics, for ignoring the interrelatedness of his data, and for reaching subjective conclusions. Drake (1971) saw Radday's work as premature, since we do not know how many parameters define an author's style unambiguously, since we do not understand the causes of intra-author variations (audience, form, intent, health?), since it has not yet been shown that two works by the same author are necessarily more similar than two by differing authors, and since we do not know how well one writer can imitate another. Morton (1974) predicted resistance to Radday's work since biblical scholars are "rarely numerate and tend to resist the introduction of new techniques which require them to raise their education by one notch." He wished Radday had demonstrated the validity of his tests, had

explained them more fully, and had illustrated the differences demonstrated by giving examples from the text. But that the evidence supported the conclusions "is hardly to be doubted . . . From now on Old Testament studies in general and the study of Isaiah in particular stand on new ground." Wagner (1977) saw the bulk of the book as devoted to "a well-documented, and indeed, provocative statistical treatment . . . If you are willing to think through the implications of revising your approach, you should wade through the volume."

It is all but impossible to determine the soundness of Radday's data since chapters, verses, and parts of verses have been deleted and the retained oracles of chapters 36–40 seemingly grafted onto chapters 1–12.

Radday repeatedly makes use of quite short samples of control texts (and indeed of Isaiah). Little concern about sample-size effects is apparent in his work. One must register profound unease regarding this. As to the status of the methods, the safeguards evident in their use, and the conclusions based on their results, the foregoing commentary has repeatedly demonstrated fundamental errors which discredit his results.

b. Adams and Rencher (1973). In response to Morton's favorable review of Radday's work on Isaiah, Adams (1974) tendered three criticisms: (1) the absence of a proper grounding for a method is no excuse for using it as if all were well; (2) the responsibility for proper use of statistical tests rests on their users; (3) Radday's conclusions do not follow from his data. Adams reported: "we applied statistical procedures to data provided us by Radday and found that the results did not support his conclusions" (1974: 86). Adams is here referring to his doctoral-thesis work which he and his thesis supervisor published in summary (Adams and Rencher 1973).

Adams and Rencher (1973: 151; henceforth A-R) point out that the methods for attributing a text to one of a pair of contending authors, for each of whom one has a body of known work, are quite different from the methods appropriate to the Isaiah problem, where the number of authors is to be determined. This is a sound insight.

A-R (1973: 151) contend that for the Isaiah problem, measures of association (similarity) are more appropriate than measures of significant differences. This is a mistaken assertion. Measures of similarity tend to focus on the cohesion among objects, while measures of significant difference tend to focus on their isolation. But A-R certainly are free to use measures of similarity.

To determine the degree of similarity between two texts, A-R rely on the *product moment correlation.* (They also use the so-called *Mahalanobis distance,* which contributes little but complexity to their analysis.) The *product moment correlation* measures the degree of similarity between two objects in terms of their attributes on a scale ranging from minus one to plus one. The more similar are texts, the closer to plus one will be the product moment correlation derived from their attribute values.

As to their choice of author-specific text attributes, A-R assert (1973: 151): "Prefix usage is perhaps one of the most pertinent stylistic elements in determining authorship in the Hebrew text." Their quite debatable argument is that the Hebrew proclitic prepositions correspond to habit-prone function words in English, much used in studies of the authorship of English works (for example, Mosteller and Wallace 1984), and hence make good author-specifying markers. Recall that the use of function words has been warned against by Herdan (1966: 172–74), Damerau (1975), and Morton (1978: 102). For now, let us follow A-R's argument, holding in abeyance scepticism regarding the author-specificity of proclitic-preposition frequencies.

With characterizing attributes selected (Hebrew proclitic prepositions) and with a measure of association decided upon (product moment correlation), the analysts set out toward their two goals (1973: 151):

> 1) compare the two major sections in the book of Isaiah with each other and with each of . . . eleven control texts (inter-text comparison), and 2) examine the book of Isaiah and each of the 11 control texts for internal consistency of style.

This is a sound scenario. Samples are drawn from the eleven control books (Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea, Amos, Micah, Habakkuk, Zechariah, Malachi, Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah); Isaiah is divided into two parts (Isa-A [chaps. 1–39] and Isa-B [chaps. 40–66]); for technical reasons, only eighteen of the twenty-four proclitic prepositions they find in Isaiah are studied. From this emerge "perhaps the most salient results of this study" (1973: 152), the correlations among the control books and parts of Isaiah. Table 10 shows these.

Based on these results, A-R conclude (1973: 154):

> The correlation between the two sections of the book of Isaiah was 0.98, an indication of overall similarity in rates of prefix usage and nonusage. Only two of the other 77 comparisons were as high. This is fewer than would be expected from the laws of chance when this many comparisons are made.

In fact, only two correlations were *higher* than that between the sections of Isaiah; in all, seven "were as high." The researchers having previously eschewed a probabilistic interpretation of the correlation coefficient, it is curious now to be told that a particular pair of correlations which exceed that found between sections of Isaiah is only to be expected "from the laws of chance." Since the large correlations are used to argue for the unity of Isaiah, one wonders why the argument does not extend to asserting that the single writer of Isaiah also wrote Habakkuk.

A-R next determine a set of nine proclitic prepositions which are "most unique for both sections of Isaiah." The resulting correlations are presented to three places of decimal and disclose that no correlations equal the value of 1.000 obtained for the comparison of the two sections of Isaiah. "Statistical comparisons of intra-text with inter-text variation indicated that a high degree of authorship similarity exists for the book of Isaiah." It is not clear how they arrived at "most unique" proclitic-prepositions. Indeed, this whole line of investigation involves "special handling." Had the researchers not resorted to the fictitious accuracy implied in a display of correlations to three decimal places, their results (rounded to two places of decimal) would have included nine pairs of texts having correlations of 1.00.

Table 10.
Correlations between (Samples of) Books

	Isa-A	Isa-B	Jer	Ezek	Hos	Amos	Mic	Hab	Zech	Mal	Dan	Ezra
Isa-B	**.98**											
Jer	.97	.93										
Ezek	.96	.93	.95									
Hos	.93	.96	.85	.87								
Amos	.97	.91	.98	.98	.85							
Mic	.97	.97	.92	.95	.95	.94						
Hab	**.99**	**.99**	.96	.95	.94	.95	.98					
Zech	.93	.86	.96	.93	.78	.97	.85	.90				
Mal	.98	.97	.92	.96	.89	.93	.94	.96	.91			
Dan	.96	.96	.91	.90	.90	.89	.89	.95	.88	.97		
Ezra	.96	.93	.98	.91	.83	.94	.89	.95	.93	.92	.95	
Neh	.92	.86	.93	.88	.75	.92	.83	.90	.96	.91	.88	.95

There follow brief notes of studies of Hebrew roots unique to Isaiah, of root frequencies, and of phrase repetition. The weight of the study remains, however, on the frequency of proclitic-preposition usage.

As to the soundness of the data upon which the study is based, we have used the Andersen-Forbes (A-F) text of Isaiah to determine the incidence of proclitic prepositions. Since the rates for the eleven control texts are based on random samples, we cannot check them directly. A-R do not give actual counts but rather list counts per five thousand words. The comparisons for the simple proclitic-prepositions are as shown in Table 11.

Some of the differences are sizable. For compound proclitic prepositions, the counts are small and A-R find some that we do not and vice versa. When we use our inventory of proclitic prepositions to compute the correlation between Isa-A and Isa-B, we obtain the same value (.98) as A-R. The data seem adequately sound.

When we turn to the adequacy of sample sizes, we encounter the *fatal statistical flaw* of this work. A-R (1973) do not give the size of the samples drawn from the control texts. Adams' thesis (1972) contains the needed information: 500-word samples. These are small samples, especially when one is estimating the frequencies of some quite rare events. The point can be made concretely via two sorts of experiments.

Suppose that rather than using the full texts to obtain proclitic-preposition frequencies for Isaiah, A-R had used 500-word samples. Using random sampling, we draw one sample of 500 words from Isa-A and one from Isa-B. Using the proclitic-preposition frequencies based on these samples, we obtain an intra-text correlation for Isaiah of .87. The correlations for forty-seven of the fifty-five pairings of control texts exceed this value. Are we to infer the disunity of Isaiah?

Alternatively, to show sample-size effects, we can derive proclitic-preposition frequencies for Jeremiah and Ezekiel based on the complete books. The correlations for the full books are closer to unity than were those based on samples, as Table 12 shows. (For comparative purposes, the A-R correlations are included in parentheses.)

The superior intra-text homogeneity of Isaiah as compared with the inter-text homogeneity of control books found by A-R is an artifact resulting from inadequate sampling.

Table 11.
Frequencies of Prepositional Prefixes

Prefix	Meaning	Isa-A		Isa-B	
		A-R	A-F	A-R	A-F
b-	*in*	688	715	676	673
h-	*the*	752	787	467	466
w-	*and*	1834	1965	1884	2054
k-	*like*	231	236	219	223
l-	*to*	700	702	863	855
m-	*from*	446	300	521	403

c. Weil (1974). Weil (1974: 29) is wary of the use of inferential statistics. He rejects much of the work in statistical linguistics because underlying it he finds improper assumptions that data obey the Gaussian distribution and because he sees tests misused. (He asserts that the chi-square test is often used outside its proper domain.) "These considerations have led us, for the moment, to reject the methods of statistical analysis to focus on models that better fit the data we are treating" (1974: 30).

Weil opts for the methods of descriptive statistics: factor analysis, automatic classification, multidimensional analysis. While his indictment of the use of inferential statistics is too general, his use of descriptive statistics is certainly acceptable. However, presenting displays of data and challenging the reader to see patterns therein is not all that different from using the methods of inferential statistics in a loosely held manner of the sort advanced by Adams and Rencher. In both cases, probabilities are not attached to results and the reader is left to decide what is significant.

As regards the Isaiah problem, Weil avoids prejudging the composition of text subsets by working in terms of

Table 12.
Large Sample Correlations between Books

Text	Isa-A	Isa-B	Jer
Isa-B	.98 (.98)		
Jer	.98 (.97)	.94 (.93)	
Ezek	1.00 (.96)	.97 (.93)	.99 (.95)

small blocks of chapters (chaps 1–5, 6–10, . . . , 60–66). For his text attributes, Weil uses the frequencies of occurrence of the hundred most-frequent words in Isaiah. When the chapter blocks are automatically classified via hierarchical clustering, four main clusters emerge: chaps 41–50, chaps 1–35, chaps 51–66, and chaps 36–40. Deutero-Isaiah and the rest split apart first; then the rest divide into Proto- and Trito-Isaiah, with the Kings-parallel chapters "transitional." More recently, using the eighty-nine most frequent words, he obtains an identical pattern of clustering (Weil 1979). Weil has shown that, in terms of the high-frequency words, Isaiah clusters in quite interesting ways. That the frequencies of use of the most frequent words are writer-specific has not been demonstrated, nor is it claimed.

The aforementioned "hierarchical clustering" uses a table of text attributes to compute distances between portions of text. These, in turn, are used to group the texts into explicit clusters. An alternative set of approaches, the so-called "geometrical methods," approximates the distance relations of the texts in a low-dimensional space and leaves it to the human observer to determine which items group naturally into clusters (Andersen and Forbes 1986b; Freedman, Forbes, and Andersen 1991). Weil and his colleagues have used one of these methods, correspondence analysis, to analyze Isaiah (Weil 1979, an extended summary of a fuller exposition in Weil, Salem, and Serfaty 1976). They find that this method, which works in terms of single chapters, yields results quite in accord with those obtained via hierarchical clustering. Most significantly, they validate their results by studying the distances of the various chapters from the centers of the groups they appear to be members of. They also demonstrate that the representation of their data on a plane does not unduly distort the distance relations among the chapters. From the statistical perspective, this is good work.

As regards the soundness of the data, Weil's texts are generally held to be very accurate. That the sample sizes used are sufficient to the task seems assured: by working with blocks of one, three, and five chapters and by using both hierarchical and geometrical methods, Weil and his group demonstrate the stability of their results. Their methods are well understood. They are not without pitfalls, but by undertaking validating subsidiary studies, Weil and colleagues have put in place excellent safeguards. But as the analysis is entirely based on frequent-word counts, what conclusions are warranted is quite unclear.

2. Oral and Written Composition: Bee (1971). Bee has advanced two notions he finds useful in the analysis of biblical texts. First, the relative frequency of verbs allows one "to identify and classify the units of text . . . It is necessary to assume that in many cases a difference in origin will be accompanied by a difference in verb frequency" (Bee 1971: 406). But changes in subject matter may also affect verb frequency, "thus the exercise of educated judgment is essential." If x_i is the word count through the i^{th} verb, then the plot of i versus x_i, the *cumulative sum chart* of verbs, can be examined to detect changes in verb-usage rate by discerning changes in plot slope. This leads to Bee's second notion: unstressed words are ligatured to their successors by the *maqqeph*, the Hebrew "dash." If one focuses on grammatical issues, one may treat the *maqqeph* as a space, so that each sutured pair is counted as two words; if one focuses on pronunciation, a sutured pair may be counted as one word. Thus, two charts indicating verb-usage rate can be constructed: (1) the MS chart (*maqqeph* separately) and (2) the MC chart (*maqqeph* combined). If the author's attention was on words as grammatical units, as would be expected for written composition, the MS chart would be appropriate for the analysis; if attention was on words as they are pronounced, as would be expected for oral composition, the MC chart would be appropriate. If the "correct chart" shows a plot which is well fitted by a straight line, then there is no change in style evident. By determining which is the better chart for a set of verbs (either by inspection or via statistical tests), one can determine the origins, written or oral, of a piece of text. And by discerning when the slope of the best-fitting line segment changes, one can subdivide texts into units.

In a series of papers, Bee applies these ideas to determine which of a pair of parallel texts is the earlier, to assess the unity of various passages, to determine the pedigree of various Documentary Sources (Bee 1971; 1972; 1973; 1979).

All this is undoubtedly clever, but it is open to devastating criticism. M. P. Weitzman (1981) has presented a quite detailed analysis of Bee's method. His criticisms are that: (1) the tests impute to language an untenable randomness; (2) the definition of "verb" is not straightforward; (3) changes in verb frequency may have causes other than changes in authorship (which Bee has always admitted); (4) the placement of *maqqeph* is quite variable, making its use unreliable; (5) the "work on Deuteronomy displays that selectivity and manipulation which breeds distrust of statistics;" (6) "the test for composite origin is hopelessly over-sensitive;" (7) "the test for oral or written composition is also over-sensitive." Bee (1983) responds to Weitzman's criticisms, successfully refuting the first, but the rest must stand. (Bee has also proposed a prophetic-text dating formula. Consult Becking's critique [1980] with Bee's response [1980], which provide entry to a series of papers.)

3. The Documentary Hypothesis. a. Chenique (1967). The bulk of Chenique's unpublished thesis deals with the issues addressed as he and G. E. Weil prepared Hebrew texts for computer analysis. One chapter (III, forty-four pages) gives sketchy results of analyses of the first eleven chapters of Genesis. He subdivides the chosen chapters three ways: (1) CREATION (1:1-6:8, 146 verses) versus DELUGE (6:9–11:32, 153 verses) versus TOUT; (2) YAHVISTE (J, 147 verses) versus ELOHISTE (P, 152 verses), as defined by the Jerusalem Bible; (3) Genesis chapter 1 (31 verses) versus 3 (24 verses) versus 9:1–17. The first two subdivisions involve ample text samples.

As relevant text characteristics, he investigates grapheme frequencies, word length (in "letters"), text entropy, and word rank-frequency relations. There is no attempt to assess the author-specifying power of these text characteristics. (The work of Pierre Guiraud is, however, cited.)

The statistical tests used are quite simple, consisting of checks for overlapping of confidence intervals and tests for significance of differences in means (t-tests). These sorts of tests were earlier used by Morton and later by Radday and associates. (They have since been repudiated

by Weil as inappropriate.) Unfortunately, Chenique looks for significant differences via *marginal analyses*. That is, he studies the behavior of his attributes for each sort of subdivision separately (CREATION versus DELUGE, YAHVISTE versus ELOHISTE, Chapter 1 versus Chapter 3, and so on). This strategy can be quite misleading when there are interactions among the sets of variables treated separately.

Having found significant differences between the YAHVISTE and ELOHISTE as regards grapheme frequencies, Chenique states that their explication is not for statistics but for exegesis to determine (1967: III.5). On finding the information content (in terms of letter entropy) to be greater in DELUGE, YAHVISTE, and Chapter 3 than in CREATION and ELOHISTE, he remarks that the hypothesis of two or more "languages" is not proven thereby, but is retained for verification later (1967: III.9). (He does assert that entropies are characteristic of an author [1967: III.9].) Using the ratio of vocabulary items (V) to total words (N), he finds the vocabulary of the YAHVISTE to be richer than that of the ELOHISTE (1967: III.13).

S. Talmon characterizes Chenique's conclusions thus (Talmon 1985: 227): "François Chenique . . . submits that an analysis carried out with a *calculateur électronique* underpins the Documentary Hypothesis respective to Genesis ch. 1–11." This claims neither too much nor too little.

b. Weil (1974). Weil and co-workers have studied the Pentateuch in some detail. In their early work (1974: 30), they analyze the chapters of the Pentateuch using *grapheme counts*. They discover four clusters, which Weil finds related to the types of wording they embody: (1) declarative promulgation of law, (2) imperative promulgation of law, (3) general narrative, and (4) reports of censuses, trips, and battles. Weil outlines two clusters, the Pentateuchal books forming a banana-shaped cluster almost touching the pear-shaped cluster of the Prophets. The chapters of Exodus cluster in terms of their themes. Weil remarks that analyses have been carried out based on grapheme sequences, counts of frequent words, and "rare linguistic facts." Neither details nor results are given.

He also introduces an interesting method of studying discourse type. He examines the behavior of $\frac{NV - NP}{NM}$, where *NV* is the count of verbs in a text, *NP* is the count of particles, and *NM* is the count of words ("mots"). When this index is positive, one is dealing with poetry; when it is negative, one is dealing with prose.

In other work, Weil (1981a) analyzes the clustering of the chapters of the Pentateuch and examines the distribution of parts of speech across the Pentateuch and the three Major Prophets.

c. Radday et al. (1982). First in a journal article (Radday et al. 1982) and then in a monograph (Radday and Shore 1985), Radday and his colleagues have taken up the Documentary Hypothesis for Genesis. Because of serious implications for this study, we first take up several issues from A. 3 above.

Data Soundness: Each word of Genesis from the Letteris text of 1852 is labeled with its grammatical specifics, its length in phonemes, its affixes, which Documentary Source it is from (J, E, or P), its citation, and whether it is human direct speech (H) or divine direct speech (D) or narration (N).

It is with the choice of version of the Documentary Hypothesis that one must take strenuous issue. Radday assures us that should strong results emerge from his sources, one might expect quite similar results using assignments "in a somewhat modified form" (1985: 19). Using the Andersen-Forbes text of Genesis, we find the differences between Radday's and Eissfeldt's assignments (from his *Hexateuchsynopsis*) shown in Table 13. The rows are Radday's assignments, and the columns are Eissfeldt's. Thus, Radday assigns 9,100 words to J of which Eissfeldt assigns 7,247 to J, 1,459 to E, and 394 to P. And so on. (We have compounded neither numerals nor toponyms. We have removed 573 words formatted as poetry in BHS.)

Overall, thirty percent of Radday's assignments differ from Eissfeldt's. (For J, 20%; for E, 53%; for P, 13%.) Crucially, Radday's analysis does not confront a Documentary Hypothesis most would recognize.

In a commendable move to allow others more fully to assess their work, Radday and co-workers (1985: 237–52) have published the data upon which their book rests. We have spot-checked two of their text samples, Sample #1, and Sample #29. (These were picked because they are the first narrative samples of P and of J [1985: 25].)

Study of Sample #29 (1985: 241) discloses one sort of difficulty. Its smallest entry is .485 percent, which we take to correspond to a count of one divided by the sample size, yielding a sample size of 206 words. According to Table 1.3 (1985: 25), the material beings at Gen 2:5 and runs through Gen 2:19; according to Table 1.1 (1985: 20), the material begins at Gen 2:4. The stretch from Gen 2:4 through Gen 2:19 is 211 words long. Deleting Gen 2:4 reduces the sample to 206 words. (Not only has Gen 1:2–2:3 been dropped on the mistaken grounds that it is poetry, but Gen 2:4 has been dropped inadvertently.) As a check, we count the number of definite articles and the number of potential carriers of the article. The ratio of these two is Radday's criterion #18. We obtain $\frac{42}{65} = .64615$, which is exactly what Radday has. But there is a lapse involved in the definition of Sample #29. It is the first of the J narrative samples (NJ). In fact, there are twenty-seven words of divine speech (DJ) embedded in the sample, eighteen words in Gen 2:17 and nine words in Gen 2:18. Thus, the sample is not pure J narrative. This raises concerns about the labeling of the data in general.

Examination of Sample #1 raises other concerns. Radday analyzes in terms of fifty-four "criteria" computed for

Table 13.
Radday versus Eissfeldt Document Assignments

	Eissfeldt			
Radday	J	E	P	Total
J	7247	1459	394	9100
E	3283	3221	282	6786
P	517	21	3551	4089
Total	11047	4701	4227	19975

each text sample (of around 200 words). Criteria #1–#10 give the relative frequencies, in the given text sample, of words having two, three, . . . , ten, and greater than ten phonemes. Thus, adding a sample's table entries for the first ten criteria together should yield 100%, as it does. (Note that these ten criteria are not independent, since knowledge of any nine allows determination of the tenth.)

Radday divides his vocabulary into five families (noun [N], finite verb [F], nonfinite verb [V], preposition or pronoun [P], and "coordinating conjunctions, adverbs and the rest" [C]). The lumping together of prepositions and pronouns is passing strange, as is the "ragbag" nature of the C class. He uses "L" for proper names, "in most counts added to N." Adding a symbol for the stop at the end of a verse (S), he reckons the relative frequencies of the thirty-five transitions theoretically possible among these six categories. Criteria #20–#25 describe noun-to-something transitions (N → ?); #26–#31, finite verb-to-something transitions (F → ?); #32–#37, nonfinite verb-to-something transitions (V → ?); #38–#43, preposition or pronoun-to-something transitions (P → ?); #44–#49, chaff-to-something transitions (C → ?); and #50–#54, stop-to-something transitions (S → ?).

Study of the transition data leads to several unsettling observations. (1) In the summary table of the criteria set (1985: 30), Radday has "subordinative conjunctions" in all the places we expect the residue class (C). This is probably a typographical error, "coordinating conjunction" (C) having been intended. In any event, there is a problem. We know from the entry for criterion #17, and have verified directly, that there is one subordinative conjunction in the sample, followed by a finite verb. But, for Sample #1, the table gives criterion #45, C → F transition, as .0000.

(2) A grammatical classification which includes a category for "the rest" is exhaustive. Thus, if one sums over criteria #20–#54, one should get a sum of 100%. One does not. For example, these criteria sum to 77.05% for Sample #1. Some transitions have been left out. Which are they, and why are they missing?

(3) Radday (1985: 29) informs us that of the fifty-four criteria, "nos. 24, 30, 36, 42–49, and 54, altogether eleven, are not realized at all in Genesis." In point of fact, there are many non-zero entries for criterion #43. The remaining ten criteria are precisely just those involving the residual class of words (C). This means that the class consisting of "coordinating conjunctions, adverbs and the rest" (C) is *empty* in Genesis. This can not be. What has gone amiss and at what stage of the analysis?

Sample Size: A sample size of 200 words per sample is adopted from the outset (1985: 23). Later, a reason for using 200-word samples is given (1985: 60–61), but this sample size results from the unexplained decision "setting the criterion that no fewer than three samples be available for any of the nine cells" in the table of the combinations of document and type of discourse (1985: 62). In fact, *two* cells, not one as Radday states, have too few words to allow three 200-word samples. Note that many of the criterion values for a sample will be determined by sampling considerably fewer than 200 words. For example, the definite-article criterion (#18) is the fraction of words having the article relative to all those that in theory could. Over the entire book of Genesis, about 20 percent of the words are potential carriers of the definite article. Thus, on average, the incidence figures for the definite article are based on about forty words per sample, quite a limited number. Recall the spurious effects 500 word samples produced in the study by Adams and Rencher.

To summarize, the use of an atypical version of the Documentary Hypothesis, an evidently mislabeled data set, criteria incorrectly said to equal zero, and the use of too-small samples all make us very wary of the results obtained by Radday and co-workers. These major limitations by no means exhaust the list of problems one encounters in the Genesis study.

Were there sufficient space, one might discuss other problems involving: an ignoring of the possibility of outrageous events (1985: 13); a more-the-merrier attitude regarding additional criteria (1985: 27); an ignoring of the possibility that criteria may be *supra-stylistic* (1985: 28); a use of myriad, very similar methods as though the weight of evidence resulting therefrom was piling ever higher; modification of methods because of "disappointing results," without showing the nature of the disappointment for the reader to judge (1985: 97); use of dendrograms with rampant chaining (1985: 135); use of two-dimensional displays for multidimensional scaling results on the grounds that higher dimensions are more difficult to interpret (1985: 146); introduction of elaborate, ill-motivated measures of vocabulary richness and concentration (1985: 191–214); typo-riddled presentation of the Sichel distribution (1985: 259–60); and *most serious of all,* repeated reliance on potentially very misleading marginal analyses (1985: *passim*). See also the critiques by Portnoy and Petersen (1984a, 1984b) and Weitzman (1986a).

Demonstrated Power of Methods: In the monograph, there are several references to previous work as having demonstrated the validity of various approaches (1985: 13, 27–29, 45). The references are to the previously discussed monograph on Isaiah (Radday 1973), to an extended paper on Zechariah (Radday and Wickmann 1975), and to a treatment of Judges (Radday, Leb, Wickmann, and Talmon 1977). Space limitations prevent exposition of the work on Zechariah and Judges. The methods are essentially the same as those used in the Isaiah study. And, as with that study, one must question both the measures used and the conclusions based on their apparent behavior.

Safeguards in Use of Methods: Our spot-check of two of the data samples brought out problems suggesting that adequate safeguards were not used. (We note Radday's comment regarding the discovery of major error in his initial analyses of Genesis [1985: 31].)

Conclusions Drawn from the Statistical Results: The attitude of Radday and his co-workers regarding inferences drawn from their criteria sets has fluctuated considerably. In his earliest work, Radday was confident his criteria were author-specific (Radday 1970: 320; 1973: *passim*) and inferred multiple authors (Radday 1970: 324; 1973: 274). The work on Zechariah was more cautious. The possible confounding effects of changes in genre, subject matter, and author's age were admitted, and the detection of caesura was announced with multiple authorship only implied (Radday and Wickmann 1975: 42, 47, 54). In a study of the use of the definite article, some variations in rates of use were attributed to changes "in subject matter

and/or literary type" while other variations were attributed to differing authors (Radday and Shore 1977: 25, 26). In the work on Judges, the introduction of criteria as author-specific was justified by phrases such as "one feels inclined to believe that . . ." and ". . . may be assumed to characterize him although the matter has so far been insufficiently examined" (Radday, Leb, Wickmann, and Talmon 1977: 478). The outcomes of the statistical tests were, however, viewed as author-specific (Radday, Leb, Wickmann, and Talmon 1977: 492; also Radday and Shore 1977).

In an interesting study of the Five Scrolls, differences in vocabulary concentration (the fraction of the text accounted for by the fifty most frequent words) were seen as due to differing authors or differing stages in one author's career (Radday and Pollatschek 1978). A vocabulary concentration study of Postexilic Prophets (Radday and Pollatschek 1980) was badly marred by inadequate exposition of method. A survey which introduced a new pair of measures of vocabulary characteristics concluded with a brief treatment of richness and concentration in Genesis. A plot of richness versus concentration was produced which induced marvel in the researchers (Pollatschek and Radday 1981: 222 and figure 6). Note the quite different plot, based on the same material, in Radday, Shore, Pollatschek, and Wickmann (1982: 477).

In the Genesis research, all results showing nonhomogeneity between documents are explained away. We shall let one extended quote make the point (1985: 182–83).

> Let us concern ourselves with the just mentioned distinctness between NJ [narrative J] and NE [narrative E]. Too much weight need not be accorded to it . . . NE takes over when NJ fades out and precisely where a break occurs in the treatment of the central figures . . . Little wonder, then, that NJ is not uniform with NE, and there is no reason why the two should be ascribed to two different hands. To every intent, therefore, J and E seem to be one. Carrying this reasoning further, one may add that it explains also the seemingly singular language behavior of P . . . The unique character of P must be due to the lack of balance in subject matter between what Documentarians ascribe to the Priestly Writer and what they credit to the Yahwist or the Elohist.

One can easily envision some other researcher not making the foregoing arguments and concluding that the texts under study are from multiple hands. Here we see starkly the extreme flexibility which discredits most authorship studies. Even when the statistical work is done with great rigor (which rarely is the case), the final inferences too often involve blatant arbitrariness.

Rosenhouse (1986) has written a minimally critical summary of this work. Parunak (1987) finds commendable the team approach, the use of multiple methods in assessing the data, and the inclusion of the data upon which the results rest. He laments the sketchiness of the statistical exposition, the over reliance on the independence assumption, the nonuse of the most sensitive methods of data exploration, and the underuse of graphical displays. Weitzman (1986a) briefly summarizes the work, homing in on many of its basic imperfections. His ultimate judgment is that "[Radday's and Shore's] concluding claim of 'massive evidence that Genesis is a unity' (p. 190) is a massive *non-sequitur*."

d. Others (1977–1986). For completeness, we include, with minimal comment, notice of other work dealing with the Documentary Hypothesis. (1) Deist (1977) concludes that Eissfeldt's L-source and J-source are not dissimilar by examining the differences in frequencies of occurrence of various syntactic characteristics. (Inferential statistics are used in a loose way.) (2) Houk (1983) studies word-length distributions (in terms of syllables) in Genesis 12–23. Analyzing J, E, and P "significant difference between the three kinds of material is found" (1983: 192). When the halves of J, of E, and of P are compared (intra-document homogeneity), "the disunity evidenced goes against any large scale unity of composition" (1983: 193). (The implications of significant intra-document nonhomogeneity for judging inter-document nonhomogeneity are not addressed.) For a study along similar lines of Ezekiel 1:1–3:11, in which multiple authorship is concluded, see Houk 1981. (3) Andersen and Forbes (1987) present tables of counts (sans statistical analysis) for the Pentateuch using forty different *genres* and Eissfeldt's eleven sources. (Interpretive comments are sparse and very cautious.)

4. Other Investigations of Style/Use. Hoftijzer (1981) investigates the incidence of *H-locale* (the suffix *-h* on a substantive indicating motion toward a place) relative to places it might appear and examines the significance of differing rates of use via confidence-interval overlap. (Parunak [1983] has written a helpful review of this work.) Parunak (1981) uses clustering methods and tests for cluster significance in creative ways to produce what he terms "pictorial concordances." His plots allow one to *see* clumps of vocabulary in texts. By examining his "density plots" for intersections, new hypotheses might well be generated. Forbes (1987) studies a measure of syntactic organization (part-of-speech entropy) across the Hebrew Bible, seeking simple models of text organization and differentiating texts by the conditioning of later upon earlier syntactic units.

5. Spelling in the Hebrew Bible: Andersen and Forbes (1986a). Andersen and Forbes (1986a; henceforth A-F) investigate whether sufficient orthographic individuality, regarding the use of *defective* and *plene* spelling, has survived repeated copyings to allow portions of the received text to be grouped in terms of spelling patterns.

The data preparation required to execute the study is substantial. First, based on what is known about the development of Hebrew spelling, certain vowels are marked as historically fixed (1986a: 126–49). For example, since all but six of the 55,439 word-terminal vowels in the Hebrew Bible are written *plene* (1986a: 111), the class of word-terminal vowels is judged historically fixed. Since such vowels bear no discriminatory information, they are dropped from further consideration. There are other vowels in particular lexemes which might be spelled *defective* or *plene*, but which are always or almost always spelled in one way. These, too, are dropped as being empty for purposes of discriminating portions of texts. If one can assert, with 95 percent confidence, that the deviant spelling for a lexeme would occur in less than 1 percent of a lexeme's appearances in an enormous text, the associated vowel is declared fixed in its spelling on statistical grounds

(1986a: 151–54). For example, *kōl* ("all") is spelled defective 852 times and spelled *plene* once. It is considered of fixed spelling.

After fixed vowels are eliminated, the *ketib* text contains 108,943 vowels which were opportunities for spelling choice at some point in the development of Hebrew spelling. Since the vowels developed along individual lines, A-F next define sixty-five vowel types and label each opportunity as to its type (1986a: 162–204). Some vowel types refer to classes of words ("Type 1. Suffix -ī- on finite verb"), while others are specific to a single lexeme ("Type 33. *Nota accusativi* *ʾōt*"). As there is evidence that some spellings might be conditioned by "stress level," each spelling-choice opportunity is labeled as to stress ("low," "middle," "high").

Having specified sixty-five vowel types, three levels of stress, and two choices for spelling, the text is next divided into portions. Here, the problem of sample size is encountered (1986a: 205–13). For a complete analysis (in terms of all four variables), statistical requirements dictate that no more than seventy-six portions be used. The text of the Hebrew Bible is divided accordingly, keeping the samples of roughly equal size where possible and making divisions in terms of scholarly interest (Proto-, Deutero-, Trito-Isaiah) or subject matter (Joseph Cycle as a single portion). When analysis involves a single type (as when one asks if spelling choice and portion are associated for a given vowel type), fewer portions may be allowed due to the paucity of vowel opportunities making up the type.

Statistical analyses can lead to very misleading results if important variables are left out of account. Therefore, the final preparatory step is to examine the behavior of spelling in terms of a trio of possible "confounding variables": proximity, local frequency, and stress. The interval between instances of a lexeme has almost no effect on spelling choice (1986a: 214–7). Thus, proximity is not a confounding variable. Spelling choices made when an item occurs frequently in a portion do not differ radically from choices made when it occurs infrequently. Thus, local frequency effects appear unimportant (1986a: 221-30). Stress, however, does exert an influence on spelling choice for certain vowel types. The overall effects of stress, however, are quite puzzling. The spelling of vowels under "high" stress is not more frequently *plene* than that of vowels under "middle" or "low" stress (1986a: 230–39). Ways of accounting for stress effects without treating the stress category as *ordered* are therefore used.

The data having been winnowed, labeled, and examined for confounding influences, the main analysis proceeds in two stages: (1) determination for each type as to whether it shows interaction between choices of spelling and text portion, and (2) clustering of the text portions into affinity groups exhibiting similar spelling practices.

Demonstrating that spelling patterns have survived transmission involves: (1) assessing how best to handle stress for a given vowel type, (2) analyzing the spelling behavior across portions (looking for anomalies and deciding if these result from the dominating effects of a few lexemes or reflect pervasive association of spelling choice and portion), and (3) displaying evidence that the patterns of spelling choice do indeed depend on portion (1986a: 240–87). One finds that some vowel types show spurious spelling choice-portion association (due to extremely localized aberrant spelling practice) and others show no association. But the majority of vowel types, especially those for vowel /ō/, manifest an association between spelling choice and portion. This is the first major result of our analysis.

Having demonstrated that useful spelling-choice information remains in our texts, the final task is to cluster the text portions into groups exhibiting similar practices. A helpful way of visualizing the similarities in the spelling patterns of the text portions is to compute measures of their distances apart and use these to form *dendrograms*. Figure STA.03 shows one such dendrogram. It may be viewed as a tree laid on its side, its branches pointing to the left, its root to the right. Its leaves are text portions. Its branches link similar text portions or groups of portions. Leaves joined by branches "high" (leftward) in the tree are very similar. Branches which join "low" in the tree link relatively dissimilar clusters. Thus, in Figure STA.03 we see that the two most similar text portions are Exodus 25–31 and Exodus 32–40, since branches join these leaves at the highest (left-most) level of the tree. Joshua 1–12 is the single most disparate portion in that it is the last leaf to join the tree.

Such a dendrogram contains details which make immediate sense, as when portions of the same book turn out to be similar. Other joins are surprising and invite closer scrutiny. For example, the portions of Isaiah are closer to portions of other books than they are to one another.

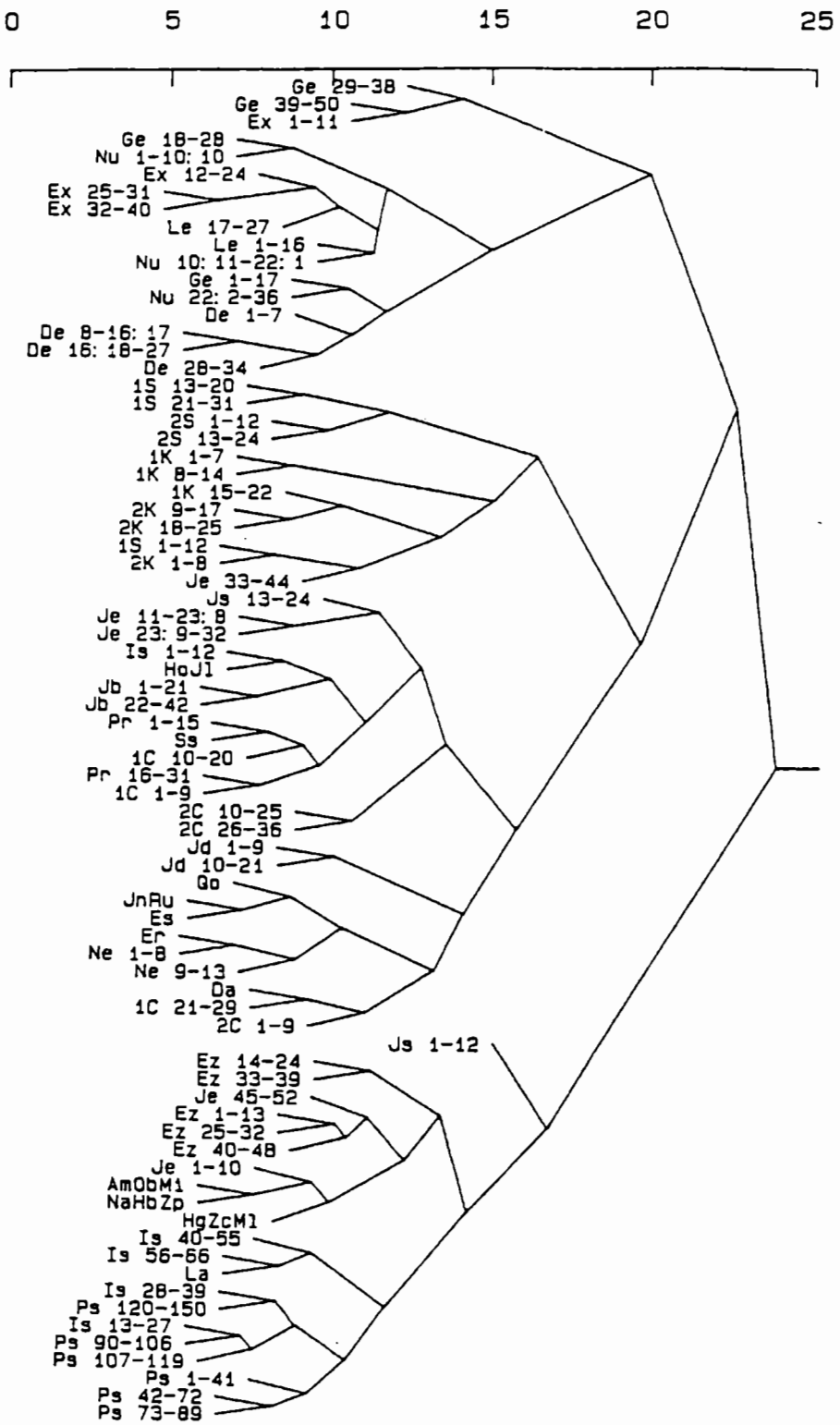
The spelling practice in the Pentateuch sets it quite apart from the rest of the Hebrew Bible (1986a: 288–308). The Pentateuch prefers old-fashioned spellings in many cases. This is the second major result of our analysis.

There could be several explanations for this. Perhaps the manuscripts of this part of the Bible came from a different community, one with different spelling practices, than the source of the rest. Perhaps it enjoyed greater veneration and so resisted modernization. Perhaps it is older than the rest. More study is needed.

As to the soundness of the machine-readable text used, the A-F text has been checked repeatedly and via multiple approaches over the fifteen years during which it has been created. Its consonantal text has been collated against that of Weil. The grammatical assignments have also been thoroughly checked. In general, the various word and category counts for the text are in agreement with Weil's published counts (1981b).

Sample sizes have been determined in accordance with conservative statistical practice, and analyses have been carried out with a range of sample sizes so as to allow assessment of the robustness of results.

The inferential methods used to show that the spelling in the texts has not suffered total randomization due to copying errors are applicable under very general conditions (1986a: 123). The descriptive methods of clustering are well understood, and their results have been verified via geometrical methods (classical multidimensional scaling [1986a: 330]). The major limitation of clustering methods, their forming of clusters no matter what data are supplied them, has been controlled for by clustering with related data sets and by computing measures indicating cluster reliability (1986a: 300–8). In addition, other distance measures and methods have been used, leading to



STA.03. Dendogram of spelling practice for sixty-six text portions of the OT.

quite similar results (Andersen and Forbes 1986b; Freedman, Forbes, and Andersen 1991).

The accuracy of the results has been safeguarded by carrying out the data preparation using standard computer utilities, by performing cross-checks and counts to verify data integrity at each stage, and by using a standard statistical package for the analysis (Andersen and Forbes 1989).

Known shortcomings have been described in the Epilog (1986a: 329–31), and steps have been taken to address them (Freedman, Forbes, and Andersen 1991). As to the conclusions drawn from the results of the statistical analyses (1986a: 309–28), others must be the final judges.

Several reviews of the work have been published. Campbell (1986) sketches the goals and methods of the work and presents a few of the results. He concludes: "Despite their attempts to keep it intelligible, this is not a book for the faint-hearted; but it is an important book which must be given careful study." M. S. Smith (1987), in summarizing the work, finds areas he feels need more attention: the details of spelling practice in the inscriptions, the respective roles of scribal choices (if any) and copyist alterations, the effects of text apportioning on results. He hopes "that further study will touch more directly on the questions of textual origins, transmission, etc . . ." Barr (1988) severely criticizes the work for so imposing the orthographic theories and categories of Cross and Freedman upon the data as to nullify "the value of the computer as a means to objectivity." He remarks that Andersen and Forbes give the impression "that they have no idea at all that other possibilities exist." For Barr, spelling "depends, in large measure, not on the time when the passage was written but on the textual history of the book in which it is found." Contrary to Barr's claim, Andersen and Forbes are well aware of this hypothesis and consider it extensively (Andersen and Forbes 1986a; 102–4, 115–16, 124–25, 241–46, 289). Repeatedly, Barr asks why certain information is missing. Much of it is present, as the indexes reveal. Barr unfortunately misunderstands the book, largely because he addresses the problem of the statistical analyses by "leaving aside the mathematical material" (ignoring two-fifths of the book). Hamilton (1988) states that Andersen and Forbes "succeed admirably in accomplishing each of [their] major goals . . . Their results are often startlingly fresh, even if their statistical methods sometimes may be incomprehensible to a general reader." He is frustrated by the lack of extensive examples of each vowel type, the lack making him "suspicious of the degree to which [he] can rely on [the] final statistics." He concludes: "The statistical denseness and opaqueness of *Spelling in the Hebrew Bible* may hamper it from taking its deserved place as the standard reference work on this complex and difficult subject." Pardee (1988) has two main criticisms of Andersen and Forbes: (1) They limit the term spelling to *matres lectionis*, only minimally developing a "clear-cut model of the cultural conditions that created the conventions for the use of m. l." (2) They fail "to take seriously the diversity of orthography in the late preexilic Hebrew inscriptions." Pardee concludes: "We are heavily in their debt . . . for the reliable presentation of data and statistical analysis that they have provided."

E. Concluding Remarks

By now, a pattern has emerged. With distressing regularity we have seen: (1) a lack of sensitivity to the subtleties of sample-size specification, (2) a misconstruing of previous investigations as providing justification for one's current work when they do not, (3) a cavalier attitude regarding the necessity of safeguards against data-processing mishaps, and (4) a careless pedagogy wherein basic concepts are not explained or are explained sloppily. Most distressingly, we have repeatedly seen investigations embarked upon with sweeping claims of assent-demanding objectivity only to witness their ultimate invalidation through special pleading and selective attention to results. One need not be a statistician to detect when an outcome has hinged on researcher/thaumaturge and audience blinking at critical moments.

A harsh indictment, one too often true of statistical analyses. For example, statistical errors have been found in around half of the papers published in a representative set of North American medical journals (Glantz 1981: 6–9). Referring to the general statistical literature, Mallows and Tukey (1982: 163) ask why arguments based on statistics so often fail to convince. They reply that: (1) procedures are often inadequately explained, (2) conclusions are often suspect because the assumptions underlying methods are not clearly met by the data, and (3) the relevance of the data to the questions asked often has not been demonstrated. The shortcomings of statistical biblical research are typical of statistical analyses in general.

The solution is *not* to forswear statistics but rather for its users to explain their work clearly, to make explicit the *assumptions* upon which their analyses rest, and to give up the pretense that conclusions based on statistics are without presuppositions. Many areas of biblical studies can profit greatly from the careful application of statistical methods.

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A. DEAN FORBES

STELES OF SETH. See SETH, THREE STELES OF (NHC VII,5).

STEPHANAS (PERSON) [Gk *Stephanas*]. A Christian from Corinth whose household Paul identifies as "the first converts in Achaia" (1 Cor 16:15). Stephanas (whose name means "crown") was the head of a household in Corinth important enough for Paul to mention twice in 1 Corinthians (1:16; 16:15–17). Along with Fortunatus and Achaicus, Stephanas was part of the delegation from Corinth that visited Paul in Ephesus (16: 15–17).

Stephanas' household were among the very few baptized by Paul in Corinth (1:16). According to Paul they were in fact the "first fruits" *(aparchē)*, understood as the first converts, of that region (16:15). However, Acts 17:34 offers a conflicting account, implying that Paul's conversion of the Athenians (thus also Achaians) Dionysius, Damaris, and others, took place before Paul ever got to Corinth. Ramsay explains the discrepancy by saying that Stephanas' household were the "first fruits" of a church or community established by Paul in that region (1920: 385). Others suggest that Paul meant "first fruits" of Corinth.

Those who belonged to Stephanas' household (*oikos* in 1:16; *oikia* in 16:15) are not further identified. Such a household may have included male and female family members, freedmen and women, and/or slaves. Due to their leadership role mentioned in 16:15–16, those referred to by Paul would be adults, whether male or female. This, however, does not preclude the presence of children. It is sometimes suggested that Fortunatus and Achaicus, named immediately after Stephanas, were part of that household. Though possible, this is uncertain because household members would probably not be singled out by name apart from the global designation and because the delegates sent by the Corinthians would undoubtedly be from more than one household to provide a broader representation of the community.

Stephanas and other members from his household "appointed (see Fee *1 Corinthians* NICNT, 829, n. 21; RSV has "devoted") themselves to the service *(diakonia)* of the saints" (1:15). Though appointed neither by Paul nor by the local community, their service rendered is reason for Paul to commend them as worthy of exercising leadership in Corinth (1:16). The service offered, not further specified, was likely expressed as: (1) being ministers of the gospel by teaching and preaching (Fee ibid., 830), and/or (2) being patrons or benefactors of the community, for example, by providing hospitality in the home (Meeks 1983: 58). Probably not intended is activity relating to the collection for the poor in Jerusalem (designated by similar phrases in 2 Cor 8:4; 9:1, 12–13) since nothing in the context suggests this. Because of their role as benefactors, Meeks suggests that Stephanas was fairly well-off, though probably not as high in socioeconomic status as Gaius or Crispus (see 1 Cor 1:14; Acts 18:8; Rom 16:23).

That Paul gave his full support to the leadership position of Stephanas' household in the community suggests that they remained loyal to Paul amidst the divisive partisanship (1:12), and hence they are probably to be included among "Paul's people" in the community (cf. 1:12). Upon the arrival of Stephanas along with Fortunatus and Achaicus, Paul rejoiced, for they made up for the "lack of you" *(humeteron husterēma)* which Paul keenly felt (16:17). Was this "lack" the physical absence of the community sensed by Paul (so most commentators) or an obligation felt by the Corinthians to labor along with Paul in missionary activity (Ollrog 1979: 97–98)? The text does not clarify the matter. Paul also remarks that their presence refreshed his spirit (16:18), apparently because they relieved some of his worries about the local church in Corinth.

It is not clear what Stephanas' leadership status was among the Corinthians. Did he have the full support of the Corinthians, or was his role challenged by some (cf. 1:16)? Did some at Corinth doubt the wisdom of asking Paul for advice, and oppose sending a delegation (cf. 1:12)? Was Stephanas sent because his household was Paul's "first fruits," and hence had a special relationship with the community's founding apostle? Did Stephanas and company bring a letter to Paul with some disturbing reports about community life (see 7:1; cf. 7:25; 8:1; 12:1)? Was Stephanas one of those who persuaded the church to send the letter? If he did bring the letter with its troubling news, Paul was nonetheless refreshed in spirit at the arrival of Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaias. Finally, were Stephanas and his companions the messengers who took 1 Corinthians back to the community? This is likely, since Paul exhorts the church to recognize these individuals (16:18), implying their return and perhaps their position as interpreters of the letter.

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JOHN GILLMAN

STEPHEN (PERSON) [Gk *Stephanos*]. One of the seven chosen by the Twelve to serve tables; he was the first Christian martyr (Acts 6-7). At the time that complaints were formulated by the Hellenists against the Hebrews, about the way in which their widows were treated when they were being assisted by the Christian community, Stephen and six other Hellenists were chosen to handle service of the tables and thereby free up the apostles, who could then give themselves over to service of the Word (Acts 6:1–7). Later on, some Jews of the "Synagogue of Freedmen," unable to reply to the arguments that Stephen expounded against them, bribed several people to speak calumnies against him before the people (6:8–11). He was haled before the Sanhedrin where new accusations were pronounced against him (6:12–15), and this gave him the occasion to proclaim a lengthy discourse of self-justification (7:1–56). Once enraged, the members of the Sanhedrin dragged him out of the city and stoned him (7:57–60), after which he was solemnly buried (8:2).

A. The Hellenists
B. A Popular Riot
C. The Appearance before the Sanhedrin
D. A Programatic Discourse
E. Stoning
F. Stephen and Paul

A. The Hellenists

These narratives in Acts present commentators with serious difficulties. First of all, who were these Hellenists to whom Stephen certainly belonged and which Acts 6:1 sets over against the Hebrews? According to some commentators, the Hellenists and Hebrews—most certainly Christians—can be distinguished by the fact that the former would have come from among the gentiles while the latter would have been converts from Judaism. In this view,

Stephen would be of gentile origin. But it seems preferable to make a different kind of distinction between these two groups (Hengel 1975; Pesch 1979). In actual fact, the Hellenists who wanted to kill Paul in Acts 9:29 were certainly Jews, as were the Hellenists mentioned in Acts 11:20. The distinction between Hellenists and Hebrews, then, was one that already existed in Judaism: the Hellenists would have been hellenized Jews, that is, ones who had adopted the language and a certain number of the customs of the Greeks; the Hebrews, on the contrary, would have been Jews who had preserved the purity of their hebraic culture. This distinction was kept up in early Christianity: the Hellenists were Christians who had come from Jewish milieux that had been hellenized to a greater or lesser degree, while the Hebrews derived from Jewish milieux which had kept the purity of their hebraic culture. But members of both groups were converts from Judaism. Stephen's name was Greek, derived from the word *stephanos*, "the crowned one"; like the other Hellenists, he had adopted, while still a Jew, the Greek language and a certain Greek life-style. See HELLENISM.

A second problem is posed by the account of the election of the Seven, among whom was to be found Stephen (6:1–7). According to this narrative, the Seven were chosen by the community to serve the tables and in this way permit the apostles to dedicate themselves to the ministry of the Word. Yet afterwards, this service of the tables completely disappears from the horizon of Acts; besides this, Stephen and Philip are shown to be given over to service of the Word just like the apostles: Stephen at Jerusalem (6:8–7:60) and Philip in Samaria (8:5–40). Indeed, Philip elsewhere in the early tradition retains the title of an "evangelist" (Acts 21:8). In light of this fact, a certain number of commentators think that the present narrative in Acts must be the reinterpretation of a primitive account bent on addressing a later situation of the Church. In the primitive account, the problem that would have set the Hellenists against the Hebrews would have been that of Christianity's openness to the pagan world. The Hellenists were favorably disposed towards this movement, almost by the very fact of their Greek upbringing, while the Hebrews were more or less openly opposed to it, basing themselves on one or another of the sayings of Jesus (Matt 10:5–6). For the Hellenists, this crisis would have been the occasion to establish a certain independence with respect to James and the Jerusalem church (Trocmé, 1957: 188–91). Stephen would thus have been one of the first defenders of openness on Christianity's part to the gentile world, the very position which Saul (Paul) would later on champion. With regard to the problem of service of the tables, an echo of which is still to be found in Luke 10:38–42, this issue likely did not arise until several decades later.

B. A Popular Riot

The circumstances surrounding the death of Stephen are likewise a problem. A number of commentators admit that the present narrative in Acts is not homogeneous. In their view, an ancient narrative, according to which Stephen would have been stoned during a popular riot, has been amplified by all those features which in the present account involve his appearance before the Sanhedrin, including Stephen's long discourse. One finds this hypothesis laid out, with important qualifications, in the commentaries elaborated, from one perspective, by P. Feine (1891), F. Spitta (1891), J. Jüngst (1895), F. J. Foakes-Jackson and K. Lake (1922), O. Bauernfeind (*Apostelgeschichte* THKNT), G. Stählin (*Apostelgeschichte* NTD); and, from another perspective, by B. Weiss (1889), H. H. Wendt (*Apostelgeschichte,* MeyerK) A. Harnack (1908), as well as in the treatments of H. W. Surkau (1938: 105–19), E. Trocmé (1957: 183–91) and J. Bihler. Though contested by the "western" tradition of the text of Acts: at 7:57, the Fleury palimpsest (h) and the Coptic codex G^{67} explicitly say that it was "the people" who rushed forward to Stephen to drag him out of the city and stone him. According to the ancient narrative, the circumstances of Stephen's death were as follows: Stephen had enjoyed a great deal of success in his preaching before the people, due in part to the signs and wonders which he had performed (6:8). Enraged that they were unable to counter his arguments in favor of Christianity, the Jews of the "Synagogue of Freedmen" bribed some people into accusing Stephen of having uttered blasphemous words against Moses and against God (6:9–11). At this news, the people turned on Stephen (6:57 Western Text), dragged him outside the city and stoned him (6:58). Stephen underwent the same fate as had, long before, the unfortunate Naboth, possessor of a vineyard coveted by King Ahab. At the instigation of Ahab's wife Jezebel, Naboth was falsely accused before the people of having cursed God and the king. The people then dragged him out of the city and stoned him (1 Kgs 21:11–13). The primitive account of the martyrdom of Stephen is literarily dependent on this narrative of the death of Naboth (Brodie 1983). Beyond the historical facts, its author wanted to signify that Stephen's adversaries were not worth any more than the wicked Jezebel, whose memory had been held in disgrace by all Jews.

C. The Appearance before the Sanhedrin

The primitive account was taken up and amplified, notably with the addition of Stephen's appearance before the Sanhedrin (6:12–15), during which he gave the lengthy address intended to defend himself of the accusations brought against him (7:1–56). It is not at all certain that all these additions were formulated in the same period or that they may be traced back to the same hand. Whatever the case, they were meant to meet two well-determined goals. First of all, they contributed to the establishing of a parallel between the death of Stephen and that of Jesus. Before being put to death, Jesus had appeared before the Sanhedrin and false witnesses had accused him of announcing the destruction of the Temple (Mark 14:55–58; cf. Acts 6:12–14). Secondly, in the presence of his judges Jesus had declared, "You will see the Son of man seated at the right hand of the Power" (Mark 14:62), while Stephen affirmed, "I see the heavens open and the Son of man standing at God's right hand" (Acts 7:56). In both cases, it is these very statements that seem to provoke the fury of the members of the Sanhedrin. Before dying Jesus had prayed God to pardon his executioners (Luke 23:34) as Stephen also would do (Acts 7:60); and, like Stephen later on (Acts 7:59), Jesus entrusted his spirit into God's hands (Luke 23:46). In this, Stephen followed faithfully in the footsteps of his Master (Mark 8:34).

D. A Programmatic Discourse

Above all else, the amplifications in the narrative also made it possible to have Stephen deliver a speech in the presence of the Sanhedrin that laid out some of the governing principles of the Hellenists, ones which, as we pointed out above, extolled Christian openness to the gentiles. This involved a double thematic, already hinted at in the accusations brought against the future martyr: "This man does not cease uttering words against this Holy Place and against the Law" (6:13). By the "Holy Place" one must understand the Jerusalem Temple, which was the center of Jewish religious life, the place of God's presence (1 Kgs 8:10–13). Stephen began by discreetly insinuating, based on notions from the Bible, that God does not dwell in only one place. At the beginning of the Exodus, the Hebrews went forth to worship God in a "place" that was located in the desert (Acts 7:7; cf. Exod 3:12). Similarly, Moses encountered God in the episode of the burning bush in a sacred "place" that was also situated in the desert (Acts 7:33; cf. Exod 3:5). Therefore, there is no unique "Holy Place"; God dwells everywhere (cf. Mal 1:11). Stephen ventured further still; relying on a citation from Isa 66:1–2, he asserted that God does not inhabit dwellings made by human hands (Acts 7:48–50). In this way, the Jerusalem temple was demythologized. Christians were no longer constrained to participate in the worship which took place in the Temple; they could, in this regard, part company with Judaism.

Stephen was also accused of having spoken against the law. He would again quote Scripture to justify his position. After having spoken at length of Moses and his liberating mission, he clearly alluded to that law which the prophet had received from God to transmit to his people (Acts 7:38; cf. Exodus 19). Just before this, however, he had cited the following saying of Moses retrieved from Deut 18:15, 18: "God will raise up from among your brethren a prophet like me" (Acts 7:37). Therefore, Moses, inspired by God, had himself foretold the sending by God of a new prophet who would take up anew and bring to completion his work by giving a new law. When Stephen proclaimed that Jesus was this "prophet like Moses" and the bearer of a new law destined to perfect and replace the Mosaic law, why was there such an outcry and a charge of blasphemy? Because also on this point Stephen's position marked a break between Christianity and Judaism: the Mosaic law was not absolute; it was destined to give way to the Christian law which had as its purpose the bringing of the Mosaic law to its highest degree of fulfilment (cf. Matt 5:17–48).

In the primitive account, the people bribed by the Jews of the "Synagogue of Freedmen" to calumniate Stephen had accused him of blasphemy against Moses and against God (6:11). In his speech, Stephen answered these accusations, but he did so in much blunter fashion. Instead of showing the well-founded nature of his positions toward the Jerusalem Temple and the Mosaic law, Stephen threw back at his accusers their very own charges against him, all along making references to the Bible. In recalling the episode of the golden calf narrated in Exod 32:1–35, he showed how the Hebrews rebelled a long time ago, and that this rebellion was directed both against Moses, through rejection of his authority, and against God, by the people giving themselves over to idolatrous worship (Acts 7:39–43). Why should the Jews attack Stephen by accusing him of blasphemy against Moses and God, his argument goes, since their own forebears had done worse and they themselves were no better than their fathers (Acts 7:51–53). This apologetic, one must recognize, is much less subtle than that used by Stephen when he justified his positions regarding the Temple and the Mosaic law. Perhaps it was not composed by the same hand as the first and belongs to a later redaction.

Whatever the case might be in this last regard, Stephen's speech before the Sanhedrin constituted a pivotal turning point in the development of Christianity. While the Hebrews—Christians who had come from purely Jewish milieux—would not think of separating themselves from the Judaism whose liturgical and legal customs they intended to preserve (Acts 15:1–5), the Hellenists averred that Christianity, in order to spread among the gentiles, had to break with Judaism by adopting a new liturgy not tied to the Jerusalem Temple and, equally, a new morality based on Christ's teaching. It was this intuition of the Hellenists that Stephen developed in his discourse to the Sanhedrin, in this way showing himself to be the precursor of Paul.

E. Stoning

The Acts narrative gives us no details of the manner in which Stephen was stoned (7:59–60). According to Jewish legislation, one dragged the condemned person outside the city to an elevated place where there was a drop-off spot twice the height of a human person. One of the accusatory witnesses then cast him down from this height in such a way that he would fall on his back. If the person died from this fall, the execution came to an end. But if he did not die from the fall, a second witness dropped a stone onto him, over the heart. If the individual survived these two successive attempts, all the onlookers then had to finish off the job with a volley of stones (cf. Deut 17:7). This is the manner of proceeding according to evidence provided in the Mishnah. Was this how it was done in Stephen's case? We can only conjecture that it was so.

The Acts of the Apostles do not give us any indication either about the place of the stoning. In locating the spot, we have nothing to go on but a tradition that we know about only by way of an occurrence that took place at the beginning of the 5th century, an episode that had powerful repercussions throughout the Church. A priest named Lucien, resident in Caphar Gamala 25 km (= 15 miles) NNW of Jerusalem, claimed to have had a vision on Friday, December 3, 415, in the course of which Gamaliel revealed to him that in his village was to be found a tomb containing the remains of himself (Gamaliel), of his son, Nicodemus, and, above all, those of Stephen, the first martyr. This vision would be repeated on the next two Fridays. Lucien notified the bishop of Jerusalem and an excavation of the grave was begun. Once recovered, the relics of Stephen, whose authenticity no one thought of denying, were transported to Jerusalem on December 26 and set to rest on Mount Sion. Under the guidance of Eudocia, wife of the Emperor Theodosius II and more or less an exile in Jerusalem, and of bishop Juvenal, a basilica was built to house the relics of the first martyr on the presumed site of his death. The building was dedicated on June 15, 460,

shortly before the death of Eudocia. Now the remains of this basilica, destroyed in 614 at the time of the Persian invasion, were brought to light when excavations were carried out between 1885 and 1893 by the Dominican Fathers, who had bought the land and on it built the modern-day French Biblical and Archaeological School (Ecole Biblique). This was situated several hundred meters (yards) to the north of the city's north gate, today's Damascus Gate. Thus did it come about that on this spot Christian tradition located the martyrdom of Stephen at the beginning of the 5th century. What is the value of this tradition? It is impossible to give an answer to this question.

F. Stephen and Paul

According to the author of Acts, Saul, who would later change his name to Paul (Acts 13:9), was present at Stephen's martyrdom and kept watch over the clothing of the accusatory witnesses who initiated the stoning. More to the point, he himself approved this capital punishment (Acts 7:58; 8:1; 22:20). When the author insists in this way on Paul's presence, might this not be to suggest that there is a link between Stephen's martyrdom and Paul's conversion (Acts 9)? He would then have been the first to make his own the idea that later on would be articulated by Tertullian: "The blood of martyrs is the seed of Christians." However, in this instance, the theme actually finds its fullest significance when one recalls that Stephen gave his life to defend the ideal of the Hellenists, according to which Christianity could not develop except by separating from Judaism and by putting distance between itself and the Mosaic law and the Jerusalem Temple. This is the principle which Paul, having become a Christian after he had persecuted the Church, would defend with tenacity (Galatians 1–2). We might say, then, that Stephen was the precursor of the apostle to the gentiles.

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M.-É. BOISMARD

Trans. TERRENCE PRENDERGAST

STIRRUP. See ZOOLOGY.

STOICS, STOICISM. Stoicism is a modern term referring to the philosophy of the Stoic school. This school took its name from the *stoa poikilē,* a decoratively painted colonnade in Athens, where Zeno began his philosophic lectures and discussions around 301/300 B.C. (for the name, see Hobein 1931: 40–47). The school he set up lasted until the second half of the 3d century A.D. Historians like to subdivide it into the periods of the old, middle (from Panaetius onwards), and late (imperial age) Stoa (Colish 1985: 7). This is a controversial division, which is not used as the basis for the following overview. Source material is only satisfactory for the Roman imperial period. All earlier Stoics are only documented by quotations and summaries provided by authors of a later period (details in Long 1974: 115–17).

A. Stoicism
  1. Logic
  2. Physics
  3. Ethics
B. Important Stoics
C. Relations with the NT

A. Stoicism

(Cf. esp. Pohlenz 1984 1.31–158; Colish 1985 1.7–60; Hossenfelder 1985: 45–94). The Stoics adopted the basic division of philosophy into logic, physics, and ethics. By comparing logic with the wall of a garden, physics with the trees, and ethics with the fruits (*SVF* 2. 38) they revealed that their real preoccupation was with ethics.

1. Logic. Of the individual areas of logic—theory of perception, dialectic, and rhetoric—only the first (the most important) will be treated here. The Stoic theory of perception is a sensual one. Things affect the human senses and thereby produce an "image" *(phantasia)* in the soul (which originally resembles an unwritten blackboard). This image is described as a physical "impression in the soul" *(typōsis en psychē)* (like the print of a wax seal) or more generally as "a change in the soul" *(heteroiōsis psychēs)* (*SVF* 2. 56). When the outward stimulation is removed, the images are nevertheless preserved as memories in the soul. Concepts *(ennoiai)* arise by abstracting from that which many memories have in common and by various logical operations, which are based on that (e.g. analogous conclusions) (*SVF* 2. 83, 87). According to the Stoic belief, one cannot achieve reliable knowledge of reality by means of the images alone. Only by means of *synkatathesis,* by the judgment of the *logos* (the human "reason") that an image actually is faithful to reality, can one come to a true perception *(katalēpsis)* or "grasp" of things (*SVF* 1. 59, 60; 2. 65, 97). This is possible because the world to be perceived is itself formed and woven by the universal *logos,* of which the human *logos* is a part, so that the subject and the object of the perception are intimately and ultimately related.

2. Physics. In the Stoic school of thought, being is that which is active or suffering. Since both are associated with physical touch, there can be only a bodily form of being. This materialism of the Stoics, however, introduces (without giving up the claim to a monistic view of the world) a distinction (based on Heraclitus and Aristotle) between *hylē* (matter) and *logos* (reason). "Matter" is the bodily, in so far as it suffers (i.e. is qualified and moved). The active principle which qualifies and moves the bodily is "reason" (*SVF* 1. 85; 2. 299–328). Since these two principles of being, *hyle*

and *logos*, can never be separated from one another, the *logos* is given a peculiar, special status: although it never exists other than bodily, it is not a material being.

Matter is fundamentally qualified by the *logos* as warm, cold, moist, or dry. Therefore the simplest bodies are the four elements (fire, air, water, earth). Fire, however, is seen to be the superior element, since the other three are produced by it and dissipate into it again. Therefore the undying fire (which is actively in things in the form of *pneuma*, a warm breath) is equated by some Stoics with the *logos* and with God (*SVF* 1. 157, 160; 2. 423). Cosmogenesis is seen as the emergence of variety from original unity and begins with the thickening of the fire into air and from there into water, when the creative *logos* releases countless *logoi spermatikoi* (seeds of the *logos*), each of which engenders single things and arranges them into the global act of creation (*SVF* 2. 1074). This process reverses itself at a certain point, and with the *ekpyrōsis* (the return of the cosmos into its fiery original state) that world period comes to an end. This process repeats itself *ad infinitum* (*SVF* 1. 107, 109; 2. 596–632).

The world thus represents a uniformly structured physical form, which is imbued with and created by a reasonable power, the *logos*. This creative force is identified with God. The world as a whole is thus like the human being as an individual, a creature endowed with and led by reason (*SVF* 1. 111–4; 2. 633–45). The human body (like the animal) is enlivened with a breathing soul. By contrast with the animal kingdom, the human being also has in his *hēgemonikon* (the major part of the soul) a share of *logos*. At death, the soul separates from the body. It exists for a certain time on its own, but is reabsorbed into the universal *logos* no later than at the next *ekpyrōsis* (*SVF* 2. 809–22).

The divine *logos* is, as shown, both physical and spiritual. It does not stand transcendent outside of the material world, but imbues and deifies it, although in differing degrees of purity. By looking at the beauty and appropriate development of the world, it is possible to develop a natural perception of God. Just as every work of art tells something about the artist, so the greatest work of art, the world, reflects an all-superior creative power (*SVF* 1. 528; 2. 1010–12). Their monotheistic pantheism led the Stoics also to acknowledge the cosmos and parts of it (e.g., the planets) as gods (in the sense of manifestations of the one deity). Even the various divine creatures of popular religions and myths could be integrated into the Stoic theology, for they could be seen as rather blurred forms of reverence for (or pictures of) a particular god, which the Stoics like to call Zeus. They interpreted these myths allegorically. Although the divine *logos* is partly described as an artist endowed with reason, the Stoic view of God is not a personalized one. Only a few statements (especially the Zeus hymn and the prayer of Cleanthes, *SVF* 1. 537, 527) move in that direction.

If every development in the cosmos finally comes back to the *logos*, there is nothing that can stand in contradiction to divine work, or be independent of it. As a divinity which does not behave well is unthinkable, the given world is for the Stoics the best possible one: it is created and maintained beautifully and appropriately by the divine providence (*SVF* 1. 172, 548; 1106–67).

Given this view, it is not surprising that questions were raised about the origin of physical and moral evil. The first (illness, death etc.) is explained by reference to the indispensability of antithesis: light cannot be thought of or exist without dark, or good without bad; consequently, the negative pole has to be taken into account as the undesired accompaniment. Moreover, evil things like sickness and death are not seen to be negative at all, given man's independence from the outside world (*SVF* 2. 1168–86). On the other hand, there is an attempt to solve the problem of moral evil by an intellectual interpretation and reference to the human being's freewill; in Socratic tradition, evil is the direct result of a lack of perception, but man is free to attain this perception and to do good (*SVF* 3. 657–70, 682–84).

3. Ethics. The purpose of Stoic ethics is to show man the way to happiness (which is identical to the morally good and the useful). In a negative sense, happiness lies in independence from all outside determinants; positively, it lies in the achievement of all one's own goals. It is important then, to attribute value only to those things which are easily attainable, i.e. to adjust the desired to the possible.

This basic concept was described by Zeno in the formula *homologoumenōs zēn* (*SVF* 1. 179), which actually simply means "living harmoniously". What is probably meant by that is the conformity of desire and possibility and the resulting inner "unanimity," man's equanimity. It is possible that the formula also expresses the leading role of the human *logos* (contained in the word *homologoumenōs*) (Pohlenz 1984: I/116). As early as Cleanthes, the formula was extended to "living harmoniously with nature" (*homologoumenōs tē physei zēn, Stoic.* 3. 12), which constituted a certain change in the interpretation (universal nature as the norm). Later this became "living in accordance with nature" (*kata tēn physin zēn* [*SVF* 3. 16, 17]).

The possibility and the difficulty of such harmonious or natural living is the concern of the Stoic doctrine of passion. Passions *(pathē)* are psychological forms of excitement, which occur when the *logos* agrees to an impulse *(hormē)* elicited by an image *(phantasia)*, i.e. when the *logos* falsely judges an external thing to be a worthwhile good or an undesirable evil (like for example wealth or poverty). By means of such a false judgment *(doxa)* the *logos* abdicates its leadership to the passion (*SVF* 1. 205–15; 3. 377–420). However, as the *logos* is free to agree to things (*SVF* 1. 61) and is in a position to make correct judgments (as long as it is not perverted by external influences), freedom from passions and thus happiness are theoretically within reach of man. Freedom from passions *(apatheia)* does not mean total lack of feeling and indifference. But what the wise man feels and desires will remain within the framework set by the *logos:* he will not qualify any of his instinct's desires as a "good."

Freedom from passions is a result of virtue. The essence of this lies in the realization that outside the moral sphere (which only human beings possess) there can be neither a good nor an evil, as happiness can be found only in complete independence from all outside influences (*SVF* 1. 374; 3. 33). In the end though, this realization, virtue, is the only good thing, as it is the necessary and sufficient prerequisite for happiness (*SVF* 1. 188). Since virtue has to do with a perception, it can be taught (*SVF* 3. 233). As virtue not only results in the achievement of all man's

aims, but also represents the only true aim, it is theoretically identical with happiness. That is why it is worthy of achieving for its own sake (*SVF* 3. 38–48).

There are no single virtues in the sense that one could possess one and not the other: "to have one is to have them all" (*SVF* 3. 295). The four traditional cardinal virtues are insight *(phronēsis)*, prudence *(sōphrosynē)*, courage *(andreia)*, and justice *(dikaiosynē)*; according to Zeno, the latter three are nothing more than manifestations of the first, which as "virtue" in the real sense of the word represents insight into the real relationship of values and makes itself known by way of prudent choice, courageous endurance, and just sharing (*Stoic.* 1. 200–1). "Of all existing things, one kind is good, the other evil, the third indifferent *(adiaphora)*" (*SVF* 1. 190). The *adiaphora* are: "death, life, fame, scandal, hardship, lust, wealth, poverty, sickness, health and the like" (ibid.). Although these things do not have any bearing on the happiness of man, and although he must preserve his independence from them, there is nevertheless a distinction between indifferent things which are "preferred" *(proēgmena)* and those which are "rejected" *(apoproēgmena)*. The former are those which are outwardly beneficial to human life (like health, wealth, and intelligence); the latter are the opposite. Between them there is another group of things which are indeed completely indifferent, like the stretching or bending of a finger (*SVF* 3. 188, 122). The acceptance of preferred things which have a certain value (if not for the attainment of actual happiness) and are worth striving for (if not as real goods), is not a weakening, but a consequence of the doctrine of passion (Hossenfelder 1985: 59–60): In order to avoid giving something inappropriate the character of a good or an evil, and without making a judgment of its own, reason aligns itself with the animalistic, self-preserving endeavors of the instinct.

The behavior of the wise man in everyday life is thus aligned "instinctively" to the natural. That is why his actions will in most cases be indistinguishable from a quite normal way of life, since even the unwise tend to follow the self-preserving aims of their instinct (but misunderstand these aims as signs of "goods" or "evils"). Natural behavior is called *to kathēkon*, "the appropriate, befitting," regardless of this difference in interpretation—e.g., "to honor parents, brothers and sisters and homeland, to nurture friendships" (*SVF* 3. 495). Appropriate actions *(kathēkonta)* which are carried out with the attitude of the wise (i.e. conscious of their indifference) are labelled *katorthōmata* (actually "justly done").

The extensive regulation of practical behavior by instinct seems to imply completely egoistical and individualistic action. Stoic ethics, however, point out that the natural basic instinct for self-preservation also includes caring for one's neighbors: the common nature of reason allows man to recognize himself in others, so that he actually looks after himself whenever he acts for the benefit of others. In according with that, social behavior is quite natural (*SVF* 3. 611–36). The Stoic sees himself as part of a cosmopolis of man and gods, which combines their logos, and in which only the condition of the *logos*, and not origin, sex, rank etc. determines the higher or lower position (*SVF* 3. 349–66).

B. Important Stoics

Zeno of Citium (333/2–262/1 B.C.), the founder of the Stoa, went to Athens in 312/311, studied under the Cynic Crates but also under Academics and Megarians, until he began to teach himself in 301/300. His impressive system correspond to the feeling for life of Hellenism, in so far as it tries to present a secure path to happiness (independence of outside circumstances) to those suffering from the general sense of insecurity precipitated by the dissolution of the polis and the concommitant political changes.

Zeno's successor as head of the school was Cleanthes (about 331/330–232/231 B.C.), who had studied with him from 282/281. He retained the doctrine of Zeno without displaying great originality of his own. However, he did add a new religious element to it, when he worshipped the universal *logos* in his hymn to Zeus (*SVF* 1. 537).

The signs of the school's decline, noticeable under Cleanthes were not stopped until the next head, Chrysippus (about 281/277–208/204 B.C.) took over the school. The saying "Without Chrysippus there would be no Stoa" (*SVF* 2. 6) rightly emphasizes his contribution towards the consolidation of the school, which he achieved by logically systemizing the teachings. Characteristic of him is his intellectualism: instinct is no longer separated from reason and subject to its judgment, but is in fact the very value judgment itself (i.e., a property of reason), so that a passion consists of a false judgment of reason.

Panaetius of Rhodes (about 185–98 B.C.), who along with Posidonius of Apamea is often considered to be the main representative of a "middle Stoa" (Colish 1985: 10) was head of the school from about 129. Above all, his affiliation with the circle of Scipio Africanus Minor meant that he was a great influence on the intellectual life of Rome. Panaetius moderated the Stoic rigor both in relation to other philosophical schools and in daily life. For example, he no longer saw virtue as the only good on which happiness relies: what the older Stoics classed as natural, "preferred" *adiaphora* (like wealth, health) were given by him the character of goods of the second order, which can lead the way to virtue. He considered the passions as unavoidable and taught the right way to cope with them. According to Panaetius, Providence has over time stabilized the world. It has made man capable (by means of his own *logos*) of creation and self determination. Destiny *(heimarmenē)* is left with, at most, theoretical significance.

Posidonius of Apamea (about 135–50 B.C.) studied under Panaetius in Athens, but then opened his own school on Rhodes, where Cicero became his student. As there is very little witness to his teaching, a reconstruction can only be made with great difficulty. Characteristic of his philosophizing is the inclusion of a whole range of concepts from other disciplines like history, mathematics, geography, astronomy etc., all of which he combined in his *logos* philosophy to a systematic world view. Just as man is inspired by the divine universal spirit, because his soul comes from it, so are all things, particularly animals and plants, imbued with God and kept alive. The cosmos is a living creature, with a great variety of interrelationship between individual parts.

The Stoics of the Roman Empire period fell back on the founders of the school, without developing any great originality themselves. However they were not concerned with

Stoic orthodoxy: they tended toward eclecticism. Other typical factors are the diminishing emphasis upon logic and physics, the increasing religious element, and the attempt to find practical moral relevance for philosophizing.

The concrete definition of Stoicism's ethical dogmas (e.g., their use in fighting individual passions like anger) and its popularization (by means of an effective style) must be credited to the Nero teacher, politician, and poet, L. Annaeus Seneca (4 B.C.?–A.D. 65). Important to Seneca is the dependence of the morality of an action on the inner attitude of its bearer: a deed can only be good if its intention is. Conscience is the last moral norm. "I will do nothing for a (good) reputation, everything for a (good) conscience" (*vita Beata* 20. 4). This final arbiter is given to man by God, who in Seneca's writings sometimes seems to have personal characteristics.

The practical element of philosophy is even more obvious in C. Musonius Rufus (about A.D. 30–100), who, occasionally in exile on Gyarus, held lectures on life for an educated lay audience. He used traditional Stoic principles to find answers to questions like: should daughters be educated the same as sons (of which he was in favor), or what is the most important thing in marriage? The purpose of the lessons was not simply to know and understand philosophy but more importantly to be able to apply it.

More significant is Epictetus (about A.D. 50/60–120/40), who studied under Musonius and, like his teacher, directed a school of philosophy for lay people first in Rome, and, after the banning of the Roman philosophers by Domitian (A.D. 89), in Nicopolis. The *diatribal* recorded by Arrian and the famous *encheiridion*, a collection by Arrian of the central points of Epictetus' teaching, show that his lecturing amounted to a lively, pastoral counseling based on old Stoic principles (with a touch of the Cynic). The positive value of the "preferred" *adiaphora* was something he definitely rejected: existence is strictly divided into what is "up to us" and what is "not up to us" *(ta eph' hēmin–ta ouk eph' hēmin);* happiness is only attainable by the conscious restriction of our ambition for *ta eph' hēmin*, i.e. for the inner, evaluating but distance attitude to external things. Central to Epictetus' ethics is the affinity of man to God (whom he portrays even more personal than Seneca) and the divine Providence. See EPICTETUS.

C. Relations with the NT

It would be beyond the scope of this article to deal comprehensively with the complex problem of to which extent, by which ways, and under which changes Stoic thoughts and forms of expression have left their marks in the NT. Only some NT texts, which are especially relevant, will be considered.

In Acts 17:22–31 Greco-Roman conceptions and the worship of God are criticized in a way we find in Stoic authors as well: Thus the ideas that God should live in temples made by hand (v 24b) or that "the divine" should equal a picture made by men (v 29) are rejected. Cultic sacrifice is criticized with the argument that God has no needs (v 25a). The positive statement about the closeness of God to each human being (v 27) corresponds with the Stoic conception of God; in v 28a this statement is expressed in a triadic formula which probably is a borrowed Stoic phrase.

As we have seen, the Stoics can perceive God by regarding the harmony and beauty of the cosmos. Paul holds a similar "natural theology" in Rom 1:19–20: Although God is invisible, he can be seen in his creational works by reason. Nevertheless, in this statement Paul is not directly dependent on the Stoics, but on wisdom and apocalyptic tradition. Like the latter, he does not pretend to explain the possibility of the rational knowledge of God. Instead, his aim is the proclamation of God's judgment of the gentiles, who did not make use of this possibility.

The Stoic ethics in particular became important for the NT. In 1 Cor 7:29–31 Paul advises a distant attitude toward the world, which at least has certain similarities to the Stoic ideal of being imperturbable *(ataraxia)*. The clearest difference between Paul and this ideal is the eschatological reason for this attitude, which can be seen in 1 Cor 7:29a, 31b and which has no parallels in Stoicism.

When Paul, in Rom 2:14–15, writes that gentiles "do by nature *(physei)* what is in accordance with the law *(ta tou nomou)*," because "the work of the law is written in their heart," he is using a topos of Hellenistic ethics (which he probably knows from the Hellenistic-Jewish apologetics). Especially Stoicism emphasizes life in accordance with nature *(physis)* as a moral aim. The law of nature, an unwritten law, which is perceived by reason, is of greater obligation than every law *(nomos)* made by human beings.

In the NT letters parenetic genres can be found, which have at least some of the roots of their form and concrete filling in the Stoic popular philosophy: catalogues of vices (Rom 1:29–31; 13:13; 1 Cor 5:10–11; 6:9–10; 2 Cor 12:20; Gal 5:19–21; Eph 4:31 5:3–5; Col 3:5,8), of virtues (Gal 5:22–23; Phil 4:8; Col 3:12; 1 Tim 6:11; 2 Pet 1:5–7), and of duties of each member of a household (*"Haustafeln"*: Eph 5:22–6:9; Col 3:18–4:1; 1 Pet 2:18–3:7). Such catalogues show a great correspondence with moral convention of the NT environment, especially with that of Stoicism. One can often hear that in Stoicism ethics is a function of the intellect, whereas in the NT it is a function of the existential determination of the Christian by Christ. That is true to a certain extent. But this difference is hardly to be perceived where on the one hand the Stoic ethics really becomes popular and includes a strong religious element and where on the other hand NT ethics begins to be oriented by the conventional common sense. Therefore, the problem of the *proprium* of the NT ethics is particularly pressing in view of the means of the moral instruction just mentioned.

In some sections the letters of Paul show stylistic analogies to the *"diatribe,"* a form of popular-philosophic propaganda in antiquity which was especially used by Stoics. Part of this style form the catalogues of vices and virtues already dealt with, but also catalogues of sufferings, the so-called *"Peristasenkataloge"* (esp. 1 Cor 4:10–13; 2 Cor 4:8–12; 6:4–10; 11:23–29; 12:10). The section which is nearest to the style of the *"diatribe"* (rhetoric form, vivid expression, low density of thought, and dialogue elements) is 1 Cor 15:29–49 (cf. also Rom 1:18–2:11; 8:31–39; 11:1–24; 1 Cor 4:6–15; 9:1–18). Paul uses this stylistic device particularly in order to make a personal appropriation of

difficult theological trains of thought easier for his readers.

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THOMAS SCHMELLER

STONING. See PUNISHMENTS AND CRIMES; STEPHEN.

STORAX-GUM. See PERFUMES AND SPICES.

STORK. See ZOOLOGY.

STORM GOD, SEMITIC. See HADAD (DEITY).

STRANGLING. See PUNISHMENTS AND CRIMES.

STRATON'S TOWER (PLACE). See CAESAREA (PLACE).

STROKE. See SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

STRUCTURALISM. A philosophical theory about the way in which meaning is perceived through the structures of human cultural systems. It has been applied in various ways to almost all the sciences and the humanities; in every case it attempts to show that meaning and significance result from the way human beings shape and pattern their intellectual systems, rather than being inherent in the subject matter being studied.

A. Structuralism in General

1. Structuralism in Linguistics. The foundation of structuralist theories lies in *linguistics,* and is associated especially with the work of Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1913) (see Saussure 1974). Whereas linguists had traditionally looked to the history of language to explain its meaning, Saussure argued that meaning was a function of the interlocking relationships within the linguistic system of any given language at a particular moment. Thus, if we want to know the meaning of a word, we should not primarily ask about its history or etymology, but should look at all the words with which it contrasts in the language as at present constituted. Take words for color, for example: the meaning of the English word "red" for a modern speaker has little to do with the etymology of the word or its use in earlier stages of the English language (of which the ordinary speaker is quite unaware); it has much to do with the other words for this range of colors that were available to the speaker, and from which the speaker selected "red" rather than "scarlet," "crimson," etc. The English words for color form a self-contained system which divides up the spectrum conventionally in certain ways, and unless we are in command of the whole system, we cannot understand what is conveyed by each individual color term.

The idea of language as a structured system which provides as it were the resource from which individual utterances can be drawn, and the basis for understanding their meaning, is central to structuralist linguistics, and is widely accepted by modern linguists. The linguistic system is called by Saussure the *langue,* as opposed to the *parole,* which is the individual linguistic utterance (Saussure 1974: 7–17). Two other important terms are *synchronic* and *diachronic.* Synchronic study of language is the study of the system or structure of a language as it exists at a given moment, whereas diachronic study refers to the traditional concern for the history of a language.

2. Structuralism in the Study of Human Culture. The structuralist movement in modern philosophy and aesthetics represents an attempt to apply the insights of structuralist linguistics by analogy to other aspects of human culture. In anthropology, Claude Lévi-Strauss (1963) applied de Saussure's ideas to the description and analysis of myths in pre-philosophical societies. Drawing on the distinctive relation of *parole* (speech) to *langue* (system), Lévi-Strauss argued that individual myths (cf. *parole*) are related to an underlying structured system of stories (cf. *langue*) which provide a basic account of reality for peoples who have not yet developed an abstract conceptuality. Each myth makes sense only when one has reconstructed the entire system of myths of which the individual myths form a part; a particular myth's meaning is then a function of its contrast with other myths.

Roland Barthes (1976) and Umberto Eco (1976) proceeded to apply the same ideas to modern societies, arguing that here, too, the meaning of cultural forms is a function of their synchronic relation to a structured system of meaningful signs. The term *semiotics* (from Gk *semeion*, sign) was coined to describe this kind of study, which has been important also for modern sociology. Chess is a good example of a human cultural system which is susceptible of semiotic or structural analysis. In chess, the "meaning" of the moves is determined conventionally by the relations between the pieces and by the rules of the game, and is a function of contrasts between the pieces and the moves they are allowed to make. A "rook" exists only within this system, as the piece which can move more flexibly than a pawn, for example, but less flexibly than a queen, as one of a pair of pieces which can guard the king and so on. Once removed from the chessboard, the rook is a rook no longer, but simply a piece of wood. It has no meaning except within the game. Until one is in command of (or, in technical structuralist terminology, is *competent* in) the rules of chess as a whole, one cannot understand an individual piece or make any sense of a particular move. Almost all social and cultural situations are similarly susceptible of structuralist analysis, from law courts and public meetings to meals and parties.

3. Structuralism and Literary Study. But it is above all in the study of *literature* that structuralism has proved influential. At first in France, but later in the English-speaking world as well, literary critics sought to apply the linguistic model of synchronic, structural interpretation to literature and to interpret literary works as part of a structured system analogous to a language. In the work of Roland Barthes (1976) and A. Greimas (1966) and their followers, the conventions with which literary forms such as novels, lyric poems, and drama operate are explained as a kind of *langue*—so that individual works should be understood less as the inventions of creative writers than as illustrations of the possibilities inherent in the "system" of literature. Just as one may become "competent" in a particular language by internalizing its conventions and rules, so, it is suggested, one may become competent in a given literature by coming to understand the conventions and constraints under which it operates. The early successes of structuralist analysis were in the interpretation of such traditional forms as folktale (see especially Propp 1968) and (in modern literature) detective novels, where any reader can see that quite strict conventions operate, but structuralists have also sought to show that all literature without exception is rule-bound. Often there is a certain iconoclastic intention here—to convince the reader that what most people think of as works of individual genius are in reality no more than expressions of literary conventions: "originality" is an illusion. In this, structuralism joins hands with more recent schools of interpretation such as materialistic, sociological, and psychoanalytic criticism, all areas in which works traditionally seen as highly original or innovative are explained more or less deterministically as the result of forces beyond their authors' control, and so somewhat debunked.

B. Structuralism and the Bible

1. Language. Many of the basic ideas of Saussurian structuralism are widely accepted by linguists, and they have naturally affected the study of Biblical Hebrew. James Barr's *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (1961) represents a turning point in the linguistic study of the Bible. Against the etymologizing, diachronic approach to Hebrew and New Testament Greek which found expression in the *TDNT* Barr argued that the biblical languages should be studied in accordance with current practice in general linguistics: meaning must be determined by the present context of words and sentences in the biblical text, and must not be read off from the (supposed) derivations of "key words." Barr also argued against the idea that a special "Hebrew mentality" could be deduced from features of the language, such as its verb system or its syntax, showing that this was incompatible with a structural approach to language. Since Barr, the study of biblical languages has moved more closely into line with Saussurian categories, and the *TDNT* has fallen out of favor with many scholars.

2. Anthropology. Structural anthropology has made important contributions to understanding some of the categories of thought that lie behind the OT text. An interest in structured systems has, since Lévi-Strauss, led anthropologists to examine *kinship structures*—the patterns of permitted and forbidden degrees of marriage through which, it is suggested, societies maintain their equilibrium and understand their own meaning. E. Leach (1970) has analyzed biblical genealogies from this point of view, seeing in them (especially in the Table of Nations of Genesis 10) the Israelite understanding of the place of Israel in the wider world. It has also been argued by Douglas (1966) that the complex food laws of Leviticus 11 and Deuteronomy 14 can be understood from a structural perspective as the remains of a classification system, by which ancient Israel introduced significant distinctions into its perception of the animal world and so marked off an area of cultic safety within which to live a harmonious existence. So far, however, these applications of structuralist theory to the Bible have been occasional and unsystematic, and it remains to be seen whether biblical studies will move further in this direction.

3. Literary Structuralism. The major influence of structuralism on biblical studies has been in the area of exegesis and literary analysis. The initial impetus for a structuralist study of the Bible came not from biblical scholars themselves, but from within the French structuralist movement. A pioneering study is that of Roland Barthes on the story of Jacob and the angel in Gen 32:22–32 (see Barthes 1974). Using the analytical categories of Greimas (1966), Barthes interprets this story as a folktale in which a new twist has been given to the plot by exploiting some of the conventions with which folktales normally operate. The participants in the story can be formally defined by their functions: God is the "originator," Jacob is the "hero," the angel is his "opponent." In the "syntax" of folktale proper, these three "actants" (as they are called in Greimas' terminology) may interact in various ways: the "originator" may step in to help the "hero"; or one or more "helpers" may be introduced into the plot; or the "hero" may succeed in his quest by his own efforts, but at the end be rewarded by the "originator." But in the story in Genesis none of these patterns is followed. Instead, as Barthes shows, the "originator" and the "opponent" turn

out to be one and the same—it is the very God who sent him on his journey with whom Jacob wrestles all night, and who in the end blesses him for his persistence in resisting him.

A structural analysis thus reveals that Genesis 32 is an *artificial* folktale, whose effectiveness depends entirely on its success in "subverting" the normal rules of folktale to produce a surprising outcome which shocks and disturbs the reader. In Barthes' study, this structuralist reading is shown to be theologically significant. The idea that one and the same God stands behind *all* that happens to his servants is a central theme of much OT narrative, which avoids dualistic explanations of history and attributes both good and bad experiences alike to the providential guidance of a single God; as Joseph says to his brothers, "As for you, you meant evil against me; but God meant it for good, to bring it about that many people should be kept alive" (Gen 50:20). Thus a structuralist analysis can help to show by what methods the biblical writers convey their message, pointing to the exploitation of structural possibilities.

In Barthes' analysis of Genesis 32 there is, strictly speaking, no new *interpretation* of the text: the theological point which the text is said to make is familiar to readers of the Bible in any case. The analysis simply lays bare the mechanisms by which the text succeeds in conveying the meaning that most readers would find in it. Thus structural analysis here provides an explanatory theory, rather than generating a new exegesis. But since Barthes many biblical scholars have seen in structuralism a tool for discovering new meanings in the biblical text. As in some advanced forms of redaction criticism, the arrangement of elements within the text is thus taken as highly significant, and much attention is devoted to the shaping of texts through repetitions, chiastic arrangement, and stereotyped formulas, as well as by contrasting pairs ("binary opposition"). Thus, in an early structuralist study of Genesis 1–2, P. Beauchamp argued that 1:1–2:1 is so constructed that the ten "words of creation" ("and God said . . .") fall into two balancing groups of almost exactly equal length. The "meaning" of the passage is then the tension or contrast between the two groups, in which the inanimate created order is contrasted with the world of living beings, and the final act of each set of five "words" is meant to be set over against that of the other: the stars (the crowning work of the fourth day) are set over against man (the last creature made on the sixth day), and the reader is supposed to see an important truth in this contrast.

A major theme of structuralist approaches to biblical study has been a desire to undermine the results of conventional "historical" criticism. Many structuralist studies claim that structural analysis reveals patterning and order in texts which biblical critics had previously seen as fragmentary or confused. Just as structural anthropologists often claim to find a coherent system of thought underlying what strikes the uninitiated observer as a tangle of inconsistent myths or folklore, so structural exegesis sees apparent confusion in a text as a clue to a deeper, underlying pattern. At times conservative biblical scholars have made common cause with structuralists (as also with CANONICAL CRITICISM) because it seemed to offer a way of defending the integrity of the present form of the biblical text. This is, however, by no means universally true, and many structuralists have no interest in defending traditional doctrines of biblical inspiration. They may be attracted to structuralist analysis of the Bible because the biblical texts, being often anonymous, traditional, and complex, seem to demand an explanation that does not emphasize the deliberate intentions of an individual author but rather the operation of subconscious patterns buried in the human psyche.

C. Post-Structuralism

Structuralism has proved a highly changing and developing movement, and since the late 1960s many fresh developments have appeared that may be grouped together under the heading "post-structuralism." See also POST-STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS. *Deconstructionism* is an attempt to undermine the reader's expectations that a text will communicate some independently existing truth, by showing that author and reader alike are caught in the system of constraints imposed by the linguistic and literary system to which they belong, and are capable of communicating or receiving only such meanings as this system makes possible (see Culler 1981). In *reader-response criticism* (see Iser 1978; Jauss 1982) the idea that a text has a fixed meaning is abandoned, and the reader is seen as having a vital role to play in contributing to the meaning of a work. Reading is as "creative" an activity as writing. This has been of particular interest to students of the parables in the gospels (see Via 1985; Patte 1976), which seem inherently to call for a response from the reader if they are to be effective. It may be said that a parable means nothing until it meets with a responsive reader: the attempt to state the meaning of the parables in a "timeless" form notoriously tends to reduce them to platitudes. See also READER RESPONSE THEORY.

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JOHN BARTON

SUAH (PERSON) [Heb *sûaḥ*]. The first son of Zophah given in the Asherite genealogy in 1 Chr 7:36. This figure appears within the dominant line of the genealogy (Beriah, Heber, Hotham/Helem, Zophah), and yet nothing is known about him. He is attributed with no descendants, and his name does not appear elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. While some scholars consider such unique names as fabrications of the Chronicler, Johnson and others suggest that they derive from military census lists, themselves drawn up in genealogical fashion (Johnson 1969: 64–66).

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JULIA M. O'BRIEN

SUBAS (PERSON) [Gk *Soubas*]. Forefather of a family included under the heading the "Sons of Solomon's Servants," which returned with Zerubbabel (1 Esdr 5:34). However, this family is not included in the parallel lists in Ezra 2 and Nehemiah 7.

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CRAIG D. BOWMAN

SUCATHITES [Heb *śûkātîm*]. One of three families who lived in the town of Jabez and who, while tracing their descent through Caleb, counted Kenites in their ancestry (1 Chr 2:55). These families either comprised secretaries *(sōpĕrîm)*, belonging to a scribal guild, or were Siphrites *(siprîm)*, earlier dwellers of Kiriath-sepher (Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 38, 43). The Jabez at which they settled is unknown. (A Jabez is introduced abruptly in 4:9–10 with etymological explanation but without lineage.) At least as early as Jerome some have understood the Sucathites, Shimeathites, and Tirathites to refer to groups of religious functionaries, yet nothing substantial exists upon which to base such a view. Williamson (*1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 55) notes the attempt to derive the word Hammath from a proposed noun **ḥĕmāt*, meaning "family-in-law"—which would make the three Kenite clans descendants from a relative by marriage of the Rechabites' forefather. He observes, however, that in the context of this list one would expect a place name after "the father of" and compares *byt-rkb* with *byt mrkbwt* (4:31; Josh 19:5). The genealogy of 1 Chr 2:55 seems to reflect the ongoing amalgamation of previously unrelated tribal elements into the mainstream of Judah.

EDWIN C. HOSTETTER

SUCCESSION NARRATIVE. See COURT NARRATIVE.

SUCCOTH (PLACE) [Heb *sukkôt*]. The name of two places mentioned in the OT.

1. The first station of the Exodus located in the NE delta of Egypt (Exod 12:37; Num 33:5). The Israelites left Rameses and pitched in Succoth and then journeyed to Etham where they camped on the "edge of the wilderness" (Exod 13:20, Num 33:6). The location of Succoth is connected with the identification of the sites of Rameses and Pithom which have not been positively determined. See also RED SEA. Tell el-Maskhuta located 15 km W of modern Ismailia and Lake Timsah in Wadi Tumilat has been suggested by a number of scholars as a possible location of Succoth. The name Succoth may be an adaptation of Egyptian Tjeku *(tkw)*, a region and perhaps a city proposed to be located at Tell el-Maskhuta. Brugsch has offered an explanation of the derivation of Hebrew Succoth from Egyptian Tjeku *(tkw)* correlating Egyptian *t* with Hebrew *s*, Egyptian *k* with Hebrew *k*, and noting that the Egyptian *w* is a plural suffix while the Hebrew *wt* represents the feminine plural suffix (Bleiberg 1983: 21). Papyrus Anastasi V records that an Egyptian lieutenant traveled from the palace (supposedly at Rameses) to Tjeku in one day (*ANET*, 259) fitting nicely with the biblical narrative, although Gardiner (1920: 109) disputes this supposition and Bleiberg, an excavator on the Wadi Tumilat Project, finds it difficult to locate the places mentioned in the text (1983: 24–25).

Numerous monuments with the name of Tjeku have been excavated at Tell el-Maskhuta, and they also contain references to the temple of Atum or Pr-ʾitm, possibly corresponding to the Hebrew Pithom. Naville, who excavated there in 1883, identified Tell el-Maskhuta as Pithom, the treasure city built by Hebrew slaves (Exod 1:11) noting particular architectural features he considered to be store chambers. Most scholars now identify the site as Succoth observing the structures to be from the Roman period and earlier structures to be part of the fortress foundations known to have been at Egyptian border towns. For a review of Naville's arguments and Gardiner's rebuttals, see Bleiberg 1983. A possible compromise would have Succoth or Tjeku as the name of the district and Pithom referring to the religious center at Tell el-Maskhuta. Papyrus Anastasi VI dating to about 1230 B.C.E. preserves a message sent from a frontier official to his superior that certain Edomite bedouin had been allowed to pass the fortress in the district of Tjeku (Succoth?) to pasture their cattle near Pithom (*ANET*, 259), locating both places in the same area. Bleiberg (1983) suggests that Tjeku was originally a region and then later a city located at Tell el-Maskhuta. Pr-ʾitm, he believes, only refers to the temple of Atum, and he states that there is no clear evidence to locate a city of Pithom there.

2. A city located on the E of the Jordan River close to where it is joined by the Jabbok (Nahr Zerqa). Jacob stopped here when returning from Padan-aram and built a house and "booths" for his cattle, hence the name Succoth, "booths" (Gen 33:17). It was located in the kingdom of Sihon and allotted to the tribe of Gad (Josh 13:27). Gideon stopped here while pursuing the Midianites and asked for provisions for his army from the men of Succoth and also Penuel. He was refused in both cases, and upon his victorious return he inflicted punishment on Succoth and beat down the tower of Penuel (Judg 8:5–17). It was also between Succoth and Zarethan on the plain of the Jordan that bronze vessels were cast for the Temple under the direction of Solomon (1 Kgs 7:46; 2 Chr 4:17). The Valley of Succoth is mentioned in the Psalms (60:6; 108:7) with a positive connotation which would fit the location in the fertile region at the junction of the two rivers known as the Ghor Abu Obeideh.

Tell Deir ʿAlla has been suggested as the location of Succoth by many scholars. The stele of Shishak at Karnak mention six sites in the Valley of Succoth: Adam, Qodesh, Penuel, Succoth, Mahanaim, and Zaphon. Mazar (1957) has proposed a reading which fits nicely with the location of Deir ʿAlla according to the order they are listed. Tell Deir ʿAlla was occupied during Chalcolithic, Late Bronze, and Iron Ages I–II, and used as a cemetery by the residents of nearby Abu Gurdan until approximately 1500 C.E. The LB level contains remains of a sanctuary complex raised on an artificial mound and no defensive walls typical of the period. It has been suggested that it served as a shrine for the nomadic population of the region. It was destroyed early in the 12th century B.C.E. by uncertain means, although there is evidence of a conflagration and an earthquake has been suggested (Franken 1979). Aharoni (*LBHG*, 284 n. 224) is willing to allow that this was the result of Gideon's vengeance. An Egyptian vase bearing the cartouche of the wife of Seti II, Taousert (1214–1194 B.C.E.), was discovered at this level as well as three clay tablets whose script is related to Phoenician.

The Iron I remains also show no permanent settlement, only remnants of furnaces for smelting bronze and some postholes perhaps for tents of the metal workers. Aharoni here relates this to the smiths casting vessels for the Solomonic Temple. The Iron II settlement is a walled city in which the famous Aramaic inscription fragments mentioning the prophet Balaam were found. See also DEIR ʿALLA.

Franken, who has excavated at Deir ʿAlla, does not identify it as biblical Succoth (Franken 1979). He follows Abel in preferring Tell el-Ekhsas, 2.5 km to the west (*GP* 2: 470). The name of this tell translates from Arabic to "booths." Franken contends that the cultural assemblage from Iron Age Deir ʿAlla is not Israelite and therefore it is not Succoth. The pottery seems to indicate Ammonite influence or origin. He also cites the absence of any biblical references to shrine at Succoth, and there is a very substantial one from the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age at Tell Deir ʿAlla.

Levine (1985) presents a number of arguments in opposition to Franken's conclusion. He suggests that the Deir ʿAlla texts originate from a context of continuous cultural interaction from both sides of the Jordan which could easily represent an Israelite presence. He bases his stance on linguistic and literary analyses proposing the language of the texts as a regional dialect related more closely to the surrounding Canaanite group rather than to the old Aramaic. He also contends the shrine may be an ʾEl temple easily fitting within the scope of Israelite culture if not Israelite monotheism.

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JO ANN H. SEELY

SUCCOTH-BENOTH (DEITY) [Heb *sukkôt bĕnôt*]. A deity whose worship was instituted by the Babylonians who had been forcibly resettled in Samaria (2 Kgs 17:30). Although Samaria had been destroyed in 722 B.C., it was not until 689 B.C. that the Assyrians captured Babylon and dispersed its people. Because the name is perfectly intelligible in Hebrew ("booths of girls/daughters"), and because no Babylonian deity by this name is known, the identification of Succoth-benoth is problematic. The MT seems to contain an oblique reference to shrines *(sukkôt)* associated with sexual rites involving women *(bĕnôt)*, perhaps women dedicated (Akk *sakku*) to the Babylonian Banitu (i.e., Ishtar) or Ṣarpanitu (consort of Marduk; see Wiseman, *ISBE* 4: 649). The possible association with one of these Babylonian goddesses is reinforced by some of the LXX renderings of the name which include a final vowel *(Sokchōbenithei, Sokchōbanitha)*. Some have suggested that while *bĕnôt* may indeed reflect one of these Babylonian deities, *sukkôt* may be identified with the Sumerian deity SAG.KUD (i.e., Saturn), whose name in Akkadian was actually vocalized *sakkud* (Hallo 1977: 15); this deity may be the same "Sakkuth" (Heb *sikkût*) mentioned in Amos 5:26. See SAKKUTH AND KAIWAN. The suggestion that the MT is actually a corruption of an original **mrdk wzrbnyt* ("Marduk and Ṣarpanitu") has recently been questioned (Cogan and Tadmor, *2 Kings* AB, 211).

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GARY A. HERION

SUD (PLACE) [Gk *Soud*]. The name of the river in Babylon along which Judean exiles, including King Jeconiah (Jehoiachin), were settled (Bar 1:4). These exiles were the original audience to whom the book of Baruch was directed. The name Sud is problematic, and the Gk form may reflect a distortion of the uncial script spelling of Ahava (LXX *eoua*), the name of the river where the exiles were gathered on the eve of their return to Jerusalem

(Ezra 8:15, 21, 31; see Moore, *Additions to Daniel, Esther, Jeremiah* AB, 270).

GARY A. HERION

SUDIAS (PERSON) [Gk *Soudios*]. In 1 Esdr 5:26, this name is possibly an alternate form of HODAVIAH #4.

SUETONIUS (PERSON). Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus, Roman biographer and antiquarian, was born ca. 70 C.E., possibly at Hippo Regius in North Africa. His family held equestrian rank, his father serving as a tribune of the Thirteenth Legion. Suetonius began his career as a professional scholar in Rome, working as a teacher of rhetoric and as an advocate. He was a friend of Pliny the Younger, whom he accompanied to Bithynia ca. 110 C.E. and with whom he later corresponded. Subsequently, Suetonius held several imperial offices. His duties as secretary of studies *(a studiis)* are unclear. He served next as director of the imperial libraries. He likely held both these posts under Trajan (98–117 C.E.). Under Hadrian (117–38 C.E.) he held his most important post, secretary in charge of imperial correspondence *(ab epistulis)*. In 122 C.E. he was dismissed from this post, apparently for disrespectful behavior toward the Empress Sabrina. The date of his death is unknown.

Suetonius wrote treatises on Roman antiquities, on the natural sciences, and on grammar. Of these works, only excerpts from his treatises on Greek games and on curses remain. Suetonius also wrote two collections of literary biographies. *The Lives of Illustrious Men,* written during the reign of Trajan, contained brief biographical sketches of 21 grammarians, 16 orators, 33 poets, and 6 historians. Substantial fragments of this work are extant. During the reign of Hadrian, Suetonius published his *Lives of the Caesars,* which contained biographical sketches of the emperors from Julius to Domitian. All this work, except for the first chapters of Julius' life, has been preserved. In his imperial biographies, Suetonius was interested in both the private lives and the public activity, especially the day-to-day public activity, of the emperors.

In his *Lives of the Caesars,* Suetonius provides insight into Roman religious practice and thought in the early empire. Suetonius firmly believed that the workings of fate were determined and could be foreseen. He devoted much attention to the omens and signs that attended the births and deaths of the various emperors. Suetonius also firmly believed that the emperors had a duty to live and act so as to protect and sustain the traditional pattern of Roman life (Wallace-Hadrill 1983: 128). Religious practice was an important part of that life. Emperors who failed to honor the gods properly (*Tib.* 69, *Ner.* 56) were censured by Suetonius. Actions taken by emperors to return religious practice to the traditional pattern, such as the purging of the Sibylline oracles (*Aug.* 31.1), the disciplining of the Vestal virgins (*Dom.* 8.3–4), and the reviving of old rituals (*Aug.* 31.3–4, *Claud.* 22) won his approval. Emperors were called upon to resist innovation in religious practice, even innovation which served state interests. Suetonius noted with approval that the establishment of emperor worship in Rome was resisted by Augustus (*Aug.* 52), while Caligula's insistence that he be treated as a god was seen as a vice (*Calig.* 22.2–4). Emperors were expected to oppose even more vigorously innovations that did not serve state interests. Suetonius observed that Augustus correctly honored all ancient and long-established foreign rites, but despised all the rest. Egyptian worship of Apis and Jewish worship in Jerusalem were singled out for disapproval (*Aug.* 93). Tiberius was commended for abolishing foreign cults at Rome, especially the "superstitious" Egyptian and Jewish cults (Tib. 36). Claudius properly suppressed the Druidic cult (*Claud.* 25.5). Also praiseworthy was his expulsion of Jews from Rome, since the Jews were always causing disturbances there at the instigation of Chrestus (*Claud.* 25.4). (This could be a confused reference [Chrestus/Christus] to disputes between Jews and Christians over the messiahship of Jesus, or Chrestus [a not uncommon name] may simply have been an agitator who was writing up the Jewish community in Rome at the time [Benko 1969: 408–13].) Suetonius also noted with approval that Nero had inflicted punishments on the Christians, a sect which professed a new and mischievous belief (*Ner.* 16.2).

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JOAN BRUEGGEMAN RUFE

SUFFERING. The Bible portrays innumerable examples of suffering. It could come in many different forms—a loss in battle, destruction of the nation and the symbols of worship, ravaging illnesses, premature death, great physical pain, rejection and loneliness, spiritual torment such as guilt or disbelief about God's goodness and concern. The list could go on (e.g., see Gerstenberger 1980: 22–102). When such calamities occurred, whether to individuals, to larger groups within the nation, or to the nation as a whole, efforts were made to answer the many questions that would arise. What went wrong? Where did the suffering come from? Who brought it? How does God fit into this? Why would God bring (or allow) such terrible things to happen to the people whom God has chosen for his own?

There are several obvious places to look for biblical interpretations of suffering, such as the story of the Fall (Genesis 3), the Deuteronomistic History (DH), the book of Job, and gospel accounts of the crucifixion of Jesus. The experience of the exile was a crucial time for reconsidering many traditional ways of seeking meaning in suffering. The same could be said for the Christian church's need to explain why the messiah should die. Some biblical passages deal with suffering less as an intellectual problem of theodicy than as a process of coping with terrible reality (e.g., Lamentations, individual and corporate laments in the Psalter, and Jeremiah's Confessions).

A. Preexilic Interpretations
1. Creation and Fall
2. The Sins of the Fathers
3. Preexilic Prophets

4. Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History
5. Concluding Observations
B. Exilic and Postexilic Response to Suffering
1. Ezekiel 18 and Jer 31:29–30
2. Isaiah 40–55
3. The Lament Tradition
4. The Book of Job
5. Prophetic Eschatology and Apocalypticism
6. Concluding Observations
C. The New Testament
1. The Gospels
2. Epistles and Revelation
3. Concluding Observations

A. Preexilic Interpretations

1. Creation and Fall. Genesis 2–3 gives one perspective on suffering. The world was intended to be a good place. (That is even clearer when we include Genesis 1 and read these first three chapters as a whole.) If the woman and man had heeded the one restriction about the tree of the knowledge of good and evil (Gen 2:17), suffering as we know it might never have entered the world. But they disobeyed (3:6–7) and opened the door to pain and suffering. God pronounced curses on the snake, the woman, and the man (Gen 3:14–19), and the world has been filled with pain and misery ever since.

The story of the Fall is the basic etiology for the presence of suffering in the world. It provides an explanation for the incongruity between the intention of God and the reality of a suffering world. There is already a theodicy in this initial story. God is good and powerful and just. God made a good world for the humans to enjoy. The human beings—the man and the woman—are the ones who must bear the responsibility for the pain and suffering of the world. This is the story of the whole human race. The lesson here is that it has been so from the beginning: We are all born into a world in which we are vulnerable to suffering.

2. The Sins of the Fathers. A number of biblical texts offer another perspective on human suffering (Exod 34:6–7, with parallels in Exod 20:5–7, Deut 5:9–10, and Num 14:18). The idea presented here is that the cycle of sin and suffering that began with our first parents is perpetuated from generation to generation. We are already paying for the sins committed by our grandparents, even as we are behaving in ways that will bring distress to the generations which follow us. Sins have their consequences. There are cause and effect relationships built into the order of creation (see Koch 1983). One cannot act with impunity, expecting to escape retribution while defying God's law. If the punishment does not come directly on the head of the offender, it will nevertheless work itself out eventually in the life of one's children or grandchildren. In the time of the exile, some of the victim's of that disaster protested that they should not bear the brunt of sins committed by their parents (see Ezekiel 18 and Jer 31:29–30). It may seem unfair, but it does describe reality. Sin leads to suffering. Someone will be hurt and, in turn, will pass that hurt on to others. Suffering resulting from sin is a corporate matter, infecting the whole society, not necessarily seeking out the most wicked perpetrator of evil upon whom to inflict the most severe suffering.

3. Preexilic Prophets. With acute insight, the great prophets (Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel) identified the decadence, injustice, and idolatry of their society. They knew that such behavior could lead only to disaster. They made a connection between the sins of the people, especially of the political, religious, and business leaders, and the national disaster which was coming. The people deserved what would happen to them, though there were pious folks who would surely have to bear the suffering along with those most deserving of it. In a time of national disaster, when a whole nation is being destroyed, there is no such thing as a safe haven for even the most righteous. Jeremiah's suffering was even more acute than others because he knew what was going to happen and his position as God's spokesperson made him an outcast from his own people. Baruch, Jeremiah's scribe, lamented his own unhappy situation and was told, by God through Jeremiah, that God would keep him alive, but Baruch could not hope for much more than that in a destructive time such as his (Jer 45).

4. Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History. The Deuteronomistic corpus, obviously, was not completed until the time of exile. It does seem proper, however, to treat its understanding of suffering as a preexilic tradition. In some ways, it represents the epitome of that interpretation, the supreme effort of the historian to make logical sense out of the ebb and flow in the fortunes of the nations of Israel and Judah. Times of prosperity were rewards for faithfulness to God. Disaster and chaos were the result of sins committed by the people.

The whole book of Deuteronomy has a hortatory style; there is an urgency about the message. The law must be obeyed or there will be dire consequences. If it is kept, there will be prosperity and a long habitation on the good land. The series of blessings and curses in Chapters 27 and 28 make clear the connection between ethical behavior and what will surely follow. Special attention could be paid to Deut 28:35, in which we are told that those who disobey God's commandments may find themselves covered with grievous boils from head to toe. Job's counselors perhaps knew this text as they looked for an explanation for his misfortune. Deut 30:15–20 is a good summary of the viewpoint of Deuteronomy. God has given the people a choice: they can choose good and live long on the land, or choose evil and be driven off the land. This probably represents the dominant understanding of the origin of suffering up until the time of the exile.

The story of Achan and his sin in Joshua 7 is a difficult and unpleasant one. Achan keeps some of the booty that was intended for the Lord, and as a consequence, things go badly for the Israelites in subsequent battles. When Achan's sin is found out, he and his whole family must be purged from the society. Suffering comes from human sin. The sin of one can have ripple effects, bringing suffering to all the people. Suffering is caused by human sin, but it may be the sin of another, not necessarily one's own sin, that brings suffering.

The stories of the judges in the book of Judges are set into a pattern that shows this same belief that suffering is retribution for sin. The overall scheme is laid out in Judges 2:6–23. When the people were unfaithful, God would send an enemy to torment them. Then, in response to their

cries for help, God would send a judge to deliver them from their adversaries. After the judge died, they would revert to their idolatries and the whole process would repeat itself. The history of Israel thus makes sense. God is at work to see that justice is done. People's decisions can determine what fate awaits them. In this view, suffering is an indication that wrong choices have been made. They can be identified and lifted up as a reminder not to make the same mistakes again.

In 2 Kings 17, the historian provides a summary of why the N kingdom came to an end. There is a reason that can be discovered: The world makes sense; this is a moral universe, good is rewarded and evil is punished. God has the power and the will to see that it will happen.

At the end of the DH, there are, apparently, a few problems fitting all the historical data into this neat system. Why should Manasseh, the worst king of all, live so long and in comparative ease? (The terrible consequence of his reign will not occur until later—2 Kings 21:10–15.) Why should Josiah, the great reform king, die a premature death in a stupid political alliance, leaving the people in the hands of such atrocious kings as Jehoiakim and Zedekiah? (The Huldah oracle attempts to show that Josiah was actually better off dead so he would not be present to witness the execution of God's wrath on Judah—2 Kings 22:14–20.) The end of the history leaves us with the ambiguous (at best) hope that at least there is a son of David alive and well and receiving some respect from the king of Babylon (2 Kgs 25:27–30).

5. Concluding Observations. (a) In the preexilic traditions, the dominant interpretation of suffering is that it is the *result of human sin.* We find it in the Penteteuchal sources, in the preexilic prophets, and in the DH.

(b) There is a *strong corporate sense* in all of these texts. Genesis 3 deals with the whole human race; Deuteronomy, the prophets, and the DH are interpreting the fate of the people, the nation. They are not attempting to show that an individual's suffering or lack of same is directly related to that person's obedience to God. Life is too complicated to draw that precise a cause-and-effect connection. Adam and Eve sinned, so we are all, whether relatively good or bad, subject to pain and death. Achan sins and the whole nation suffers. The interconnectedness crosses generational lines so that even the sins of those who are no longer alive leave a legacy of suffering. The Babylonians destroy all in their path, the wicked and the pious, the unjust and the obedient. Suffering is caused by sin, and its victims include the deserving as well as those who are innocent bystanders (as Jeremiah and Baruch).

(c) God is active in this world to execute justice. God raises up enemies to torment the disobedient in the time of the Judges. God brings Babylon against Jerusalem. This understanding of God's part in human suffering keeps a balance between God's power and justice. What happens is under God's influence, even though terrible things may be taking place. But they are understandable in light of the sin that initiated the punishment. There has been some debate about how actively God manipulates events to bring suffering. Some have preferred to suggest, and tried to make a case from biblical texts, that the process of suffering following sin is almost an automatic one built into creation so that God's participation in bringing calamities on people is minimized (see Koch 1983).

(d) Even in preexilic literature, the doctrine of retribution is not the only interpretation of suffering. God may actually arbitrarily without giving any explanation. In Exod 4:11, in response to Moses' assertion that he cannot go back to Egypt to free the people because he is "slow of speech and tongue," God says, "Who has made man's mouth? Who makes him dumb, or deaf, or seeing, or blind? Is it not I, the LORD?" God's power is here asserted. There is no attempt to interpret one's physical limitations or handicaps as a result of sin. They are merely there and we have no explanation. But God must have something to do with their existence because God is God.

In Genesis 3, the snake suddenly appears as one of God's most subtle creatures. In this fundamental story about how suffering entered the world, the humans and God are not the only actors. Though the main point of the story, as already stated, is the human sin which caused the trouble, it is important to note that there is mystery and complexity added to the story by the presence of the snake. We do not have here a full-blown notion of Satan or the devil, but we do have a recognition by the biblical writer that there is a mysterious force for evil that seems to push humans into actions that will be detrimental to themselves and to others. Why there should be such a hostile creature in this "good" (Heb *ṭôb*) world that God has just created is part of the mystery. It is important that Yahweh alone is God and that the serpent is only one of God's creatures. There is no cosmic competition or dualism present here.

In Deut 8:1–6 we see a view of suffering which will gain in strength later in the biblical traditions. The suffering may have some benefit, either for the sufferer or others. God may be using it to teach something. Thus the wanderings of the people of Israel in the wilderness was a time of humbling and testing (8:2), teaching them that one does not live by bread alone (8:3). God has disciplined the people as a man disciplines his son (8:5). According to Judg 2:20–23, God will not drive out all the nations left in the land when Joshua died. Some will be left there in order to test Israel, to see whether they will walk in the way of the Lord or not. The conclusion of the Joseph story (Gen 50:15–21) speaks of the benefits that many received through the suffering of one wise and righteous person: Though Joseph's brothers meant evil against him, God used Joseph's suffering to save many from famine.

B. Exilic and Postexilic Response to Suffering

The catastrophe of the exile strained the credibility of the earlier consensus as presented by the prophets and historians. The disaster was too severe and lasted too long. Sinful though they be, the people of Judah were still more righteous than their punishers, the Babylonians (Hab 1:12–13). One does not punish one's children by killing them. The terrible events that followed rapidly on the death of Josiah made it difficult for many to believe that a God of justice was ruling the world.

1. Ezekiel 18 and Jer 31:29–30. Ezekiel confronts those who complain that "the fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge" (18:2; see also Jer 31:29–30). The fathers had sinned and now the children

are paying for it. That hardly seems fair. Ezekiel counters that the soul that sins shall die (18:4; see also Deut 24:16). All are responsible for their own life. They will not have to pay the penalty for sins committed by their fathers, nor will they be saved by the good deeds of their fathers: Whether they live or die depends on their own actions. There are many ways to understand this important chapter in Ezekiel. It does seem to indicate an effort to move the doctrine of retribution away from a strictly corporate understanding. One need not be swept along by the sins of society or even one's own family. Individuals make their own decisions and determine their own futures. There is certainly some tension between this movement by Ezekiel and the earlier understanding that one can expect to bear the sins of ancestors to the third and fourth generation. Was that earlier belief incorrect? Can each generation start afresh without being victims of its predecessor's choices? Probably not. But Ezekiel (if his point is not overstated and absolutized into a general principle) wants to say that the present situation should not be excused by claiming that it was hopelessly predetermined in the past (and therefore we cannot be held accountable for our own actions).

2. Isaiah 40–55. After a couple of generations of exile, the people were demoralized. If the earlier tradition was right that their defeat was God's punishment on their disobedience, would it ever end? Had God cut them off forever? Or perhaps they had been deluded all along, and their destruction was a sign that the Babylonian gods were superior to Yahweh, who couldn't provide help when needed. Second Isaiah appeared to provide a word of hope. He did not reject the older view: Judah's suffering, at least up to a certain point, was punishment for sin (Isa 42:18–22, 24–25; 43:24b; 47:6). But suffering is not to be defined only in negative ways (as punishment). It can have positive meanings. If the people have the faith to see it, they may discover that their suffering is part of God's work in the world. They are God's witnesses (as in 43:9–10), called to be "a light to the nations" (as in 42:6 and 49:6). Israel, the Servant of Yahweh, has a mission to reach out to all the world. Other nations will see what God is doing through his chosen people and they will be persuaded to join in worship of the one true God, the God of Israel. Thus Second Isaiah turns away from defining suffering only as punishment (though that point is not entirely negated) to a more hopeful, future-oriented understanding. God will work some greater good for others out of the suffering of the faithful.

3. The Lament Tradition. The tradition of lament is not new in the exilic times. The children of Israel cried out to God for help when they were slaves in Egypt and during their wilderness wanderings (Exod 3:7; Num 11:1). The repentant idolators during the time of the Judges implored God to deliver them (Judg 3:13). David mourned the loss of friends and family (Saul, Jonathan, Abner, and Absalom; 2 Sam 1:17–27; 3:33–34; 18:33). Jeremiah called to God for vengeance on his enemies and vindication of his miserable life (Jer 17:14–18; 18:19–23). But in the time of exile, lament was particularly prevalent as a response to catastrophe, meaninglessness, and delay in the redemption of the faithful and judgment on the wicked (e.g., book of Lamentations; Psalms 44; 137). The lament calls God into accountability. God should act fairly and quickly. The lament allows for honest interchange between humans and God, the freedom to admit even bad theology and hostile thoughts. The lament turns to God as the ultimate source of help and, in the typical lament form, ends with the assurance that God has heard and will save. The lament does not solve all of the sufferer's intellectual questions about the origin and meaning of the suffering, but does provide a structured way for the faithful to bring their suffering to God's attention and to cope with it.

4. The Book of Job. Job is the classic biblical discussion of the problem of suffering. It addresses these questions in greater depth and length than any other biblical book. Though there are many problems with dating, the best guess is that the major part of the book was written in the late exilic or early postexilic period (with the prose sections possibly earlier and the Elihu speeches possibly later). This would be a time when questions of meaning in suffering, whether or not it was deserved, and discontent over the prosperity of the wicked would be of great and immediate relevance, not only to individuals but to a whole people who had thought they were God's chosen nation and now had been virtually destroyed.

The book of Job examines in great detail all the best answers that the earlier religious tradition had to offer in order to find meaning in suffering. Job's three counselors (and later Elihu) are permitted to present their interpretations of Job's suffering by drawing from what they have learned in the past. Their answers are primarily variations on a retribution doctrine, especially as developed in the DH, in much Wisdom literature (e.g., Proverbs 10:23–30 or Psalm 1), moving toward a more individualized interpretation of suffering as punishment (a direction already seen in Ezekiel 18). Job's friends believe that a just God rules in the world. Such awful things would not happen to Job unless he was deserving of them. Job looks like an innocent person, to be sure, but there must be some sin somewhere which has caused the trouble. They take upon themselves the pastoral task of trying to help him locate the flaw which can then be repented so that he can return to a better life. In his first speech (chaps. 4–5), Eliphaz is somewhat puzzled by Job's apparent innocence and shares the insight that no mere mortal can be righteous before God (4:17). Job may be better than some, but he is still a sinner and, therefore, deserving of his fate. Eliphaz also softens the harshness of his theories of retribution (in 5:17–27) by suggesting that Job's suffering may be good for him. The man who can learn from the chastizing of the Almighty can be happy for the experience.

Job rejects all the answers presented by his would-be comforters. He is still much influenced by his own religious tradition, and he wants the law of retribution to work. The problem is that it is not working. Job has kept up his end of the bargain by his pious and ethical life (see especially his summing up in chaps. 29–31), but God has rewarded him with one disaster after another. And so Job assails God for God's cruelty and injustice (see 9:20–24; 16:6–17; 19:5–13).

There is much debate over how the prologue/epilogue fits with the rest of the book of Job. Whatever else might be said, it is absolutely essential that we, as the readers of the book, know what God says in both the prologue and epilogue. In the prologue, God, in conversations with

Satan, declares that Job is blameless and upright and turns away from evil (1:8, 2:3). In the epilogue, God says that the three counselors were wrong about Job while Job spoke what was right (42:7). Without that information, we would not know whether Eliphaz and the rest were right to blame Job for his disasters, or whether Job is right to protest that he was a victim of injustice. With the inclusion of the prologue and epilogue, it is clear that Job is a case of innocent suffering. He does not deserve his fate. The doctrine of retribution cannot be applied to every case of individual suffering as if it were a universal explanation.

The book of Job is certainly a critique of a rigidly applied doctrine of retribution to explain all suffering. But does it offer any alternative explanations? The best place to look for the "answer" of the book of Job to the dilemma of human suffering is in the God speeches (chaps. 38–41). When God finally speaks to Job (an audience which Job had desired for a long time), God offers no reasons for why Job had suffered. All of Job's questions, framed in juridical terms of guilt and innocence and court trials, were simply ignored. Rather, God proclaimed the wonders of the creation, human inability to understand the complexities of the universe, and the assurance that God will take care of those matters which humans can neither comprehend nor control. In the end, at least according to the usual interpretations of these speeches by Jewish and Christian religious communities, Job is satisfied with this kind of answer that is no answer. Though his intellectual questions are not resolved, he seems content to live with the mystery. His relationship with God has been restored so that he is more willing to leave the unknown in the hands of a God that he can again trust. The abundance of rich creation imagery points to the presence and care of God in the world even when we cannot clearly see God's activity in either our personal or community's history.

The prologue (chaps. 1–2) is one of the very few OT passages that speaks of a heavenly being called "the Satan" who is an adversary of human beings, enticing and testing, seeking their hurt. This introduces another dimension in the biblical interpretation of suffering. Theories of suffering as retribution for sin concentrate on humans and God as the actors in the origin of suffering—humans sin and God executes justice. The presence now of a third party complicates matters even as it helps to explain. How does the Satan relate to God? In Job, God clearly has the last say about what the Satan may do (1:12; 2:6), but one wonders why God allows the Satan to do any harm at all. And how does the Satan relate to humans? Are they still responsible for their own actions if they get a little push from some supernatural force who leads them into self-destructive behavior? At least the presence of a heavenly force for evil allows a sufferer to shift blame from self or God when neither of those options seems appropriate or helpful.

5. Prophetic Eschatology and Apocalypticism. When disillusionment deepened and hopes for a better life in this world diminished, prophets appeared to paint wonderful visions of a new world in which there would be no war (Mic 4:1–4 and Isa 2:2–4), wild and domestic animals would sleep together in peace (Isa 11:6–9), fields and vineyards would bountifully supply everyone's needs (Amos 9:11–15), and all people will know what God's will is and actually do it (Jer 31:31–34). Such dreams of the future allowed people to express their hope that God would not allow the present state of suffering to remain forever. Whatever the origin of the suffering, it would one day be removed, if not in this life and the present age, then in a visionary future age which is in continuity with the present but also radically different from the history of the world up to this time.

When pessimism about this world became particularly acute, apocalyptic visions (as in the book of Daniel, Ezekiel 38–39, Isaiah 24–27, and parts of Zechariah) presented an even greater discontinuity between the present world and the future victory over suffering and evil. The DH was perhaps too confident about seeing the working of God *in history*. To the apocalyptic mind, evil has the upper hand. God will have to intervene to bring the present world order to a close before justice can be done and suffering removed. Suffering is to be expected in this age which is under the dominion of evil powers. But there is hope for the sufferer because God will win the final victory over all that can harm his creation. Even those who have died, martyrs in an evil age, will be redeemed because God will bring them back from the dead in order to execute the justice that was not granted them during their earthly life (Dan 12:1–2). Even death cannot frustrate God's justice. Though pushed off into the distant future, even to a future age, retribution will be forthcoming. The good will be rewarded and the wicked punished.

6. Concluding Observations. During the exilic and postexilic periods a number of changes were taking place in the earlier understanding of suffering as corporate punishment for sin, evidence of a just God at work in the world.

(a) The doctrine of retribution began to be *applied to individual lives* as well as to suffering incurred by a whole people. If individual persons suffer, perhaps they have brought it on themselves and are not merely suffering as part of a fallen race or decadent society. Ezekiel seems to move in this direction, as do Job's counselors.

(b) There are efforts to move beyond suffering as punishment in order to see *redeeming value in suffering*, either for others or for the sufferer. Isaiah 40–55 speaks of a servant who takes on suffering for the benefit of others. Both Eliphaz (Job 5:17) and Elihu (Job 33:12–15; 36:9–12, 15) suggests that God uses suffering to teach people, to save them from worse dangers that will come if they do not change their ways.

(c) There was much protesting of God's injustice. The sense of unfairness would be worse as one began to believe that just retribution should occur even in individual lives. Perhaps the whole nation deserves its fate, but what about women, children, the pious, the righteous who suffer as much, and sometimes more, than the obviously wicked? (See Hab 1:12–13, many lament psalms, Job's speeches, Jeremiah's Confessions, and the book of Ecclesiastes.)

(d) There is more willingness to talk about *the demonic as a contributor to suffering*, either by causing the trouble directly or by enticing humans to do what will bring suffering down on themselves. The only three OT references to Satan as a superhuman figure are from this time—Job 1–2, 1 Chronicles 21, and Zechariah 3.

(e) There is a looking ahead into *the distant future as the arena where justice will finally be achieved.* In the meantime,

the world is so hopelessly in control of evil forces that suffering is more the norm than the exception. These "last times" may still come within the framework of history as we know it, or it may take a dramatic intervention by God to bring in a new age. The time of final vindication may not come until good people have already perished, in which case they will arise from the dead to receive their reward (Dan 12:1–2).

(f) Finally, there are some attempts to recognize and live with the ambiguity, the mystery, not to push the logic of theodicy to the point where one must blame humans in order to protect God's justice and power (Job's friends) or doubt God's justice in order to protect one's integrity (Job himself). Job finally seems willing to live with unanswered questions. Lament psalms, in their movement from lament to praise, also seem more concerned with preserving the relationship with God than finding satisfactory solutions to the intellectual dilemma of suffering.

C. The New Testament

In their attempts to understand suffering, the early Christians were shaped and informed by these biblical traditions already mentioned. But NT discussions about suffering are very often preoccupied with two questions—how to make sense out of the suffering of Jesus, and how to understand the suffering experienced by early Christians because of their allegiance to Jesus as Christ.

1. The Gospels. The old idea of retribution was still prevalent. God was still regarded as a good and just God, and it was believed that evil would be punished and good would be rewarded, although this will not necessarily happen within this life. In this life, one cannot assume that sufferers deserve their fate. Life is too complicated for that. It may even be true (as in the Beatitudes of Matt 5:3–12) that the ones who are blessed are the mourners, the meek, the hungry, the poor, and those who are persecuted for a righteous cause. In a corrupt world, the ones who appear to be successful may actually be the evil ones who have come unjustly to their reward. Suffering may actually be a sign that you are one of the faithful rather than being the consequence of a sinful life.

In Luke 13:1–5, Jesus would not concede that those who met unfortunate ends at the hands of Pilate or that those who were crushed by the Siloam tower were any worse than those who might have escaped. The incidental calamities of this life cannot be explained, but everyone will be held accountable in some future judgment.

In John 9, Jesus says that the man born blind was not afflicted because of some sin committed by either his parents or himself. This is a clear word of rejection of an absolutized doctrine of retribution which connects sin to punishment in individual cases of suffering.

The suffering and death of Jesus was a problem for the early Christians. The Messiah was supposed to usher in a new kingdom, not get himself killed. Clearly, Jesus did not deserve to die. Luke has Jesus tell the travelers to Emmaus that prophets have spoken that it was necessary that the Christ should suffer (Luke 24:25–26). (In Acts 3:18, Peter also refers to such prophecies of a suffering messiah.) The OT texts that come the closest to predicting such a Messiah are those in Isaiah 40–55, particularly the Servant Songs, and especially Isaiah 53. The suffering and death of Jesus thus came to be viewed as part of God's design: It was for a greater good, the salvation of the human race. Christ died for others. And, by analogy, the followers of Jesus should be willing to take up their own crosses, to be willing to suffer for the sake of the spreading of the gospel (e.g., Matt 16:24–25). Thus the suffering of the early Christians could be interpreted as suffering for others, following the example of Jesus Christ.

Though there are characteristics of apocalyptic literature at many places in the gospels (such as the presence of demonic forces and belief in the resurrection of the dead—e.g., Mark 12:18–27 and parallels), a few passages are more obviously apocalyptic in tone (e.g., Matthew 24, Mark 13, Luke 21). They speak of the great trauma at the end of the age when God will act decisively to end the reign of sin, evil, and suffering once and for all.

2. Epistles and Revelation. In words of comfort to fellow Christians, early Christian writers concentrated on two areas of encouragement to those who were suffering. First, they should be assured that no matter how severe they are treated by this life, the promise of resurrection is there for them. If Jesus rose from the dead, then surely the followers of Christ will also be raised into a wonderful new existence where Jesus has defeated all enemies (1 Corinthians 15). Even if some have already died before Jesus has returned, the mourners should not grieve and be without hope. Those who are alive will not be gathered to God before those who have fallen asleep (1 Thess 4:13–18). Justice will finally be done. The dead will be raised and judged by what they have done—the good to be rewarded and the evil to be punished (Rev 20:11–15, 22:12). For those who have favor with God, there will be no more tears, death, mourning, or pain. All the former things will pass away (Rev 21:4).

A second theme of good news in the midst of suffering is the assurance that God can work good even out of suffering. Therefore, it is even possible to rejoice in your suffering, with the knowledge that it will produce endurance, character, and then, hope. The one who suffers can be assured that whoever hopes in God through Christ will not be disappointed (Rom 5:3–5). Suffering can be understood as discipline, sent by God to make us better persons, just as earthly fathers sometimes must discipline their sons (Heb 12:3–11, containing quote from Prov 3:11–12).

3. Concluding Observations. (a) The NT continues the direction begun in exilic times of being less certain that God's justice will be fully executed within this world as presently constituted. With regard to suffering, this meant that people can seldom have the kind of assurance expressed by the DH, and can be skeptical about those who continue to identify cause-and-effect relationships between the sins that people do and the suffering that comes to them. Particularly, this does not work when examining the suffering of an individual person. God will still see that justice is done, although it may not be apparent in this life. More likely, it will come in its fullness either through death and resurrection or at the Second Coming, whichever comes first. In the meantime, the faithful will have to tolerate a certain amount of suffering, strengthened in the knowledge that it will not last forever and that one day they will receive their reward.

(b) NT writings put a heavy emphasis on suffering for

others as a calling for a Christian. Just as Jesus died for others, so should Christians be willing to suffer for the good of others and the spreading of the gospel. Such an explanation could be very helpful when suffering was clearly the result of a public witness to an unpopular religion; however, it might not be so helpful in explaining common, ordinary suffering that seemed not to be directly or indirectly related to any great witness.

(c) The benefit of the suffering might fall on the sufferers themselves rather than on other persons. Though suffering is, by definition, negative, it is still possible to receive some personal benefits from such an experience. As Paul says, it is even possible to rejoice in one's suffering, looking back and realizing that lessons have been learned, that humility has been realized, that hope has met response, and that God's reassuring presence has been with the sufferer even in the depths of suffering.

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SUICIDE. The taking of one's own life is always morally problematic. Religiously motivated suicide is particularly sensitive as an issue in the history of Jewish and Christian thought, and is closely related to issues of martyrdom and redemptive suffering generally. See also MARTYR, MARTYRDOM.

A. Introduction: History of the Problem
B. Suicide in Greek and Roman Antiquity
C. Suicide in Biblical Literature
D. Suicide in Second-Temple Judaism
E. Suicide in Early Christianity
F. The Augustinian Reversal

A. Introduction: History of the Problem

The idea that suicide is both a sin and a crime is a relatively late Christian invention, taking its impetus from Augustine's polemics against the "suicidal mania" of the Donatists in the late 4th and early 5th centuries and acquiring the status of canon law in a series of three church councils of the 6th and 7th centuries (Fedden 1938: 133–34). In other words, the act of taking one's own life, which had been accepted, admired, and even sought after as a means of attaining immediate salvation by Greeks and Romans, Jews and Christians throughout antiquity, now became the focus of intense Christian opposition.

The term "suicide" is itself something of a novelty (Daube 1972: 418–29). The *OED* dates its first occurrence to 1651, though the word can be found slightly earlier in Sir Thomas Browne's *Religio Medici,* written in 1635 and published in 1642 (Alvarez 1970: 50). The term was still considered enough of a neologism for Dr. Johnson to exclude it from his *Dictionary* in 1755. Instead, condemnatory expressions such as "self-murder," "self-killing," and "self-slaughter" were used to describe the act of taking one's life, emphasizing its association with murder. Hence the cleverness of John Donne, the first to compose a formal defense of suicide in English, by entitling his treatise *Biathanatos* (a slightly garbled version of the Greek *biaiothanatos* or "one who dies violently") to avoid the pejorative association of the act with murder. Throughout this treatise, Donne employed (and perhaps coined) the term "self-homicide," an intentionally neutral designation, since the word "homicide" could apply to criminal acts as well as to justifiable and even commendable ones (Daube 1972: 419–20).

The arguments of Donne and his successors, notably Voltaire and David Hume, did little to overturn Christianity's moral and religious condemnation of suicide. It took the work of the social sciences, launched by Enrico Morselli (1879) and Emile Durkheim (1897), to change the situation. The phenomenon of suicide was now seen not as an individual problem but as a social one, reducible to statistical analysis. At about the same time medical doctors began to view suicide as a result of illness, specifically depression and other types of mental disorder. Hence suicide came to be seen as a "symptom" of individual psychopathology and social disorganization.

There were, of course, certain advantages in the "medicalizing" and "social scientizing" of suicide. The act was eventually decriminalized: the successful suicide could now be buried and his family was no longer disinherited; the unsuccessful suicide was spared execution. But something was also lost. The more suicide came to be regarded as a "symptom," the less it was seen as an enduring moral and religious question. "Despite all the talk of prevention, it may be that the suicide is rejected by the social scientist as utterly as he was by the most dogmatic Christian" (Alvarez 1970: 74).

B. Suicide in Greek and Roman Antiquity

Although it has been customary to regard the discussion of suicide in Greek and Roman antiquity as a distinctly Stoic phenomenon, this should not obscure the fact that nearly all the philosophical schools and religious movements of the Greco-Roman world had worked out their own positions on the problem of suicide (Hirzel 1908; Grisé 1982). Admittedly, in the Roman period, many of the more famous suicides (or martyrs) were Stoics, and in the writings of Seneca in particular the act of taking one's life was extolled as the greatest triumph of an individual over fate. Yet, the phenomenon was by no means limited to Stoics. The remark of E. R. Dodds, that "in these centuries a good many persons were consciously or unconsciously in love with death," may be an exaggeration, but it is an exaggeration for a point (1965: 135). Indeed, as A. D. Nock observed, the first century witnessed the rise of what can only be described as a "suicide cult" (1933: 197).

While accounts of suicide can be found in Greek literature as early as Homer (e.g., Epicaste in *Od.* 11.271–80), who regarded the act as something natural and usually heroic, it is really Plato's *Phaedo* which provides the starting point for and remains central to the discussion of suicide throughout antiquity. In the *Phaedo,* the condemned Socrates argues that the philosopher should welcome death since he may expect to attain "the greatest blessings in that other land" (64a). In fact, Socrates goes so far as to urge every person with a worthy interest in philosophy "to come after me as quickly as he can" (61bc). Recognizing the provocative nature of his remark, Socrates immediately issues a disclaimer: "Perhaps, however, [the philosopher] will not take his own life, for *they* say that is not permitted" (61c). The apparent contradiction only serves to confuse the issue among Socrates' disciples. One of them, Cebes, therefore asks: "What do you mean by this, Socrates, that it is not permitted to take one's life, but that the philosopher would desire to follow after your dying?" (61d). Socrates responds by appealing first to the Pythagorean (or perhaps Orphic) doctrine that an individual is placed in a kind of prison—the body—from which he must not set himself free or run away (62b). With typical playfulness, however, Socrates confesses that this "secret doctrine" is too obscure for him to be certain of its meaning. He offers therefore a simpler principle: "The gods are our guardians and we humans are the possession of the gods. . . . If one of your possessions should kill itself when you had not intended that you wished it to die, would you not be angry with it and punish it if you could?" (62bc).

By this analogy Socrates implies that an individual, who is one of the gods' possessions, ought not to take his own life because that would mean usurping a privilege which belongs only to the gods. This statement, in particular, led some interpreters, both ancient and modern, to conclude that Socrates (or Plato) condemned suicide. But the argument is less straightforward and more subtle than might appear at first glance. On the one hand, "Socrates' sweetly reasonable tone repudiates suicide, yet at the same time he makes death seem infinitely desirable; it is the entry to the world of ideal presences of which earthly reality is a mere shadow" (Alvarez 1970: 60).

Furthermore, as John Rist has noted, Socrates left one point obscure, and this point remained at the center of the discussion of suicide throughout antiquity, to appear again in the first book of Augustine's *City of God* (1969: 234). Socrates concludes that "perhaps from *this* point of view it is not unreasonable to say that a person must not kill himself until god sends some necessity *(anangke)* upon him, such as has now come upon me" (62c). By this "loophole" Plato implies that Socrates decided to take his own life *voluntarily,* irrespective of the sentence of death hanging over him, which was merely coincidental. The importance of this account for the subsequent discussion of suicide in antiquity should not be underestimated. Indeed, the death of Socrates served as the paradigm for countless others. At the same time, however, and owing to their playfully ambiguous character, the statements attributed to Socrates in the *Phaedo* were also used as a way of moderating against the practice of suicide.

The influence of the *Phaedo* on subsequent discussions and actual cases of suicide is pervasive. A few examples must suffice. According to the doxographic tradition preserved in Diogenes Laertius' *Lives of the Philosophers* (7.28), Zeno, the founder of Stoicism, was leaving his school one day when he fell and broke his finger (in other accounts, his toe). Striking the ground with his fist, he proceeded to quote the following line from a lost tragedy of Timotheus, the *Niobe:* "I am coming; why do you call me?" Zeno then killed himself by holding his breath. Adolf Bonhoeffer has observed that Zeno seems to have interpreted this "accident" as a divine summons; hence the quotation from the *Niobe* (1894: 38–39; cf. Rist 1969: 243). Zeno supposed that he had received the signal to depart, perhaps because his philosophical work was complete or because he was no longer capable of living "according to nature." In any case, the story of Zeno's death echoes the rationale of Socrates in the *Phaedo.* Like Socrates, Zeno believed that god gives the sign for an individual's departure.

The account of the death of Cleanthes, Zeno's successor, admits of a similar interpretation. He refused to resume eating after an inflammation of the gums had led to a two-day fast. "Declaring that he had already gotten too far down the road, Cleanthes went on fasting the rest of his days until his death at the same age as Zeno's" (Diog. Laert. 7.176).

The views of the later Stoics betray even more clearly the influence of the *Phaedo.* In the *Tusculan Disputations,* Cicero recounts the death of Cato of Utica and then compares it with the death of Socrates.

> Cato departed from life with a feeling of joy in having found a reason for death; for the god who is master within us forbids our departure without permission. When, however, god himself has given a valid reason [*causam iustam*], as he did in the past to Socrates and in our day to Cato and to many others, then with certainty your true wise man will joyfully go forth from the darkness here into the light beyond. All the same, he will not break the bonds of his prison house—the law forbids it—but as if in obedience to a magistrate or some lawful authority, he will go forth at the summons and release of god. For the whole life of the philosopher, as the same wise man says, is a preparation for death (1.74).

According to Plutarch, Cato himself was inspired by Socrates to kill himself and read the *Phaedo* twice the night before he fell on his sword (*Cat. Min.* 67–68).

By the time we reach Seneca in the 1st century A.D., we have witnessed the "apotheosis" of suicide. Instead of invoking the Socratic and earlier Stoic view that the wise man will not take his own life until god gives the signal to depart, Seneca emphasizes the right to die in general: it is the act *par excellence* of the free man, the path to liberty, proof that an individual cannot be held against his will.

> In any kind of slavery the way lies open to freedom. If the soul is sick and because of its own imperfection unhappy, a man may end its sorrows and at the same time himself. . . . In whatever direction you turn your eyes, there lies the means to end your woes. Do you see that cliff? Down there is the way to freedom. Do you see that ocean, that river, that well? There sits freedom at the bottom. Do you see that tree. . . ? From its branches

> hangs freedom. Do you see that throat of yours, that stomach, that heart? They are ways of escape from slavery. Do you ask what is the path to freedom? Any vein in your body! (*On Anger* 3.15.3–4).

Like Cicero, Seneca frequently mentions Cato as an example of how to die bravely. According to Seneca, however, Cato *proved* his freedom by taking his own life. Although he still compares Cato with Socrates, he intentionally omits any suggestion that god provided a particular sign indicating death (e.g., *Moral Epistles* 13.14; 24.6–8; *Prov.* 2.9–10). This represents a considerable shift: "to allow for suicide in certain circumstances is one thing, to exalt it is quite another" (Rist 1969: 248). Still, the difference is one of degree, for Socrates had also emphasized the benefits, and hence desirability, of death in general.

Seneca's famous *70th Epistle,* which to all intents and purposes is a panegyric to suicide (or freedom), begins with the maxim that "the wise man will live as long as he ought, not as long as he can," and continues by proclaiming that the wise man will consider the possibility of death long before he is under extreme *necessitas* (70.4; cf. Socrates' *anangkē*). Seneca emphatically opposes philosophers who condemn suicide as those who "shut off the path to freedom" (70.14–15). Indeed, it is the deity who has arranged things so that an individual can never be kept in this life against his will.

> Above all, I [sc. god] have taken pains that nothing should keep you here against your will; the way is open. If you do not choose to fight, you may run away. Therefore, of all things I have deemed necessary for you, I have made nothing easier than dying. I have set life on a downward slope: if it is prolonged only observe and you will see what a short and easy path leads to freedom (*Prov.* 6.7).

Thus it is by no means contrary to the will of god if an individual chooses to end his life at any time; it is precisely because of the divine order of things that one is at all times free to die. Furthermore, as Rist notes, it seems that not only is the choice of suicide open to everyone, it is also a particularly ennobling act. Even the "fool" can be transformed into a sage by a well-judged and opportune death (1969: 249).

Seneca's fascination with suicide (in *Ep.* 24.25 he speaks of a *libido moriendi*) strikes the modern reader as exaggerated and extreme—indeed, pathological—but it would be a serious historical misjudgment to dismiss it as such. The fascination with voluntary death in this period was widespread and had, as Nock suggests, various causes: the aura surrounding suicide in legend and life, a certain stridency of self-expression, a desire for theatrical prominence, and the popular notion of the body as the prison of the soul (1933: 198). To these should be added the idea of suicide as a means of self-divination, as a shortcut to immortality. Again, a few examples must suffice. The 2d century rhetorician, Lucian of Samosata, gives us an extraordinary (albeit sarcastic) account of how the Cynic philosopher Proteus Peregrinus, who at one time had been a Christian, burned himself to death at Olympia as a means of apotheosis (*Peregr.* 20–41).

Similarly, Epictetus, the well-known slave turned Stoic philosopher (fl. 100 A.D.), knew of a death-wish among young Greeks so strong that he felt obligated to rein it in. These young men appealed to him in the following manner: "Are we not akin to god, and have we not come from him? Allow us to go back whence we came; allow us to be freed from these chains that are fastened to us and weigh us down. Here there are thieves and robbers, and courts of law, and those who are called tyrants. They think they have some power over us because of this paltry body and its possessions. Let us show them that they have no power over us" (1.9.13–15).

The death-wish of these young Greeks has two causes: first, a longing to escape from earthly troubles and, in particular, from the prison of the body; but the obverse of this is an equally strong desire to return "home," to attain immortality by reuniting with the deity. In an attempt to restrain these men, Epictetus exhorted them in language reminiscent of Socrates in the *Phaedo:* "Men, wait upon god. When he shall give the signal to depart and set you free from this service, then you shall depart to him. But for the present endure to remain in the place where he has stationed you" (1.9.16).

Here it is important to note that Epictetus, like his contemporaries, was not opposed to suicide *per se;* he only thought it wrong to commit suicide without sufficient justification (in this case, without a "divine signal" to do so).

C. Suicide in Biblical Literature

One of the difficulties Augustine and later theologians had in defending their condemnation of suicide is that neither the Hebrew Bible nor the NT explicitly prohibits the act. The Hebrew Bible records five cases of suicide. In two of these, someone who was already wounded preferred to die by his own hand (or, more precisely, in one case, by the hand of his armor-bearer). When Abimelech was mortally wounded by a woman who had dropped a millstone on his head, he "immediately cried out to his attendant, his armor-bearer, 'Draw your dagger and finish me off, that they may not say of me, "A woman killed him!" ' So his attendant stabbed him and he died" (Judg 9:54).

Similarly when King Saul had been mortally wounded by the Philistines at Mt. Gilboa, he said to his armor-bearer, "Draw your sword and run me through, so that the uncircumcised may not run me through and make sport of me." When his armor-bearer refused, Saul grabbed the sword and fell upon it. Seeing that Saul was dead, the armor-bearer too fell on his sword and died (1 Sam 31:4–5; cf. 1 Chr 10:4–5). Note that although Saul was mortally wounded, his armor-bearer committed suicide purely out of devotion to his king.

The fourth case involves Ahithophel, once an adviser to King David who later deserted to serve David's rebellious son Absalom. When Absalom decided not to take Ahithophel's advice, Ahithophel hanged himself (2 Sam 17:23).

The fifth example is Zimri, an officer who treasonously murdered King Elah and had himself proclaimed king of Israel. When the army refused to follow him and laid siege to the capital, Zimri closed himself in the royal citadel and set it afire over him (1 Kgs 16:18).

To these one might add the example of Samson, who deliberately brought the Philistine temple at Gaza down on his head after being blinded (Judg 16:29–30). Later, Christian exegetes would interpret Samson's death as a symbolic foreshadowing of Christ's self-sacrifice.

The important point is that none of these biblical figures receives censure; indeed, their suicides are scarcely commented on, leading one to conclude that in ancient Israel the act of suicide was regarded as something natural and perhaps heroic (Daube 1962: 83–87). The only instance in the Hebrew Bible where an individual considered death and perhaps wished to kill himself, but did not, is Job (7:15; 13:15).

In the NT there is only one clear case of suicide—the death of Judas—and, like the examples in the Hebrew Bible, it too is recorded without comment, although it is implied that Judas's act of self-destruction was a result of his remorse and repentance, and not an additional crime (Matt 27:3–10; Daube 1962: 88–89). "Only much later did the theologians reverse the implicit judgment of Matthew and suggest that Judas was more damned by his suicide than by his betrayal of Christ" (Alvarez 1970: 51). In Acts 16:27–28, Paul is said to have prevented the suicide of the Philippian jailor, no doubt in order to convert him.

The death of Jesus, at least as we have it in the canonical gospels, is ambiguous. Is it the execution of a criminal, an example of heroic martyrdom, or a case of suicide? (The same ambiguity would apply to Plato's account of the death of Socrates.) In an extraordinary passage in the Fourth Gospel (8:22; cf. 7:34; 13:33), we are told that the "Jews" understood Jesus' repeated sayings about his "going away" as a suicide threat. As is often the case in John, they may have spoken more wisely than they knew. Tertullian, for example, described the death of Jesus as a form of voluntary death, and he was followed by Origen in affirming that Jesus *voluntarily* gave up his spirit, since it was impossible that the deity should be at the mercy of the flesh (Fedden 1938: 110). Even Augustine recognized that "[Jesus'] spirit did not leave his body against his will, but because he willed it to happen and he willed when and how it happened" (*On the Trinity* 4.16).

Now in strictly historical terms Jesus of Nazareth never expected to give his life "as a ransom for many." Rather, his intention was to bring about the restoration of Israel and to usher in the kingdom of God, an eschatological revolution which would be accomplished miraculously through Jesus himself acting as God's messianic agent. So conceived, his death was a tragic failure. By the time we reach the gospel accounts, however, a transformation has occurred: Jesus' death was not a mistake; his was not the execution of a failed apocalyptic prophet. On the contrary, it was precisely for this reason that Jesus came: to redeem the world from sin through his sacrificial death. Hence the emphasis in all the gospels on Jesus' prior knowledge of his fate and on his willing and voluntary acceptance of that fate. If it is not always easy to distinguish between suicide and martyrdom, between killing oneself and allowing oneself to be killed for a cause, a principle, or belief, then Tertullian and Origen (even the "Jews" in the Fourth Gospel) were not wrong in describing Jesus' "going away" as a form of suicide. How else are we to make sense of the provocative statement of the Johannine Jesus: "No one takes my life; I lay it down of my own free will" (John 10:18)? That later theologians judged the act of suicide a sin for which Jesus' similar act could not atone is a telling indication of the distance Christianity has traveled in its thinking about suicide.

More remarkable even than the second-hand interpretations of Jesus' death in the gospels are Paul's own reflections on death in Phil 1:21–26, a passage in which the apostle wrestles with the question of suicide (Droge 1988).

> For me, to live is Christ and to die is gain. Yet which *I shall choose* I cannot tell. I am hard pressed between the two. My strong desire is to depart and be with Christ, for that is far better. But to remain in the flesh is more necessary on your account. Convinced of this, I know that I shall remain and continue with you all, for your progress and joy in the faith, so that in me you may have ample cause to glory in Christ Jesus, because of my coming to you again.

The preceding passage concludes a section of the letter (1:12–26) in which Paul considers the relationship between his imprisonment and the proclamation of the Gospel. In the final analysis he declares that the Gospel will be better served by his continued existence rather than by his departure in death. But first he carefully considers the advantages of each possibility. As Lightfoot and other commentators have observed, "the grammar of the passage reflects the conflict of feeling in the apostle's mind. He is tossed to and fro between the desire to labour for Christ in life, and the desire to be united with Christ by death" (1891: 92). Although the former possibility is judged to be "more necessary" (Gk *anangkaioteron* [Phil 1:24]), the latter is, literally, "much more better" (*pollō mallon kreisson* [v 23]).

At the outset it is important to note that Paul's reflections on death do not arise from the fact that he faces imminent execution. Admittedly, he is in prison, but by the time he writes his letter to the church at Philippi Paul has every reason to expect that he will receive a favorable verdict (1:25–26). That is why he can say to the Philippians that he is looking forward to visiting them in the near future (2:24). Furthermore, full weight must be given to Paul's statement about life and death: "which *I shall choose* I cannot tell" (1:22). In other words, the question of life or death is a matter of Paul's *own* volition, not a fate to be imposed on him by others. If it is a matter of Paul's own choosing, then it seems clear that his internal struggle concerns the possibility of suicide.

In Phil 1:21, Paul issues his famous statement about the meaning and significance he attaches to life and death: "For me, to live is Christ and to die is gain." Why is death a gain? The answer is found in 1:23, "My strong desire *(epithymia)* is to depart and be with Christ, for that is far better." For Paul, death is a gain because it means union with Christ and the attainment of immortality; and it is for this reason that he "lusts after death" (*epithymia eis to analysai*, cf. Seneca's *libido moriendi* in *Ep.* 24.25). Although he finally rejects the "gain" of death, it is clearly death that he prefers. This is confirmed by a similar statement in 2 Cor 5:1–8.

> For we know that if the earthly tent we live in is destroyed, we have a building from God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. Here indeed we groan, and long to put on our heavenly dwelling. . . . For while we are in this tent, we sigh with anxiety; not that we would be unclothed, but that we would be further clothed, so that what is mortal may be swallowed up by life. . . . So we are always of good courage; we know that while we are at home in the body we are away from the Lord. . . . We are of good courage, *and we would rather be away from the body and at home with the Lord.*

The final sentence is important, for the phrase "we would rather . . ." *(eudokoumen mallon)* does not express a preference but a *decisive* choice.

If Paul prefers death, why does he finally choose life instead? Here attention must be given to the comparative *anangkaioteron* ("more necessary") in Phil 1:24. Earlier it was noted that Socrates had left a single loophole for the justification of voluntary death: "An individual must not kill himself until God sends some necessity *(anangkē)* upon him" (*Phaedo* 62c). It seems that Paul, like so many of his contemporaries, was aware of this Socratic principle and applied to his own situation, for he says, "To remain in the flesh is *more necessary* on your account." In other words, he believed that the necessity or constraint was on the side of his remaining alive. While the option of death was considered and, indeed, personally desirable, it was ultimately rejected because it contravened his understanding of the *present* will of God, namely, that Paul continue his earthly mission. It is not the case, however, that Paul rejected suicide *per se,* only that it was not *yet* the appropriate time for such an act. (In fact, it is not known how Paul died. Given his statements in Phil 1:23 and 2 Cor 5:8, the possibility of suicide cannot be ruled out.)

A similar position on voluntary death was endorsed by Paul's contemporary, the Roman Stoic Musonius Rufus, in a statement that can be read as a virtual paraphrase of Phil 1:21–26. "One who by living is of use to many," Musonius declares, "has not the right to choose to die, unless by dying he may be of use to more" (frag. 29; Lutz 1947: 133). This is the intellectual context in which Paul's reflections on death are best understood. He prefers death to life because it means union with Christ and immortality, but Paul also believes that a divine *anangke* has been placed upon him and that he cannot depart until a divine signal is given.

D. Suicide in Second-Temple Judaism

In Jewish literature of the Hellenistic and Roman periods pious Jews are often portrayed as taking their lives voluntarily rather than betray their religious beliefs. For example, when in 39 or 40 A.D. the emperor Gaius announced plans to have a statue of himself erected in the Jerusalem temple, the Jews solemnly warned the Roman governor Petronius that, if this were carried out, they would first slaughter their women and children and then kill themselves "in contempt of a life which is not a life" (Philo *Gaium* 236).

Of similar interest is the treatment of voluntary death in the writings of Flavius Josephus. Although Josephus himself delivered a lengthy speech on the iniquity of suicide in the *Jewish War* (3 §362–82; but his own neck was on the line), in the same work he also praised the heroism of the Jews at Masada who mutually slaughtered themselves rather than fall into the hands of the Romans (7 §320–88). The former passage is especially worthy of note because it betrays a clear awareness of the Socratic tradition on suicide. "Do you not think that God is indignant," Josephus declares, "when man treats his gift with scorn? For it is from him that we have received our being, and it is to him that we should leave the decision to take it away" (*JW* 3 §371).

The most famous example of all, however, was the suicide of Razis, recorded in gruesome detail in 2 Macc 14:37–46.

> Being surrounded, Razis fell on his own sword, preferring to die nobly rather than to fall into the hands of sinners and suffer outrages unworthy of his noble birth. But in the heat of the struggle he did not hit exactly, and the crowd was now rushing in through the doors. He bravely ran up on the wall and manfully threw himself down into the crowd. But as they quickly drew back, a space opened and he fell in the middle of the empty space. Still alive and aflame with anger, he rose, and though his blood gushed forth and his wounds were severe he ran through the crowd; and standing on a steep rock, with his blood now completely drained from him, he tore out his entrails, took them with both hands and hurled them at the crowd, calling upon the Lord of life and spirit to give them back to him again.

The *theatrical* quality of Razis' death is of a piece with the literary commonplace of the Gymnosophists (Brahmans), who threw themselves into the fire and thereby made a protest against Alexander the Great, and with the stories in Tacitus of the Stoic philosophers who opened their veins in opposition to the emperor Nero. Also similar is the explicit hope of immortality: Razis "tore out his entrails, . . . calling upon the Lord of life and spirit to give them back to him again." His act of self-destruction is one of political rebellion, to be sure: but it is also carried out with the full assurance that he will pass over to a higher reality.

In later rabbinic literature there are numerous stories of suicide, and this despite the usual claim by scholars that the rabbis opposed the practice. The Mishnah and Talmud contain accounts of suicide and martyrdom as well as discussions relating to the rules and regulations governing both. For example, *b. Ketub.* 103b relates that when rabbi Judah the Prince died a "voice from heaven" *(bat qôl)* proclaimed that all those present at his death would enjoy the life of the world to come. When a fuller, who had the misfortune of not calling on the rabbi that day, learned of this, he killed himself. Immediately, a *bat qôl* announced that he too would live in the world to come.

A similar story in the Mishnah (*ʿAbod. Zar.* 18a) concerns the martyrdom of Rabbi Hanina ben Teradion during the emperor Hadrian's reign. The rabbi was wrapped in a Torah scroll and set on fire; but to ensure that he would suffer, water-soaked tufts of wool were placed upon his heart. His disciples therefore begged him to breathe in the fire in order to hasten an otherwise gruesome death. The rabbi, however, refused, in words faintly reminiscent of the

Phaedo: "Let him who gave [my soul] take it away, but no one should destroy himself." The executioner then asked whether he would enter the world to come if he helped the rabbi die sooner. When he received an affirmative response, the executioner removed the tufts of wool and the rabbi died. The executioner then threw himself upon the fire. Suddenly a *bat qôl* proclaimed that both the rabbi *and* the executioner had been admitted to the world to come. The story concludes: "One may acquire life in a single hour, another after many years."

In both accounts suicide is given a clearly positive valuation. Moreover, suicide is understood here not so much as an escape from mundane affairs and troubles; rather, it is an act of sincere contrition and simultaneous transformation, enabling the individual to atone for his sins and to attain eternal life. The statement that "one may acquire life in a single hour, another after many years" bespeaks an understanding of suicide not as a sin but as a particularly ennobling act: both Jew *and* pagan can be transformed by a well-judged and appropriate death.

E. Suicide in Early Christianity

As Christianity expanded into and eventually took over the Greek and Roman world it brought with it a preoccupation with death as intense as Paul's. "We conquer by dying," Tertullian wrote, "and this victory of ours gives us the spoil of eternal life" *(Apol. 50)*. The Christians' lust for martyrdom was the measure of their value of life. For them "life itself was at best unimportant; at worst, evil. Death therefore was a release awaited or sought out with impatience" (Alvarez 1970: 68). One thinks immediately of Ignatius begging the Roman community not to make any attempt to save him.

> I am writing to all the churches, and I give injunctions to all men, that I am dying willingly for God's sake, if you do not hinder it. I beseech you, be not an unseasonable kindness to me. Permit me to be eaten by the beasts, through whom I can attain to God. . . . I long for the beasts that are prepared for me; and I pray that they may be found prompt for me. I will even entice them to devour me promptly; . . . I will force them to it. Grant me this favor. I know what is expedient for me; now I am becoming a disciple. . . . Let there come on me fire, and cross, and struggles with wild beasts, cutting, and tearing asunder, racking of bones, mangling of limbs, crushing of my whole body, cruel tortures of the devil, may I but attain to Jesus Christ! . . . The pains of birth are upon me. Permit me, my brethren; hinder me not from living, do not wish me to die. . . . Permit me to receive the pure light; when I have arrived there I shall become a man. . . . Even though when I come to you I beg you myself, do not be persuaded by me, but rather obey this which I write to you. For in the midst of life I write to you desiring death (*Rom.* 4–7).

The Romans seem not to have been prepared for the fact that Christians like Ignatius anxiously awaited their torture as a means of salvation. In times of persecution Christians would force themselves on the notice of Roman magistrates by tearing down images and by other provocative demonstrations. In 185 A.D., the proconsul of Asia, Arrius Antoninus, was confronted by a group of Christians (perhaps Montanists) wearing nooses around their necks, and demanding execution. He simply sent them on their way, telling them that if they wanted to commit suicide there were cliffs and precipices they could jump over (Frend 1965: 293). In similar fashion Marcus Aurelius says:

> What a fine thing is the soul which is ready if it must here and now be freed from the body and either extinguished or scattered or survive. But let this readiness come from a personal judgment and not out of a mere spirit of opposition, like that of the Christians. Let it be in a reasoned and grave temper, capable of convincing another, and without theatrics (*Meditations* 11.3).

Even certain Christians could be moved to embarrassment and irritation by such strident behavior. Clement of Alexandria, for example, criticizes those Christians whose fascination with martyrdom led to theatrical displays.

> We ourselves blame those who have rushed on death: for there are some who are really not ours but share only the name, who are eager to deliver themselves over in hatred against the creator, poor wretches, passionate for death. We say that these men commit suicide [*exagein heautous*] and are not really martyrs, even if they are officially executed. For they do not preserve the characteristic mark of believing martyrdom, inasmuch as they have not known the only true God, but give themselves up to vain death, as the Gymnosophists of the Brahmans to useless fire (*Strom.* 4.17.1).

Of interest here is Clement's contrast between martyrdom and suicide. In the final analysis such a distinction is rather arbitrary and depends to a large extent on the perspective of the observer. After all, Clement is describing the actions of men he considers heretics, "those who are not really ours but share only the name." Doubtless, Clement would also have regarded Ignatius' lust for martyrdom as suicidal, even though Ignatius himself viewed his impending death as the means of attaining immortality. The same ambiguity applies to the deaths of Socrates and Jesus. Depending therefore on the prejudice of the observer, the act of taking one's life or allowing it to be taken can be evaluated either positively, as a form of voluntary martyrdom or self-sacrifice, or negatively, as the equivalent of self-murder.

The ambiguous and fluid nature of the terms "suicide" and "martyrdom" is perhaps best illustrated by an extraordinary passage from the late 2d century *Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas*. Condemned to death for refusing to deny their religious beliefs, these two women, along with other Christians, were led into an amphitheater where frightening tortures awaited them. Throughout, emphasis is placed on the voluntary nature of their suffering. "We came to this of our own accord," they declare, "that our freedom should not be violated" (18.5). Perpetua's death is then described in the following manner:

> The others took the sword in silence without moving, especially Saturnus, who . . . was the first to die. Perpetua, however, had yet to taste more pain. She

screamed as she was struck on the bone; then she took the trembling hand of the young gladiator and guided it to her throat. It was as though so great a woman . . . could not be killed unless she herself was willing (21.8–10).

Here the concepts of suicide and martyrdom merge: they are but two sides of the same coin. In spite of its legendary features, this account brings to light an important aspect of one form of religious suicide in antiquity. Perpetua's death is not simply an attempt to escape from the trials and hardships of her present life, it is rather a statement about or judgment on life itself, both here and in the hereafter. That the dates of the deaths of the martyrs were celebrated annually in the church calendar as "birthdays" speaks volumes.

F. The Augustinian Reversal

In considering this cluster—martyrdom, suicide, murder—Jacques Bels (1975) has shown that up until the time of Augustine antiquity generally considered suicide as a form of voluntary martyrdom and clearly distinguished it from murder. Beginning with Augustine, however, the division was altered. Suicide came to be separated from martyrdom and identified instead with murder, more specifically, self-murder. Bels has further shown that the reasons for this change in attitude were largely polemical. In confrontation with the Donatists, Augustine sought to redefine the terms "martyrdom" and "suicide," and in so doing claimed, in a manner similar to Clement two centuries earlier, that the Donatist "martyrs" were in fact merely "suicides"—that is to say, self-murderers. (The relevant texts are *Against Gaudentius* [a Donatis bishop] and *City of God* 1.17–27. Though purely polemical in the former treatise, Augustine's opposition becomes more theoretical in the latter, when the Donatists appealed to the "Old Testament" example of Razis in order to justify their position.)

As is well known, Augustine's case against suicide was based on Plato, not the Bible. Aside from his appeal to the sixth commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," Augustine took over the Pythagorean argument of Plato in the *Phaedo,* that to sever the bonds of body and soul prematurely is to usurp a privilege which belongs only to God. To commit suicide therefore meant that the individual had acted, in his last moment of life, in direct opposition to the divine will—had, in a strict sense, murdered himself. However "un-Christian" the sources of his argument, in the centuries between Augustine and the Renaissance suicide was condemned by Christianity as an act of murder and was considered unredeemable along with the sins of adultery and apostasy. Indeed, Aquinas buttressed the argument by raising self-preservation to the status of a universal natural law. Thus in the early 13th century, when the Albigensians sought out martyrdom with a Donatist zeal, the church condemned them for this and their *other* heresies, and then granted them their wish (Fedden 1972: 146–47). For further discussion see *EncRel* 14: 125–31.

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A. J. DROGE

SUKKOTH [Heb *sūkkôt*]. The Feast of Succoth is equal to the Feast of Booths. See CALENDARS (ANCIENT ISRAELITE AND EARLY JEWISH).

SUMER, SUMERIANS. Sumerians were speakers of the Sumerian language. The Sumerian language is first attested in the earliest written records at the beginning of the 3d millennium B.C., and became extinct by the early 2d millennium, at the latest (Cooper 1973, Heimpel 1974, Lieberman 1977: 20–21), but preserved as a language of scholarship and cult through the end of the pre-Christian era. See LANGUAGES (INTRODUCTORY SURVEY).

Sumer(ian) is the anglicized Akk *šumeru.* The term and the language were first known from the Sumero-Akkadian bilingual compositions and lexical lists found on tablets from Ashurbanipal's library at Nineveh, excavated in the middle of the 19th century. Controversy as to whether Sumerian was a real language or only an invented sacred language of the Babylonian and Assyrian clergy (Jones 1969) was resolved in the last decades of that century when large numbers of unilingual Sumerian texts and inscriptions of the Sumerians themselves were discovered during the French excavations at Girsu (Tello) and the American excavations at Nippur.

A. Usage and Etymology

The Sumerian term for Sumer is KI-EN-GI(R), and for the language EME-GI$_7$(R). Current scholarship has rejected the theory put forward by Poebel and elaborated by Jacob-

sen, which would link both KI-EN-GI and *šumeru* to the Sum word KALAM (Emesal dialect KA-NA-ÁG) "nation, homeland," and derive all from variant forms of the name of the city Nippur, the religious capital of ancient Babylonia (Krecher 1966: 108, Kraus 1970: 48–51). The adjective GI_7(R) means "noble" or the like and has a known variant orthography GI(R), as in the royal name Shulgi(r), "noble young man." Sum EME is "tongue," hence EME-GI_7 is "noble tongue," and the GI(R) in KI-EN-GI should function adjectivally like the GI_7(R) in EME-GI_7. Since Sum KI is "place," one would ideally like KI-EN-GI to be "noble place," but since the /g/ in GI_7 is not the nasalized Sum /ĝ/, this leaves the EN unexplained. The best suggestion is Wilcke's (1974: 229–30), that by analogy with known forms KI + toponym = "place GN" (attributive, not genetive), ki-en-gi be understood as "place, noble en." Sum EN normally means "lord" or "high priest," but the meaning intended when the term KI-EN-GI was coined (mid-3d millennium at the latest) is uncertain. The etymology of Akk *šumeru* and its relationship to KI-EN-GI and EME-GI_7 are unknown.

As a geographical term, KI-EN-GI "Sumer" is used in a narrow sense for Babylonia S of Nippur, and in this sense can contrast with KI-URI "Akkad," Babylonia N of Nippur. In a broader sense it is used for all of Babylonia, parallel to MA-DA "land", KALAM "nation," UN and SAG-GI_6-GA, both "(native) people," and in contrast to KUR(-KUR) "foreign land(s)" or specific extra-Babylonian toponyms.

As attributives, KI-EN-GI and EME-GI are used to qualify domestic animals in the Ur III period (Wilcke 1974: 218–19), and there is a "Sumerian" (EME-GI_7) quart measure in the Sargonic period, but the terms rarely qualify human beings. One Sargonic administrative text possibly refers to "Akkadians" (LÚ A URI^2-ME) alongside Sumerians, and Shulgi of Ur (ca. 2050 B.C.) is said to have referred to his predecessors as Akkadians (DUMU URI), Sumerians (DUMU KI-EN-GI), and Gutians (Wilcke 1974: 205, 216, 225–26). When the last king of Ur, Ibbisin (ca. 2000 B.C.) is said to have called his rival, Ishbi'erra, "not of Sumerian seed" (NUMUN KI-EN-GI NU-ME-A), it is because he comes from Mari, i.e. outside of Babylonia proper. In humorous scribal dialogues of the early 2d millennium, scribes boast of their "Sumerian" origins to bolster their claim to mastery of the Sumerian language, already a dead language that had to be learned in long years of study in the scribal academy (Wilcke 1974: 226).

The term DUMU-$GI_{(7)}$(R) contains the same $GI_{(7)}$(R) as in KI-EN-GI(R) and EME-GI_7(R) and should mean "Sumerian" (DUMU = "child," and by extension, "citizen, member"), but in nearly all references seems to refer to either a fully free citizen, or an aristocrat, with no ethnic implications (Wilcke 1974: 230; Cooper 1983: 240).

B. Sumerian Origins

The vexing question of Sumerian origins has two parts: when did the Sumerians arrive in Mesopotamia, and whence? Most scholars accept the fact that a good number of the earliest place names in Babylonia are not Sumerian (but see, to the contrary, *CAH* 1/1: 122–55; Jacobsen 1969), and therefore the early populations who named those places did not speak Sumerian (e.g., Gelb 1960). Based on perceived phonetic similarities, Landsberger (1974) associated a subgroup of these early place names with certain Sumerian words, dealing primarily with agriculture and crafts, which he saw as loanwords from the pre-Sumerian language of the place names, called by him Proto-Euphratic. Proto-Euphratic was, according to Landsberger, the language of the indigenous population of Babylonia, as distinct from the language of northern Mesopotamian, Proto-Tigridian, postulated on the basis of phonetic similarities in another subgroup of non-Sumerian, non-Semitic toponyms. Both Proto-Euphratic and Proto-Tigridian were themselves dialects of an original proto-language (*Ursprache;* Landsberger 1974: 178 n. 2). Whether one accepts the notion of a Proto-Euphratic substratum in Sumerian or not (see the criticisms, e.g., of Powell 1972: 167–68 and Lieberman 1977: 18), the evidence of the non-Sumerian toponyms would make it quite difficult to posit the Sumerians as *the* indigenous population of (southern) Babylonia.

A *terminus ante quem* for Sumerian presence in Babylonia can be established by the date of the earliest texts in the Sumerian language. A respectable scholarly minority had always doubted that the Sumerians invented the writing system that bears their name (Gelb 1960: 262–63, Oppenheim 1964: 49, Hallo and Simpson 1971: 22–23), but newly published evidence of the archaic texts from Uruk (Green and Nissen 1987) makes it highly unlikely that the earliest archaic texts (Nissen's Stage IV; Nissen 1986, Green and Nissen 1987) do not represent the Sumerian language, despite Nissen's own doubts (Green and Nissen 1987: Einleitung). The phonetic uses of archaic signs documented in Green and Nissen (1987) prove that the signs represent Sumerian lexemes. For example, the alternation of the signs TAB and DAB_5 proves that the signs in question had Sumerian readings already at the time of the archaic texts, and the use of the sign EN in composing the complex sign MEN "crown" shows that the language of the archaic texts had a word "crown" containing the phonetic sequence /en/, i.e., the Sum word MEN. Vaiman (1976) has made a convincing suggestion that the sign GI was used to represent "to return" or something similar, a word written with the sign GI_4 in later Sumerian. Since the sign GI is a pictogram of a reed, the language represented would have to be one in which a reed could be used as a rebus writing for the verb "to return," i.e., "reed" and "to return" would have to be homonyms, as they are in Sumerian. The weight of the cumulative evidence is persuasive: the language of the archaic texts is Sumerian. Until the publication of the archaic texts has advanced further, it will be difficult to determine to what degree the evidence for the Sumerian character of the texts' language is present at the earliest stage (Nissen's Stage IV) as opposed to the next stage (Nissen's Stage III), to which the great majority of texts belongs. Chronologically, the difference is slight (just before 3000 B.C. or just after), and we can set the *terminus ante quem* for a Sumerian presence in Babylonia to 3100–3000 B.C.

Classically, attempts to detect the first presence of the Sumerians in prehistoric Babylonia have been made by searching the archaeological record for discontinuities that could indicate the arrival of a new population group. The premises of such an enterprise are questionable, and the results have been contradictory. There have been those who have seen continuity in the archaeological record and

would have the Sumerians in Babylonia in the 5th millennium B.C., and those who see discontinuity and date the arrival of the Sumerians to the beginning of the Uruk period (mid-4th millennium) or later (Jones 1969; Römer 1985: 7). Current consensus would deny the possibility of detecting ethno-linguistic change through change in archaeological assemblages or settlement patterns, but there continue to be archaeologists who are convinced that the Sumerians were present in the Ubaid population (5th millennium B.C.; e.g., Oates 1986: 21–22), and those who are most comfortable placing the arrival of the Sumerians in the mid-4th millennium (Nissen 1988: 68–69).

If the Sumerians were not part of the original population of Babylonia, where did they originate? Or, if they were part of the original population, where did their ancestors reside before the relatively late settlement of the Mesopotamian alluvium? Sumerian is a linguistic isolate, and the many attempts to relate it to other languages, ancient or modern, have been unsuccessful (Haldar 1965; Komoróczy 1978: 226 with notes; Römer 1985: 27–8). Because the ancient world to the W of Mesopotamia is relatively well known, and there is no evidence from toponyms, personal names or inscriptions to suggest early Sumerian presence there, the search for a Sumerian "homeland" has been to the north or east, and the Indus Valley area has been the most respectable specific suggestion (e.g., Römer 1985: 9). Because Sumerian sources usually mention the Indus region (Meluhha) together with Magan and Dilmun in the Persian Gulf region (Heimpel 1987), and because of a Babylonian tradition, preserved by Berossus, that the merman sage Oannes rose out of the Gulf to bring the arts of civilization to Babylonia, it is most often suggested that the Sumerians arrived by sea or along the Gulf shore (but, to the contrary, von Soden 1985: 15). The Gulf connection has also been used recently to suggest that the Sumerians originally inhabited areas now covered by the waters of the Gulf, which had advanced beyond Qatar only around 12,000 B.C., and didn't reach their present level until 4000 B.C. (Roux 1982). Possible support for the Indus Valley as a Sumerian homeland is the Sumerian poetic term for native Babylonians or mankind in general, SAG GI_6-GA "black-headed."

However, the most sensible approach to the problem of Sumerian origins is to abandon both the attempts to detect something in the archaeological record that signals their presence or arrival, and the search for an original homeland. A very sober and refreshing assessment of the problem by Komoróczy (1978) points out that *all* non-Indo-European, non-Semitic languages of the ANE are isolates, and that it was typical for very different languages to coexist and form convergence groups, as did Sumerian and Akkadian. He would see both Semites and Sumerians among the peoples who first settled the alluvium. The ancestors of the Sumerians may have originated on the eastern fringes of Babylonia, but all of the qualities that we might want to call "Sumerian" emerged and developed only after they were settled in Babylonia and in close contact with other ethno-linguistic groups. Similar views, conceptualizing Sumer and Sumerians as an evolving process within Babylonia have been expressed by, for example, Haldar (1965), Gibson (1976), Roux (1982) and Oates (1986). On current evidence, it is the best view, but new evidence could easily tilt the question toward quite different answers (Jones 1969: 139–40).

C. Sumer in the Hebrew Bible

It has been generally accepted that OT Shinar, used for Babylonia, derives from Akk *šumeru*. See SHINAR. This etymology has been challenged by Zadok (1984), who suggests, rather, that Shinar derives from *šanḫar(r)a*, a word used for Babylonia in 14th-century B.C. Hittite and Syrian sources, deriving, perhaps, from the name of a Kassite tribe. The toponym appears in Egyptian sources as *sngr*.

Zadok argues that phonologically Shinar/*šanḫar(r)a*/*sngr* cannot derive from *šumeru*, and that furthermore, the term only appears in the second half of the 2d millennium B.C., long after the Sumerians had disappeared. The argument holds only if one insists that the biblical Shinar derives in the first instance from *šanḫar(r)a*, which could then be shown *not* to derive from *šumeru*. But if Shinar derives more directly from *šumeru* (the term was preserved and understood in cuneiform tradition throughout the 1st millennium B.C.), then Zadok's phonological objections are not compelling. One might well ask why the biblical authors would choose to designate Babylonia by a name known primarily from 14th-century Hittite texts.

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SUMERIAN LITERATURE. Cuneiform texts in the Sumerian language which were edited in the scribal schools of ancient Mesopotamia and the surrounding Near East, with the exception of lexical lists, mathematical exercises, and other purely scholastic genres. Together, the literary and scholastic genres constitute the "canonical" category of Sumerian texts, and are distinguished from the sometimes equally eloquent monumental category (including law "codes") on the one hand and from the far more abundant archival category on the other.

A. Scope and Language
B. Genres First Attested in the Old Sumerian Phase
C. Genres Presumably Originating in the Neo-Sumerian Phase
D. Genres First Attested in the Old Babylonian Phase
E. The Post-Sumerian Phase

A. Scope and Language

Sumerian literature is comparable in sheer size to biblical literature. A recent survey estimates the number of lines so far recovered at approximately 40,000; bearing in mind that most Sumerian literature is poetic in form and that the typical Sumerian verse may be somewhat shorter than the typical biblical verse, this already compares favorably with the total of biblical verses in the Masoretic count, recently calculated at 23,097 (Hallo 1988). Much of Sumerian literature still remains to be recovered.

Most of Sumerian literature is composed in the main dialect (Sum *eme-gir*$_{15}$) but lamentations recited by certain types of singers and the speeches of women or goddesses in myths and erotic poetry are in a different dialect (Sum *eme-sal*). This dialect becomes more and more prevalent in the liturgical compositions of the post-Sumerian periods.

The modern rediscovery of Sumerian literature has passed through several stages, each reflected in contemporary biblical scholarship. The first stage began in 1873, with the first full editions of substantial numbers of bilingual Sumero-Akkadian texts by François Lenormant (1873–79). Such texts, mostly of late (i.e., 1st millennium B.C.) date, translated each Sumerian line literally into Akkadian. Consisting largely of religious poetry, they had particular influence on Psalms research. The second stage dates from about 65 years later, when S. N. Kramer (1937), A. Falkenstein (1938), and T. Jacobsen (1939) began to edit unilingual Sumerian literary compositions dating from the early 2d millennium B.C. These included many different genres and influenced the study of corresponding biblical genres, including historiography, narrative, love poetry, and proverbs. A third stage may be said to have begun a century after Lenormant with the publication by R. D. Biggs (1974) of the texts from Tell Abu Salabikh. Together with texts previously known from Šuruppak and other southern sites, and texts subsequently discovered at Ebla in Syria, the Abu Salabikh texts expanded the chronological horizon of Sumerian literature back almost to the beginnings of writing. The significance of these early Sumerian texts for biblical scholarship remains to be seen.

Given the chronological extent and generic diversity of the corpus, each genre will here be considered in the approximate order in which it first appeared in the corpus. Within each phase, the genres will be treated by focus, which is typically god, king, or (common) man, though some few genres focus on two or all three. (For a general attempt at the history of the corpus, see Hallo 1976; for a detailed typology and bibliography, see Edzard *RLA* 7: 35–48; for biblical analogies, see Hallo 1988.)

B. Genres First Attested in the Old Sumerian Phase (ca. 2500–2200 B.C.)

Incantations are already attested at Šuruppak (modern Fara) and Ebla (Krebernik 1984) and continue to occur on individual tablets throughout the Old and Neo-Sumerian phases (e.g., Hallo 1985; Jacobsen 1985; Michalowski 1985). By Old Babylonian times, some were being collected and grouped by subject, e.g., those against "evil spirits" (Geller 1985). In post-Sumerian times, they were often provided with interlinear translations into Akkadian and generally served to ward off the evils feared from hostile magic or from unfavorable omens. Biblical literature has no comparable genres, preferring to deal with such ominous symptoms by the Levitical laws of purification. But

the incantation bowls of the 6th century A.D. show that post-biblical Judaism was not immune to the approach in a Mesopotamian environment.

Hymns to deities and their temples are also attested from a very early date. Some of the finest are attributed to Enheduanna, daughter of Sargon of Akkad and the first non-anonymous author in history (Hallo and van Dijk 1968; Kramer *ANET*, 573–83). Another high point is represented by the temple hymns of Gudea of Lagaš (Jacobsen 1987, part 7). Like other religious poetry, these genres are reflected in the biblical psalter.

Sumerian myths and epics are generically also hymns, but confine praise of their divine or royal protagonist to their concluding doxology, while the body of the poem is narrative in character. The great gods (Enlil, Enki) and goddesses (Ninhursag, Inanna) figure prominently in these myths (cf. Kramer 1937; *ANET*, 37–57), but so do lesser deities, especially those worshipped at the religious capital of Nippur, such as Ninurta (cf. Cooper 1978; van Dijk 1983; Jacobsen 1987, part 4). The epics concentrate on the legendary rulers of Uruk (biblical Erech): Enmerkar, Lugalbanda, and especially Gilgamesh (cf. Kramer *ANET*, 44–52; Jacobsen 1987, part 5). In bilingual form, or in Akkadian adaptations, some of these epics survived into the late periods; an Akkadian fragment of Gilgamesh was found at 14th c.(?) Megiddo, and virtual quotations from the epic have been identified in Ecclesiastes (Tigay 1982: 165–67).

The common man is notably the focus of wisdom literature, so called in imitation of the biblical category though wisdom itself is not prominently mentioned, as it often is in Proverbs, Job, and Ecclesiastes. The earliest attested wisdom genres are instructions and proverbs. The former are attributed respectively to the divine Ninurta (Aro 1968) and to the king of the last antediluvian city, Šuruppak, the Sumerian Noah; both collections include much practical advice, especially about agriculture (Alster 1974; 1975). Proverbs are attested far more abundantly; by the early 2d millennium, 24 discrete collections can be identified and they survive, sometimes in bilingual form, into the late 1st millennium (Gordon 1959; Alster 1978). Though biblical proverbs are not directly related to the Sumerian collections as they are, demonstrably, to Egyptian ones, they often display a remarkable similarity of both form and substance, as for instance in the catalogue of divine abominations in Prov 6:16–19. Almost equally old is the minor wisdom genre of the riddle (Biggs 1973), called *ibilu* in Sumerian and *ḥittu* in Akkadian; the latter term is cognate with Hebrew *ḥîdā*.

C. Genres Presumably Originating in the Neo-Sumerian Phase (ca. 2200–1900 B.C.)

The deification of the Sumerian king during this phase led to a certain commingling of sacred and royal literature and to the emergence of several new genres responding to the new ideology. (Though known from later copies, their composition can be dated here on internal grounds.) The king was regarded at once as of divine and human parentage, the product of a physical union in which the royal partners "represented" deities, most often Dumuzi and Inanna or their Akkadian equivalents Tammuz (cf. Ezek 8:14) and Ishtar. An extensive body of poetry celebrated these "sacred marriage" rites and, together with more strictly secular love poetry addressed to the king or recited antiphonally by him and his bride, anticipated the Song of Songs in its explicit eroticism (Kramer *ANET*, 496, 637–45; 1969; Jacobsen 1987). Divine hymns now often concluded with a prayer for the reigning king, presumably for recitation in the temple. But the courtly ceremonial engendered a new genre of its own, the royal hymn, in which the chief events and achievements of the royal lifetime were celebrated in non-liturgical form (Kramer *ANET*, 583–86; Klein 1981).

True to their ambiguous status during this period, kings were both authors and recipients of petitionary prayers which took the form of letters. Such letter-prayers were addressed to them, or to "real" deities, by princesses, officials, and ordinary mortals, and thus provide a precedent of sorts for the "individual laments" of the Psalter (Falkenstein 1938; Kramer *ANET*, 382; Hallo 1968; 1981). New "wisdom" genres also provided vehicles for describing individual concerns, albeit most often of aristocratic circles in Nippur. The setting is authentic for this period, though the details may be fictitious. Thus we have literary records of trials (e.g., Jacobsen 1959), a letter of Ludingira, "the man of God," to his mother at Nippur (Civil 1964; Cooper 1971), and two elegies by the same (?) Ludingira for his father and wife respectively, one described as an incantation (*tu*$_6$), the other as a "wailing" (*i-lu*) (Kramer 1960). But perhaps most startling is the "petition (*ír-ša-ne-ša*$_4$) to a man's personal god" in which an unnamed individual laments his fate until finally restored to health and fortune by his personal deity (Kramer 1955; *ANET*, 589–91). The parallels between this text and the archaic prose frame of Job are striking, and the gap between the two compositions is in some part bridged by Akkadian treatments of the same "righteous sufferer" theme, some of which have turned up in the scribal schools of 14th century B.C. Ugarit (Nougayrol 1968 no. 162).

D. Genres First Attested in the Old Babylonian Phase (ca. 1900–1600 B.C.)

The collapse of the Neo-Sumerian empire of Ur (ca. 2000 B.C.) and the decline of the dynasty of Isin which succeeded it (ca. 1900 B.C.) inspired new genres to address new problems. In sacred literature, the "congregational lament" mourned the destruction of cities and especially of temples at the hands of hostile forces, often conceived as aided or abetted by a disaffected patron deity. Such laments may have served a ritual purpose: when rebuilding the ruined temple, the necessary demolition of the remaining ruins could have been punished as sacrilege had not the blame been laid squarely on enemy shoulders. The laments over the temples of Ur, Eridu, Nippur, Uruk, and over Sumer as a whole were all quite specific in recalling the historical circumstances of the disasters (*ANET*, 455–63, 611–19; Jacobsen 1987, part 8). Later laments turned into ritualized litanies which, at ever greater length, appealed to the deity to desist from visiting further calamities on his or her worshippers (Cohen 1974; 1981); they form a bridge of sorts to the comparable genre in the Psalter and to Lamentations, though far inferior to both the biblical and the Old Babylonian compositions (Gwaltney 1983). The latter themselves may have evolved from earlier

compositions commemorating the fall of Lagaš (Hirsch 1967) and Akkad (cf. Gen 10:10) (*ANET,* 646–51; Cooper 1983; Jacobsen 1987).

While priestly poets coped with the destruction of temples, royal historiographers wrestled with the ceaseless change of dynasties. The entire history of Sumer (and Akkad) was outlined in the Sumerian King List, a document which traced the succession of dynasties (or rather of cities) which had ruled the country from the end of the Flood to the accession of Hammurapi of Babylon (ca. 1792 B.C.) (Jacobsen 1939). Later recensions prefaced this outline with a version of antediluvian "history" probably borrowed from the Sumerian Flood Story (*ANET,* 42–44; Civil 1969; Jacobsen 1987: 145–50). The outline history of the Hammurapi dynasty and all later Babylonian dynasties was similarly enshrined in corresponding Akkadian king lists. The Dynastic Chronicle combined both Sumerian and Babylonian traditions in bilingual format (Finkel 1980). A comparable history of Lagaš was composed, probably at the court of Old Babylonian Larsa, for both these cities were omitted from the "official" king lists emanating, most likely, from Nippur (Sollberger 1967). Sumerian historiography thus has little in common with the Deuteronomic history or the Chronicler's history of Israel, though it can be said to include other products of the royal chanceries such as royal correspondence, royal hymns, and royal inscriptions (Hallo 1983).

The Old Babylonian period witnessed the heyday of the scribal school (Sum *é-dub-ba-a*), in which Sumerian was taught to Akkadian-speaking pupils. The daily life of the school is vividly portrayed in essays about the school and in diatribes between teachers and students and among the students (Sjöberg 1976; Gadd 1956). Well trained in debate, the scribes devised a genre of literary disputations for royal entertainment or religious festivals. These pitted imaginary antagonists against each other—shepherd and farmer, summer and winter, cattle and grain, pickaxe and plow, silver and copper—with the winner proclaimed at the end by king or deity. A distant parallel may be seen in the biblical fables such as 2 Kgs 14:9 and Judg 9:8–15 or in the story of Cain and Abel (*ANET,* 41–42; Alster and Vanstiphout 1987).

E. The Post-Sumerian Phase (ca. 1600–100 B.C.)

The fall of Babylon (ca. 1600 B.C.) led to the closing of the scribal schools of Babylonia and relegated Sumerian firmly and finally to the status of a learned and liturgical language. Scribal guilds replaced the schools in Babylonia, and royal libraries like those of Assur and Nineveh took their place in Assyria. Here and in the temples, Sumerian texts continued to be catalogued, copied, recited, translated into Akkadian, and even newly composed. And with the growing prestige of Babylonian learning, they were carried beyond the borders of Mesopotamia to the capital cities surrounding it in a great arc—from Susa in the southeast to Hattuša in the north and Ugarit in the west. But the scope of the Sumerian literary heritage thus passed on gradually contracted. Of the genres devoted to the common man, only proverbs and school essays survived in bilingual editions; the rest largely disappeared while a rich Akkadian wisdom literature came into its own (Lambert 1960, esp. chap. 9). The genres devoted to the king were fundamentally altered by the new ideology, which rejected his deification; few of the epics and fewer still of the royal hymns and love songs escaped displacement or recasting in Akkadian guise. Only in the religious sphere did Sumerian continue to figure prominently. Here, a rich bilingual (and, on the periphery, even occasionally trilingual) literature continued to sing the praises of the gods or appeal for their mercy (e.g., Cooper 1971, 1972). More and more, this sacred literature employed the *emesal* dialect (Krecher 1967; Kutscher 1975). In bilingual and dialectal form, Sumerian literature survived and even revived as late as the Seleucid and Parthian periods in Babylonia (Black 1987; Cohen 1988). With a history of two-and-a-half millennia, with a geographic spread embracing most of the Asiatic Near East, and with a direct impact on Akkadian, Hurrian, and Hittite literature, Sumerian literature may well have exercised indirect influence on biblical literature. But where and when that influence made itself felt must be investigated separately for each genre.

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SUN. In ancient Israel the sun—Heb *šemeš* (masc. though sometimes treated as fem.), less commonly *ḥeres* (Job 9:7; Isa 19:18 [emended text]) or *ḥamma* (lit. "the hot one")—was usually felt to be a positive phenomenon. "Light is sweet, and it is pleasant for the eyes to behold the sun" (Eccl 11:7). Night was the domain of unsavory characters (Job 38:13) and beasts of prey that hastened away as soon as the sun rose (Ps 104:22). The world "under the sun" was the proper realm of mankind (Eccl 1:3 and *passim;* cf. *KAI* 13.7–8; 24.12; 222 C 4–5). To "see the sun" filled people with a sense of being alive; the stillborn could be described as ones who had never had that experience (Ps 58:9; Eccl 6:5).

Being a symbol of life and vigor, the sun could be used as a metaphor to designate a person's vitality, happiness, and success. To have one's sun "go down" meant to experience misfortune and failure (Jer 15:9; cf. Mic 3:6). Another positive quality associated with the sun is constancy. The enduring fame one might wish for a king was like a reflection of the steady presence of the sun (Ps 72:17; cf. v 5). Because of its penetrating rays, from which nothing remains hidden (Ps 19:6), the sun also embodied the triumph of justice. At the break of day, "the wicked were shaken off the earth" (Job 38:13), as the "sun of righteousness" rose (Mal 3:20—Eng 4:2). Morning after morning, God passed judgment "like the light," as the *Tg. Jonathan* renders Zeph 3:5. In view of the sun's association with the distribution of justice, the righteous ruler could be compared to the morning light; he was "like the sun shining forth upon a cloudless morning" (2 Sam 23:3–4).

However, the sun also had its grim side. The Palestinian sun is hot (Exod 16:21); around noon it can be suffocating. This was the time when, according to popular belief, the midday demon haunted the land (Ps 91:6; cf. Vulg). When the sun had reached its zenith—the time referred to as the heat of the sun in 1 Sam 11:9; Neh 7:3—one had best doze off in the shade of one's home (Gen 18:1). Prolonged exposure to the sun could lead to sunstroke (Isa 49:10; Jonah 4:8; Ps 121:6; cf. 2 Kgs 4:18–20; Jdt 8:2–3). Those who could afford to do so led an indoor life; having a skin scorched by the sun designated one as a member of the lower classes (Cant 1:6).

The OT writings do not attest to an elaborate cosmology, shared by all Israelites. Thus, the data concerning the daily course of the sun do not inform us concerning its whereabouts overnight. In most ancient cosmologies, the sun was regarded as making its way from the west to the east through a subterranean passage. *Tg. Ket.* Eccl 1:5 and Rashi suggest that this is indeed the conception underlying Eccl 1:5. The latter passage, however, gives no explicit cosmological view. Psalm 19:5–7 pictures the sun as coming out of a tent, like a groom from the nuptial chamber. Since in other texts the heavens are represented as a tent (e.g., Isa 40:22; Ps 104:2–3; Job 26:7), the psalmist is apparently suggesting that the sun spent the night in a heavenly abode. The "habitation" *(zĕbûl)* of sun and moon which Hab 3:11 refers to seems to be located in heaven, too. It would be vain, however, to search in the OT for one authoritative view on this matter. Ancient Egyptian iconography represents the sun as being daily brought forth and swallowed by Nut, the goddess of heaven, but also as making a journey through the underworld in his barque. This "multiplicity of approaches" (Frankfort and Frankfort 1946: 10–26), proper to ancient Egyptian thought, is characteristic of the cosmological views of the Israelites, too. On the whole, the OT writers were less interested in establishing a unified cosmology, than in extolling God's

power over the universe. Day will follow upon day, season upon season, because God has ordained it to be so. Yet in the day of judgment, the "Day of the Lord," even the sun will be ashamed (Isa 24:23). It will darken and no longer shed its light (Isa 13:10; Joel 2:10; 3:4—Eng 2:31; 4:15—Eng 3:15), to shine all the more clearly in the era of salvation to follow (Isa 30:26), if indeed it is not wholly eclipsed by God's own light (Isa 60:19–20; cf. Rev 21:23, 22:5). The Gospels underscore the dramatic importance of the Crucifixion with an account of the darkness that lasted for three hours, beginning at noon (Matt 27:45 = Mark 15:33; Luke 23:44).

Though they did not speak of the sun in exclusively mythical terms, the peoples of the ANE regarded the sun as a deity. In Egypt, the sun god (going by such names as Khepri, Re, Atum, Aton and Amon-Re, depending on local traditions and the various manifestations of the sun) was the most prominent deity. He was creator and judge, all-knowing and all-seeing. In Mesopotamia, Shamash (Sumerian Utu) was widely worshipped as the patron of justice, the god who protected the maltreated and downtrodden. Since he was thought to pass the night in the underworld, he could be asked to mediate between the living and the spirits of the dead. North-Syrian inscriptions from Zenjirli mention Shamash in one breath with Hadad, El-Reshep (or Arq-Reshep), and Rakib-El (*KAI* 214.2–3, 11, 18; 215.22). The Mesopotamian sun god is also invoked in the inscription of Zakkur (*KAI* 202 B 24), in the treaty of Barga'ya and Mati'el (*KAI* 222 A 9), and in a funerary stela from Nerab (*KAI* 225.9). In the Ugaritic pantheon there was a sun goddess called *Špš*, connected with the netherworld. She is called a ruler of the dead, and it was within her powers to liberate Baal from the realm of death. The female gender of Ugaritic *Špš* is matched by the South-Arabian goddess *Šams* (worshipped as a male deity, however, in Palmyra). Topographical names mentioned in the OT, such as Beth-shemesh (a pre-Israelite settlement), attest to the presence of a sun cult on the early Palestinian soil, too. If the restoration proposed by E. Puech (1986) for a 12th century B.C.E. inscription from Lachish is correct, there is also epigraphical evidence for a temple of *Šmš* in early Iron Age Palestine.

Considering the popularity of the solar cult in the ANE, its absence among the Israelites would be astonishing. The polemical references in Deut 4:19; 17:3; Jer 8:2 and Job 31:26–28 show that many Israelites were indeed attracted to the worship of the sun. According to 2 Kgs 23:11, the so-called "Josianic Reform" was equally directed against the cult of the sun. Modern authors who stress the political implications of Josiah's religious program have speculated about the Assyrian character of the 7th century solar cult in Jerusalem. Neo-Assyrian politics, however, did not, as a rule, stipulate allegiance to Assyrian deities from vassal states (Cogan 1974; cf. Spieckermann 1982: 86–88; 236–56).

The cult of the sun was traditionally well established in Syria and Palestine, so there is no need to assume that it was a 7th-century innovation on the part of the Assyrian overlords. The only distinctively Assyrian trait one can discover in the narrative of 2 Kings 23 is the presence of horses and chariots dedicated to the sun (2 Kgs 23:11). Contrary to the assumption of many commentators, however, the custom of dedicating (model?) horses and chariots to the sun has little to do with the sun-god's alleged Akkadian title *rākib narkabti*, "charioteer." In fact, this was an epithet of Bunene, the trusted advisor of Shamash. Yet it is true that (white!) horses served important ritual functions in Assyria. The practice of dedicating such animals to the sun, taken over by the Assyrians from the Mitanni, may have found its way into Judah by way of the Arameans.

The success of Josiah's efforts was short-lived. Shortly before the Babylonian Exile, Ezekiel witnessed a scene of priests worshipping the sun in the courtyard of the temple in Jerusalem (Ezek 8:16). And also after the Exile, sun worship remained one of the pagan cults most popular among Palestinian Jews, as extrabiblical sources attest. Eventually, the rabbis seem to have permitted the oath by the sun (cf. Maimonides, *Mishneh Tora, Seper Hafla'a, Shebu'ot* xii 3, Philo. *Spec Leg* II 2).

The deification of the sun was severely combatted by the partisans of Yahwism. According to the priestly account of the creation, the sun is merely "the great luminary" made by God to rule the day (Gen 1:14–19; cf. Jer 31:35, Ps 74:16, 137:7–9). It is under the command of God, who may order it not to rise (Job 9:7), to stand still (Josh 10:12), or to move backward (2 Kgs 20:11; Isa 38:8). It would not be correct, however, to say that the sun was merely divested of its numinous character. Some of the traits formerly belonging to the deified sun were transferred to YHWH, who thus acquired a solar aspect. The story of the ark's stay in Beth-shemesh (1 Sam 6:7–21), judging by its name a center of sun worship, may have preserved the memory of how the Yahwistic cult supplanted the solar cult. In the course of this process, which has presumably been occurring on a larger scale, new characteristics were added to the image of the Lord. Although the God of Israel never came to be regarded as being immanent in the sun, he did take over the role of sun god. Thus various individual complaints in the Psalter mention the morning as the time of salvation. At dawn, the suppliants expect to behold God's face, in order to be released from their trials (Ps 11:7; 17:15; cf. Ps 30:6 [—Eng 30:5]; 46:6 [—Eng 46:5]). The theophany of which these texts speak might be connected with the early sunrise. As the sun breaks through, the reign of wickedness comes to an end. A Sumerian proverb says, "Let but the lawless exert themselves. Utu [i.e., the sun god] is the bringer of every day." In Israel, it is the Lord who with his eyes, like the all-penetrating rays of the sun, scrutinized everything and called the evildoers to do account (e.g., Psalm 19). On occasion, the Lord is said to "shine forth" (Heb *hôpîa'* [Deut 33:2]), to "flash up" (*zrḥ* [Isa 60:2]), and to "shine" (*ngh* [2 Sam 22:29; Isa 4:5]), all verbs associated with the sun. According to Num 25:4, judgment is to be executed *neged haššemeš*, "before (RSV: in) the sun"; on the basis of 2 Sam 12:11–12 this expression is usually understood to mean "publicly," as opposed to "privately" *(bassēter)*. Since 2 Sam 21:6, 9 speaks about an execution "before the Lord," however, one might take Num 25:4 as a reference to the judicial role of the sun, a role eventually devolved upon the Lord.

A number of scholars have suggested that the temple in Jerusalem was designed as a center of sun cult, in which the Lord was worshipped as a solar deity (e.g. F. J. Hollis, H. G. May, J. Morgenstern). The E–W orientation of the

temple, for instance, would have been chosen to allow the morning rays of the sun to penetrate directly into the sanctuary. The pillars at the entrance of the building have been compared with the columns at the doorway of Egyptian solar temples; also the formula of dedication in 1 Kgs 8:12–13 (LXX) has been understood as an indication of the scholar character of the Jerusalem temple cult. Recent scholarship has cautioned against unwarranted speculation on this subject. Yet even the more reluctant authors concede that at least some solar elements were present in the Jerusalem temple. It is therefore not without good cause that the worshipper who claimed that one day in the temple courts is better than a thousand elsewhere could call his god "a sun *(šemeš)* and shield" (Ps 84:10–11).

These observations agree with the image of the Lord as a god who has taken on several solar traits. Foremost among the latter stands his role as divine judge. In Israel, the Lord fulfilled the role given to Shamash (Sumerian Utu) in Mesopotamia, and to Amon-Re in the Egyptian religion of the New Kingdom. Like the sun, he was thought to be all seeing and all knowing; he brought "hidden sins" to light (cf. Ps 19:13). His earthly abode, the temple in Jerusalem, was therefore also a center where justice was administered. Evildoers would be found out by God, and the unjustly accused would be acquitted, as several Psalms say, alluding to ordeal procedures (Psalms 3, 4, 5, 7, 11, 17, 26, 27, 57, 63, 73).

Iconographically, the sun god was often represented as a winged disk. This symbol was popular all over the ANE. Also the Palestinian soil has yielded several royal stamps, dating from the 8th and 7th centuries B.C.E. decorated with the winged disk. The archaeological evidence, therefore, suggests that in the Israelite religion no ban was placed on the traditional solar symbol, in spite of its evident religious connotations. Was it taken as a reference to Israel's god? The link has certainly been made by Mal 3:20—Eng 4:2, where it is said that for those fearing God "the sun of righteousness shall rise, with healing in its wings." This text sums up, in a way, the religious significance attached to the sun and its subtle relation to the Lord. The winged sun, omnipresent and all seeing, is the bringer of justice; in Yahwism, it has been closely associated with the Lord, who accordingly has assumed several traits traditionally ascribed to solar deities.

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SUN, CITY OF THE (PLACE) [Heb *ʿîr haḥeres*]. This phrase (only in Isa 19:18) is the translation of a variant reading found in some Heb mss and accepted by most modern translations (including RSV, NAB, NEB, TEV, NJB). However, most copies of the MT read "the city of destruction" *(heres).* There is also some evidence that this reading may be a distortion of the original "city of the righteousness" *(ṣedeq),* which can be recovered from the LXX (*asedek*—not a Gk word, but simply Heb transliterated in Gk letters).

The passage in which the phrase occurs tells of five cities in Egypt whose inhabitants speak Hebrew and worship the God of Israel. It is not clear whether the speakers of Hebrew are Israelites or Egyptian proselytes. The latter part of the passage links Israel with Egypt and Assyria, its traditional enemies.

The passage, in its original wording, may have been written in exilic times when some Jerusalemites had fled to Egypt. The section thus expresses a hope for the establishment of a "new Jerusalem" (Jerusalem being the city in which righteousness [*ṣedeq*] lived [Isa 1:21]) in Egypt. The reading of most Heb texts (*heres,* "destruction") could well be a deliberate distortion of the proposed original term *(ṣedeq)* and a judgment against the Jewish people in Egypt who had built the temple in Leontopolis—an action which offended the Jerusalemite (and later rabbinic) authorities. The other Heb texts, the Qumran Isaiah scroll, Symmachus (Jewish Gk translation from the 2d century C.E.), and the Lat, all have "city of the sun." This reading seems to be a deliberate acceptance of the unconventional temple by recognizing the temple in Leontopolis. (Leontopolis was located in the nome [district] of HELIOPOLIS, "the City of the Sun.")

The phrase occurs in a passage justly famous for its striking universalism. The variations among the versions show that any translation, ancient or modern, involves interpretation.

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SUNSTROKE. See SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

SUPERSTITION. Superstition (Lat *superstitio;* Gk *deisidaimonia*) is the term which pagan writers and legislators favored as a depiction of Judaism and Christianity. From the age of Constantine onwards Christian writers and legislators returned the favor by referring to pagan religion as *superstitio* or *deisidaimonia.* Cicero (*Flac.* 67), Valerius

Maximus (*Facta et Dicta Memorabilia* 1.3.3), Horace (*Sat.* 2.3.281–95), and Plutarch (*De superst.* 8) represent a rhetorician, anthologist, philosopher, and educator, respectively, who considered Judaism a superstition. The court gossip Suetonius (*Ner.* 16.2) and the diplomat Pliny the Younger (*Ep.* 10.96.7.12) disparaged Christians (to the extent they could distinguish them from Jews) because Christians, they said, held to a superstition.

In their turn, Christian theologians and lawmakers called pagan and Jewish religion superstition (Acts 17:22 and 25:19). Tertullian (*Pallio* 4.10; *Ad Nat.* 2.8.8) mocks all pagan religion in the first text, the Egyptian cults in the second by calling both *superstitio*. The religion of the Goths, says Augustine (*De civ. D.* 10.9) is *superstitio*, as is the faith of the Jews (*De civ. D.* 6.11). Legislation from Constantine onwards includes Jews among the *superstitiosi* (Krueger and Mommsen 1895: 844 = *Digesta* 50.2.3.3).

What did superstition mean in antiquity, apart from serving as a tidy label for someone else's religion? Can the history of early Christian literature be illumined by an understanding of the meaning and function of superstition in pagan antiquity? The answer to the first question requires a short survey of the intellectual and social history of *superstitio*, including its etymology, original meaning, and subsequent history. The answer to the second question stems from pagan antiquity's belief that Christianity's progress across large tracts of the Mediterranean world resembled nothing so much as the spread of a *vana superstitio*, a futile, even dangerous system of belief.

A. Intellectual and Social History

In the ancient world the usage of *superstitio* progressed through four stages. From Constantine (ca. mid-4th century) onwards it became the choice of Christian theologians and legislators for designating both pagan and Jewish religion. Prior to that, from Livy to Constantine (approximately the first three centuries C.E.), *superstitio* denoted a form of *religio*, "religion," either native or imported, that posed a threat to the stability of the state or to the fabric of family life. Still earlier, from Cicero to Livy (ca. 1st century B.C.E.) the term applied especially to exaggerated, even droll forms of piety and religion, especially as practiced by old men and women. From Plautus and Ennius to Cicero (ca. 2d century B.C.E.) *superstitio* meant either "prophetic" (Smith 1981: 350), "the faculty of testifying retrospectively to what has been obliterated" (Benveniste 1973: 516; Janssen 1975: 141), unlawful divination (Grodzynski 1974: 38), or "the ability to interpret cultic oracles" (Calderone *ANRW* 1/2: 396). Because *superstitio* does not occur in the surviving Latin literature before Cicero, these attempts to discern its original meaning turn on texts in which the noun-adjective *superstes*, "witness" or "survivor," or the adjective *superstitiosus*, "possessing divinatory skills," appears (Ennius, *Scen.* 57; 319, Plaut. *Truc.* 387; *Asin.* 17; *Rud.* 1139; *Cas.* 818).

The ancients already disagreed among themselves over the etymology of *superstitio* (Pease 1977: 580–81). The earliest surviving attempt to trace the word's origin comes from Cicero, who says that "superstition" defines the faith of people "who spend the whole day in prayer and sacrifice in order that their children may survive *(superstites)* them" (*Nat. D.* 2.72). This derivation of *superstitio* from *superstes* ("witness" or "survivor") has commanded growing assent from scholars (Benveniste 1973; Janssen 1975). *Superstes* became increasingly associated in Latin literature with a personal survival instinct that could cut across the grain of established canons of *fides*, "loyalty," *pietas*, "piety," and *humanitas*, "civilized behavior" (Janssen 1975: 187). Its own history thus helps explain the similar degeneration of *superstitio* from an expression of positive religious meaning into a term of abuse.

With regard to the social history of *superstitio* the following points stand out. Within the exercise of piety and religion, *superstitio* included violations of the traditions governing the use of the *precatio*, the formula prayer, and the *carmen*, the metrical hymn. Both Plinys saw in the misuse of hymns and prayers the stuff which bred *superstitio* (Pliny the Elder, *H.N.* 30.2.7; Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 10.96.8; cf. already Cicero, *Clu.* 194). The charge of *superstitio*, though without any formal legal basis, nonetheless entered into trials and police actions under the Julio-Claudian, Flavian, and Antonine emperors (Val. Max. *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia* 1.3; Quint. *Inst.* 4.4.5; Tac. *Ann.* 12.59). Although there is no surviving legislation against *superstitio* as such from the 1st century C.E., there are other laws and edicts that empowered magistrates and prefects to punish *Religionsfrevel*, "outrages against religion," especially if such outrages embraced deeds inimical to the state, addiction to magic, or caused injury to another person through charms and chants. Mommsen (1890) was the first to point out the relevance of the *lex Iulia maiestatis*, the law punishing acts of treason, for correcting religious delicts. The *lex Cornelia de sicariis et veneficis*, a law punishing murder by dagger and poison, was extended by a decree of the senate (date unknown) to punish even the *pigmentarius*, "pharmacist," who sold hemlock, aconite, caterpillars, and blister beetles—all deadly ingredients in the kit of a potential murderer or sorcerer (Krueger and Mommsen 1895: 802 = *Digest* 48.8.3). In the civil courts, where cases of personal injury, *iniuria*, appeared, precedents accumulated for extending the *iniuria* statutes to include injury arising out of verse, songs, and prayers whose intent was malevolent (Krueger and Mommsen 1895: 780–81 = *Digest* 47.10.13.27). The application of the laws governing *iniuria* to superstition lies close at hand: Roman writers from Cicero to Pliny the Younger knew that *superstitiosi* achieved their goals, in part, through potent *carmina*, "sacred songs."

Two final points are germane to the general history of *superstitio* in pagan antiquity. First, *superstitio* is an aristocratic term of contempt for forms of religion and piety that Rome's literate upper classes found excessive, comic, or dangerous. How Rome's unlettered majority attacked forms of religion that were comic or threatening is uncertain, but it did reproach them. A piece of graffiti from the Paedigogium on Rome's Palatine hill dated to the reign of Septimius Severus (193–211 C.E.) illustrates this contention. The line drawing consists of a crucified man with a donkey's head before which an *orans*, a man in the prayer posture, is standing. See Fig. ART.48. The Greek text reads *Alexamenos sebete theon*. Despite certain grammatical difficulties, the scrawled line probably means "Alexamenos worships god" (Vaeaenaenen 1966 1: 209–212). Naturally, it is tempting to interpret this graffito as a parody of

Christian faith, corresponding at the visual level to what literate Romans called *superstitio*.

The second point is that the Greek word *deisidaimonia* "god-fearing" was frequently translated by *superstitio*. As *deisidaimonia* gradually evolved in classical and late antiquity into a term of reproach, signifying "excessive fear before the gods" (Koets 1929: 104–6), it conduced to and even accelerated *superstitio*'s progression from an expression of positive religious content to a term of abuse (Smith 1975; 1981: 352–55).

B. Early Christianity

The importance of *superstitio* for a fuller understanding of the history and literature of early Christianity stems from the fresh light that is thrown on texts and traditions. For example, the submission tradition in Rom 13:1–7, 1 Pet 2:13–17, and *1 Clem.* 61, though widespread in Hellenistic Jewish literature of the period, is nonetheless enigmatic. These texts come from letters written either from or to Rome. Each calls for submission to Roman civil authority. How to explain this appeal, coming as it does in an age of increased aversion among Romans to any form of religion thought to be a *superstitio* (Hodgson 1986: 65)?

If the label or charge of *superstitio* is envisioned as a form of aggressive behavior adopted by Roman courts and police to suppress nonconformity in matters of public and private life, then the response to such charges (in Roman Christianity at least) may lie in texts like Rom 13:1–7. Seen from this perspective, Rom 13:1–7 is a short-term strategy for survival in an increasingly hostile city. The broader issues at stake are then the original rationale for, and long-term relevance of, all the submission traditions in early Christian literature (1 Pet 2:13–3:7; Col 3:18–4:1; Eph 5:22–6:9; *1 Clem.* 57; *Did* 4:11). Were these exhortations, initially at least, a clarion call to withdraw from ordinary life and to set up a counter-society (Elliot 1981)? Or were they a pragmatic strategy to brace early Christianity against calumny and arm it with established codes of behavior in order that it make its way *within* ancient society (Balch 1981)? If Rom 13:1–7 and the other related texts were short-term responses to the charge of *superstitio*, how did they evolve into timeless principles of moral action? The social and intellectual history of *superstitio* can help us find answers to these questions.

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SUPH (PLACE) [Heb *sûp*]. A place mentioned near the site of Moses' address to the people of Israel in Transjordan prior to their entry into the land of Canaan (Deut 1:1). Attempts to locate this biblical site have yielded little results. Musil (1907: 211) suggested Kh. Sufah, ca. 7 km SE of Madaba, as a possible match (followed by Noth *NDH* 108–9). Due to the similarity in meaning, Kraeling (1948: 201) identified the Greek town Papyron (cf. Gk *papyros*), mentioned by Josephus (*Ant* 14.33) in connection with a victory of the Hasmonean ruler Aristobolus, as the Greek equivalent of Heb *sûp* (lit. "reeds, rushes").

Others propose emending the text from *môl sûp* "in front of/opposite Suph" to *miyyām sûp* "from the Re(e)d Sea" (Cheyne in *EncBib* 4023–24; *BDB* 693; see discussion in Driver *Deuteronomy* ICC, 1–4 and Simons *GTTOT,* 255). This reading is also supported in some versions (LXX, Vg, and *Tg. Onq.*), which reflect an understanding of the Heb as *yam sûp*. If correct, this *yam sûp* may refer to the Gulf of Aqabah (cf. 1 Kgs 9:26 and Jer 49:21), although the precise geography of this verse as a whole is problematic. See also RED SEA.

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SUPHAH (PLACE) [Heb *sûpâ*]. A name occurring in a quotation from "The Book of the Wars of Yahweh" (Num 21:14–15). Scholars have long noted the textual difficulties in these two verses of archaic poetry. Noth concluded that the poetic fragment "defies all explanation" (*Numbers* OTL, 160), while Albright felt that reconstruction was not possible (*YGC,* 44). The Sam. Pent. and Vg interpret Suphah as *yam sûp,* the "Re(e)d Sea" (note KJV "What he did in the Red Sea," which follows Vg *sicut fecit in mari Rubro*). The RSV's traditional "Waheb in Suphah" (Heb *'t whb b-swph*), a reference to two locations in Transjordan (note also Budd *Numbers* WBC, 237), has never been satisfactorily explained. Suphah may be related to the SUPH of Deut 1:1, but there is no evidence to support this equation.

Christensen (1974) has proposed reading Yahweh as the subject throughout the two verses: "[Yahweh] came in a whirlwind, he came to the branch wadis of the Arnon . . ." etc. (Heb *'t Yhw b-swph, 't nḥly-m 'rnwn*). In this reading, the Heb particle *'t* is taken as the verb *'th* "to come" (found only in poetry, e.g., Deut 33:2); *whb* is read as the tetra-

grammaton *Yhw(h)* (a more substantial emendation; see Christensen 360, n. 6 for discussion); and Heb *sûpâ* (unaltered) carries the meaning "tempest, storm, whirlwind," attested elsewhere in poetic texts (e.g., Isa 17:14; Amos 1:14; Nah 1:3). While any reconstruction of this obscure passage must be tentative at best, Christensen provides a viable alternative for this tantalizing fragment. (Note also Weippert [1979: 17], who largely accepts the above reconstruction, but prefers *b-spt* to *b-swph*). See also WARS OF THE LORD, BOOK OF THE.

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SUPPER, LAST. See LAST SUPPER, THE.

SUPPER, LORD'S. See LORD'S SUPPER, THE.

SUR (PLACE) [Gk *Sour*]. A site in the book of Judith, which makes up part of a list of places on the seacoast stretching from N to S (Jdt 2:28). Sur is otherwise unknown under this name; it should be noted that the name "Sur" also occurs in 2 Kgs 11:6 (Heb *swr*) as part of the phrase *bśʿr swr*, that is, the name of a gate in Jerusalem, not a town on the coast. It is likely in any case that this name is a corruption. Two possible explanations have been given for the name "Sur" in the book of Judith. The first is that it is a corruption of Dor (Gk *Dōra;* Heb *dwr* or *dʾr*). Dor is a seaport town 15 miles S of Mount Carmel, therefore in the proper geographical location. However, the sequence of towns in Jdt 2:28 appears in the correct N–S order (Sidon, Tyre, Jamnia, Azotus, Ascalon), and identifying Sur with Dor would upset this order. The other suggestion is that Sur is a dittography of Tyre, that is, the Heb *ṣwr* was misread as *swr*, and then transliterated into Greek as *Sour*. This does not explain, however, why the first Tyre was properly transliterated as *Tyros*, and the second was transliterated incorrectly. At present, the site remains unidentifiable. Of course, given the genre of the book of Judith, the name may be entirely fictitious.

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SUR GATE (PLACE) [Heb *šaʿar sûr*]. One of several names used to refer to an inner gate of Jerusalem in the NW quadrant of an enclosure that surrounded the Temple precincts and the royal residences (2 Kgs 11:6). Jehoiada the priest stationed troops at this gate as a part of the security arrangements for the coronation of Josiah against his grandmother Athaliah (2 Kgs 11:6; 2 Chr 23:5). These troop deployments were in close proximity to the Temple and the royal residence and suggests that the Sur Gate was a gate of an inner perimeter (Avi-Yonah 1954: 240, fig. 1).

The earliest account of Josiah's coronation (2 Kgs 11:6) refers to this gate as the Sur Gate (Heb *sûr*, "turn aside," "depart") while the later parallel account in 2 Chr 23:5 calls it the "Foundation Gate" (rendered in the LXX as the "Middle Gate" because it was a part of the royal enclosure which stood between the Temple precincts and the outer defensive wall). This is consistent with Jeremiah's reference to the princes of Babylon who, after having breached the N outer defenses of Jerusalem, met at the Middle Gate (suggested by some to be between the Corner Gate and the Temple mount, Simons 1952: 276 and Avigad 1980: 59) before their penetration of the inner and S defenses of the City.

The assignment of the Shallechet Gate to the Temple gatekeepers Shuppim and Hosah (1 Chr 26:16) was most likely referring to the Sur Gate (Heb *šalleket* and *sûr* share a similar indicative meaning and are both translated in the LXX [Codex Alexandrinus] by Gk *ekspan* "draw out" [Isa 6:13; Ezek 11:19] and by Gk *ekpiptein* "go forth" [Codex Vaticanus and Codex Sinaiticus] in Isa 6:13 and Job 15:30). These descriptive names most likely came from the busy intersections near the Fish Gate in the NW corner of the outer defensive perimeter of the city. This exit from the city led to several ridge routes that continued to the coast, to Ephraim in the N and to Judah and Egypt in the S. See Smith 1908: 106 n. 2; 260–61.

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SURETY. See LAW, BIBLICAL AND ANE; DEBTS.

SUSA (PLACE) [Heb *šûšan*]. Ancient city in SW Iran (mod. Shūsh; 32°12′N; 48°20′E), for a long time the capital of Elam, and later the winter residence and main capital of the Persian Empire. Susa is located on the bank of the river Chaour (Akk *Ulai*, Gr *Eulaeus*), close to the river Kerkha (Akk *Uknu*, Gr *Choaspēs*). It owes its prosperity and historical importance to its geographical location: at the periphery of the Mesopotamian plain and at the foot of the Zagros mountains. Ethnically, culturally, and politically, Susa was always linked to both Mesopotamia and the Iranian plateau.

A. Biblical References

All biblical references to Susa (Neh 1:1; Dan 8:2; Esther passim; Add Esth 11:3; 16:18) concern the Persian period and suggest some familiarity with the topography of the city (see below). An important Jewish community had settled in Susa, probably after the Persian conquest of Babylon in 539 B.C. (it was still thriving when Benjamin of Tudela visited Susa in the 12th cent. A.D.). One of those Jewish expatriates was Nehemiah, who had acquired an official position at the royal court of Artaxerxes I (464–424).

B. History of Exploration

Scattered over 250 hectares, the ruins of Susa have been described by early 19th cent. travellers like Kinneir (1809), Gordon (1812), Rawlinson (1836), and Layard (1840). First excavated by W. K. Loftus in 1851–52, who identified it with the Persian capital (Loftus 1857), and by M. and J. Dieulafoy in 1884–86 (Dieulafoy 1890–92), the site has been continuously investigated from 1897 to 1979 (except during the two World Wars) by the Délégation archéologique française en Perse/en Iran under the successive directorships of J. de Morgan (1897–1909), R. de Mecquenem (1909–45), R. Ghirshman (1945–67) and J. Perrot (1967–79).

C. History of Occupation

1. Early Periods. Susa is among the first cities known in the Near East. Soon after its foundation, ca. 3900 B.C., a massive terrace, 80 m long and at least 10 m high, probably crowned by cultic installations, was built in the southern part of the first settlement. This area was to remain for nearly four millennia the administrative and religious heart of the city. Graves excavated in its vicinity have yielded a fine painted-ware decorated with highly stylized naturalistic designs, copper objects originating from the Iranian plateau, and stamp seals representing a mythical figure, the "master of animals."

Before the middle of the 4th millennium, this Susa I culture was replaced by a proto-urban culture of Mesopotamian origin. This Uruk period witnessed essential innovations: the appearance of mass-produced wheel-made pottery, the first sculptures in the round, the first cylinder-seals, and especially the first manifestations of writing, i.e., bullae containing calculi, and shortly thereafter, tablets inscribed with numerical signs. Long-distance trade relations and trading outposts in the Zagros and on the Iranian plateau were also established at the same time. Susiana was then "a second land of Sumer" (Amiet 1988: 40).

A new culture marking a total break with Mesopotamia emerged ca. 3200. Typified by the appearance of tablets with an original and still-undeciphered pictographic writing and by a new art style, this Proto-Elamite culture extended over the whole of SW Iran and across the Iranian plateau up to the province of Seistan. Its two major centers were Susa and Tall-i Malyan (Anshan), which might have been linked politically and which symbolize the dual character, Semitic and Elamite, of the Elamite culture throughout its history.

2. Elamite Period. This proto-Elamite political configuration collapsed ca. 2800. Incorporated in the Mesopotamian sphere of influence, Susa became just another Sumerian city. On its acropolis were the temples of the local deities: the god Inshushinak and the goddess Ninhursag. The city was prosperous and its merchants were in contact with countries as distant as Turkmenistan, the Indus Valley, and Dilmun (Bahrein). In order to benefit from this Iranian trade, Sargon of Agade annexed the city ca. 2350. Two centuries later, after the fall of the Agadean empire, Susa was integrated to the Elamite kingdom of Awan. A new script, the Elamite linear script, was then briefly introduced as a national reaction to the use of the Sumerian cuneiform writing. This Elamite polity was crushed by Shulgi, king of the third Dynasty of Ur, who annexed Susa and reconstructed the sacred precinct; it included a ziggurat and new temples dedicated to Inshushinak and Ninhursag.

Around 2000, two major Elamite polities, Shimashki and Anshan, emerged in SW Iran. They were instrumental in bringing the downfall of the last Sumerian empire. From then on Elamite civilization took shape, and Susa was to be part of it for the next 1,500 years. The city was first integrated to the kingdom of Shimashki. With the advent (ca. 1925) of a dynasty originating from Fars, it became the lowland counterpart of Anshan as co-capital of the empire of the *Sukkalmah*, who introduced the title of "king of Anshan and Susa" (Elam *šu-šu-un;* cf. Akk *šu-ša-an*) to be used by most Elamite kings until the 7th cent. Actively engaged in Mesopotamian affairs, they created an empire covering most of SW Iran. Susa became a large and prosperous city of about 85 hectares. It had a population of peasants, herders, craftsmen, and merchants dominated by an aristocracy of officials and landowners whose large mansions and private archives, written in Akkadian, have been uncovered in excavations.

During the middle Elamite period (second half of the 2d millennium), Elam reached the peak of its glory. The 13th cent. is dominated by the figure of Untash-Napirisha, who founded a new capital, Tchogha Zanbil, initiating thereby a political and religious reform which did not survive him. The following 12th cent. was the time of the dynasty of the Shutrukids. Its founder Shutruk-Nahunte conquered and annexed Babylonia, from where he brought back large spoils, including the famous Code of Hammurapi, discovered on the Acropolis of Susa in 1900. Such trophies enriched the treasure of temples built or restored by this king and his two successors, who commemorated their deeds in many inscriptions written in Elamite. Susa was then the capital of one of the most powerful kingdoms of the ANE, and its god Inshushinak was sovereign, together with the local deity, in all Elamite cities of SW Iran.

But this brilliant period was short-lived. The empire of the Shutrukids collapsed ca. 1100. Elam experienced a Dark Age from which it emerged only in the late 8th cent. It had then three capitals (Susa, Madaktu, and Hidalu), Susa being the religious center. The Neo-Elamite kings who wrote this last chapter of Elamite history were engaged in an active confrontation with Assyria over the control of Babylonia and the central Zagros. Several decades of bitter fighting culminated in a series of victorious campaigns led by Assurbanipal, who razed Susa in 646.

Elam never recovered from this blow, although a new Elamite kingdom was restored at Susa ca. 625. It survived modestly until the coming of the Persians.

3. Persian Period. The Persian period was Susa's golden age. The city was taken by Cyrus II the Great, probably in 539, just before the conquest of Babylon. The king and his successor Cambyses II may have settled it (cf. Gk *Sousa* in Herodotus 1. 188; 3.30, 65, 70; Strabo 15.3.2), but there is no archaeological evidence of a Persian presence before the reign of Darius I the Great (521–485). In 521/520, immediately after quelling the great rebellion which followed Cambyses' death, i.e., well before he undertook the construction of Persepolis, Darius I selected Susa as the main capital of his empire. This choice was understand-

able: Located at the heart of an empire extending from India to Egypt, the city occupied a much better strategic position than Babylon, Ecbatane, and Persepolis, to which it was linked by important roads. It also commanded a vast network of communication, especially the "royal road" Susa-Sardis (Herodotus 5.52–53). Disregarding the existing layout of the old city, the king decided to create an entirely new capital of his own. The work proceeded according to a program of great urbanistic coherence and grandiose ambition. It resulted in a complete reorganization of the city which acquired then the main topographic features still existing today (Perrot 1981; Amiet 1988: 121–37).

The population of old Susa was probably resettled and the new city, extended to at least 250 hectares, was divided in two parts: in the W the fortified royal city, corresponding to the tells of the ancient Susa, and in the E the unfortified lower city (corresponding to Dieulafoy's *"Tell de la ville des Artisans"*). The two parts of the city were separated by a canal diverted from the Chaour River (the *Ulai / Eulaeus*) to run along the N and E sides of the royal city; the latter was thus like an island between two arms of the river (cf. Pliny *HN* 6.31.135; it is this canal or E arm of the Chaour separating the royal city from the lower city which may be referred to in the vision of Dan 8:2). The distinction between the two parts of the city can be noticed in the book of Esther, where "Susa the citadel" (Heb *šûšan habbîrâ*) refers strictly to the fortified royal city (thus in Esth 9:6, 11, 12), while "Susa" (without qualification) applies to the unfortified lower city (thus in Esth 9:13, 14, 15).

Virtually nothing is known about the lower city, whose present remains are marked by low hillocks corresponding mainly to later occupations. It was probably linked to the royal city by a bridge crossing the E arm of the Chaour and leading to a monumental city gate of 36 m by 18 m (the "gate of Ulai" of Dan 8:2 in the LXX). The latter is the only access known to the royal city.

The royal city was surrounded by massive fortifications; the outer edge of the elamite tells was cut vertically to establish a high glacis formed by a thick massif of earth and bricks, about 20 m wide at its base. This resulted in the creation of a strong city having the appearance of a citadel and dominating the lower city of a height of about 15 m.

The main urban components of the royal city were the complex of the royal palace (= Dieulafoy's *"tell de l'Apadana"*) in the NW, the citadel *stricto sensu* (= *"tell de l'Acropole"*) in the W and a residential area (= *tell de la Ville Royale"*) in the E. Excavations and archaeological surveys suggest that the latter was not densely settled—it probably contained many gardens with some public and private buildings (as in Pasargades and around the Persepolis platform).

The major element in the royal city was the royal palace, which came to symbolize Susa itself (cf. Herodotus's "royal palace," or the "House of Memnon," another name of Susa: Hdt. 5.53). It was the major center of the government of the empire, where a royal treasure was kept (see Hdt 5.49; Diodorus 17.66. 1). It had been erected on one of the oldest tells of Susa, reshaped and enlarged by Darius' builders to create a platform of 13 hectares, about 15 m high, in the shape of an irregular quadrilateral protruding out of the line of the fortification, like Sargon's palace in Khorsabad. Nearly one million cubic meters of earth and gravel were used in its construction. It was reached from the W through a monumental gate flanked by two colossal statues of the king; the one still *in situ* was 3 m high and was manufactured in Egypt (see *Cahiers DAFI 4*).

Three versions of the foundation chart of the palace (written in Old Persian, Akkadian, and Elamite, respectively) have been uncovered, in which the king tells us about its construction (Stève 1974–75; Vallat 1970, 1986). The whole empire was mobilized to contribute to this vast enterprise, using the material and human resources of each province—the cedar wood came from Lebanon, the *yaka* wood from Gandhara and Carmania, gold from Sardis and Bactriana, lapis lazuli and cornaline from Sogdiana, turquoise from Chorasmia, silver and ebony from Egypt, ivory from Ethiopia, India, and Arachosia. The builders who dug the foundations of the palace and who molded its bricks were Babylonians, the stone cutters were Ionians and Sardians, the gold and silver smiths Medians and Egyptians, the carpenter Sardians and Egyptians, and the walls were decorated by Medians and Egyptians.

This fabulous palace is the setting of the story of Esther, in the time of king Ahasuerus (Xerxes I, 485–465, successor of Darius I). Several notations allow us to suppose that its writer had some topographic familiarity with the palace excavated by the archaeologists.

Covering about 5 hectares, the royal palace had two parts: one residential (the "house of the king" of Esth 5:1) in the S (ca. 3.8 hectares), and one official (the audience hall, or *Apādānā*) in the N (ca. 1.2 hectares) (Amiet 1974; Perrot 1981). The residential part was built in the tradition of Mesopotamian palaces, with blind outer walls and a series of inner courtyards. There were four courtyards in succession, running from E to W. The first was the entrance courtyard, measuring 64 m by 55 m and leading to the private area to the W; it may correspond to the "outer courtyard" of Esth 6:4. The third courtyard gave access in the S to the royal apartment, composed of two successive broad rooms; it is tempting to identify it with the "inner courtyard" of Esth 4:11, 5:1–2. Lateral passages opened onto storerooms on both sides of the royal apartment. To the S (and to the NW?) were private apartments (the harem?) reached by means of a long corridor.

A passage to the N of the entrance courtyard led to the audience hall, or *Apādānā*, which occupied the N part of the palatial complex. While the residential part of the palace was built according to a Mesopotamian tradition, the official part derived from an Iranian tradition (cf. the columned halls of Hasanlu Tepe, Baba Jan Tepe, and Nush-i Jan Tepe, and the palaces of Pasargades). Built by Darius I and damaged by fire during the reign of Artaxerxes I (465–424), it was restored by Artaxerxes II (404–358). Measuring 109 m on each side, this building must have been an imposing sight: It was composed of a square hall 58 m by 58 m whose roof was supported at a height of 20 m by 36 columns resting on a square base, and of three porticos having each 12 columns resting on a campaniform base and with a capital in the shape of a double bull protome. The Apadana was probably standing on a

terrace reached by staircases, like its counterpart in Persepolis, and decorated with glazed bricks representing processions of archers and offering bearers. Covering both the audience hall and the courtyards, this rich decoration derived from an Assyro-Babylonian tradition. Beside the archers and the offering bearers, it showed long rows of lions, bulls, and griffins.

In addition to the royal palace, excavations have also revealed the remains of two other smaller palaces, one built by a successor of Darius I to the SE of the royal city (Dieulafoy's *"Donjon"*), and the other erected by Artaxerxes II to the W of the fortified city, on the other side of the Chaour River (Boucharlat and Labrousse 1979).

4. Later History. Following the Persian defeat at the battle of Gaugamela and the flight of the last Achaemenid king, Susa was taken without a fight in 331 by Alexander the Great, who found immense treasures in its royal palace. The mass marriage to Persian girls of some of Alexander's officers and soldiers and the king's own marriage to Darius III's daughter took place in the city in 324, after Alexander's return from India (Diod. 17.107.4; Plut. *Alex* 70.2).

After Alexander's death (323), Susa was annexed to the empire of the Seleucids (see Boucharlat 1985). It lost its rank as a capital and became a *polis* under the name of Seleucia-on-the-Eulaeus. Although it belonged culturally and politically to the Mesopotamian sphere of influence, it was briefly annexed to the neighboring kingdom of Elymaïs, heir of the Elamites. A center of Hellenism, Susa still enjoyed a relative measure of independence during the 4 centuries of the Parthian period (ca. 150 B.C.–224 A.D.). Inhabited by a cosmopolitan population from all parts of the Near East, it experienced a period of considerable prosperity, marked by many constructions and by an unprecedented agricultural and demographic development.

From Ardeshir I onward, founder of the Sassanian dynasty in 224 A.D., the ancient city was administered by a governor and lost its autonomy. In the 4th century, following a rebellion of its inhabitants, who by then comprised a majority of Nestorians, it was destroyed by Shapur II (309–379) who unleashed his elephants to trample down the city. Reconstructed soon afterwards under the ephemeral name of Iranshahr-Shapur, but neglected by the Sassanian kings who created other centers in the plain of Khuzistan (Gunde-Shapur, Shushtar, Eïwan-e Kerkha), Susa declined steadily during the following centuries. It was, however, in the 5th century, the seat of a Nestorian diocese. After the beginning of Islam (639), when the regional capital was transferred to Ahwaz, Susa experienced again, from the 8th to the 10th cent., a last period of prosperity, to which the remains of a large mosque and of other public buildings together with vessels imported from Samarkand and China bear testimony (Kervran 1985). But decline again followed, until the final abandonment of the city occurred in the 13th cent.

D. Daniel's Tomb

Susa has remained until now a center of pilgrimage involving a medieval tomb now enshrined in a mosque and attributed to the prophet Daniel. This apocryphal tradition goes back at least to the 7th century, and has its roots even earlier since in Sassanian times the tomb was ascribed to Darius or to the mythical Iranian king Kai Khosrow (Streck 1934: 594). Through time, the tomb was venerated equally by Jews, Christians, Moslems, and Mandeans.

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PIERRE DE MIROSCHEDJI

SUSANNA (PERSON) [Gk *Sousanna*]. This name refers to two different persons mentioned in the Greek canon of the OT and in the NT.

1. The primary character in the book of Susanna. For further information on the role of this character see SUSANNA, BOOK OF.

2. A member of Jesus' traveling entourage mentioned only in Luke 8:3. Along with other women, she probably supported the group both financially and by helping with the tasks of cooking, cleaning, and sewing. This suggests a

rather well-to-do woman, perhaps of independent means, dedicated to supporting the itinerant ministry of Jesus.

Susanna traveled with Jewish men. In view of Jewish attitudes about the behavior of women in public, there is little doubt that Susanna's actions were considered scandalous. Yet the indications are that Jesus approved of women supporting his ministry and accepted women as well as men as traveling companions or disciples. While women often financially supported prominent teachers in early Judaism, the idea of Jewish women becoming students of a prominent rabbi or teacher was unknown and unacceptable prior to and during Jesus' era. Thus, Luke 8:1–3 must be viewed as an indication that Jesus' kingdom agenda had some socially radical consequences.

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BEN WITHERINGTON, III

SUSANNA, BOOK OF. The book of Susanna belongs to the various additions to the book of Daniel, and is preserved in the Greek translations of the Bible—the older LXX and Theodotion. It is not included in the Hebrew canon, and is not mentioned by ancient Jewish writers, including Josephus. The Christian Irenaeus (2d century A.D.) is the first to mention the work in his *Contra Haereses* (5.26). Theodotion's version is somewhat longer than the old LXX.

A. The Story

According to the longer version, Susanna, a daughter of Hilkiah and wife of Joakim, a wealthy Jew in the Babylonian Diaspora, became an object of vehement passion for two of the "elders" who had recently been appointed judges in the Jewish community. One hot day, in accordance with a plan designed by the elders to proposition Susanna, they hid in the garden of her house while Susanna went bathing. At the moment she dismissed her maids, they approached her, trying to force the young woman to have sexual relations with them both. If she resisted, they said, they would accuse her of committing adultery with a young man. Susanna started screaming as they "shouted against her."

Unfortunately at her trial on the following day, the version of the two elders was accepted without even asking for her testimony, and the assembly of the community sentenced her to death. While Susanna was led away to be executed, God sent the young Daniel, who asked that the two villains be separated in order to cross-examine them independently. When he asked each one separately under which tree Susanna committed the purported adultery, each gave a different answer; one said "under a mastic tree," the other "under a liveoak tree." Thus Daniel succeeded in discrediting their testimony, and Susanna as a result was set free, while the two elders were stoned to death. For the first time Daniel emerged as a hero to his people.

B. The Old LXX and Theodotion

In spite of the fact that no evidence for a Semitic *Vorlage* of Susanna exists, scholars (Kay, *APOT* 1: 638–51; Lévi 1933; and Moore *Daniel, Esther, Jeremiah Additions* AB) claim that it was composed in Hebrew or Aramaic. Their arguments are: (a) the appearance in the Gk version of many Aramaicisms/Hebraisms such as *idou, kai egeneto,* and the phrases "as usual" (v 15), and "I'm in a bind!" (v 22); (b) some of the more difficult Gk phrases can be explained as a misreading of a Semitic text—in fact, both Gk versions (Theodotion in particular) do translate easily back into Hebrew; and (c) the frequent use of *kai* ("and"). The existence of a Semitic *Vorlage,* however, should not be regarded as decisive. The Aramaic Danielic literature found in Qumran may lead to some new insights concerning a Semitic text of Susanna.

Another unsolved problem is the relationship between the two Gk translations, i.e., the Old LXX and Theodotion. In the case of Susanna, the differences between the two are more numerous than in the other additions to Daniel. In most instances the additions in Theodotion's version enhance the drama and the psychological aspects of the story, but do not alter the essential plot. If a Semitic original is postulated, it is still not clear whether the two Greek versions are two separate translations of one Semitic text, or of two different Semitic texts. The possibility has been raised that Theodotion is a recension or new edition of the Old LXX translation. The verbatim agreement in great parts of the two Gk versions raises the possibility that while the two translators worked on two Semitic texts, Theodotion also made use of the older LXX.

C. Origin and Purpose of the Story

Many views have been propounded concerning the origin of this "detective story." It is claimed inter alia that Susanna is an apocryphal story, composed in order to demonstrate the downfall of the two false prophets mentioned in Jer 29:21–23 (Fritzsche 1851). Alternatively, it is argued that the story constituted a polemics of the Pharisees against the Sadducees in the 1st century B.C. regarding proper court procedures (Brüll 1877; Ball 1888; Kay *APOT* 1; and Oesterley 1935). Others say that it is merely a secular folktale which was later Judaized (Huet 1912; Baumgartner 1926; and Pfeiffer 1949). Some see in it an echo of a Babylonian myth (Ewald; Kamphausen), while others suggest a Greek mythological origin (Fries). According to this latter view Susanna, like Phryne, was originally a virgin goddess who was attended in her bath by her two slaves who were later put to death. Many variants and allusions to the Susanna story can be traced in later Jewish literature; the most important ones are those appearing in *b. Sanh.* 93a (known also to Origen and Jerome), *Josippon* (10th century A.D.), and the works of Jerahmeel (11th century A.D.).

D. Relationship to Daniel 1–6

The location of Susanna either before Daniel 1 (as in Theodotion, OL, and other translations) or after Daniel 12 (the LXX, SyrH, and Vg) seems to many scholars to be out of place, and disconnected from Daniel 1–6. The reasons adduced are first, that the action of Susanna, unlike Daniel 1–6, does not take place in the Babylonian

court. Second, the Jewish community in Susanna is not threatened from the outside and seems to have remarkable autonomy, a situation which is very different from the strained atmosphere of Daniel 1–6. Third, in the book of Susanna, Daniel plays a secondary role (the real hero is Susanna), whereas in Daniel 1–6 he is the main character.

However, it can be argued that the story of Susanna depicts an earlier stage, in time and place, of Daniel's deeds, and is meant to demonstrate Daniel's piety even as a young person. In all probability this assumption would also correspond to the place and date of composition, which is Babylon, at some time during the Persian era, when the Jews enjoyed a great deal of religious autonomy and freedom. The attempts (in particular by those scholars who believe in a Semitic *Vorlage*) to assign the provenance of the story to Palestine seem unfounded. The *terminus ad quem* can be cautiously fixed at circa 100 B.C., when in all probability, the translation of the Old LXX to Daniel was completed. The story is, unlike other tales of this kind, free of foreign influences—both direct (i.e., in the plot) and indirect (i.e., language and customs). In spite of the fact that Susanna may have originated from a folktale, it has a strong religious atmosphere. Everybody in the story (except the two elders) emphasizes his own adherence to God, and the community is obviously guided by the law of Moses throughout the story.

E. Relationship to the Bible

Many aspects of the story show a close link with the Bible (i.e., biblical law and custom). Susanna's parents are described as being religious people who "instructed their daughter in the Law of Moses" (as prescribed in Deut 4:9–10 and 6:6–9). Susanna is a "beautiful and God-fearing woman," a description used in relation to Judith (8:7–8), Sarah the daughter of Raguel (Tobit 3:14–15; 6:12), and Esther (Esther 2:7 = LXX 2:20). Susanna, like Queen Esther, is "refined and shapely" (Esther D 3 and 2:7). During her trial Susanna is ordered to be unveiled. The LXX presumably means here "stripped naked," which would be in accordance with the penalty for adultery (Hosea 2:5, 11; and cf. Ezek 16:37–40, and *m. Soṭa* 1:5). When the two elders testify against Susanna, they "laid their hands on her head," in accordance with the custom mentioned in Lev 24:14. Susanna was condemned to death in line with the ordinances of Lev 20:10 and Deut 22:21–24.

Daniel, in his questioning, corrects the failure of the community to conduct a cross-examination. The two witnesses, as elders of the community, were not examined in adherence to Deut 19:15–20. Daniel, however, does interrogate them and he may be acting in accordance with what we later find in the Mishnah (*m. Sanh.* 6:1–2). Daniel says to one of the elders: "You shall not put to death the innocent and righteous person" (v 53), echoing Exod 23:7; when he calls the other elder "a descendant of Canaan" (v 56), he may be alluding to Gen 9:20–25 where Canaan is apparently blamed for improper sexual behavior. In v 59 Daniel says: "the angel of God is waiting with drawn sword to hew you in half and destroy the pair of you"; this is reminiscent of Num 22:31 and 1 Chr 21:16. Daniel's conviction of the two elders by "their own mouths of having borne false witness" accords with Deut 19:18–20. Thus, even if the story of Susanna was originally a pagan one, it was reworked so as to appear very biblical. See also DANIEL, ADDITIONS TO.

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MICHAL DAYAGI MENDELS

SUSI (PERSON) [Heb *sûsî*]. A man from the tribe of Joseph (Manasseh), known only through association with his son Gaddi (Num 13:11). Gaddi was one of the twelve tribal representatives who left Kadesh to spy out the land of Canaan.

TERRY L. BRENSINGER

SUSIYA, KHIRBET (M.R. 159090). A town established in the Judean hills S of Hebron following the Bar Kokhba Revolt.

A. Identification and History

The site is situated 14 km S of Hebron, in the S Judean hills, in a region named Daroma ("South") in Jewish sources and by Eusebius. The Arabic name of the site signifies "the Ruin of Liquorice Plant." The ancient name of the site is unknown, and it has been assumed that it was never mentioned in historical sources. The site is less than 2.5 km SW of Kh. Karmil, identified with Carmel, 4 km SE of Yatta, identified with biblical and postbiblical Jutta, and 3 km E-NE of es-Samu', identified with Eshtemoa. The key to the identification of the site lies in a proper understanding of the history of these sites in the period following the Bar Kokhba War. Eusebius names three Jewish villages in the region S of Hebron: Jutta, "a very large Jewish village" (*Onomast.* 108.8); Eshtemoa/Asthemo (*Onomast.* 26.11); and village in Daroma, or Esthemo, "a large Jewish village in the region of Eleutheropolis" (*Onomast.* 86.20). Carmel is mentioned three times. It is once named Karmelos, the home of Nabal (1 Sam 25:2), and "there is today a village by the name of Chermala, named Karmelos, on the tenth mile from Hebron, and there is stationed a garrison of soldiers" (*Onomast.* 118.5–7). In the

second reference, it is named Chermel, "a very large village in the Daroma, near Hebron," and the garrison is mentioned again (*Onomast.* 172.20–23). Finally, he speaks of Chermala, "once named Karmelos. By this name is named today a large Jewish village" (*Onomast.* 92.19–21). In this third instance the Roman garrison is not mentioned at all. Chermula is later mentioned in the *Notitia Dignitatum* as the seat of *equites scutarii Illyricani* (72.6), and in the 6th century C.E. Chermoula was still a place of great importance, mentioned in a papyrus from Nessana. Kh. Karmil, to which all of these references are usually ascribed is 810 m above sea level, and overlooks the ancient roads coming from Hebron and descending to the Judean Desert and the Negeb. It is the only place in the whole region well supplied with spring water, and all other villages depended on rainwater. A Crusader fort occupies the site of the Roman fortress, and the Byzantine period is represented by at least three churches. Kh. Karmil could not have been Eusebius' Jewish large village, which must be sought somewhere else, and A. Negev suggests that Jewish Carmel of the post Bar Kokhba War period should be sought at adjacent Kh. Susiya. The scenario may be drawn as follows: after the Bar Kokhba War and the foundation of Aelia Capitolina, the border between the new city and the remnants of the Jewish territory was drawn somewhere S of Hebron. The Roman army then occupied points of strategic importance at old Carmel, then named Chermala/Chermoula, N of the Jewish region, and at Arad, 20 Roman miles from Hebron (*Onomast.* 14.2), where a Roman fort stood at the S limit of the region.

Between these two forts the Jews lived unmolested. It is possible that the Jews, who felt uneasy in the shadow of the Roman banners, moved to the site of Kh. Susiya, which they named Carmel—the name of their old site. The distance of 2,400 m conforms with the *halachic* Sabbath limit, and may indicate that not all of the Jews of Chermala moved to the new place; they were thus able to use the services of the Kh. Susiya synagogue. Among the dedications of chancel screens found in the synagogue two formulae were observed, one made by "the whole town," and the other by the "holy community," the first referring to the Jews of Kh. Susiya, which was a Jewish town, and the second refers to the Jewish community of Chermala.

From the foundation of new Carmel in the 2d or 3d century C.E., the town prospered throughout the Late Roman, Byzantine, and Early Arab periods. The local economy was based on agriculture, mainly the production of wine and the extraction of olive oil.

B. History of Research

The site was described by V. Gûerin in 1869 (1869: 173), who noted the presence of a large building, which he identified as a church facing N. The Survey of Western Palestine visited the site in 1874, and was very much impressed by the quality of local architecture (*SWP* 3: 414–15). In 1918 A. E. Mader (1918: 182–83) marked Kh. Susiya as a Christian site. While excavating the synagogue at Eshtemoa L. A. Mayer and A. Reifenberg (1937) identified the public building at Kh. Susiya as a broad-house type of synagogue. The site was further surveyed by a team of the Israel Survey in 1968 (1972: 70). In 1969–72 the synagogue was excavated by S. Gutman, E. Netzer, and Z. Yeivin (Gutman, Yeivin, and Netzer 1981: 123–28). In 1978, Y. Hirshfeld (1983) excavated a dwelling in the W part of the site. Excavations in the town of Susiya were made in 1984 by A. Negev, and in 1985 he was joined by Z. Yeivin.

C. The Excavation of the Synagogue

The ancient site of Kh. Susiya comprises two hills—an E, horseshoe shaped hill, and a W hill. At the N end of the W arm of the horseshoe, where both hills join, is located the synagogue.

The synagogue has doors on the E and N, which lead into a court (ca. 12.5 × 13.0 m) of three arched porticoes. The court and porticoes are paved with large flagstones, except for the S portico which has a mosaic pavement. In the court are two openings—one to a cistern, and the other to a cave (perhaps a quarry which was subsequently used as storage space). A grand staircase leads to a porticoed narthex, of four Corinthian columns between antae, from which three doors lead into the prayer hall (interior measurements 9 × 15 m). At the S end of the narthex, steps ascend to a second story above the S wing of the building. The floor of the narthex is paved with mosaics, having geometric designs and several dedicatory inscriptions. The S wing of the building consists of an oblong hall, which is entered through the narthex, and which has benches along three walls. To the W of this is another room, entered from outside of the building.

The prayer hall was a broadroom type, on an E–W axis. The bema was attached to the middle of the N wall, where apparently was a niche for the Torah shrine. E of the main bema was a secondary bema, for the reading of the law. There were several phases in the development of the main bema. To the later phase belong fragments of the marble chancel screen, which is decorated with menorot, a Tree of Life surrounded by lions, a palm tree surrounded by lions, and numerous fragments of Hebrew and Aramaic inscriptions. There were benches built along the S, W, and part of the N walls.

The long history of the building may be traced in the mosaic floors of the prayer hall. It was originally paved with white mosaics, which was replaced at an early phase with a polychrome mosaic. The W part was divided into three scenes: a hunt scene, Daniel in the lions' den (?), and a damaged panel. The middle panel had a large circle divided into segments, apparently containing the signs of the zodiac. The E part of the floor was decorated by a geometric carpet with birds. In front of the secondary bema was a representation of a Torah shrine flanked by menorot, depicted inside a gabled building. On each side of the building were two stags. At a later phase the zodiac panel was replaced by a geometric pattern with a rosette in its center. The later floor was repaired from time to time with coarse white tesserae.

The earliest mosaic panel was found in the center of the narthex. It was made of very small, colored tesserae, forming a geometric design, surrounding an inscription. The most important dedicatory inscription, lamentably fragmentary, was found near the main entrance to the prayer hall, and contained a date: "the second of the week/ (year) / four thousand / when the world was created." "Week" is used in the sense of the book of *Jubilees*, where jubilees

(49-year cycles), "week" of years (seven-year cycles) and single years are used in recording dates. The other dating system in this inscription is of the Creation of the Universe. The most complete and the latest inscription is that found in the S portico: "Remembered be for good the sanctity of my master and rabbi Isai the priest, the honorable, the venerable, who made this mosaic and plastered its walls with lime, which he donated at a feast Rabbi Yohanan the priest, the venerable scribe, his son. Peace on Israel! Amen!" This inscription contains elements which are not earlier than the period of the Geonim (9th–10th centuries C.E.).

The excavators tentatively dated the construction of the synagogue to the late 4th or 5th centuries, and its use lasted into the 8th or 9th century, when a mosque was built in the courtyard. At some time, the synagogue was heavily damaged by an earthquake, which necessitated supporting the walls with heavy taluses. This apparently was the earthquake which shattered the Negeb in 502 or 503 C.E., after which many churches and other buildings were repaired in the same way.

D. Excavations in the Town

The E horseshoe shaped hill covers over 15 acres. The whole settlement seems to have been surrounded by a continuous line of rooms, which did not communicate with each other, but served as a wall; these rooms opened into the settlement. Several sections of this building were exposed: a tower at the extreme N end of the E arm, a section 50 meters long on the S, and smaller sections at the W arm.

The tower, apparently one of the earliest structures on the site, was built of extremely large ashalrs, some as long as 2 m, each decorated by two bosses and flat margins. The S section had outer walls made of smaller blocks of drafted masonry, some with flat bosses. The building consisted of units of one or two rooms built one against the other, starting from the E end of the wall. Between two units of the S building a stepped *mikveh* (ritual bath) was excavated in the rock. Of the lintels found in the debris, one was decorated with two menorot, another with an uninscribed *tabula ansata* (similar lintels were also found in neighboring Eshtemoa and Kh. el-ʿUzeiz, identified with Kefar Aziz). Some of the lintels had slots for affixing mezuzot. On the W arm of the building, two rooms and two entrances leading into the defended quarter were unearthed. These were about 2 m wide, with extremely heavy doorposts, lintels, and door sills.

Two caves were excavated. One cave, E of the synagogue, is entered by an L-shaped stepped corridor. The door leading into the cave had heavy door posts and a lintel carved in the bedrock and which was decorated with a menorah within a wreath, and a *tabula ansata*. The cave is 12 m long and 9 m wide. Part of the E wall, more than 3 m high, is built of excellent drafted ashlars, many of which are decorated with bosses of differing projection. This wall separates a large plastered cistern from the cave. There are one large and several small openings in the cave's ceiling for ventilation and light. At the back of the cave is a small dark chamber, the door of which could be bolted secure, apparently a storeroom for valuables.

Still larger is the second cave, situated to the S of the first cave. A barrel vaulted descent leads to the cave, just in front of which is a *mikveh*. To the right (E) of the entry, a rock wall, faced with hammer-dressed stones, forms a small living room. A similar wall faces also the SW corner of the cave, perhaps another living corner. At this end another stepped corridor leads up to the outside of the cave. The irregularly shaped cave is 25 m long, and its widest width is ca. 14 m. Windows of different sizes drilled into the ceiling, ventilate and illuminate the cave. At the SW corner of the cave a low, narrow passage leads into the innermost part of the cave, where two rooms join at right angles. These measure 6.5 × 4.5 and 10.5 × 6.30 m. The thin rock walls are lined with very thick walls built of hammer-dressed stones. Light and air penetrates this part of the cave by two small, round windows. Originally, this part of the cave had a *mikveh*, but its entrance was blocked at an early phase, when in all probability it was made a wine cellar. The narrow entrance, which could easily be blocked with stones (the blocking stones were found outside the entrance), and the narrow windows, which could also easily be closed, assured a proper atmosphere for wine fermentation.

From the main E entrance to the cave, another corridor leads to a small, rounded room. At the sides of the entrance are a *mikveh* and a small cistern which supplied its water. There were several small niches for lamps in the walls of the room. A rectangular opening in the roof near the steps enabled the safe lowering of jars into the room. Another opening in the W wall communicated with the main cave. This small room probably was where the juice from the wine press was stored in jars before being put in the wine cellar. In the 1985 excavation season, a wine press was discovered in the courtyard above the large cave.

E. Date and Summary

The remains from Kh. Susiya contained mixed pottery dating to the Late Roman and Byzantine periods, a few glazed sherds of the 8th century C.E., and a plethora of painted pottery of the 12th–13th century C.E. Pottery of this late period was found on the lowest living floors, which makes the dating difficult. The only two coins found were of Claudius Gothicus (268–70 C.E.) and of 330–35 C.E. Tentatively the beginning of settlement at Kh. Susiya may be dated to the second half of the 2d or early 3d century C.E., when occupation of the W horseshoe hill began. At this period the settlement consisted of a defensive building and caves. Some time in the Byzantine period the settlement was abandoned and a new quarter, consisting of houses built of stone was founded on the W hill. Apparently at this stage the synagogue was built. This new settlement flourished until the end of the Umayyad period. In the 9th or 10th century C.E., the Moslems built a small mosque in the court of the synagogue, which had already gone out of use. In the Crusader period, Kh. Susiya was again occupied, but it was finally deserted after the victories of Saladin.

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SWALLOW. See ZOOLOGY.

SWIFT. See ZOOLOGY.

SWINE. See ZOOLOGY; MEAL CUSTOMS (JEWISH DIETARY LAWS).

SWORD. See WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS OF WARFARE.

SYCAMINE. See FLORA.

SYCAMORE FIG. See FLORA.

SYCHAR (PLACE). See JACOB'S WELL.

SYENE (PLACE) [Heb *sĕwēnēh*]. An ancient Egyptian town, modern Aswan, on the E bank of the Nile near the first cataract (24°03′N; 33°00′E) mentioned three times in the Bible (Isa 49:12; Ezek 29:10; 30:6). Syene is referred to in Isa 49:12 in an oracle of salvation in which the dispersed people of Israel are gathered together again. The MT reading *sînîm* in v 12 has for many years been a matter of confusion among scholars. The text of 1QIsa[a] has the consonantal reading *swnyym*, which is a plural gentilic. This spelling points to a base *swn* which confirms the non-gentilic spelling *sĕwēnēh* found in the Hebrew Bible. Both references to Syene in Ezekiel occur in the oracles against Egypt. Syene is counterpart to Migdol and is used as a metaphor for all of Egypt from N to S (cf. the expression "from Dan to Beer-sheba" in Judg 20:1 and 1 Sam 3:20). Here again there are textual difficulties. In Ezek 29:10 the MT reads Heb *mimmigdōl sĕwēnēh* "from the tower of Syene" which is further defined with the phrase "as far as the border of Cush." The LXX, however, reads *apo Magdōlou kai Suēnēs* "from Migdol and Syene." The *kai* possibly points to the Heb *ûsĕwēnēh* "and Syene." The verse reads further "as far as the border of Cush (Gk *Aithiopōn*)." Here Cush seems to refer to the region beyond the first cataract also known as Nubia or Ethiopia in Greek (cf. discussion in CUSHAN). Similarly in Ezek 30:6 the MT reads "from the tower of Syene," where LXX reads "from Migdol as far as *(heōs)* Syene." Here also, in light of the LXX, the Heb word *mimmigdōl* should be taken as a proper name "from Migdol." The LXX reading of *heōs* points to a Heb reading in which the final *h* would be the *he*-locale. This does not disturb the consonantal text, but still renders as with the LXX the meaning "from Migdol to Syene."

Next to Elephantine, an island off of the coast of Syene which was the capital of the first Egyptian nome (see ELEPHANTINE PAPYRI), Syene was quite an important city, located right below the first cataract. Strabo describes Syene as a city of both military and commercial importance (17.1.52–54). The Egyptian word from which the modern name Aswan is derived means "trade." The first cataract served as a natural boundary between Egypt and Nubia. According to the ancient historian Herodotus, as he had learned from hearsay, the sources of the Nile are to be traced to two springs marked by two peaks between Syene and the island of Elephantine, half of the water flowing N and the other half flowing S (2.28; cf. Strabo 17.1.56). A fortification program was undertaken in the S and NE delta region during the Middle Kingdom (1938 B.C.–ca. 1630 B.C.) These areas were referred to as "the gates of the barbarians" and Syene as "the south gate." However, because of the rapids it was difficult to attack from the S. The rapids also made it very difficult for merchant ships to pass. Cargo first had to be unloaded and either be loaded onto smaller boats that could make it through the rapids or be carried around the rapids on land. Herodotus (2.29) describes how a boat would have to be harnessed between two oxen on land which pulled the boat through the rapids. The loading and unloading of cargo traveling between Egypt and Nubia made Syene a great trade center. The area around Syene was also known for its many mineral deposits. In upper Nubia there are great granite quarries; today one can still see an unfinished statue and an abandoned obelisk. Because of the bareness of the region it is not clear whether or not the people of the area had to depend on food shipped from downstream.

Many ruins still remain on the island of Elephantine. In Syene, however, except for two Greco-Roman temples, not much remains visible, because the ancient city is now underneath the modern city of Aswan. Of interest are the cave tombs at nearby Qubbet el-Hawa on the W bank of the Nile. Among the finds are a large number of inscribed pots which were used as burial offerings (see Edel 1967). The modern city of Aswan is best known for the Aswan dam completed in 1970. Unfortunately a great part of upper Nubia has been flooded due to dam construction and many archaeological remains lie submerged under water. For further discussion of Elephantine and surrounding region see *BMAP*, 1–127.

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SYLLABIC, BYBLOS. See LANGUAGES (BYBLOS SYLLABIC INSCRIPTIONS).

SYMMACHUS, SYMMACHUS'S VERSION.

Symmachus is one of the three Jewish translators used by Origen (mid-3d century C.E.) in the compilation of his Hexapla (see HEXAPLA OF ORIGEN), a document now only fragmentarily preserved. Origen placed the text of Symmachus in the fourth column of his work. There is general scholarly agreement with the tradition that Symmachus produced a Greek translation or revision of the OT after the works of both Theodotion and Aquila. There is little agreement about other factors that relate to the life and work of this enigmatic figure.

A dominant emphasis in ancient accounts of Symmachus was his association with the Ebionites, a Jewish-Christian sect. In modern times, Schoeps (1950) has supported such a connection through a detailed study of Symmachus' generally free rendering of the Hebrew. According to Schoeps, the Greek version of Symmachus exhibits numerous contacts with characteristic elements of Ebionite exegesis and belief. For some, the designation of Symmachus as Ebionite removes him from Judaism; for others, the term does not exclude membership within the Jewish community. Among the latter is Dominique Barthélemy (1974). Although he does not deny that Symmachus may have been an Ebionite, Barthélemy emphasizes another strand in the traditions about Symmachus; namely, that he was a Samaritan who converted to Judaism. In Barthélemy's reconstruction, the Symmachus who translated the Hebrew Bible into Greek—and who was a converted Samaritan, with possible Ebionite leanings—can be identified with Symmachus, the disciple of Rabbi Meir, mentioned in the Talmud.

Barthélemy's identification leads to a date for Symmachus sometime in the third quarter of the 2d century C.E. Other scholars, however, note the absence of references to Symmachus, the translator, in 2d- and early-3d-century sources that could reasonably be expected to take note of him. This leads to a considerably later date, in the second quarter of the 3d century, for the appearance of Symmachus' work. If this is correct, Symmachus may have finished his translation only a short period prior to Origen's use of it.

The sources upon which Symmachus relied have also been much discussed. It used to be argued that Symmachus had consciously set himself in opposition to Aquila, whose extreme literalism he countered with a free translation more sensitive to the literary value of the Greek language than to distinctive features of the Hebrew. Detailed study of their respective versions does not, however, bear out this contention. Symmachus is not dependent on Aquila, nor does he exhibit extensive knowledge of or interest in Aquila's work. See AQUILA'S VERSION. On the other hand, it is clear that Symmachus knew and used material identified with Theodotion and linked more broadly with the *kaige* recension of the Septuagint. See THEODOTION. Symmachus, although he apparently found many specific renderings of Theodotion to his liking, was unhappy with the earlier translator/reviser's tendency to establish standard or stereotyped representations for many Hebrew words and phrases. Variety, for stylistic or exegetical purposes, was more in keeping with Symmachus' conception of the translator's craft. Again unlike Theodotion, who as a reviser made extensive use of an existing Greek text to prepare his version, Symmachus produced a fresh translation, on the basis of Theodotion-*kaige*, the Old Greek, possibly Aquila and other Greek renderings, and his own understanding of the Hebrew *Vorlage*.

The text that Symmachus created would have found a far wider audience than Aquila's. Its style and its literary achievements were undoubtedly praised by many Greek speakers, who were thus drawn into the world of the Hebrew Scriptures without having to leave their own. In this context, it should be noted that Symmachus generally preferred to supply his readers with translations (often, only guesses) for obscure or technical Hebrew terms that had remained transliterated in earlier Greek versions. On the whole, the work of Symmachus, with its freedom of style and variety of renderings, looked very different from the Hebrew original. Such an approach to translation, whether in antiquity or the modern world, has strengths and drawbacks. For example, Symmachus is far less useful for the textual critic than is the literalist Aquila. By contrast, the many interpretive elements he introduced makes him a valuable source for the study of exegetical traditions. Jerome, a learned and thoughtful observer of both text and interpretation, cast an implicit vote in favor of Symmachus and his approach. For it was Symmachus whom he followed most often in the preparation of his own biblical translation, the Vulgate.

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SYNAGOGAL PRAYERS, HELLENISTIC. See PRAYERS, HELLENISTIC SYNAGOGAL.

SYNAGOGUE.

The meeting place and prayer hall of the Jewish people since antiquity. During Second Temple times the term "synagogue" referred both to a group of people and/or a building or institution. Although these notions are not mutually exclusive, it is quite probable that at its inception the synagogue did not refer to an actual building but to a group or community of individuals who met together for worship and religious purposes. This entry will explore the nature of the synagogue, first providing a broad introductory overview, and then surveying

the evidence pertaining to early synagogues in the Diaspora.

INTRODUCTORY SURVEY

By the 1st century C.E. the synagogue had become so important and central an institution to Jewish life in Palestine that the Talmud of Palestine refers to 480 of them existing in Jerusalem in the time of Vespasian (Kloner 1981: 12). One scholar has recently proposed that in Jerusalem alone there were 365 synagogues in the late Second Temple period (Wilkinson 1976: 76–77). A Greek inscription from Jerusalem dating to the 1st century C.E., found in the excavations of 1913–14, describes the varied function of the synagogue at that time (quoted in Levine 1987: 17):

> Theodotus, son of Vettenos, the priest and *archisynagogos*, son of a *archisynagogos* and grandson of a *archisynagogos*, who built the synagogue for purposes of reciting the Law and studying the commandments, and as a hotel with chambers and water installations to provide for the needs of itinerants from abroad, which his fathers, the elders and Simonides founded.

Josephus also emphasizes the centrality of the reading of Scripture and the importance of study found in the Second Temple synagogue (*AgAp* 2.175). The NT corroborates such a picture in reporting Jesus' and Paul's frequent visitations to synagogues. During those times they would invariably read or expound Scripture, either the Pentateuch or Prophets (e.g., Luke 4:16–22; Acts 13:13–16).

A. Origins
B. Terminology
C. Diaspora Synagogues
D. Synagogues in Israel-Palestine
E. Building Types
  1. Basilica
  2. Broadhouse
  3. Apsidal
F. Conclusion

A. Origins

The origin of the synagogue is shrouded in mystery, though most scholars would place its beginning in exilic times (Gutmann 1975: 72–76). It was the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple in 587/6 B.C.E. and the forced eviction of the Judeans to Babylonia that created the conditions which brought about a complete reappraisal of life. Bereft of temple and country, the Judeans probably under the priestly leadership of Jehozadak (Hag 1:1), undertook to collect and edit their sacred writings. This effort culminated around 560 B.C.E. in the publication of the Primary History (Genesis–2 Kings). Another aspect of the life crisis facing the Judeans in exile was the question of how to worship without a sanctuary located on a holy place. Many scholars assume that the prophet Ezekiel was pivotal in establishing local houses of worship to deal with the matter, citing Ezek 11:16 (with its reference to the *miqdāš mĕᶜaṭ*) in support of the prophet's efforts in this connection. Others have cited the meeting place *(bêt ᶜam)* of Jer 39:8 also as reflecting such a need for non-temple worship and meeting.

Whatever the reality of the situation in exile, the fact of the matter is that the response to Cyrus' edict in 538 B.C.E. permitting the Judeans to return to Palestine was underwhelming. Many chose to stay in the Persian diaspora and such a decision clearly indicates that their religious needs were being met. Indeed, cuneiform records and archives reveal a community in Babylonia that retained its Yahwistic identity (Zadok 1979). See also MURASHÛ, ARCHIVE OF. Unfortunately there is no documentary evidence, either epigraphic or archaeological, to verify the existence of the synagogue as structure or social institution. Moreover, Ezekiel's role in advancing an alternative to the Jerusalem temple must also be questioned in view of the fact he was a priest who supported the temple cult and who (in chapters 40–48) vigorously advanced the prospect of a restored temple.

Whatever the case may be for an exilic date for the idea or actual establishment of the synagogue as a place where individuals gathered to worship, read, or recite the scriptures, and to venerate Yahweh, the experience and trauma of the destruction and exile of God's people enabled the Judeans to develop a means of approaching God that transcended the confines of sacred space. The discovery of a number of cult centers outside of Jerusalem—at Kuntillet ᶜAjrud in Sinai or at Lachish in the Shephelah—indicate that the Deuteronomic reform for centralized worship must be viewed in light of the reality of a popular religion that located its cult in numerous places.

The existence of other cult centers outside the land of Palestine—such as at Elephantine in Egypt in Persian times, at Leontopolis in Hellenistic times, possibly in Transjordan in Hellenistic times ('Araq el-'Amir), at the Samaritan temple on Mt. Gerizim, or even at Qumran in Palestine—indicates that the precedent for such a pattern of religious expression was widespread in the Second Temple period. In this context the Gk inscriptions from the Fayyum in Egypt, which date as early as the 3d century B.C.E. and mention synagogues, are quite understandable. Thus cult centers and the earliest synagogues exist alongside one another from Hellenistic times on. Although the exclusivity of the Jerusalem temple cannot be maintained for this period, its centrality in the life of Palestinian and Diaspora Jews cannot be doubted.

B. Terminology

The terms employed to designate the synagogue reflect the variety of its functions. The earliest terms come from the Second Temple period and are Greek: *synagogue* and *proseuche* (Hengel 1975: 39–41; Levine 1987: 20–23), the former meaning "house of assembly," the latter "house of prayer." Despite the fact that the status and full extent of the development of private prayer in the Second Temple period is much debated and in doubt, some scholars feel that *proseuche* is the older term, popular since the 3d century B.C.E. In any case, *synagogue* was in use by the turn of the era and came to replace *proseuche* by the 2d century C.E. Hengel has suggested that *proseuche* carries with it the special connotation of Diaspora synagogue, while *synagogue* carries with it the nuance of "Palestinian" in the NT, Josephus, and rabbinic sources (Hengel 1975: 41–54).

Others have suggested a distinction in meaning between the terms that derives from a difference in architecture and ornamentation, but there seems to be little merit to such a view.

The difference in Greek terms undoubtedly reflects the multiple functions of synagogues in both Palestine and the Diaspora; it also reflects how Jews and non-Jews perceived the role of the synagogue in society. The Hebrew and Aramaic terms of post-70 C.E. also reflect this variety to which is added the *bêt midraš*, or "house of study." *Synagogue* is equivalent to *bêt knesset* and *proseuche* equivalent to *bêt tĕpillâ*. It is noteworthy, however, that as the number of synagogues greatly and rapidly increases after 70 C.E. the nomenclature continues to reflect the varied communal aspects of life that were carried on within the confines of the synagogue, notwithstanding the fact that from the 2d century C.E. on the liturgical life of the synagogue is well documented and fairly stable. (The Jewish community center of contemporary America is a direct descendant of this multi-function ancient institution.)

C. Diaspora Synagogues

Despite the fact that the oldest synagogue inscriptions come from Egypt, we have no archaeological documentation of what they might have been like. Josephus informs us of the centrality of the reading of the Law in the Alexandrian synagogue (*AgAp* 2.175), while the *Tosephta* (*Sukk.* 4.6) refers to other aspects of its furnishings and to its enormous size:

> And a wooden *bema* was found in the center of the synagogue hall, and the *ḥazzan* or leader of the synagogue would stand on the corner of the *bema* with kerchiefs in his hand. When one came and took hold of the biblical scroll to read, the *ḥazzan* would wave the kerchiefs and all the people would answer "Amen" for each blessing (translation after Levine 1987: 17).

The oldest synagogue in the Diaspora to be preserved, excavated, and reported is the one from the Aegean island of Delos, birthplace of Apollo. A free port in the 2d century B.C.E., Delos attracted a substantial number of Greek-speaking Samaritans who erected a synagogue there sometime in the 1st century B.C.E. Although earlier scholars doubted the identification of the 16.9 m × 14.4 m synagogue hall, new evidence has enabled a positive interpretation to dominate today (Bruneau 1982; Meyers and Kraabel 1986: 186; Kraabel 1987: 51). The discovery of a *menorah* on an overall piece of Pentelic marble in the Agora excavations of Athens suggests (but does not prove) the existence of a synagogue there also (Meyers and Kraabel 1986: 186).

In Priene, on the Aegean coast in Asia Minor, a small structure once identified as a small house-church is today identified as a synagogue dating from the 3d or 4th century C.E. Two incised *menorahs* near a niche indicate the existence of a place for the Torah scrolls. The largest Jewish community of Asia Minor, however, was at Sardis in Lydia. Its large, basilical synagogue with apse is one of the best preserved Jewish ruins anywhere and dates to the 2d or 3d century C.E. It was destroyed in 616 C.E. An extensive literature exists on this synagogue site and its excavations. The distance from apse to front steps is 100 m, and its width is 10 m. Over eighty inscriptions have been recovered from the building (Kraabel 1987; Meyers and Kraabel 1986: 191–92). Another important synagogue of Polycharmos exists in Macedonia (at Stobi) and dates to the 3d century C.E. A later one dates to the 4th century. The 4th-century building boasts a mosaic floor in a hall of 7.9 m × 13.3 m with walls decorated by frescoes. The base of a Torah shrine may be preserved on the E wall (Meyers and Kraabel 1986: 186–87).

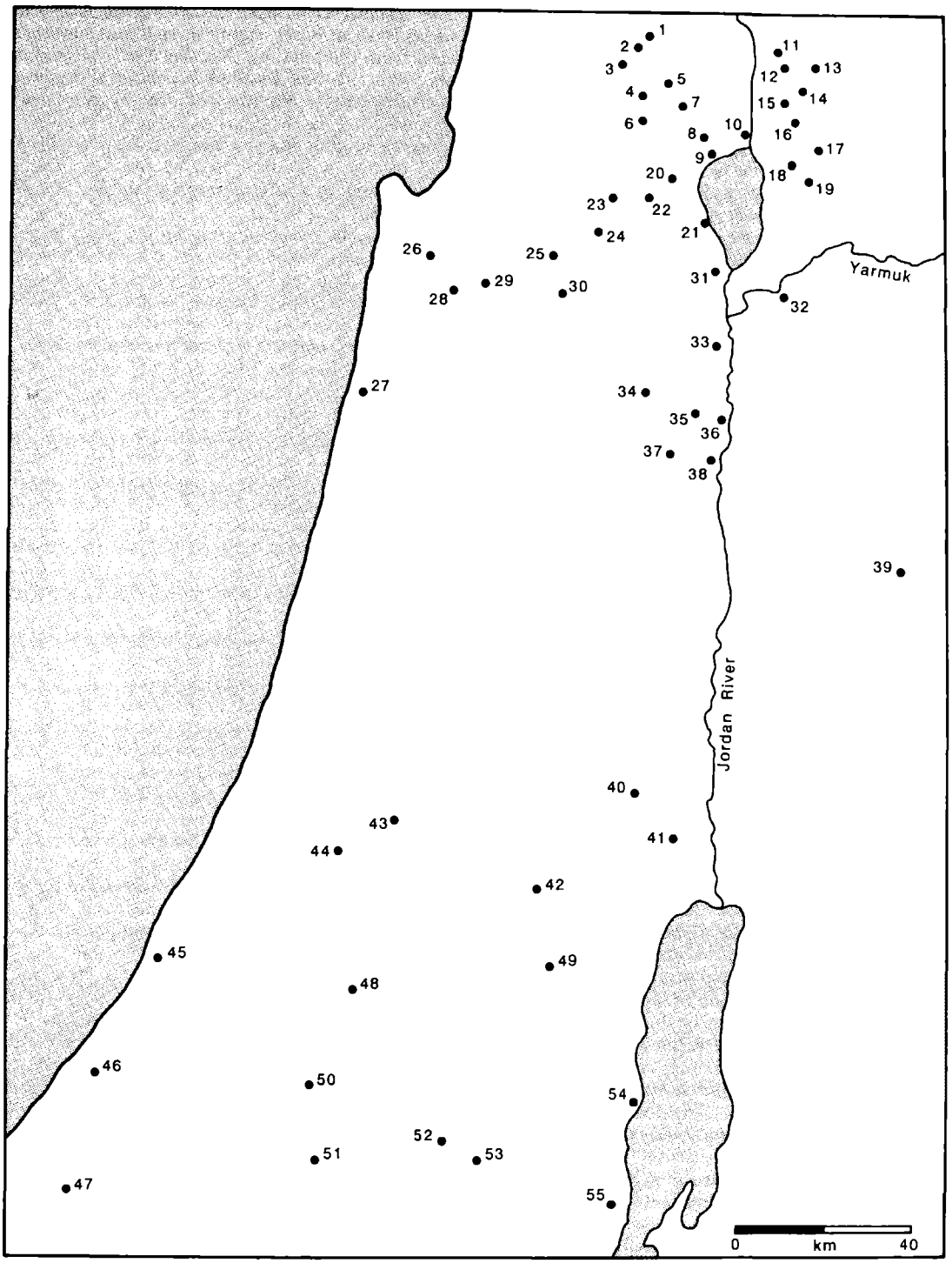
At Ostia, the port of ancient Rome, a very large and well-perserved synagogue is preserved in its 4th-century form (24.9 m × 12.5 m). A *bema* occupies the wall opposite the main entrance, and a massive Torah shrine dominates the building. The excavations suggest an earlier, 1st-century building lies beneath the reconstructed later building (Meyers and Kraabel 1986: 187–88; Kraabel *ANRW* 2/19: 475–510).

The eastern Diaspora is best represented by the astonishing synagogue excavated at Dura Europos in Syria on the Euphrates. The city was destroyed in 256 C.E. thereby preserving its ruins in a most serendipitous way. The broadhouse synagogue with Torah niche is best known for its wonderful wall paintings which depict biblical scenes. Some of the stories represented are the exodus, Elijah reviving the widow, Samuel anointing David, the Philistine capture of the Ark of Yahweh, etc. One of the most famous is the Ezekiel panel that shows God's deliverance of his people from exile and their resurrection in Jerusalem. The synagogue paintings provide an unprecedented opportunity for understanding Judaism in the 3d century C.E. and for assaying the importance of synagogue life on the fringes of the Syrian desert (Meyers and Kraabel 1986: 190–91). Its proximity to the church at Dura and to pagan edifices also tells a great deal about pluralism.

The synagogues of the Greco-Roman Diaspora are diverse in style and varied in their architectural layout. Some are large, some are small. Some are basilical, some are broadhouses. In all, however, there is a constancy in the symbols which decorate them. Of special importance is the placement of the Torah shrine as the focal point of worship or centerpiece of the wall of orientation. For the Diaspora the synagogue becomes the vehicle par excellence for communicating what Kraabel calls a "biblical Diaspora theology" and grafting it on to a Greco-Roman social organization (1987: 58). It enables Judaism to preserve itself in a healthy, self-conscious way in a pluralistic setting. Although the evidence to date is fairly limited, there is no doubt that future discoveries will continue to shed important light on the social setting of the synagogue in Greco-Roman society. For a survey of the archaeological aspects of these various synagogues, see "Diaspora Synagogues" below.

D. Synagogues in Israel-Palestine

The dearth of new data for ancient synagogues in the Diaspora may be compared with a plethora of new material from Israel/Palestine. Since 1967, systematic survey and excavation has turned up dozens of new important discoveries from the S Judean desert to the N Golan Heights. See Fig. SYN.01. When combined with previously known material and evaluated on its own merit, the Judaism that



SYN.01. Ancient synagogue sites. *1*, Barʿam; *2*, Marous; *3*, Sasa; *4*, Meiron; *5*, Nabratein; *6*, H. Shemʿa; *7*, H. Shura; *8*, Chorazin; *9*, Capernaum; *10*, H. Dikke; *11*, Ḍabbura; *12*, ʿEn-Neshut; *13*, Dabiya; *14*, Kazrin; *15*, ʿAssalieh; *16*, Zumimra; *17*, Gamla; *18*, H. Kanef; *19*, Umm el-Kanatir; *20*, Veradim; *21*, Ḥammath Tiberias; *22*, ʾArbel; *23*, H. Haʿamudim; *24*, Kefar Kana; *25*, Sepphoris; *26*, Ḥusifa; *27*, Caesarea; *28*, H. Summak; *29*, Beth Sheʿarim; *30*, Japhiʿa; *31*, Beth-Yerah; *32*, Ḥammath Gader; *33*, Kakhav Ha-Yarden; *34*, Beth ʾAlpha; *35*, Beth-shean; *36*, Maʿoz Ḥayim; *37*, Rehob; *38*, Tirat Zvi; *39*, Gerasa; *40*, Naʿaran; *41*, Jericho; *42*, Jerusalem; *43*, Shaʿalbim; *44*, Ḥuldah; *45*, ʾAscalon; *46*, Gaza; *47*, Maʿon; *48*, Beth-Govrin; *49*, Herodium; *50*, H. Kishor; *51*, H. Rimmon; *52*, ʾEshtmoʿa; *53*, Susiya; *54*, ʿEin-Gedi; *55*, Masada. *(Redrawn from Hachlili 1988: 142, map 2)*

emerges appears to have been surprisingly variegated, flourishing in Syria-Palestine throughout the Byzantine era until the Arab conquest in the 7th century C.E. The evidence of ancient synagogues thus demonstrates the viability of Judaism for the duration of the Greco-Roman period, and calls into question the commonly held assumption of an earlier generation of scholarship that Palestinian Jewry was in decline towards the end of the Roman period.

If one of the surprising aspects of recent research has been that more synagogues have been identified as being "late," another is that few have been found that are "early." Thus far only three synagogue buildings within Israel/Palestine have been securely dated to the Second Temple period: Gamla, Masada, and Herodium. The building at Gamla in the Golan is oriented towards Jerusalem, is situated close to a ritual bath, and is in the heart of a Jewish town that was at the very forefront of the war against Rome in 66–70 C.E. (Gutman 1981). The Masada synagogue is located on the NW side of the hill, is rectangular in plan with two rows of columns, one on the S side with three columns, and one on the N with two, and four tiers of benches. Its entrance on the SE, opposite Jerusalem, suggests a kind of sacred orientation. Sacred scrolls were found in a small room in the NW that was apparently used to store the scrolls not in use during worship (Yadin 1966: 181–91). The building at Herodium is also rectangular with entrances to the E and supported by four columns, and benches on three walls and is located near a ritual bath. Only when compared with Masada does its identification as a synagogue seem possible (Foerster 1973).

The dearth of early Second Temple synagogue remains stands in striking contrast to the large number of synagogues referred to in ancient literary sources; but such an anomoly derives from our modern misunderstanding of the synagogue as a social and religious institution and the synagogue as a distinct and discrete architectural entity. This apparent contradiction disappears if we assume that, in the first centuries, large private houses were used as places of worship alongside other buildings that came to be utilized for worship and other matters requiring public assembly. In Palestine, it would seem, it was about a hundred years after the destruction of the Temple that the synagogue *as building* began to emerge as a central feature of Jewish communal life. This inference surely may be deduced on the basis of the Second War with Rome in 132–25 C.E., which brought even greater destruction and dislocation than the first war. It was really not until the second half of the 2d century C.E. that Palestinian Jewry achieved any measure of respite from war with all its social and economic implications. It was then that the synagogue as synagogue building emerged, and it first took root in Galilee, the region most heavily populated by Jews at that time.

In Galilee we observe most of the types of buildings that ultimately became associated with synagogues: basilicas with and without apse, and broadhouses. Variety in architectural patterning and ornamentation is accompanied by a repetitive organization of sacred furnishings that culminate in placing the Ark of the Law on the wall facing Jerusalem. The existence of one pattern on one type synagogue, however, does not necessarily mean that another type could not and did not exist alongside another. Indeed, diversity in every sense characterizes all periods and all regions of Palestine where synagogues are to be found.

E. Building Types

1. Basilica. In the basilica, as in the various other forms of the ancient synagogue, the major architectural, if not theological, aspect is the wall of orientation facing Jerusalem. It is generally assumed that this most salient and telling feature of the synagogue is derived from the biblical practice of praying towards Jerusalem (1 Kgs 8:44 = 2 Chr 6:34; 1 Kgs 8:48 = 2 Chr 6:38; Dan 6:11). This custom achieved legal force in the rabbinic period when it is translated into law (*j. Ber.* 4, 8b–c), but the same principle also seems to have been operative in the 1st-century buildings at Masada and Herodium (Foerster 1973). See also Figs. ART.36 and ART.37.

The principle of sacred orientation may be observed in the basilical structure uncovered in the American excavations at ancient Meiron (Meyers, Strange, and Meyers 1978), where the triple facade faces S towards Jerusalem. Most scholars agree that this example dates to a time when the ark was not yet a permanent fixture in the synagogue but was a portable structure brought into the main sanctuary during worship. The precentor, or reader of Scripture, would stand before it facing Jerusalem (though compare the example of the Nabratein broadhouse, where one might have faced the opposite direction, towards the congregation; Meyers and Meyers 1981). Possible representations of a portable ark may be observed in sculpture at Capernaum and in mosaic elsewhere (Hachlili 1976: 43–53). It seems that the portable ark of the synagogue harkens back to Nathan's rebuke of David (2 Sam 7:4ff.), when the prophet argues poignantly, in theological terms, for a movable shrine.

Both the orientation of the basilica and the suggested location of the ark require the so-called "awkward about-face" of the worshipper. If the Jerusalem-oriented entrances were both functional and also the focus of worship, the worshipper would have had to turn around immediately upon entering the building from the S. The lack of an entrance on the N, or opposite side would have necessitated such a turnaround. At Meiron and at most other basilical sites, no convincing proof of entrances either on the N, E, or W has been found. The Nabratein basilicas, however, are the exceptions to this rule.

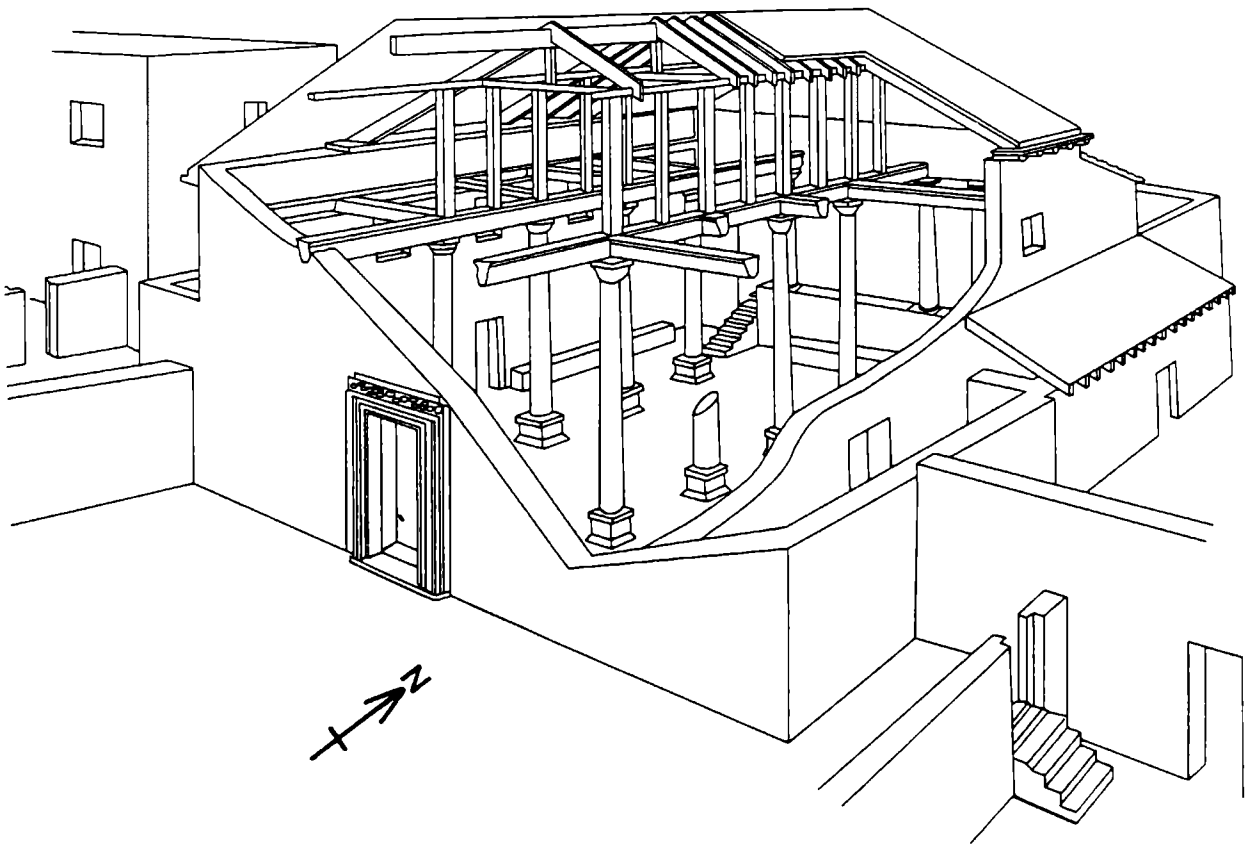
All of this presupposes the existence of some kind of Torah shrine (either portable or permanent) on the interior S (Jerusalem-oriented) wall, even though none has been found in situ; the evidence at both Meiron and Capernaum supports such a theory (Strange, *IDBSup*, 140–41). A novel arrangement was found in the basilica-like synagogue excavated at Beth She'arim: a raised *bema*, or podium, for the reading of the scrolls is situated in the back wall of the nave opposite the three monumental doorways, which face Jerusalem. The building dates from the second quarter of the 3d century to the middle of the 4th century (Avigad and Mazar, *EAEHL* 1: 233–34). If the Torah shrine was portable and brought out during services, we would not expect to find any trace of it today (Kraabel, *NCE*, 438). The excavators at Beth She'arim

noted significantly, however, that a Torah shrine was relocated on the Jerusalem wall during the last phase of the building's history. The excavator of the Ein-Gedi synagogue also observed this change (Avi-Yonah 1973: 341). Both instances tend to suggest a major theological development some time in the late 3d or early 4th century C.E., when public reading of Scripture in a worship setting reached a high point. Whether such a transformation can be related to external circumstances affecting the Jewish community, such as the Christianization of the empire or the reading of Scripture by sectarians, is a matter that deserves further study. S. Lieberman (personal communication) feels that this was a matter of Jewish self-definition vis-à-vis Christians and Jewish-Christians, indicating the Jews' preference for a specific canonical form of Torah.

The origin of the basilica is generally conceded to be the typical Greco-Roman basilica, possibly mediated to Palestine through builders employed by Herod the Great, one of the most notable patrons of Roman building in the E Mediterranean world. Still others suggest that the basilica is mediated through Syro-Roman and Nabatean prototypes. In any case, the synagogue qua basilica is still innovative in that it has adapted a public structure (whether sacred or secular) that emphasizes the exterior and has modified it to suit its own unique religious purposes.

New discoveries indicate a much higher degree of flexibility in dating all types of synagogues than previously believed and attest to the simultaneous existence of more than one type. For example, the basilica at Capernaum is widely regarded as late or Byzantine, whereas the broadhouse at Khirbet Shemaʿ is dated much earlier. The only certain way of dating any ancient building is through scientific excavation and scholarly evaluation of the data that emanate from such excavation. With respect to the general categories of synagogue buildings, present excavations indicate even more anomalies than the variation in ground plan and internal furnishing already mentioned, so that even the concept of a standard basilica can no longer be maintained.

a. The Case of Gush Ḥalav. The 1977–78 excavations at the ancient site of Gush Ḥalav (Giscala), just a few km N of Meiron (Meyers 1981), reinforce the opinion that only careful excavation can provide the answers to important questions of dating and typology. In the jargon of field archaeologists, this site provides a classic example of the axiom "the answers always lie below." Kohl and Watzinger, who excavated at Gush Ḥalav during their survey in the early part of this century, clearly did not go far enough in their work; their published plan of Gush Ḥalav indicates they erroneously identified what now are clearly storage



SYN.02. Reconstruction of Gush Ḥalav synagogue—3d century C.E. *(Redrawn by G. Herion from Levine [ed.] 1987: 193, fig. 9.6)*

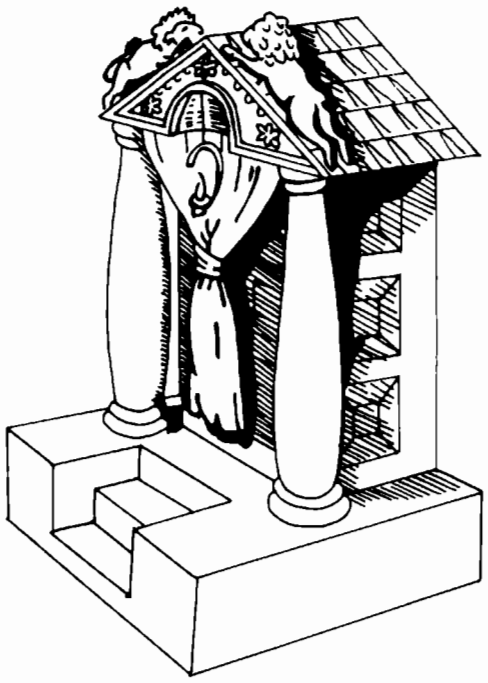
areas as the closing, or interior, wall of a very large square basilica (1916: plate 15). The more recent work at Gush Ḥalav, however, has pointed out the errors in the earlier typological assumptions, and reinforces the notion that variety existed even within the broadly defined category of "basilical synagogues."

The founding of the Gush Ḥalav synagogue surely can be dated to the 3d century C.E. However, the S wall, which faces Jerusalem, has only one entrance, the one with the down-facing eagle incised on the underside of its lintel stone. If a gallery for additional seating had existed, it would have been on the N side, where the only other certain entrance to the building was found. What is "basilical" about this building is its two rows of four columns running N–S. It is rectangular only if we define its newly discovered, interior, load-bearing walls as the interior space of the building. Indeed, what is interesting about this building is that these interior walls, on the W, N, and E, demarcate the interior space of the building and internally transform a roughly square structure—originally thought by the Germans to be the synagogue interior—into a rectangular basilica with a large corridor on the W side, a gallery on the N, and a series of rooms along the E. This is a unique arrangement in this kind of building.

Also of major interest is the *bema* along the S wall which happens to be the only ashlar wall among all the exterior walls. This *bema* dates to the 4th century, or second phase of the building's use, and is off-centered in the building, just to the W of the entrance. Among the debris were found smaller pieces of architectural fragments that suggest an *aedicula*, or Torah shrine, in conjunction with this *bema*, possibly built atop it, or perhaps in another, still earlier phase during the 3d century. The discovery of the *bema* at Gush Ḥalav represents the first of its kind in the general category of buildings we call basilical, except for the anomalous findings at Beth Sheʿarim and Ein-Gedi. The Gush Ḥalav basilica with this plan existed into the 6th century, when, shaken by the earthquake of 502 C.E., it was destroyed or damaged beyond repair in 551 C.E.

New data from recent excavations are bringing fresh insights. While the material from Gush Ḥalav alters somewhat the old views, it underscores the capacity of an individual religious community for limited originality. The overall architectural forms, however influenced by the surrounding Greco-Roman provincial world, reflect a freedom from rigidity that is refreshing to the student of Roman provincial art.

b. The Case of Nabratein. The 1980–81 excavations at Nabratein, just N of Safed, provide additional unexpected information on the basilical-type synagogue. First, the 3d-century building with six columns, destroyed in a 306 C.E. earthquake, housed a fixed Torah shrine, good portions of which were preserved intact. It also had unexpected entrances on the N and E, though as a result of erosion neither one is completely clear. Although the Byzantine basilica, which was dedicated in the time of Justinian (562 C.E.) and survived into the mid-7th century, had no preserved fixed repository for the scrolls, it apparently housed a wooden ark and had no *bema*. Depictions of the possible ark were found on pieces of black ceramic and, hence, its existence seems reasonable (Meyers and Meyers 1982).

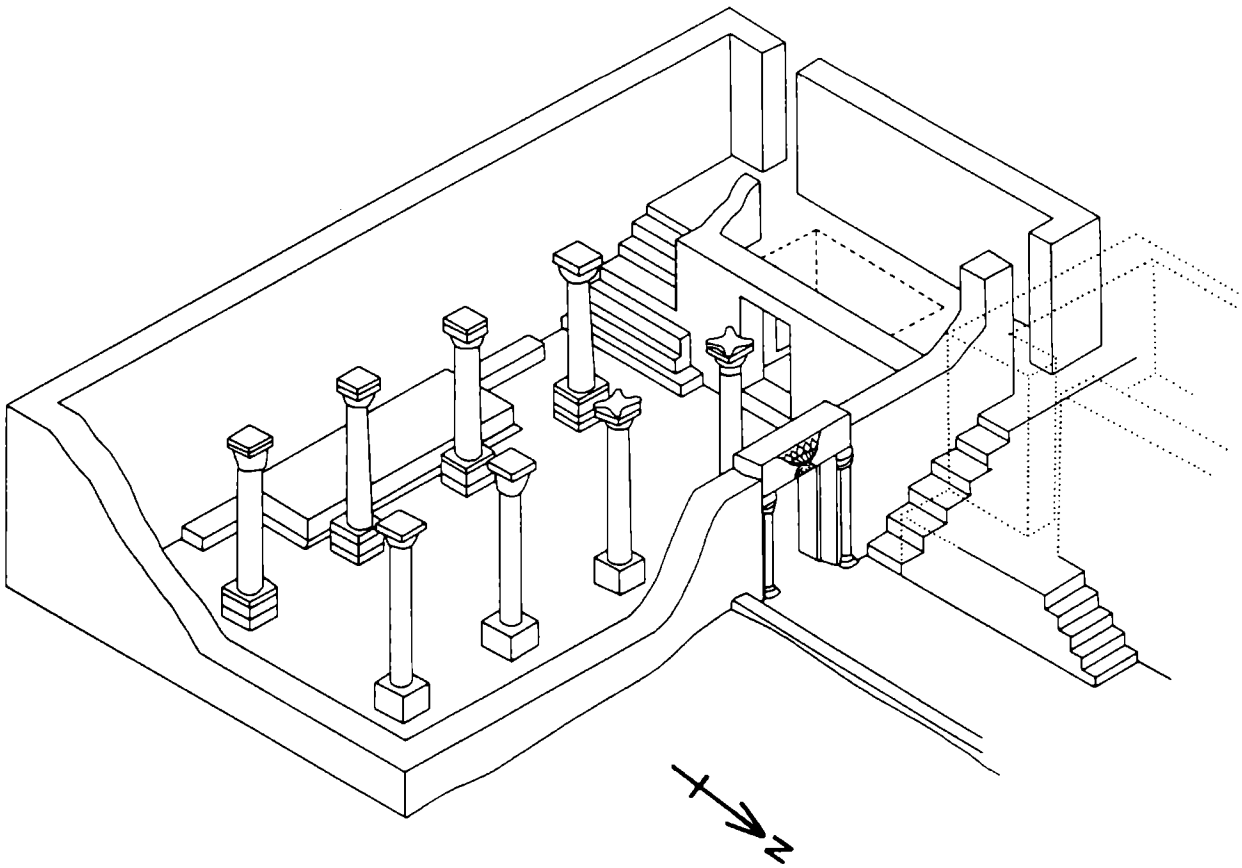


SYN.03. Reconstruction of Torah shrine at Nabratein. *(Redrawn by G. Herion from Levine [ed.] 1987: 195, fig. 9.8)*

More surprising was the discovery of an early broadhouse phase at Nabratein dating to the 2d century. If Khirbet Shemaʿ called into question ideas about the development of the Galilean synagogue, then this building provides the new theorists' coup de grace. Although there is no fixed shrine, twin *bemas* flank the Jerusalem-oriented wall, and a break in the cement in the center of the floor suggests that a table there was used for reading and possibly translating the Torah. Was the biblical interpretation given on the *bema* or at floor level?

A single new excavation could completely shatter the old theories and prove conclusively that a fixed shrine, the *ʾārōn haqqōdeš*, existed in an early Galilean structure. This, then, would indicate that later mosaics and other artistic depictions do, in fact, portray the actual accouterments that existed in the earlier Galilean synagogue.

2. Broadhouse. The broadhouse synagogue receives its designation because its wall of orientation is one of the longer, or broader, walls as opposed to the shorter end-wall in the basilica. Despite the fact that the oldest known example of this type comes from Dura Europos and dates from the first half of the 3d century C.E., this type of building in Palestine was traditionally thought to be late (4th century C.E.) and transitional (that is, between the Roman basilical and the Byzantine apsidal synagogue). In general, its appearance seems to coincide with a time when a fixed receptacle for the Torah had been adopted. Among the known broadhouse synagogues, however, the *bema* is the most widely attested feature and always is situated on the Jerusalem-orienting wall. The broadhouse represents one resolution of awkward about-face required by the



SYN.04. Reconstruction of Khirbet Shema^{c} synagogue. *(Redrawn by G. Herion from* EAEHL *4: 1096)*

basilica: the worshipper could enter as easily through the short wall (and face the Torah shrine) as through the long wall opposite the shrine. Or, the broadhouse simply may represent an independent predilection for an architectural type which already had a lengthy history in ancient Palestine.

Both solutions find attestation in the first and only Galilean broadhouse excavated: at Khirbet Shema^{c}, just 1 km S of ancient Meiron. See Fig. SYN.04. Conclusive dating of two major phases of the Khirbet Shema^{c} broadhouse synagogue to the 3d and 4th centuries C.E. once again forces students of ancient synagogues to put aside preconceived developmental notions of stages and study the evidence alone. Khirbet Shema^{c}, while clearly a broadhouse with orientation in both stages on the long S wall, differs from its closest parallels at Susiyah and Eshtemo^{c}a in Judea by having internal columnation running E–W, 90° off the wall oriented towards Jerusalem. None of the other broadhouse synagogues so far excavated has supporting columns in the sacred area; instead they use radically widened walls to support the superstructure.

At Khirbet Shema^{c} the first synagogue building of the second half of the 3d century C.E. was destroyed completely in the great earthquake of 306 C.E. The evidence for the destruction of Synagogue I at Khirbet Shema^{c} emerged dramatically in the course of excavations beneath the floor in the E end of the second, or post-306, building; here were recovered fragments of columns, capitals, and bases all shattered so badly that they could only be used as rubble building material or fill.

The destruction date of 419 C.E. for the second Khirbet Shema^{c} building can be easily determined because there is a sharp break in the coin evidence after 408 C.E. Since most 5th-century coins were produced under Arcadius and Honorius early in the century, and hence specimens would not normally be expected, the best explanation for such a radical break in the coin profile is a sudden abandonment of the site. This is further corroborated by the tumbled and badly shattered debris of Synagogue II. Dating by the closest "strong earthquake" after 408 C.E., it is possible to conclude that the occupation of the entire site—comparing all the data from the entire town—came to an abrupt end in the earthquake of 419 C.E. Scientists of the Geologic Survey of Israel, who have just concluded a long-range study of the Upper Galilee region, have studied the pictures of the in situ remains of Synagogue II and were able to confirm the direction of the ancient fall, which is determined by the fault lines, recently plotted by them. Their study has also corroborated the direction of the Gush Ḥalav collapse and has enabled us to explain the

extensive repairs done at Meiron in the first half of the 4th century C.E.

In sectioning, or cutting through, the *bema* at Khirbet Shemaʿ, excavators were fortunate enough to recover a number of coins from which it could be concluded that the people at Khirbet Shemaʿ did not wait long to rebuild their sacred sanctuary. Since the rubble-filled *bema* dates to after 306 and because an earlier bench runs through it and along the S wall, it may be concluded that there was no *bema* in the 3d-century building (Synagogue I). Fractured remains of smaller architectural elements, however, suggest that a Torah shrine probably stood on this wall in the first structure.

The origin of the broadhouse, therefore, need not be sought at Dura, but may be viewed as being descended from the basic Syro-Palestinian broadhouse temple. In the case of Khirbet Shemaʿ—as in Nabratein in the earliest structure—we apparently have a "mixed" type, a kind of merger between the Roman basilica (viewing the building E–W with its two rows of four columns) and the Syro-Palestinian broadhouse (viewing the building along the long southern-orienting wall). In any event, it represents a novel adaptation of existing prototypes and gives ample testimony to the ingenuity of the designers.

3. Apsidal. The third general category of synagogue building is the apsidal building, clearly the latest of all types (judging from attested remains and inscriptions) with a basilica-like interior. The novelty of this synagogue type, which began in the 5th century C.E. and continued until the 8th century, lies in the fact that the apse points in the direction of Jerusalem and constitutes the focus of worship. It represents another resolution to the awkwardness of the basilical arrangements described above by enabling the worshipper to face directly in the sacred direction by entering from the E (or from any side opposite the Jerusalem wall). In this type of structure the apse usually is separated from the rest of the sanctuary by a screen and often serves as the repository for the Torah shrine and possibly for the storage of old scrolls.

In many buildings there is a platform, or *bema,* within the apse, suggestive of the place where the reader or precentor stood, along with the cantor *(ḥazzan),* translators, and elders. In this regard it is functionally equivalent to the *bema* at Khirbet Shemaʿ or Gush Ḥalav, though in those places there is only room for the reader of Scripture, or *ḥazzan* (*t. Sukk.* 4.6 and parallels). The apsidal building provides the best possible arrangement for explaining the rabbinic reference to the elders sitting with their backs towards Jerusalem, i.e., to the orienting wall (*t. Meg.* 4.21). According to this same rabbinic source, the only other time when leaders turned their backs to Jerusalem was during the recitation of the priestly blessing by the priests themselves. In the apsidal structure, perhaps because of Byzantine strictures against the building of new synagogues and even limiting repairs to points of breach, emphasis now is shifted from the exterior to the interior. This shift in emphasis, if indeed such a conclusion is correct, usually is observed in the colorful and richly decorated mosaics which adorn the floors. These mosaics often consist of depictions of biblical episodes but sometimes present borrowed Greek themes as well, such as the signs of the zodiac (Ḥammath Tiberias, Beth-shan, and others). Often, too, the mosaic directly in front of the apse represents the Torah shrine flanked by the menorah (Beth Alpha). Parade examples of the apsidal synagogue may be found at Maon, Jericho and Gaza, Beth Alpha, Ḥammath Tiberias (last phase), and Ḥammath Gader.

F. Conclusion

In summary, one might characterize the state of synagogue studies as being in flux. New material has created a healthy climate of reconsideration and reevaluation. To be sure, many of the old theories have foundered, but that is expected. While there is no longer any typological approach to this subject, the old types still persist. Today, however, they persist in startling new variety. Ultimately when all the new data are published, we will know far more about the ancient synagogue than ever before. From our point of view, the synagogue represents one of the most notable achievements of Judaic civilization, for it is the synagogue that enabled Judaism to survive the transition from temple to private house of worship and from worship within the Holy Land to worship anywhere that Jews might gather.

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ERIC M. MEYERS

DIASPORA SYNAGOGUES

Our knowledge of the Jews in the Diaspora is based on often unclear Jewish literary sources, from the writings of church fathers and pagan sources, and from archaeological excavations. The excavations are important because they provide concrete material relating to the lives of the Jewish communities in various countries. Thus it is worthwhile here to examine the data gathered from these archaeological discoveries—particularly from excavations of synagogues—and thereby to present a clearer picture of the present state of the Diaspora Judaism research.

A. Descriptions
B. Diaspora Synagogue Architecture
C. Synagogue Art
D. Jewish Symbols
E. Inscriptions
F. Dating of the Synagogues

A. Descriptions

Although there is still some doubt as to whether remains from Aphrodesias (Turkey), Athens, and Corinth provide evidence of ancient synagogues, a number of structures excavated in the Mediterranean and Near Eastern world are without doubt the remains of synagogues built and used by Jews of the Diaspora (although those of Misis in Turkey and Elche in Spain are still debated).

1. Dura Europos. This synagogue, located in a small trading caravan-town on the Euphrates River in Syria, was excavated from 1932 (Kraeling 1979; Goodenough 1953–68: vols. 9–11). The Jewish community there lived under Roman rule, and their synagogue was destroyed when the Sassanians destroyed the town in 256 C.E. The synagogue had two stages of building, each with a different architectural plan and decoration. *Synagogue I* dates to the 2d century—before ca. 245 C.E., while *Synagogue II* dates to 245–56 C.E. Both synagogues were part of a house complex and consisted of a forecourt and a rectangular main assembly room (14 × 8.7 m) with two entrances from the courtyard on its E wall. On the W wall the Torah shrine niche was built to hold the ark of the scrolls. In Synagogue II, all four walls were elaborately decorated with biblical scenes; there were also some other changes and remodelling done in this second stage. See also DURA-EUROPOS.

2. Ostia. At Ostia, the ancient port of Rome, a synagogue of two periods was excavated in 1961–62. A 1st-century synagogue was found under the later building, with a similar plan (but without a Torah shrine). The plan of the later synagogue consisted of several rooms, probably built in two stages: an entrance hall with three doors, and a main hall with its W wall slightly round; attached to it from inside is a platform *(bema)*. Between the entrance hall and main hall 4 columns were found. In the later stage, a Torah shrine was built at the SE corner of the main hall, blocking one of the earlier entrances, appearing as an additional rather than original structure. Its architraves were decorated with carvings of Jewish symbols (shofar, menorah, ethrog, and lulav). The floor of the vestibule was a black and white simple mosaic. The main hall had an *opus sectile* floor.

3. Stobi. Three buildings, one above the other, were found in excavations conducted since 1970 in Stobi (Macedonia, Yugoslavia); two of them are synagogues, both under a later church (Moe 1977).

Synagogue I, the earlier of the two, is also known as the synagogue of Polycharmos. Among the remains was an inscription (*CII* 694). The building was probably Polycharmos' private house which he subsequently donated to the Jewish community (he and his family probably lived on the second floor). The synagogue walls were decorated with fresco geometric designs, sometimes inscribed with the name of Polycharmos. Also found were a few pavement stones and a copper plaque. The plan of the later Synagogue II is more clear and detailed. It had a main hall (13.3 × 7.9 m) with a Torah shrine structure on the E wall (oriented toward Jerusalem). The hall's floor was decorated with geometric-designed mosaic, while the walls were covered with fresco and molded stucco.

The archaeological evidence suggests that the structure was probably originally a house built between the 1st and 2d centuries, donated in the 2d century by Polycharmos for use as a synagogue, and then rebuilt and remodelled for its new function in the 2d–3d century. On top of the later synagogue a church was built (late-4th or early-5th century), purposely replacing the synagogue by a Christian basilica church.

4. Sardis. The Sardis (Turkey) synagogue was built as part of the Roman gymnasium-bath complex. It might have been a public building, later turned over to the Jewish community and then sealed off from the rest of the complex. The synagogue was in use from the 3d century on and was remodelled several times (Seager and Kraabel 1981). The later synagogue (now reconstructed) from the 4th century is the largest Diaspora synagogue found to date. It consists of an atrium forecourt with 3 entrances and a main hall ending in an apse with benches on the W. On the E wall of the hall two Torah shrines flank the central entrance. Six piers are built on the N and S walls. In the center of the hall, a platform was built, and close to the apse an "eagle table" stood flanked by two stone Lydian lions in second use.

Mosaic floors with geometric and floral designs decorated the hall and court. Inscriptions were incorporated into various sections of the mosaic. The walls were deco-

rated with marble pieces and the ceiling was painted. Many inscriptions were found, mainly donations inscribed in Greek. The synagogue had several stages of building alterations between the 3d and 4th centuries, and the last synagogue was abandoned and destroyed with the rest of the town in 616 C.E. (Seager and Kraabel 1981: 172–74).

5. Priene. The building (also in Turkey) was first identified as a house-church, but several artifacts found at the site proved the building was a synagogue. These included two plaques with Jewish symbols (the menorah, shofar, a lulav, and ethrog) that were discovered on the floor in front of the Torah shrine (Goodenough 1953: fig. 878, 882). Another relief was found with an unfinished, carved menorah. The building was a rectangular, rebuilt house measuring 19 × 14 m. A niche was built into the (Jerusalem-oriented) E wall. Some additional rooms surrounded it. The synagogue probably was in use in the 3d–4th centuries.

6. Delos. This synagogue building on the island of Delos was probably the earliest synagogue in the Diaspora, the structure being in use from the 1st century B.C.E. It might have been a 2d century B.C.E. house that was subsequently remodeled as a synagogue. The identification of the building as a synagogue is based on the plan of the house and on dedication inscriptions on bases found in two rooms of the building. On the basis of these, an argument followed as to the identification of the structure. Some scholars are against identifying it as a synagogue (Sukenik 1949), while others strongly support such an identification (Bruneau 1982; Kraabel, *ANRW* 2/19: 475–510; White 1987). The main argument against Delos being a synagogue is the absence of Jewish symbols, and the discovery of a group of 1st–2d century C.E. lamps, some with pagan symbols.

The Delos structure is a main hall (16.9 × 14.4 m) later divided into two rooms by a wall with three entrances. Room A had benches along the walls with a marble throne "seat of Moses" on the W wall. Several rooms and portico are on the S and E of the main hall. The identification of the Delos structure as a synagogue is difficult and problematic because of its early date, a time when Jewish symbols were not used, and because the building did not have a general identifying plan. However, it seems that the arguments presented by Bruneau, Kraabel, and White in favor of the Delos synagogue are convincing.

7. Aegina. In this city in Greece a synagogue building was found consisting of a main hall (13.5 × 7.6 m) with a semicircular apse (5.5 m) on the E wall. Probably three entrances were constructed on the W wall. On the N wall several rooms were added. Its floor was paved with a geometrically designed mosaic. Close to the entrances, at the border of its W part, inscriptions were laid mentioning Theodoros, the Archisynagogos who constructed the building. At the E end of the mosaic border, in front of the apse, the center of the border is suddenly paved with white mosaic tesserae. This suggests that a *bema* stood there. Beneath this synagogue were found the remains of an earlier building, possibly pointing to an earlier structure (of a synagogue?). The Aegina synagogue is dated to the 4th century.

8. Apamea. The Apamea synagogue in Syria yielded only an elaborate mosaic floor with a number of inscriptions, all donations to the synagogue of various people (Goodenough 1953, 2: 83–84 and bibliography there). The mosaic floor design is comparable to other Apamea pagan and Christian mosaic floors and to the school of Antioch mosaicist. It includes a menorah in one of the carpets on the S end of the remaining mosaic floor. There was a square niche, probably the Torah shrine, on the S wall (probably close to the menorah on the floor), which in Syria was the wall facing Jerusalem. The floor was found under a later church. Here, as in other Diaspora synagogues, a church replaced the synagogue, probably in the 5th century. The synagogue is dated to the late 4th century on the basis of its dated inscriptions.

9. Hammam-Lif. The synagogue, discovered in 1883, is situated near Tunis in N Africa. The building consisted of a complex of rooms. The main area of rooms (b, c, d) were the main part of the synagogue. The main hall (c) probably had three doors leading into it. It had a niche on the W wall, perhaps with a *bema* in front of it. The room was floored with mosaics, its design including birds and fish (nilotic scene), and in its center there was an inscription flanked by Jewish symbols (the menorah and ritual objects). Except for the inscription and the Jewish symbols, the other designs are reminiscent of contemporary N Africa mosaic floors. Two other inscriptions were found which might have been connected with a genizah (the burial of a Torah scroll). On the basis of its mosaic art, the synagogue is dated to the 6th century (see Goodenough 1953, 2: 89–100).

10. Philippopolis. A recent excavation in Bulgaria discovered a synagogue dated to the end of the 4th–early-5th centuries. The plan is not exactly clear, but a mosaic floor depicting a large menorah was found, as was an inscription mentioning donors having Jewish names.

11. Elche. This building (in Spain) consists of a main hall (10.9 × 7.55 m) ending with an apse on its E wall. The entrance was on the opposite W wall. It had a floored mosaic with Greek inscriptions. Scholars disagree as to whether the building might have been a church or synagogue. Wischnitzer (1964: 12) suggests that it might have served originally as a synagogue, being later remodeled for use as a church, as we know from other locations (such as Apamea and Stobi).

12. Misis, Mophostia. The remains of the building in Misis (Turkey) consist mainly of elaborate mosaic floors and very few architectural remains. The mosaic floor in the central part shows the biblical story of Noah's Ark, with animals and birds surrounding it. On the N aisles the Samson story was depicted apparently in 14 scenes. Biblical scenes were not depicted on church floors (except for the Jonah story in the Aquila church), but several such scenes occur on synagogue floors in Palestine/Israel (Beth Alpha, Gerasa, Naaran). The original excavator maintained that the building was a 4th–5th century church.

B. Diaspora Synagogue Architecture

The most important feature of the research of Diaspora art and architecture have been the archaeological discoveries of synagogue buildings surveyed or excavated in Syria, Turkey, Greece, Italy, Yugoslavia, N Africa, Bulgaria, and Spain. These synagogues do not have much in common architecturally; in fact, they rarely have similar fea-

tures either with one another or with synagogues in Palestine.

The plans seem to be local and not part of established types. However, there were two factors that determined the architectural plan of each of the Diaspora synagogues. The first was the local artistic and architectural traditions and fashions. But secondly, several circumstances peculiar to the Diaspora synagogues seem to have exerted some influences that ultimately determined their plans. For example, some synagogues were regular houses which were subsequently converted into assembly halls (e.g., Dura Europos). Some synagogues were built as part of a public complex in a prominent site in the city (e.g., the Sardis synagogue, which was part of the monumental Roman bath and gymnasium complex). A very important fact in the fragmentary architectural survival of some Diaspora synagogues was the intentional converting of the synagogue into a church (probably in the 4th–5th century C.E.; e.g., Apamea). Also, many of the Diaspora synagogues had two phases of buildings.

However there do appear to have been some characteristic features of the Diaspora synagogue. Some of them had a forecourt. Their facades were not usually decorated and had either triple entrances (Sardis, Ostia) or a single entrance (Priene). Dura Europas had two entrances leading from the courtyard to the assembly hall. A unique feature was the main hall, which was not divided by columns; it was usually a hall with a Torah shrine, elders' seat, and sometimes benches. In the Sardis synagogue the pillars were built so close to the walls that the hall was not divided into a main and side aisles (as was customary in many synagogues in Palestine).

The main feature and focal point of the Diaspora synagogues was the Torah shrine (see Hachlili 1988: chap. 8), which consisted of three forms: (1) an aedicula (Sardis, Ostia); (2) a niche (Apamea and Priene); or (3) an apse (Aegina). The Torah shrine was built on whichever wall happened to be oriented towards Jerusalem.

C. Synagogue Art

Art in the Jewish Diaspora can be seen in synagogue ornamentation and Jewish catacombs wall paintings. See ART AND ARCHITECTURE (EARLY JEWISH). Most of the synagogue ornamentation consists of mosaic floors. They depicted mainly various geometric patterns, and some had Greek donation inscriptions, sometimes with Jewish symbols (such as the menorah and the ritual objects) added to the design (e.g., Sardis' mosaic floors, Aegina, and Apamea).

The most important and unique expression of synagogue art is the cycle of biblical scenes in the elaborate wall paintings of Dura Europos. The paintings there cover all four walls of the synagogue hall, reflecting an important development of narrative depiction in the 3d century C.E. For years scholars have been studying these paintings trying to ascertain the nature of their significance. Some have maintained that some other painted synagogues in Mesopotamia and Syria were the models for the paintings in the provincial city of Dura Europos. Others try to fit them into Parthian art or "provincial" Roman art. Some scholars suggest that the whole cycle was painted by local artists, a single master and his assistants; but because of the difference in composition, others maintain that the local paintings were created by various painters. Kraeling and others suggest the Dura artists used pattern books, probably manuscripts or other pictorial sources. The only exception is the painting of the Sacrifice of Isaac and the cultic object above the Torah shrine, which has been suggested as being influenced by similar depictions in synagogues in Palestine.

The style of the Dura paintings shows pictures of static compositions and postures; the figures are usually depicted with expressionless faces and in strict frontality. The scenes and details of figures, dress, and objects are stylized, colors are rich, and space is usually completely filled. Scholars have found Greek and Parthian elements, but not much of Roman art. Some motifs, however, are found only in Durene art.

D. Jewish Symbols

The most common of Jewish symbols depicted in Jewish Diaspora art (as in Palestinian Jewish art) is the menorah. The menorah is depicted on mosaic floors, wall paintings, and inscribed on walls and tombs. It frequently appears along with ritual objects. The ark of the scrolls is seldom depicted (only on Dura paintings, on some Jewish catacombs wall paintings, and on some of the gold glasses found in these catacombs). Depictions of ritual objects (the lulav, etrog, shofar, and a vase) frequently have been found flanking the menorah. Narrative biblical scenes occur only on Dura Europos paintings (the Misis mosaic floor, if it is indeed a synagogue, also has biblical scenes).

E. Inscriptions

Inscriptions provide a great source of information about Diaspora synagogues. Some inscriptions were found in excavated synagogues, and many were found in places which might indicate that a synagogue was once there. About 150 inscriptions related to synagogues have been found in the Diaspora (Roth-Garson 1988; Frey 1975; Lifshitz 1967; Leon 1960): 16 inscriptions in Egypt (from Alexandria and other places); 27 inscriptions from Syria (19 from the Apamea synagogue and 3 from Dura Europos); 4 from Cyprus; and 13 inscriptions from Greece. Asia Minor has yielded the most, including about 80 from Sardis (only a third of which have been published). Three inscriptions were found in Stobi (Yugoslavia), while Spain, Sicily, and Cyrenaica yielded one inscription each. (All our information about synagogues in Rome came from tombstones and burial inscriptions.) See JUDAISM (IN ROME). Most of the inscriptions are dedicatory, indicating the names of donors and some information about their donation, sometimes giving his or her profession or date. Many of the donors indicate their reason for the donation. All the data gained from these inscriptions enable us to have a much richer knowledge of Jewish Diaspora life.

F. Dating of the Synagogues

Most of the Diaspora synagogues had several stages of use, but most of them were either built in the 3d–4th century C.E., or flourished at that time. The Delos and Ostia synagogues were probably the earliest Diaspora synagogues. The Dura Europos synagogue is dated to the middle of the 3d century C.E. The dating of the end of

some synagogues is determined by their subsequent conversion into churches, probably in the 5th century.

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RACHEL HACHLILI

SYNAGOGUE OF THE FREEDMEN. See FREEDMEN, SYNAGOGUE OF THE.

SYNAGOGUE, RULERS OF THE. See RULERS OF THE SYNAGOGUE.

SYNOPTIC PROBLEM. The first three gospels in the NT canon—Matthew, Mark and Luke—are known as the "Synoptic" Gospels, so called because they can be viewed side by side ("syn-optically") and compared very easily by means of a synopsis. The reason for this is that all three gospels have a great deal of material in common and very often they present their material in the same order. Further, the very different type of material, and the different arrangement, in the Fourth Gospel shows that this agreement between the Synoptic Gospels cannot be explained as due to chance or to the fact that the synoptic narratives simply reflect the actual course of the historical ministry of Jesus. The three Synoptic Gospels are thus in some relationship with each other, and the problem of determining the nature of that relationship is known as the synoptic problem. See also SOURCE CRITICISM (NT); TWO-GOSPEL HYPOTHESIS; TWO-SOURCE HYPOTHESIS.

A. Introduction
B. Markan Priority
C. The Q Source
D. The Sources M and L
E. Conclusion

A. Introduction

The history of the study of the synoptic problem is a subject in its own right. Many solutions have been proposed. For example, it has been suggested (a) that the agreements between the gospels are due to dependence on oral traditions; (b) that the present gospels are dependent on an earlier gospel; (c) that the three gospels are in a direct relationship with each other, the agreements between them being due to the fact that one (or more) evangelist has used the work of another. Today, the most widely held solution to the synoptic problem is the so-called Two-Source theory, and this proposes a combination of (b) and (c) above: in the material where all three gospels are parallel, the agreement between them is due to the fact that Mark's gospel is the direct source of the other two; in the material where Matthew and Luke alone are parallel to each other, their mutual agreement is due to dependence by both on common source material, now lost but usually called "Q" (the synoptic sayings source).

It is almost universally agreed today that the "oral" theory is insufficient to explain the agreements between the Synoptic Gospels. These agreements include not only verbatim agreements in the Greek versions of important sayings (e.g., Matt 7:7–11 = Luke 11:9–13; such agreement could be explained by oral tradition), but also agreements in the order of the material which at times go beyond anything that could be expected to be memorized in oral tradition. For example, Matthew and Mark break their narrative of the ministry of Jesus to go back in time to give an account of the death of John the Baptist, and they do so at precisely the same relative point in their accounts (Matt 14:3–12 = Mark 6:17–29). Dependence on oral tradition can scarcely account for such a phenomenon of interruption of the story of Jesus' ministry at identical points in the two gospels. A similar example occurs in the story of the healing of the paralyzed man. In Mark, Jesus says to the scribes "But so that you may know that the Son of Man has the power on earth to forgive sins," a sentence which is never quite finished since the next words of Jesus are the command to the paralytic to take up his bed and go home. There is a slight break in the narrative and Mark fills in the gap with an extra comment: "and he says to the paralytic." In fact all three evangelists make precisely the same intervention at exactly the same place (Matt 9:6 =

Mark 2:10 = Luke 5:24). Dependence on oral tradition could easily account for the memorable sayings of Jesus being recorded in identical form; but such dependence cannot really explain a story being preserved in such an untidy way and yet in otherwise independent narratives. The nature of the evidence thus demands some kind of *literary* relationship between the gospels.

As already stated, the most popular theory today is the Two-Source theory. However, there have always been supporters of other theories, among these the so-called Augustinian theory (that Matthew came first, Mark second and Luke third; Butler 1951), and above all in recent years, the Griesbach (or Two-Gospel) hypothesis (Matthew came first, Luke used Matthew, Mark came third using both Matthew and Luke) (Farmer 1977; Dungan 1970; Orchard 1976). Others have questioned parts of the Two-Source theory by denying the necessity of Q while still maintaining Markan priority (Farrer 1955; Goulder 1974). More complicated theories of prior sources with complex relationships between these different stages of the tradition have also been proposed (Boismard 1972). Not every solution to the synoptic problem can be discussed here. In order to structure the discussion, the Two-Source theory will be defended here, considering separately its two main aspects, viz. Markan priority and the Q hypothesis, and taking note of alternative explanations of the various phenomena discussed.

B. Markan Priority

The case for Markan priority is more of a cumulative one than a theory based on one logically cast-iron argument. In the English speaking world, the classic formulation of the case for Markan priority is often thought to be the discussion of Streeter (1924); and although this can be and has been criticized, Streeter's categories of evidence still provide a useful starting point for the contemporary discussion.

Streeter's first argument concerned the contents of the gospels. He pointed to the fact that practically all the contents of Mark also appear in either Matthew or Luke, and frequently in both; from this he deduced that Mark's gospel was the source of the other two.

On its own this argument can carry no weight at all. The fact that Mark's contents are almost all paralleled in Matthew and Luke simply shows that there is a relationship among the three gospels, but it does not determine what that relationship is. Per contra, neo-Griesbachians would argue that the evidence could be just as easily explained if Mark were writing third, and including in his gospel everything which was common to both his sources.

However, when one ceases to argue abstractly and considers the actual contents of the gospels themselves, then the case for Markan priority can be strengthened. In general terms, it is easy to see why, if Mark were written first, Matthew and Luke might have produced their gospels. Not only is Mark's gospel much shorter than the other two: it is also a great deal more verbose in the material it shares with Matthew and Luke. Thus, if Mark were written first, Matthew and Luke must have reproduced practically all of the substance of Mark while omitting some of Mark's redundancies in wording, and also supplemented Mark with further material available to them from other sources. The converse is rather more difficult to envisage. If Matthew's gospel were written first and was used by Mark (the Augustinian hypothesis), why did Mark produce such a short gospel, omitting so much more material from Matthew? Why did he omit so much of the teaching of Jesus, including the Sermon on the Mount and the Lord's Prayer? Why too did he expand much of the material he did retain with such inconsequential details so that the same story is often twice as long in Mark as in Matthew? The Griesbach hypothesis fares little better here. Neo-Griesbachians do not always agree on the precise procedure which Mark allegedly followed: did Mark make it his primary aim to include only what was common to his sources? Or did he proceed by following his two sources alternately? Either way it is hard to envisage why Mark should have done this to produce his present text on the basis of Matthew and Luke. Why did he omit the preaching of John the Baptist (common to both his sources: Matt 3:7–10 = Luke 3:7–9)? Why did he omit the Great Sermon which was also in both his sources? (Or if he followed his sources alternately, he seems to have switched sources very carefully to avoid the Sermon. Why should he have done this?) No very satisfactory explanation seems forthcoming. Thus the argument from common content, when expanded by reference to the actual contents themselves, does have some force in supporting the theory of Markan priority.

Streeter's next argument concerned the order of the stories in the gospels. He appealed to the fact that the order of Mark always agrees with that of Matthew, or of Luke, and often with both; but Matthew and Luke never agree against Mark in order. Streeter deduced from this that Mark must have been the common source used independently by Matthew and Luke. (Streeter's third argument applied precisely the same logic to the phenomenon of the wording within each pericope, where, for the most part, Matthew and Luke fail to agree against Mark.)

This argument has frequently been attacked as providing no support at all for the theory of Markan priority. To claim that Markan priority is the only theory which will explain the facts is to be guilty of the "Lachmann fallacy" (Butler 1951; perhaps an unfortunate term since Lachmann did not argue in this way, and the argument is not strictly "fallacious" in the sense of proposing a patently false conclusion of the type 0 = 1). The evidence only shows that Mark occupies a *medial* position in the pattern of relationships between the gospels. The evidence can be adequately explained by the theory of Markan priority, the Augustinian hypothesis, and the Griesbach hypothesis.

Once again, however, a consideration of the gospel texts themselves can strengthen the case for the theory of Markan priority. The deviations in order between Matthew and Mark, and between Luke and Mark, are relatively small in number and can be quite easily explained as due to the redactional activity of Matthew and Luke respectively. (This was the way Lachmann himself argued.)

For example, assuming that the Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 5–7) should be placed in the gap between Mark 1:21 and 1:22 (Neirynck 1972), Matthew's changes become intelligible. He brings forward the story of the healing of the leper (Mark 1:40–45) to be the first miracle after the Sermon (Matt 8:1–4); this supports his picture of Jesus as

the fulfillment of the OT dispensation (the command to the leper to go to the priests in Matt 8:4 is now the climax of the story; cf. 5:17). He brings forward the story of the stilling of the storm (Mark 4:35–41 = Matt 8:23–27) and redacts it to make the story a paradigm for true discipleship. Its new position in Matthew, following the call stories (Matt 8:18–22), is now thoroughly appropriate in a section on discipleship. Matthew also brings forward the stories of the healing of the woman with the hemorrhage and the demoniac (Mark 4:35–5:20), redacting them en route, to highlight the theme of faith and true response to Jesus. Other changes by Matthew include the transfer of the call of the 12 (Mark 3:13–19 = Matt 10:1–4); this can be explained as due to Matthew's tendency to systematize his material into thematic blocks. Also the anticipation of the section about Jewish persecutions (Mark 13:9–13 = Matt 10:17–22) can be explained if, as seems likely, Matthew emanates from a situation of intense Jewish hostility. Jewish persecution is, for Matthew, an experience of the past and present, not necessarily a mark of the eschatological future.

Luke's changes are less numerous. The transfer of the rejection scene (Mark 6:1–6 = Luke 4:16–30) is due to the programmatic significance which the story has for Luke. The transposition of the mass healings and the call of the 12 (Mark 3:7–12, 13–19 = Luke 6:17–19, 12–16) serves to create an audience for the Great Sermon. The postponement of the story of Peter's call (Luke 5:1–11 cf. Mark 1:16–20) serves to make Peter's response psychologically more plausible, coming as it now does after a certain amount of Jesus' activity. Thus the changes in order which the theory of Markan priority has to assume can be explained reasonably adequately in terms of Matthew's and Luke's redactional interests (Tuckett 1984b).

Competing hypotheses fail to explain the order of the gospels so well. For example, the Augustinian hypothesis cannot really explain why Mark should have changed the Matthean order in the way he must have done. So too Luke's procedure is very difficult to explain in detail: Luke must have retained the Markan sequence very accurately, but must have changed the order of other material from Matthew considerably. The obvious case of Lukan reordering would be breaking up Matthew's Sermon on the Mount and distributing the teaching material contained there in many different parts of his gospel.

Neo-Griesbachians have claimed that in fact, the evidence which Streeter referred to (the failure of Matthew and Luke to agree against Mark in order) not only does not prove Markan priority: rather, it points quite clearly to the Griesbach hypothesis. Thus it is argued that the failure of Matthew and Luke to agree against Mark is really too good to be true, assuming Markan priority: Matthew and Luke must have had some conspiracy to ensure that one would always support the Markan order when the other departed from it. The evidence is then only explicable on the theory of a conscious redactional decision by Mark to follow both his sources when they agree, and to follow one at a time when they differ. Only in this way is the pattern of "alternating agreement" explicable.

Such an argument is, however, open to criticism. The argument deduces from the same evidence (the lack of Matthew-Luke agreements against Mark in order) that one and only one solution to the synoptic problem is viable. But this is just a repetition of the "Lachmann fallacy" in slightly different guise; it is claiming that the facts can be explained by only one hypothesis, and Butler showed that the facts themselves are ambiguous. Neo-Griesbachians have also failed to explain Mark's procedure in detail. If Mark indeed followed his two sources alternately, why did he choose to do so in precisely the way he did? Why did he switch sources just where he did? (We are back to the question of the content of Mark's gospel.) No comprehensive answers to these questions seem yet to have been given.

Streeter's fourth argument concerned the nature of Mark's Greek compared to that of the other two gospels. He appealed to the fresh and vivid nature of Mark's narrative, the presence of small details which might go back to an eyewitness (the "cushion" in the boat in 4:35 and the "green" grass in 6:34 are always mentioned here), and to other places where Mark's Greek might be considered as difficult. All these suggest that Mark's account is more primitive.

It must be said that much of this argumentation is worthless (Farmer 1964). The "vivid" nature of Mark's Greek shows us only something of Mark's style, rather than anything about the relative priority of Mark against Matthew and Luke. So too the famous small details could just as well be later additions: later apocryphal gospels are full of such "life-like" features in their narratives.

There are however some instances where a *comparison of the actual texts themselves* makes the theory of Markan priority more plausible than competing theories. In each case one must ask whether the text of one gospel can be adequately explained as a later change from another gospel, or whether the reverse procedure is more plausible. One classic example is Mark 6:5f. = Matt 13:58:

Matthew	*Mark*
And he did not do many miracles	And he could not do any miracles there, except that he laid his hands on a few sick people and healed them and he marvelled
because of their unbelief.	because of their unbelief.

At the end of the rejection scene in Nazareth, Mark's account appears to suggest that Jesus was powerless (he *could* not do any miracles) and the crowd's unbelief caused Jesus astonishment. In Matthew, Jesus' powerlessness is not mentioned. Matthew simply states that Jesus did not perform many miracles. Also the reason is clearly stated: it is due to the *crowd's* unbelief, not to any deficiency in Jesus. It is easy to see how Mark's version might have been found difficult for a later evangelist and changed to a version like Matthew's. Given Matthew's version it is hard to see why Mark should have wished to change it to his present wording. Thus the theory of Markan priority can give a plausible explanation of the development of the text where the theory of Matthean priority cannot.

Another stock example concerns the wording of Peter's confession at Caesarea Philippi in the three gospels:

Matt 16:16	*Mark 8:30*	*Luke 9:20*
You are the Christ, the Son of the living God	You are the Christ	You are the Christ of God

If Mark's text came first, the development of the tradition seems intelligible: both Matthew and Luke expand the brief Christological confession of Peter in Mark to bring more honor to Jesus. On the other hand, any theory which places Mark after Matthew seems hard to accept. Why should Mark omit Matthew's reference to Jesus as the Son of God here? One should remember that (a) the scene at Caesarea Philippi is clearly of great importance as a turning point in Mark's story, and (b) "Son of God" is a title of immense theological significance for Mark (Mark 1:1, 11; 9:7; 14:61f.; 15:39). Why then should Mark omit it here if it was given to him in (one of) his source(s)? At this point the theory of Markan priority makes good sense of the actual texts where other hypotheses do not.

It is probably true to say that examples of this nature have convinced the majority of scholars today that the theory of Markan priority is the most viable. Clearly such arguments cannot provide incontrovertible evidence. It is always possible for defenders of other source hypotheses to provide scenarios for how and why the secondary evangelists altered their sources in the ways that the hypothesis implies. But until this is done in detail, such hypotheses will fail to carry conviction.

It is admitted by all that the theory of Markan priority is not without problems. Some of these are perhaps more serious than others.

It has been questioned whether the Mark which was available to Matthew and Luke was precisely the same as the canonical gospel we possess. In particular, some critics have suggested that the omissions which Matthew and Luke must have made from Mark could be better explained if they had a copy of Mark (an Ur-Markus) which did not contain these passages.

Such a theory is probably unnecessary. The common omissions by Matthew and Luke can be adequately explained as due to redaction. For example, the note about the charge of Jesus' relatives that Jesus is mad (Mark 3:20–21) could have been felt to be derogatory; the parable of the seed growing secretly (Mark 4:26–29) could be regarded as redundant since Matthew and Luke both have the parable of the leaven to act as a pair with the parable of the mustard seed; the miracle stories of the healing of the deaf-mute and the blind man at Bethsaida (Mark 7:31–37; 8:22–26) could have been felt to be dangerous because of Jesus' use of what could be interpreted as magical techniques. (In any case Matthew may show knowledge of these stories, by having a general summary statement of Jesus' healings at 15:29–31 [the parallel to Mark 7:31–37], and by having two blind men healed in his parallel to Mark's story of the healing of blind Bartimaeus [Mark 10:46–52 = Matt 20:29–34 cf. 9:27–31]). The saying about salt (Mark 9:49–50) may have been unintelligible, and in any case Matthew and Luke appear to have a similar saying from another source (Matt 5:13 = Luke 14:34); the episode of the flight of the naked young man at Jesus' arrest (Mark 14:51) may have been regarded as irrelevant.

This covers almost all of Matthew's omissions from Mark. There is a considerably larger quantity of material which is in Mark but not in Luke, notably the section Mark 6:45–8:26. (Cf. Streeter: Luke had a mutilated copy of Mark. Note however that any Ur-Markus theory here would not meet the facts: one would have to posit an Ur-Markus used by Matthew and a quite different Ur-Markus used by Luke!) However, it seems likely that many of Luke's omissions from Mark can be satisfactorily explained as due to Luke's own redaction. Some of the omissions may be due to the fact that Luke had a parallel version of the same tradition and preferred to use that instead (cf. the parable of the mustard seed Mark 4:30–32, Luke 13:18–19). Some of the material in Mark but not in Luke may have been of less interest to Luke's gentile audience (e.g., the long discussion about purity in Mark 7:1–23). Other material may have been omitted as redundant (the feeding of the 4,000 [Mark 8:1–10] after the very similar story of the feeding of the 5,000 [Mark 6:31–44]). In all there seems no need to postulate that Luke had available to him a version of Mark which was significantly different from our present canonical version.

Another feature which has been felt to constitute a difficulty for the theory of Markan priority is that of the so-called "duplicate expressions" in Mark, where Mark has two almost synonymous expressions side by side, and where Matthew has just one half and Luke the other. The most famous example is Mark 1:32 and pars.:

Matt 8:16	*Mark 1:32*	*Luke 4:40*
When evening was come	When evening was come and the sun was setting	When the sun was setting

Although this phenomenon has been used to argue in favor of Markan priority (Matthew and Luke simply cut out Mark's redundancy: Streeter), others have felt that the phenomenon constitutes a major problem for the theory. Why should Matthew and Luke so conveniently choose to pick the half of the double expression which the other omits? Hence neo-Griesbachians would argue that the texts can be best explained as due to Mark's conflating his two sources (Farmer 1977; Dungan 1970).

The evidence is probably indecisive. Neirynck (1972) has shown that "duality" is a stylistic feature of Mark's Greek, and is far more wide-ranging than those instances which could be explained as conflation of Matthew and Luke. Further, there are a number of instances where Matthew and Luke retain the same half of a Markan duplicate expression. The whole argument is very similar to the problem of the choice and order of material, but in both cases, the number of instances where Matthew and Luke provide this kind of alternating support for Mark is not statistically significant enough to question the assumption that Matthew and Luke have used Mark independently (Tuckett 1983; 1984).

Perhaps the greatest difficulty faced by the theory of Markan priority concerns the so-called "minor agreements." At the level of order it is true that Matthew and Luke never agree against Mark. At the level of the detailed wording within pericopes the same remains broadly true. Nevertheless, there are a number of instances where Matthew and Luke do agree with each other against Mark. These texts are called the "minor agreements," and clearly constitute an anomaly for the theory of Markan priority. An occasional instance where Matthew and Luke had independently altered Mark in the same way would not be unexpected; yet the number of instances where this must

have occurred (assuming Markan priority) is felt by many to be uncomfortably high.

Once again an abstract approach can perhaps be misleading, and one should consider the actual minor agreements themselves. Several agreements are scarcely surprising as independent changes of Mark's Greek. Mark often uses the present tense in his narrative to describe the events of the past (the so-called "historic present"); Matthew and Luke use the aorist tense much more frequently. It is therefore not unexpected that Matthew and Luke regularly change Mark's historic present to an aorist, and quite often do so at the same place, thereby creating a minor agreement (e.g., Mark 2:5 and pars.). So too Mark often connects sentences with the word "and" *(kai)*, a usage which is as clumsy in Greek as it is in English. Matthew and Luke regularly "improve" this by changing *kai* to *de*. Again it is not surprising that they sometimes do so at the same point and thereby create a minor agreement (cf. Mark 2:24 and pars.). Neirynck has in fact shown that a vast number of the minor agreements can be explained in this way: on the theory of Markan priority, they involve changes to the text of Mark by Matthew and Luke independently, and there are numerous other instances in the tradition where Matthew and Luke must have made the same kind of change (again assuming Markan priority) but without necessarily agreeing with each other (Neirynck 1974).

Other agreements may be explicable in other ways. In some instances, it may be that the Markan tradition overlapped with another tradition available to Matthew and Luke (i.e., Q). The agreement between Matthew and Luke may thus be due to the influence of this Q version. The influence of Q may explain minor agreements in the parable of the mustard seed, the Beelzebul controversy, and the Temptation story. Indeed the agreements between Matthew and Luke are so extensive (and it is only because they are so extensive that one postulates a parallel, non-Markan version) that these texts are often called "major agreements." They really constitute a separate category and cause no difficulty for the Two-Source theory provided one accepts the possibility in principle of overlapping sources.

Some agreements may be explicable as the result of textual corruption. (Streeter appealed extensively to this, and his argument has been heavily criticized; Farmer 1964. It is widely agreed that such an explanation cannot be as widely used as Streeter claimed.) In the course of the transmission of the text, it would be inevitable that scribes copying the text of one gospel would sometimes let the wording of a parallel version influence them (whether consciously or unconsciously). Since Matthew's gospel was the most popular in antiquity, it is not surprising that in several manuscripts of Mark and Luke, the wording has been assimilated to Matthew's text. Thus if a text in Luke was assimilated to the Matthean wording, this might create the impression of a minor agreement against Mark. How far one may invoke this argument to explain the minor agreements is disputed; Streeter probably went too far. However, there are some occasions when the uncertainty of the precise reading of the gospel texts makes it doubtful whether there really was a minor agreement originally. For example, in many printed editions of Mark 9:19 and pars. there is a minor agreement:

Matt 17:17	*Mark 9:19*	*Luke 9:41*
O faithless and perverted generation	O faithless generation	O faithless and perverted generation

Yet the extra words "and perverted" *(kai diestrammenē)* are present in some manuscripts of Mark (including P^{45} W); they are also absent from a few witnesses to the text of Luke (e Marc). There must therefore be an element of doubt whether there originally was a minor agreement here (McLoughlin). The apparent agreement between Matt 26:75 and Luke 22:62 against Mark 14:72 (in saying that Peter "went outside" and wept "bitterly") may also be explicable on textual grounds, since the verse in Luke may not have been part of Luke's original text: the verse is omitted in a few mss and it also makes for some internal lack of cohesion between v 61 and v 63 (Tuckett 1984a).

The most famous of all the minor agreements concerns the mockery of Jesus by the soldiers.

Matt 26:68	*Mark 14:65*	*Luke 22:64*
Prophesy to us, Christ! Who hit you?	Prophesy!	Prophesy! Who hit you?

The extra question, involving five words in Greek *(tis estin ho paisas se)* common to Matthew and Luke, is not easily explained as due to the influence of a parallel tradition or to independent redaction. The most satisfactory explanation on the theory of Markan priority is to assume that the extra words constitute a textual corruption in the text of Matthew, due to assimilation to the Lukan version. The question makes good sense in the Lukan context where Jesus is blindfolded, but little sense in the Matthean context where Jesus is not (Streeter 1924, McLoughlin 1967). The obvious weakness of the theory is that there is no ms evidence for a text of Matthew not containing the words. The theory thus involves postulating a primitive corruption of the Matthean text which has affected all known mss. Such a theory is thus easy to ridicule but is not inherently impossible (Neirynck 1987).

Although the minor agreements clearly constitute a problem for the theory of Markan priority, it is by no means clear that the same texts can be explained any better by other hypotheses. The theory of Goulder (1978), which postulates some reminiscences by Luke of Matthew's gospel, faces difficulties precisely because the agreements are so minor. Why should Luke have allowed Matthew's text to influence him in such a minor way as to create these small agreements, but rarely in any major way?

The Griesbach hypothesis fares little better. Here the minor agreements have to be explained as due to Mark's own style causing him to alter the text of his two sources at some points where they agree. This is feasible in general terms, but becomes problematic when applied to specific texts (Tuckett 1983). For example, it becomes difficult to see why Mark should have deliberately omitted the mocking question "Who hit you?" if it stood in both his sources. Can such an omission be "stylistic"?

One other factor has been brought into more recent debates by neo-Griesbachians. This concerns the patristic

evidence about the synoptic problem. Many of the Church Fathers appear to assume that the chronological order of the gospels is the same as the canonical order. They all agree, for example, that Matthew's gospel was written first. Further, there is one statement ascribed to Clement of Alexandria (who in turn is claiming to be reproducing earlier testimony) to the effect that gospels with genealogies were written first (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 6.14).

The value of such evidence is very uncertain. The evidence of Clement is quite isolated and can scarcely bear much weight in supporting the Griesbach hypothesis against the claims of the Augustinian hypothesis. But even if we could determine what the Church Fathers believed, it does not solve the problem of whether they were right, and we can only establish that by considering the internal evidence of the gospel texts themselves. It is thus doubtful if the patristic evidence can help in the solution of the synoptic problem today.

In conclusion, we may say that, although it is not without problems, the theory of Markan priority remains the most adequate solution of the synoptic problem in relation to the so-called "triple tradition," those parts of the tradition common to all three gospels.

C. The Q Source

Agreements between the gospels are not confined to passages where there is a Markan parallel. Frequently Matthew and Luke alone agree, and at times that agreement is extremely close (Matt 3:7–10 = Luke 3:7–9) On the Two-Source theory, this agreement is to be explained as due to dependence by Matthew and Luke on non-Markan common source material usually known as Q. However, others have questioned this, claiming that Q is an unnecessary hypothesis, and that the agreements between Matthew and Luke can be explained as due to direct dependence of Luke on Matthew. Supporters of the Griesbach hypothesis claim that Luke is dependent on Matthew alone. Others maintain the theory of Markan priority but would wish to explain the agreements in the "double" tradition (parts of the tradition where Luke is parallel to Matthew) as due to Luke's knowledge and use of Matthew (Farrer 1955; Goulder 1974).

The case for the existence of Q, like the case for Markan priority, is a cumulative one. It is also in some sense a negative one, since the Q hypothesis is essentially the alternative to the possibility that Luke knew Matthew. (The theory that Matthew knew Luke is hardly ever proposed today.) If Luke did not know Matthew, the only real alternative theory is that both evangelists depend on common source material.

The first factor to be considered is the order of the material in the double tradition. This material appears in widely differing orders in Matthew and Luke. If Luke knew Matthew, why has he changed the Matthean order so thoroughly, disrupting Matthew's clear and concise arrangement of the teaching material into five blocks, each concerned with a particular theme? Neo-Griesbachians have rarely attempted to provide such a detailed explanation (only Orchard 1976, on which see Tuckett 1983). The problem becomes all the more pressing if one also maintains the theory of Markan priority (Farrer 1955; Goulder 1974). In this case, it is assumed that Luke knew and used Mark in the triple tradition. But Luke has made very few changes to the Markan order. Why has Luke behaved so conservatively with the order of one of his sources (Mark), and with such freedom in relation to the order of his other alleged source (Matthew)? This radical difference in the way Luke must have used his sources seems so unlikely to many, that it is more probable that Luke did not know Matthew and that both depend on common tradition for the non-Markan material which they share. Further, insofar as this tradition may come from a single source Q, the fact that Luke has preserved the order of his Markan source almost unaltered, whereas Matthew has rearranged the Markan material in the interests of his thematic arrangement, suggests that the same has probably happened in the case of Q. Thus, most today assume that Luke has preserved the order of Q more faithfully than Matthew.

Further considerations of order can strengthen the Q hypothesis. V. Taylor has shown that, although at first sight there appears to be little correlation in order in the Q material in Matthew and Luke, the situation is different if one bears in mind Matthew's general aim of collecting together like materials into a thematic arrangement. If one takes the five Matthean discourses in turn, and compares the order of the Q material within each discourse with the corresponding material in Luke, then there is a striking agreement in the relative order (Taylor 1959). Such a phenomenon is hard to explain on other hypotheses.

Further evidence against the theory that Luke knew Matthew is provided by the fact that Luke never seems to be aware of Matthew's modifications to Mark in Markan material. Sometimes Matthew makes significant additions to Mark (e.g., Matt 12:5–7; 16:16–19), yet Luke never betrays any knowledge of these Matthean additions. Such a state of affairs is hard to square with the view that Luke knew Matthew as well as Mark. (It is in itself less of a problem for the Griesbach hypothesis: such "omissions" by Luke are simply due to Luke's redaction and the fact that they are not in Mark either is then due to Mark's subsequent editorial decision to omit them too, perhaps because he is following a policy of including only material common to both his sources.)

Another relevant factor in this discussion is that quite often in double-tradition material, Luke has a form of the tradition which appears to be more primitive than Matthew's (e.g., in some of the Beatitudes Matt 5:3,6 = Luke 6:20f.; in the form of the doom oracle as a saying of Wisdom in Matt 23:34 = Luke 11:49; in the shorter version of the Lord's Prayer Matt 6:9–13 = Luke 11:2–4; in the form of the saying about the Sign of Jonah Matt 12:40 = Luke 11:30). If Luke is dependent on Matthew at every point, then Luke's version should always be secondary to Matthew's. Insofar as this is not the case, the theory of Luke's knowledge of Matthew is weakened.

Such results can be incorporated within an overall theory of Luke's knowledge of Matthew. It may be that Luke knew Matthew but only used Matthew very occasionally. Some neo-Griesbachians have argued that although Luke knew Matthew, Luke sometimes had access to parallel but independent versions of the same tradition (Farmer 1975 concerning some of the parables). However, if this theory is extended too far, so that Luke is supposed to be depen-

dent on traditions parallel to Matthew for too much of the tradition, then the theory becomes almost indistinguishable from the Q hypothesis.

A final argument for the Q hypothesis arises from the fact that Matthew and Luke have a number of doublets, two versions of basically the same saying, one version of which has a parallel in Mark while the other does not; for example, the saying about cross-bearing appears in Matt 16:24 = Mark 8:34 = Luke 9:23 and also in Matt 10:38 = Luke 14:27. This phenomenon can be easily explained on the basis of the Two-Source theory: one version of the saying is due to dependence on Mark, the other comes from the Q tradition.

This final argument illustrates very well the fact that at times the two basic streams of tradition postulated by the Two-Source theory, Mark and Q, must have overlapped. Advocates of the Two-Source theory would claim that such overlap occurs not only in isolated sayings, but also in whole pericopes such as the Temptation narratives, the Beelzebul controversy, the parable of the mustard seed, the mission charge and perhaps elsewhere.

Such a theory is felt by many to be a possibly fatal weakness of the Two-Source theory. In any case it must mean that the "Q tradition" cannot simply be defined as "tradition common to Matthew and Luke but not in Mark." Nevertheless, the theory that some parts of the gospel tradition were preserved in more than one strand is not inherently unlikely.

In fact, it is paradoxically precisely these "overlap" passages which provide strong arguments against source hypotheses *other* than the Two-Source theory. In most of these overlap passages, advocates of the Two-Source theory would argue that Luke has generally preserved the Q version, Mark has his own (independent) version, and Matthew conflates the two. (The Beelzebul story and the parable of the mustard seed are examples; other instances are perhaps more complex.) Such texts can be explained quite easily in this way. But the same texts look decidedly odd when viewed from the perspective of other hypotheses. For example, if one retains the theory of Markan priority and dispenses with Q (Farrer 1955; Goulder 1974), then Luke's procedure here must have been very strange. Mark must have written first, Matthew then adding to Mark. Luke, who usually follows Mark and ignores Matthew when they run parallel, must have decided here to remove very carefully all the Markan material from Matthew, retaining only the parts peculiar to Matthew. Such a procedure is so unlike Luke's alleged procedure elsewhere in the tradition that it seems easier to discard the inital premiss (Downing 1965). The Griesbach hypothesis shares a similar fate. Matthew must have written first; Luke, writing second, must have reproduced only some parts of Matthew. Then Mark, writing third, must have taken an aversion to anything which Luke had taken from Matthew and so reproduced only those parts of Matthew which Luke had omitted. Such a procedure is so unlike what has been claimed to be Mark's overall aim of reproducing precisely what *was* common to both his sources. Again it seems easier to discard the initial premiss (Tuckett 1983). Thus the overlapping texts, far from providing problems for the Two-Source theory, in fact strengthen it considerably.

The agreements between Matthew and Luke in double tradition material are thus probably best explained by dependence on common source material Q. The further problems associated with this theory—how far we should be thinking of Q as a single source, or whether we should be thinking only of an amorphous mass of material which was never combined prior to its incorporation by Matthew and Luke—will be discussed elsewhere (see Q). Such problems do not affect the basic theory that the Matthew-Luke agreements in double-tradition material are not to be explained by Luke's knowledge of Matthew.

D. The Sources M and L

Matthew and Luke also have further material peculiar to their gospels alone. This material is usually referred to as "M" and "L" respectively. How far any of this material can be traced back to written sources is unclear. Streeter postulated further documents relating to these strands of the tradition and proposed a "four-document hypothesis" (corresponding to the four basic strands of the tradition: Mark, Q, M, and L). This must however remain speculative. The question whether it is appropriate to talk of Q as "document" will be discussed elsewhere.

In the case of M material, some have appealed to its strongly Jewish-Christian nature (Matt 5:17–20; the formula quotations). However, it may well be that much of this material is due to Matthew himself, and the "Jewishness" of the material may simply be a reflection of the author of the gospel.

In the case of L material, many have suggested a "proto-Luke" theory (Streeter 1924; Taylor 1926). This is the theory that Luke wrote a first draft of his gospel combining the Q and L material together, and that later he added the Markan material. This theory can appeal to the fact that Luke does sometimes interweave Q and L material, but he tends to keep Q + L and Markan materials separate in large blocks. This would be well explained if the Markan material was added subsequently to an already existing document. Further, it seems likely that Luke had a separate (non-Markan) source for his passion narrative. It is striking here that the measure of verbal agreement between Luke and Mark drops sharply when compared with the rest of the tradition; also there are a large number of small differences in order between Luke and Mark (e.g., the mockery of Jesus comes after the Jewish hearing in Mark, before in Luke; the rending of the temple veil comes after Jesus' death in Mark, before in Luke). Given Luke's generally conservative treatment of Mark elsewhere, it seems quite plausible to postulate that Luke had access to an independent account of the passion narrative. This would also fit in with a proto-Luke theory.

However, while the theory of an independent passion narrative clearly fits a proto-Luke theory, it in no way demands it. Luke certainly contains large, non-Markan, blocks of material in 6:20–8:3; 9:51–18:14; 19:1–27. But there is no certainty that these ever formed part of an earlier full-length gospel. Further, 3:1–4:30, sometimes ascribed to proto-Luke, betrays Markan influence as well (Luke 3:4; 3.21f.; 4:1f.; 4:24) and hence there is no clear beginning to the alleged proto-Luke. Thus the whole proto-Luke theory remains rather doubtful, and in fact has convinced few scholars outside England. In any case,

it is doubtful if much can be gained by postulating a proto-Luke prior to canonical Luke. Certainly it cannot guarantee the historical reliability of Luke's gospel as Streeter and Taylor thought: the sources of the tradition remain the two basic strands of Q and L.

E. Conclusion

The Two-Source theory probably offers the most adequate (or least problematic) solution to the synoptic problem. It is not free from difficulties and it can never be proved with mathematical finality. Many arguments used in the discussion are reversible. Practically all arguments depend on claims to the effect that a development of the tradition in one direction is "more likely" than the reverse development. Clearly, any such claim is subjective, and always potentially open to a counterclaim which tries to account for the opposite change in question. Thus the most one can say is that the Two-Source theory provides a reasonably comprehensive account of the development of the tradition on the basis of its main tenets of the dependence of Matthew and Luke on the Markan and Q traditions.

The synoptic problem is of very considerable importance in a number of fields. Older scholars perhaps thought too quickly that the isolation of the older strands of the tradition take us straight back to the historical Jesus. Wrede's work on the messianic secret in Mark and theories of a theology of Q show that the earliest sources may still leave us some distance removed from Jesus. Nevertheless, a solution to the synoptic problem is essential if we are to reach back to earlier parts of the tradition. The synoptic problem also lies at the basis of a great deal of redaction-critical study of the gospels. Much of this study presupposes the Two-Source theory, seeking for example to illuminate Matthew's and Luke's theologies by examining the changes Matthew and Luke have made to their sources. Any different theory of synoptic relationships may well entail a drastic alteration in our assessment of the theologies of the individual evangelists.

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SYNTYCHE (PERSON) [Gk *Syntyche*]. A member of the Christian community at Philippi whom Paul entreats to reach "agreement in the Lord" with another member, Euodia (Phil 4:2–3). The two had apparently quarreled, but the nature of their differences is not specified.

While the name Syntyche is in the feminine form in the Greek text, as it is in numerous inscriptions where the same name occurs, it has been asserted, e.g., by Theodore of Mopsuestia, that this person was a male. Theodore claimed to have heard that Syntyche ought to have been spelled as the masculine Syntyches, and that "he" was actually the jailer at Philippi (cf. Acts 16) and the husband of Euodia. But there is no substantiation for what Theodore had learned by rumor and no textual evidence to support it (Hawthorne *Philippians* WBC, 179). Furthermore, the use of the Greek feminine plural pronouns *ʾautais* and *haitines* in 4:3, which can only refer back to Syntyche and Euodia, requires that both names belong to women.

Not only has Syntyche's gender been questioned, but also her individuality. On this and further speculation concerning her significant role in the Philippian community, see EUODIA.

FLORENCE MORGAN GILLMAN

SYRACUSE (PLACE) [Gk *Syrakousa*]. A Greek city on the SE coast of Sicily (37°07′N; 15°11′E) where Paul's ship put in for three days on the voyage to Rome after having been shipwrecked on the island of Malta (Acts 28:12). The long stay of three days could be attributed to wind conditions or to the unloading and loading of cargo (Haenchen 1971: 718). The city is situated at the edge of the great south Sicilian limestone formations. Originally only on the small island of Ortygia, right off of the coast of Sicily, the city eventually grew and spread to the mainland. At first

the island was connected to the mainland by a dam but later a bridge was built.

According to Thucydides (6.3.2; see also Strab. 6.2.4) Syracuse was founded by Archias from Corinth one year after Nexos was founded (734 B.C.). At first Syracuse was ruled by land proprietors or *gamoroi*, those who divide the land (Finley 1979: 18). The city prospered under its tyrants Galon and his brother Hieron who succeeded him (ca. 485–467 B.C.). In 413 B.C., Syracuse was besieged by Athens and the Athenian armies were defeated. This marked the turning point in the Peloponnesian War. Eventually the city was taken by Marcellus in 212 and became a Roman province. (A more extensive survey of Syracuse' political history can be found in PW 8: 1478–1535.)

At the time of Paul's visit, Syracuse was still a very prosperous city. Cicero (106–43 B.C.) gives an extensive description of the city and calls it the richest and fairest city in all of Sicily, strong and beautiful to behold (Cic. *Verr.* 2.4 115–19). Two harbors are found in the city, a large one on the mainland and a small one on the island.

A few remains of ancient Syracuse are still in existence. The temple of Apollo and a Roman amphitheater are on the mainland; the temple of Athena on the island was built into the Church of Santa Maria delle Colonne along with a number of early Christian catacombs. On the W side of the island there is still the fresh water spring called Arethusa.

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ARNOLD BETZ

SYRIA (PLACE) [Heb *'aram;* Gk *Syria*]. SYRIAN. In the Bible, Syria is usually used to designate the areas associated with the ancient city-state of Damascus, also known as Aram. Extensive discussions of the relationship between Syria and biblical Palestine to its S and W will therefore be found under ARAM (PLACE) and DAMASCUS (PLACE). This entry consists of two articles that focus upon the archaeological record of human occupation of ancient Syria: the first surveys the prehistoric period, and the second surveys the Bronze and Iron Age periods.

PREHISTORIC SYRIA

Up until the 20th century the term Syria designated a natural geographic area *(Bilad al-Cham)* between the Sinai to the S, the Mediterranean to the W, the Taurus mountains to the N, and the Syrian desert to the E. This region never knew (except during Roman domination) real political unity. We will refer here to the limits of the present-day state of Syria, excluding, by consequence, the bordering states of Israel, Jordan, and Lebanon.

Currently three clear and distinct climatic zones divide Syria: one, to the W, is littoral Mediterranean, a temperate climate separated from the interior by the Alaouite mountains which continue to the N in Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon. In the opposite direction, its desert-like SE border receives less than 200 mm of rain per year but is crossed by the Euphrates and dotted with several oases (Palmyra, El Kowm). Lastly, between these two zones, a semiarid band of intermediary climate inscribes an arc that begins in the Jezireh, between the middle branches of the Euphrates and the Tigris, continues through the steppes of the Aleppo region and the Damascus oasis, and extends further S, then out of Syria to the boundary of Jordan. This zone, of which the climatic vegetation is a steppe-forest of oaks and pistachio trees, is also characterized by wild grains that made this the "nuclear zone" (Braidwood), where the first agricultural experiments were carried out in the Near East during the Neolithic period.

A. History of Research
B. Paleolithic Period
C. The Last Epi-Paleolithic Hunter-Gatherers and the Origins of the Villages
D. The Beginnings of Agriculture in the 8th Millennium
E. The Villages of Rancher-Farmers of the 7th Millennium
F. Ceramic Civilizations of the 6th and 5th Millennia

A. History of Research

Human occupation of Syria in prehistoric times is really known only from research done since 1950. Of course, the first prehistoric studies of the Levant began at the end of the 19th century, but at first only concerned Lebanon, based upon research of St. Joseph University and the American University in Beirut. Beginning in 1920, Palestine, under British mandate, was studied under the direction of the Englishwoman D. Garrod and the Frenchman R. Neuville. In Syria itself, excavations only began between 1930 and 1933 by a German, A. Rust. The rock shelter of Jabrud, published in 1951, provided evidence for the end of the Lower Paleolithic Period and the Middle and Upper Paleolithic. Immediately before World War II, the first research on Neolithic Syria was carried out by the German M. von Oppenheim at Tell Halaf, in upper Mesopotamia, and above all by an American team from the University of Chicago in the plain of Amuq, near Antioch. R. J. Braidwood, who directed this excavation, was the first in the Near East to have included in his team not only archaeologists but also natural scientists, inaugurating "multi-disciplinary" methods currently in use everywhere.

At Tell Halaf as well as in the Amuq plain, one finds only a relatively late Neolithic period, not before the 6th millennium and devoid of ceramics. An older "pre-ceramic" Neolithic period was only known in the Levant by discoveries of J. Garstang between 1930 and 1936 in the lowest levels of Jericho in Palestine. It was necessary to wait until the 1960s for the French archaeologist H. de Contenson to begin excavating in Syria itself on the littoral as well as at Ras Shamra, at the oasis of Damascus, Tell Ramad, and Tell Aswad, which are all pre-ceramic Neolithic occupations going back to the 7th millennium. At the same time, the University of Tokyo inaugurated a vast program of survey and excavations in the Levant Paleolithic that led to ongoing work in the Palmyra region, and to the discovery of Latamne, the oldest Paleolithic site known in Syria.

The research has not stopped since 1970: under the impetus of F. Hours and P. Sanlaville the survey of Paleo-

lithic sites extends from the coast of Syria, to the Oronte and Euphrates valleys and to the desert oasis of El Kowm. On the other hand, the construction of the huge Tabka dam on the Euphrates was the occasion, thanks to an "international salvage campaign" of sites threatened with flooding, for a discovery of real importance for the origins of the agriculture and the Neolithic period in the Near East. The excavations by J. Cauvin at Mureybet and Cheikh Hassan and those of A. Moore at Abu Hureyra and of the University of Amsterdam in Buqras have, from 1970–76 entirely renewed our knowledge of this subject.

All these digs, as well as the progress of 20 years of techniques and absolute dating by carbon 14, allow us to present a fairly accurate picture of Syrian prehistory.

B. Paleolithic Period

As it forms the occidental front of Asia, but also the N extension of the Arabic Peninsula (or Africa), Syria constitutes an obligatory passage between two continents. This had an importance from the beginning of its human population: it is known to be in Africa that the human species emerged, 2.5 million years ago, and that it is from there that later *Homo erectus* began to spread throughout the rest of the world. It is thus not surprising that Syria shows traces of particularly ancient occupation, going back, according to the present state of our knowledge, a million years.

It is during this period that several rare tools of worked flint were found on the terraces of northern Nahr-el-Kabir, at *Sitt Markho,* or from the Oronte, at *Khattab,* near Latamne. These crude pieces are the only vestiges of what is called the "Early Lower Paleolithic" period. Beginning at 600,000 years B.P., during the Middle Lower Paleolithic period, tools are more abundant and derive from biface industries that are called in Europe as in Africa, "Acheulean." The handaxes found there are large and lance-shaped. The most important site is that of Latamne, on the Oronte, because a real habitation has been found there; however, artifacts of the same period have been found on the surface in several locations near the Oronte, the Euphrates, Nahr-el-Kabir, and on the coast. This period also sees the birth of a particular technique for knapping flint, called the "Levallois technique," that allowed the extraction of flakes, of which the contour was already predetermined, by a preliminary preparation of the core.

Between 250,000 and 150,000 B.C., at the end of the Acheulean, the handaxes become smaller and lighter, the tools obtained by the Levallois technique increase in number, and the layers also become more numerous. The valley of the Oronte at Gharmashi and the oasis of El Kowm provided places of true habitation.

The transition toward the Middle Paleolithic period takes place between 150,000 and 90,000 B.C. It is represented by an original culture, the Jabrudian that owes its name to the site of Jabrud in the Qalamoun mountains, but that is above all known today by about ten sites discovered in the El Kowm oasis. There are still several handaxes there, but the most numerous tools are the scrapers. Around 100,000 B.C. other cultures appear (the Hummalian, the Levalloiso-Mousterian) that for a certain time characterize different regions in Syria. But only the Levalloiso-Mousterian, characterized by points and side scrapers produced by the Levallois technique, occupied the entire Syrian territory during the Middle Paleolithic period, that is to say between 90,000 and 40,000 B.P.

Strangely, despite the intensity of site surveys, up until now only a few Late Paleolithic sites have been found in Syria. This is the case for the period that is called elsewhere (in Lebanon and Israel) the "Aurignacian of the Levant." Syria is more heavily occupied at the end of the Late Paleolithic period, by the Kebarian civilization which is often considered to already belong to the Epi-Paleolithic period.

C. The Last Epi-Paleolithic Hunter-Gatherers and the Origins of the Villages

At the end of the Paleolithic period, about 16,000 B.C., the "Kebarian" culture was implanted in the Levant; it is characterized by the miniaturization of flint tools. These "microliths" served as the cutting edge for a whole scale of varied instruments of which the haft was of wood. Around 12,000 B.C. the microliths take geometric and stereotypic forms (triangles, trapezoids, rectangles). This is the "geometric Kebarian" present in all the Levant, the littoral as well as the desert areas. The Syrian oasis of El Kowm, near Palmyra, shows a remarkable density of layers from this period where small groups of hunters, still very mobile, located their encampments near places of water.

It is also during this period that a progressive warming of the climate allowed the natural diffusion of wild cereals in the entire semiarid area, halfway between the desert and the Mediterranean climate of the coast. Thus wild grains (wheat, barley), even before becoming "domesticated," came to play an important role in human diet. It is in this "nuclear" zone that the first phases of the "Neolithization" process took place; that is to say, first the sedentarization of villages, then the apprenticeship of agriculture.

A new culture, the Natufian, occupied in effect the entire Levant from the Nile to the Euphrates between 10,000 and 8200 B.C. Most of the geometric microliths were now of lunate form. The Natufians, like the Kebarians, were "predators" living principally on wild resources. But it is to them that we owe the first sedentary villages known in the Near East: these were small agglomerations of 200 to 300 square meters, made up of round houses half buried in pits in the earth, and henceforth were occupied on a permanent basis by social groups that were larger than previous ones. The village of Mureybet on the middle Euphrates in Syria was founded by Natufians around 8500 B.C.: its setting was characteristic of the ecological options of this culture, to assure sufficient resources for the entire year without recourse to "nomadism." One thus finds fish and shells from the river, wild grains and game (gazelles, equids) from the surrounding steppe, and game from the wooded borders of the Euphrates (boars, deer, bovids, migratory birds). All of this points to a very eclectic economy, usually called a "wide spectrum" economy.

D. The Beginnings of Agriculture in the 8th Millennium

The first agricultural experiments took place, in this already sedentary milieu, during the first half of the 8th

millennium. The oldest traces of this grain culture appear in Palestine, at Jericho and Netiv Hagdod, and in Syria in the region of Damascus, at Tell Aswad, and on the middle Euphrates, at Mureybet. Of particular interest here is to pinpoint this phenomenon within a continuous evolution, unbroken since the village had come into existence a millennium earlier; when around 7800 B.C. the study of pollens showed the first artificial concentrations of grains (concentrations that define the "fields") at Mureybet, which in its phase III, had just attained its full demographic and cultural flowering. Like the nearby and contemporaneous site of Sheikh Hassan, its settlement area reached three hectares. It is a crowded web of round habitations, currently divided in the interior by rectilinear partitions; while around 7700 B.C. the first structures constructed entirely with a rectilinear plan appear, probably used as silos. Special Neolithic innovative techniques such as baked clay or polished stone, were already present but still marginal and reserved for prestigious and cultural uses. The stone tools, where the Natufian microliths have disappeared, increase in number of arrowheads and sickle blades. A very diversified bone industry also accompanies them.

This cultural flowering is accompanied by a profound economic transformation; the proto-agricultural practices become part of a more general plan of alimentary strategy, more selective and better organized than before: fishing, so important in the Natufian period, almost disappears, and hunting centers around the large grass eaters (cattle and wild equids). These practices which express a choice in the resources exploited and the abandonment of certain others, allows one to refute the hypothesis of an agriculture that was invented in the Near East to respond to insufficient wild resources which was the result of growing human populations. By the same token, it is during this period that the early agriculturalists of Palestine built the first monumental architecture at Jericho, implying cooperation and collective work. It is to this new set of activities, required by larger communal groups, that one must attribute the first steps in "subsistence production." However, the "principal cause" of this change seems to be more sociological than ecological. This change also had consequences in the ideological and religious domain. Natufian art was essentially theriomorphic, but that of Mureybet III is almost entirely anthropomorphic. At about 8000, the first known feminine figurines of the Near East are found at Mureybet, made of stone or baked clay. These symbols of the "Mother Goddess" will spread over an increasingly larger area throughout the Near and Middle East and the Prehellenic Mediterranean. A bull cult is also inferred at Mureybet from the frequent insertion of horns or ox skulls in the walls of the houses; similarly, this cult will proliferate through the Phoenician "Baals" and the Minoan religion into classical Greece.

E. The Villages of Rancher-Farmers of the 7th Millennium

In the 7th millennium, Syria, like the rest of the Levant, is occupied by a new civilization, the "PPNB" (Prepottery Neolithic B), that grew up around the middle Euphrates beginning in the second half of the 8th millennium through progressive transformations from the culture of Mureybet III. Phase IV of Mureybet and the village of Abu Hureyra, also on the Euphrates, furnish us with even older examples.

The habitations are now all rectangular and have several rooms with floors often coated with lime or gypsum plaster. The villages practice not only farming but also raise small livestock, although hunting still plays an important role in their diet. The tools remain basically arrows and sickles, although polished axes are now in current use. Ceramics, however, are still not common, but at the end of the 7th millennium vessels made from lime or gypsum plaster will appear, known by the name of "white ware." The Neolithic sites of Ramad, Buqras and El Kowm are part of this more elaborate phase of the culture, and date from about 6000 B.C.

The preceramic village of Ramad, occupied from 6250 to 6000 B.C., covers three hectares, and lies 20 km to the south of Damascus, at the foot of Hermon. The rectilinear houses with floors covered with lime plaster walls of mudbrick and stone bedrock, are aligned along the small streets. Their inhabitants grew not only grains (wheat, barley) but also flax for linen and raised sheep. It is interesting to find at Ramad, in the religious domain, a true "cult of ancestors," attested by human skulls with face modeled over it in lime plaster in the image of the living person and attached to figurine supports made from clay. This cult is found at most of the PPNB sites from the Euphrates to Palestine. It seems to show, at a moment when the fully sedentary group of humans turned their attention to the domestic animal and plant species and passed fields and flocks down from one generation to the next, a new sense of the continuity and filiation of human life.

A second important event from the end of the 7th millennium also results from the full mastery of agricultural and husbandry techniques. At first restricted to the "nuclear zone" of the steppe where the first agricultural experiments were carried out (dry farming), Neolithization allowed human groups to go further than this initial ecological limit: this expansion takes place simultaneously toward coastal Syria and toward the interior desert zone, the former too humid and the latter too arid for the grains to grow spontaneously. On the coast, the site of Ras Shamra-Ugarit was occupied from 6500 B.C. by Neolithic agriculturalists. In the desert, this is represented by the reoccupation, around 6200 of the El Kowm oasis, abandoned by man since the end of the Paleolithic period; it also formed around 6400 B.C., the foundation of Buqras.

Buqras is located on the right bank of the Euphrates, 40 km downstream from the present Deir-ez-Zor. It is also a large village of three hectares of closely knit, several-roomed houses with walls of mudbricks and floors covered with gypsum plaster. These houses are served, like at Ramad, by several streets. The inhabited rooms, long and narrow, communicate with one another through very small doors, while other constructions, divided into small, non-communicating cubic cells, served no doubt as places to store food. A developed art attests to the high cultural level attained by the village: painted frescos representing ostriches and numerous human and animal figurines in stone or baked clay are found. A small number of painted ceramics appear in the upper layers, but the greatest

number of artifacts are of polished stone or of gypsum plaster ("white ware"). The Neolithic village of El Kowm contains similar architecture with also, around 6000 B.C., an enormous quantity of white ware.

The economy of these two desert sites, both outside the limits of "dry farming," was based not only on raising goats and sheep and on a large quantity of hunting, but also on elaborate farming, where several species of grains were cultivated despite the dryness of the climate. This was possible through a selective use of fertile ground bordering the Euphrates (Buqras) or near springs (El Kowm), but also, probably, by the use of primitive irrigation techniques.

A last important event probably also took place during the same period as the late PPNB. Outside of the sedentary farming villages previously described, traces of contemporary installations left by nomadic groups are believed to have been found. These groups could have been the first ancestors of the present-day Bedouins of the Near East.

F. Ceramic Civilizations of the 6th and 5th Millennia

After 6000 B.C., the process of "Neolithization" of Syria was thus complete. The constitutive elements of what is generally understood to be "Neolithic" are completely developed: the life of villages, the domestication of plants and animals; the new cults, and also the specifically acquired techniques such as stone polishing and ceramics manufacture. Ceramics, the last of these acquisitions, will now serve, thanks to its variety of forms and decorations, to differentiate various civilizations.

The Syrian littoral in the 6th millennium is the epicenter of a cultural trend of lusterware, called Dark Face Burnished Ware, identified on the Antioch plain (Amuq A–B), at Ras Shamra VB and also found in more recent layers (phase III) of Ramad.

On the contrary, Upper Mesopotamian Syria (Jezireh), along the tributaries of the Euphrates, Khabur and Balikh, and the bordering regions of Iraq and Turkey, developing 5500 B.C., after a brief phase of black lusterware of a different tradition than that of the littoral, the magnificent polychrome painted ceramics of the Halafian culture. The Halafian repeats, in its figurines and its pottery decorations, the symbolic themes (representing goddesses and bulls) that appeared in Mureybet two millennia earlier. It is the beginning of cultural unity over a great geographic expanse, characterized by intense commercial exchanges that now included pottery itself in addition to Anatolian obsidian, traded since the Natufian. The pottery from Halaf reached the littoral shortly before 5000 B.C.: it has been found at Ras Shamra IV and in the plain of Amuq (phases C–D).

At the end of the 5th millennium, Syria finally enters into the movement of a new civilization, the Ubaid, an even vaster area which extends from the Arabic Gulf and Lower Mesopotamia, where it seems to originate, to Syrian Jezireh and even to the littoral Mediterranean. Here one encounters traces, more or less hybrid with local influences, at Ras Shamra III and at phase E of Amuq.

The Ubaid culture represents a decisive advance in the urbanization of the societies of the Near East, because one can perceive there for the first time an architectural plan which clearly differentiates between ordinary habitations and more monumental buildings of a public nature. This is the direct preparation of urbanization for the Uruk period where writing and "History" will take their first steps.

JACQUES CAUVIN
Trans. Stephen Rosoff

BRONZE AGE AND IRON AGE SYRIA

Many features which characterize the civilizations of the Early Bronze Age did not appear suddenly but as the result of a long history of development and experimentation going back in many instances to 10th millennium B.C. The cultures of many areas of the Near East attained a remarkable stage of crystalization by the middle of the 4th millennium B.C. Well-organized, fortified cities existed in Syria with elaborate temple and religious structures and administrative support organizations that exploited and facilitated exchange, supervised developed agriculture and animal husbandry systems, controlled technological and other modes of production, and in general made their influence felt over great distances.

A. Early Bronze Age
B. Middle Bronze Age
C. Late Bronze Age
D. Iron Age I
E. Iron Age II

A. Early Bronze Age (ca. 3000–2000 B.C.)

It seems, at first glance, that there was a retrenchment at the beginning of the 3d millennium, a consolidation of local cultural features at the expense of wider concerns, but this impression may change as additional evidence become available. Continuity from the end of the Protoliterate is evident in the ceramic inventory with the continuation of characteristic vessels like crude beveled-rim bowls, and specific vessel types with reserve slip and various incised decoration, but there is significant change. Similarly, the limited evidence for metalworking indicates that this technology has its roots in the 4th millennium B.C. Bronze figures cast in a lost-wax process were found at Judeideh in a Phase G context. The modeling of the figures is quite sophisticated and clearly represents a developed art style of which little else is known.

The major centers of Mari, Ebla, Hama, Ugarit, Khuerah, Braq, and Leilan were occupied at this time, but it is not clear whether they were small settlements which developed into great cultural centers or whether they already were major population and administrative centers. Only a handful of sites help us to define the very beginning of the Bronze Age. Judeideh and Chatal Hüyük in the Amuq provide a well-known sequence; Hadidi and nearby sites at the big bend of the Euphrates River provide a comparable sequence; Braq and Leilan demonstrate the sequence in the E. At Mari, the EB I material is present at the edge of the site and at Mardikh it is found beneath the later EB palace G of Level IIB1, in the context of another major building in Level IIA.

Several distinctive pottery forms can be isolated as characteristic of the EB II, particularly a bowl or cup form with a "cyma-recta" profile. Hadidi in the Euphrates Valley

and Qalat el Mundiq in the Orontes Valley, with the Amuq sites and a few others, delineate this second phase of the EB. Many simple but characteristic cup, bowl, and jar forms of normal buff wares continue with slight development from EB I, documenting clear continuity.

Geographical variations are already very specific in these earliest EB phases. Painted decoration or colored slips on pottery are common in the coastal areas in the Amuq and in the Khabur area, but are uncommon in the Euphrates River Valley. The so-called "Ninivite V" painted and incised wares seem consistently to follow levels with beveled-rim bowls, but their exact phasing and geographical range must be more precisely determined.

New traditions in the cultural assemblages of Syria began to develop in the second quarter of the 3d millennium. The tremendous archives from Tell Mardikh (Ebla) provide a new perspective on the cultures of ancient Syria; together with the finds from Mari which have been known for several decades longer, they block out the development of Syrian languages, architecture, and the arts during the remainder of the 3d millennium.

Written evidence in monumental architectural contexts, gives us an insight into the cultures of these cities from a completely different perspective than we are able to see from the cultural sequences documented for earlier periods. These written materials provide an insight into the specifics of international trade, the commodities which were exchanged, the routes along which they moved, and the major urban centers that controlled traffic. They allow us to understand the regional organization of the state, particularly how it monitored agricultural and industrial production. They give us an impression of the local written tradition and the maintenance of foreign language traditions. They provide documentation of the local religious traditions and practices, and how these fit into the fabric of the world around them. They demonstrate the complex fabric of cities and cultures working in cooperation or in open warfare; alliances, treaty relationships, spheres of influence, cultural regions, ethnic relationships, the relationship of ruling families and the causes for which armies moved to aid an ally or to stop the advance of an enemy state or coalition. Mari and Ebla were prime players with Assur, Urkish, and a number of other major centers of the time. See EBLA TEXTS and MARI (TEXTS).

With this written documentation as a background, many of the artifactual remains can be more precisely interpreted. The major palace exposure of the final phase of Ebla reveals two sides of a large audience hall with large columns supporting a portico. A large throne dais was built under the N portico. An elaborate square stair tower and a monumental stairway just to its S, allow movement from the court to the portion of the palace at a higher level on the citadel. Archive, office, work, and storage rooms adjoin the court in the areas which have been excavated. Palace artisans created a variety of materials for trade and for the embellishment of the palace. Some of the commodities known from the texts, like the textiles, have not been preserved, while other commodities have been preserved in a very limited way. Portions of elaborately decorated furniture, with carved wooden elements and with inlays of ivory and stone, and small pieces of composite sculpture in stone and precious metals are preserved. An art style similar to that which is characteristic of the end of the Early Dynastic and the beginning of the Akkadian periods in Mesopotamia is represented on cylinder seal impressions on clay. Imported vessels in Palace G are best represented by stone vessels of Egyptian manufacture, a few of which carried the royal names of Chephren, Pepi I and Pepi II, rulers of the 4th and 6th Egyptian dynasties.

A wealth of artistic representation is found at Mari as well, though the number of tablets of the period contemporary with the Ebla archives is still small and most of the inscriptions of the period were found on votive statues. The artistic style is documented in cylinder seal impressions, inlays for plaques and other small items, but particularly by free-standing votive figures.

Major archives also must have existed at the sites of ancient cities that coexisted with Ebla and Mari in the complex cultural fabric of the time, cities mentioned in the texts like Armanum, Tuttul, Harran, Emar, Alalakh, Ugarit, Byblos, Homs, and Damascus. Unfortunately evidence of artistic production from other sites in Syria is extremely limited. The few votive figures and stele that are preserved from Habuba, Selenkahiye, Khuera, and Mozan are far less polished than the products of royal artisans at Mari and Ebla. Khuera and Selenkahiye in particular provide a corpus of cylinder seal impressions which expand our knowledge of the repertoires of Early Dynastic and Akkadian period seals. Extremely common at many sites are the "average person's" artwork represented by thousands of handmade figurine fragments depicting human and animal forms.

The ceramic sequence is very well documented, and distinctive wares can be isolated which cluster materials into regional assemblages. Extremely thin, "metallic ware" vessels, some rivaling the much later, Late Assyrian palace wares in extreme thinness, are common along the Euphrates and into the Jezireh. A gray ware, designated stone ware, is at home in the Khabur area, particularly at Braq. Most of the pottery traditions are of buff wares with a variety of forms, clay compositions, and thicknesses that can be used to further define the various districts. One vessel type which has received considerable attention as a link to Palestinian assemblages is a sequence of cup forms. A long sequence of such forms can now be demonstrated for a period of about 600–700 years. Early in the sequence a distinctive variety is the metallic ware cup with thin corrugated sides and folded-over lip. The base treatment changed, proportions changed, and the lip and sides were simplified in later varieties. The sequence ends in the 20th century B.C. The most specific variant of this sequence is a tall chalice with distinctive painted and incised decoration found at Mardikh in IIB2, Touqan, Hama in J5–1, and the Amuq in Phase J.

Sketchy or limited evidence does not allow us to show the full geographical extent of the regional assemblages of the end of the 3d millennium. The culture of the Assyrian heartland to the NE, centered in the Mosul region, was a traditional cultural focus which rivaled Mesopotamia and heavily influenced both Mari and the river valleys of the Khabur, Balikh, and their tributaries. Excavations at Leilan, Braq, Chagar Bazar, Mozan, Melebiya, Khuera, Bderi, Tuneinir, and a number of other sites presently under

excavation in the Khabur Dam salvage area; at Hammam et Turkman and Bi'a on the Balikh, are beginning to define the extent of the cultural spheres which extended out from Mari, Assyria, and the Syrian Jezireh. The Tabqa Dam salvage projects at Hadidi, Mumbaqat, Qanas, Sweihat, and Selenkahiye define a middle Euphrates assemblage between the Jezireh and the Aleppo-Mardikh area while the Amuq sites (Ugarit and Tabbat el Hammam) represent distinctive areas of another cultural tradition which stretched along the Mediterranean coast from Turkey to Lebanon. Less well known or documented are the Homs, Damascus, and Lebanese Beqa regions, which must have been centers of equally distinctive regional cultures. The early excavations at Qatna and other sites provide only limited hints of the characteristics of the EB culture at the E edge of the S cultural areas where they come up against the Syrian desert at the contact points with a major desert roads.

Our knowledge of the cultural assemblages of Bronze Age Syria has improved tremendously in recent decades. The later parts of the EB III–IV horizon correspond with the Akkadian and Neo-Sumerian periods in Mesopotamia, but the subdivisions are not yet clear and the beginning of this horizon predates the Akkadian period. The amount of information which is lacking, however, is as impressive as the information which is available. It is clear that the material culture of certain areas of Syria, like the coast, have close parallels in some specifics with Palestinian sites, but on the whole what is now most impressive is the individualistic nature of the assemblages of specific geographical areas. Syria must be seen as culturally distinct from Palestine, Anatolia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria. The ethnic identity of the cultural groups associated with the material assemblages in the different areas of Syria is still a matter of discussion, and is based on limited information. Semitic, Hurrian, Anatolian, and other personal names are present at Mari and Ebla, but their concentration at specific sites and the interpretation of their distribution is problematic. We have used approximate, rounded-off period dates throughout this article, because with our present state of knowledge, we must rely on relative rather than absolute dates for Syrian chronology.

B. Middle Bronze Age (ca. 2000–1550 B.C.)

The cultural surroundings of ancient Syria changed drastically between the 3d and 2d millennia B.C. with the shift of power and influence in Mesopotamia from the 3d dynasty of Ur to the dynasties of Isin and Larsa, and in Egypt with the renewal of centralized authority under 12th Dyn. rulers, restoring unity after a "dark age." Significant changes occur in Syria as well, and new cultural traditions are well developed in all areas by the 18th century, MB II. Similar to Egypt and Mesopotamia, and unlike Palestine, urban traditions continue through a difficult transitional period. Scattered sites like Mari, Hadidi, Hama, Judeideh, and Chatal Hüyük, document a transition in ceramics.

Distinctive new decoration styles are established as characteristic features of the ceramic assemblages in the Amuq–Cilician and Khabur areas. In the intervening area, particularly along the Euphrates, painted decoration is, again, extremely rare and the ceramic sequence has to be defined by the development of specific rim forms and comb-incised decoration. Decorated basins from temple areas at Mardikh reflect artistic conventions which go back to the glyptic of the Early Dynastic period in Mesopotamia. The style of carving is well known from contemporary cylinder seals, particularly seals found in Anatolia at the trading center of Kültepe (Kanish) in Level II.

Occupation of the vast area of the Jezireh is most dramatically affected, probably because of ecological changes, and does not rebound to any degree in the new millennium. This was the case also with cities like Selenkahiye and Sweihat in the Euphrates Valley. At Hadidi, there is a dramatic reduction in the size of the site. Other geographical areas, like the Orontes Valley also show a decrease in urban population densities. The size of Mari at the beginning of the 2d millennium is not clear, but a major palace area continued in use in the same location where one had stood for centuries. A large, newly fortified urban settlement was constructed at Mardikh at this time.

Scattered written evidence exists, but the prime source for the period is from the palace archives at Mari. This rich source of information reveals a complex interaction of city-states from the Khabur area, Assyria, and Iran to the NE, Mesopotamia to the S, and the Aleppo area to the W, as well as a relationship with significant component of nonurban populations. The political organization of a typical state is revealed at Mari as well as the dynamics of interstate rivalries and cooperation. Zimri-lim, son of the Mari ruler, Yahdun-lim (1825–1810 B.C.), was forced to leave his home city and reside with a friendly dynasty in Aleppo. After a time, Zimri-lim (1782–1759 B.C.) was able to regain his family patrimony from the ruler of Assyria, Šamši-Adad (1815–1782 B.C.), who had installed his son Yasmah-Adad at Mari. Mari correspondence demonstrates centralization of power for a time in the Assyrian heartland and the rebuilding of the capital city at Shubat-Enlil, now identified with Leilan. The temple and other monumental architecture excavated there, as well as the written records of the period, will shed further light on this period of Assyrian expansion.

Hammurabi (1792–1750 B.C.) of Babylon emerged victorious in the interstate conflicts of the time in carving out a significant area of control for his Babylonian dynasty. Mari is one of the cities which succumbed to Hammurabi's advancing power and did not recover. Political power in this area of the Euphrates shifted to the city of Khana. Excavations at Ashara have brought to light many centuries of this city's history including archives of limited size and information, a private archive of Puzurum, and an archive from the temple of Ninkarak. The other significant Syrian archive of this period is from the Level VII palace at Alalakh in the Amuq.

Good archaeological sequences have been exposed at Hadidi, Halawa, Habuba and Qanas, in the Tabqa Dam salvage area on the Euphrates, and at Hama and Mardikh. Mardikh has yielded some of the most spectacular remains for this period also. A portion of a palace, several administrative buildings, and the gateway show a well-developed style of substantial architecture. Royal tombs have been found beneath the floors of one building, but only one statue provides a written inscription. The use of orthostats, in many cases alternating basalt and limestone as in the

palace and one phase of the gateway, are a distinctive feature here and in the Alalakh VII palace.

A distinctive temple tradition, which continues into the LB, is now well documented on many sites. The temples are basically organized on a central axis. Entry is usually made through a pillared portico or entrance room and the structures are usually deeper than they are wide. Specific features like exceptionally thick walls, the presence of an entrance room or a niche centered on the back wall, show some development through time. Some of these peculiarities may be associated with the worship of specific deities, but only in a few cases is the god worshipped in a temple conclusively established. At Mari, the Dagan temple near the palace is of the axial type just mentioned, while the contemporary phases of the Ishtar temple maintain a different, indirect-access temple type.

The corpus of sculpture of this period comes primarily from Ebla and Mari. The Ebla basins have been mentioned but several additional fragments, and other fragments of votive statues were also found. Most of the Mari sculpture is from the palace area, primarily free-standing statues of officials and the famous goddess holding a vase overflowing with water.

The Mari palace was considered a wonder in its time and an attraction for visiting dignitaries. Its walls were extensively decorated with geometric and figural murals. Most famous of these scenes is the "investiture scene" in the courtyard near the throne room. The subject matter overlaps with scenes from other media, particularly glyptic. The style of well-articulated, naturalistic figures is well known from seals and plaques, but an additional dimension is added by the color renderings of costumes, furniture, and other details. Mythological scenes are also represented, but again mostly in a format known in glyptic art.

The glyptic art of MB II Syria reached a high point and is well represented at Mari, Alalakh, Ebla and through numerous seals which have appeared on the antiquities market. Several distinctive area styles can be distinguished on the basis of Mesopotamian, Egyptian, or Anatolian motifs which they incorporate. The excellent workmanship, design, and naturalistic renderings created striking, polished miniature works of art which are a sharp contrast to the seals produced at the beginning of the MB. A beautiful sculpted head of the statue of a ruler at Alalakh is an excellent representation of this art style in another medium.

C. Late Bronze Age (ca. 1550–1200 B.C.)

The MB Age ended with a Hittite incursion into Syria under Mursilis I, a campaign which continued S along the Euphrates and resulted in the destruction of Babylon and the end of the Old Babylonian period around 1600 B.C. Subsequent Hittite rulers were not able to follow up on these victories, but the international competition for influence and control in Syria reached a new level in the LB. Egypt was a constant threat at the end of its 17th and the beginning of its 18th dynasties, through the time of Thutmose III (1504–1450 B.C.). Egyptian temple reliefs document campaigns far into N Syria and list cities on the Euphrates on their line of march. Hadidi (Azu) and Mumbaqat (Ura) have been identified among these cities. Hadidi in particular demonstrated the presence of outside influence in the assemblage of materials from the beginning of the LB. There is a sudden break with the basic plain-ware traditions of the Euphrates Valley that consistently reflects a Mesopotamian orientation. A phase with chocolate-on-white decorated pottery and a specific variety of grey wares that represents traditions originating in the S and on the sea coast, marks the transition to the LB. This unexpected change may represent the effect on the local culture of Egyptian influence at the beginning of the period which caused the spread of cultural features which previously had been confined to the areas most strongly influenced by Egypt, namely, Palestine, S Syria and the sea coast.

Before long the Egyptian influence was confined to S Syria, but a growing Hurrian domination extended over N Syria. Alalakh in Level IV represented a Hurrian dependency near the coast with a large archive of tablets preserved in the destruction level of the palace. Hurrian cultural influence is well documented in the tablets from Nuzi (in the Assyrian heartland) and later from Ugarit. Occupation of the period has been documented at many sites including Hadidi and Mumbaqat where small personal archives have been found in buildings with large well preserved inventories. The art style of the beginning of the period is represented by a few pieces of sculpture like the statue of Idrimi and crude basalt figures at Hadidi, Alalakh, Hama, and elsewhere, but not enough is available to define more than a rough component of the contemporary sculptural style. The polished glyptic style of the previous century was modified and a class of common seals with abstracted; simplified renderings became very common. Most of these common style seals were produced in faience or frit and are found virtually throughout the Near East from Egypt and Palestine to Iran and Turkey. One of the most characteristic features of the ceramic repertoire of the Mitannian period is the "Nuzi" ware and its western "Atchana" variation in the materials from Alalakh IV–II. This luxury ware treatment of white decoration on a dark slip, highlights elaborate floral and geometric patterns. Such wares are known throughout N Syria and Assyria but usually in small quantities.

The private buildings at Hadidi and Mumbaqat are square structures organized around rectangular courts. A similar architectural organization forms the nucleus of the plan found in greater elaboration in the Alalakh level-IV palace. The archives of Alalakh, Hadidi, Mumbaqat, and Bi'a provide stratified seal impressions of the period as well as a wealth of personal names peculiar to each region and an illustration of the local variants of Akkadian. A Mitannian palace area has been excavated at Braq and a portion of a palace and a temple at Bi'a. The archives found at Nuzi provide many insights into the distinctive features of the cultural area under the control of Mitannian rulers and yield a good representation of glyptic. The wealth of minor art objects and architecture from Nuzi provides excellent comparative material for Syrian sites.

The final days of the Bronze Age city at Ugarit are dramatically revealed in the remains of its palace as well as records of several centuries of international political activities and palace administration. An outlying seaside palace at Ras Ibn Hani near Ugarit provides contemporary information. Religious texts from a temple area at Ugarit have

added a new depth to the study of biblical texts by revealing temple rituals, the complicated pantheon of deities worshipped at Ugarit, and a rich collection of important mythical texts. In documenting the language and grammar, these findings provide insight into an early stage of development in many genres which are well known in biblical traditions. Another major discovery at Ugarit is the use of a new cuneiform script for most religious texts, but also for some regional administrative documents, a script which marks a significant stage in the development of alphabetic writing. The major international language, however, remained Akkadian. See UGARIT (TEXTS AND LITERATURE).

The collections of tablets at Ugarit are only a portion of the rich finds from this site and its nearby dependencies at Ras Ibn Hani and Minet el Beidha. The sea-side location of this major trading center was responsible for an international imprint on the city's culture and arts. Imported pottery from Cyprus and the Aegean area is common at this transit point and on many coastal sites, but only to varying degrees inland. It is well represented in Palestinian excavations, the Transjordan, S Syria, and the Beqa. Egyptian influence made a strong impression on the art style of Ugarit with clear motifs, like Hathor curls, *ankh* symbols, adapted Egyptian headdresses, etc., evident on palatial ivories and cylinder seal impressions. Hittite motifs were common during the Hittite Empire period, but Mesopotamian styles and motifs maintained primary importance. Despite these influences, the hand of the local artist is clear in the selection and shaping of foreign ideas and themes in their products. Evidence for sculpture is limited but the small arts, cf. copper, bronze, and clay figurines, mold-impressed plaques, carved ivories, faience vessels, beads, and amulets are numerous.

Other areas of Syria demonstrated their traditional orientations. Middle Assyrian glyptic is well represented at Sheikh Hamid, Fakhariya, and other sites. Hittite seals with their typical motifs and hieroglyphic inscription are found at many sites in N Syria. Architecture shows marked Hittite influence in temples at Alalakh, fortification, gate and tomb construction at Ugarit, and domestic buildings at Meskene. It is not clear how far the metropolitan pressure at Ugarit, which resulted in the use of multistoried structures, spread beyond cities of the sea coast. Certainly the art and architectural styles were lively, inventive, and flourishing, but the flowering was short-lived and the old traditions continued on as underlying constants. The dual temples at Emar, the continuation of the use of the temples at Mumbaqat and the variation of temple types in the long sequence of temples at Alalakh (with the dominance in the traditional local axial types) are excellent examples of such continuity.

Several other large archives also were terminated at the beginning of the 12th century B.C. in roughly contemporary destructions. They help to fill in the historical, cultural, and religious picture of the area of N Syria at the end of the period of Hittite political domination and confrontation with Assyria in the E. Previously this period was illuminated primarily by the international correspondence from the royal archives from el Amarna in Egypt. Extensive temple archives and small administrative archives were found at the Hittite regional administrative center of Emar (Meskene Qadime) on the Euphrates. A smaller archive was found at Tell Frey and a single tablet at El Qitar, both nearby sites. The 13th–12th century archive at the Assyrian city at Sheikh Hamid, on the lower Khabur, shows the strength and influence of the Assyrian rulers of that period, who on several occasions campaigned across the Euphrates and reached the Mediterranean coast. Their activities must have played an important role in the demise of the Hittite Empire, known otherwise from an opposite point of view in the texts found at Bohazkoi, Ugarit, and Egypt.

D. Iron Age I (ca. 1200–1000 B.C.)

Evidence for the Iron Age in Syria is much more limited than that for the Bronze Age. Spectacular monuments, sculpture, and a broad range of artifacts have been excavated but written material is limited. Most of the inscriptions that have been found are royal inscriptions or proclamations. It is still difficult to place these materials and the artifactual information into the context of the written evidence from surrounding areas, from Egypt, Greece, Assyria, Babylonia, Palestine, and the biblical record.

The beginning of the Iron Age was marked by a dramatic change from what had gone before. New realities replaced the Hittite political structure. Westward pressure from the armies of the Middle Assyrian rulers abated after a time, the sea coast was under severe pressure from peoples of Aegean origin, and Aramean groups exerted pressure from the desert areas. Despite the upheaval and the integration of new population elements, many traditions were maintained through the transition. Some sites continued to be occupied from the Bronze Age through into the Iron Age, but the basic fabric of the area's cultures had been drastically altered. The ever sensitive indicator of ceramic production showed a major change. Pottery with monochrome decoration reflecting Aegean models of the 12th century B.C. and earlier, is distinctive at sites near the coast. This pottery has been excavated at Chatal Hüyük and Judeideh in the Amuq; on the coast at Ras el Basit, Ras Ibn Hani, Byblos, and farther S; but further inland, where painted pottery is traditionally rare, excavated sites of the period are also rare.

The Tabqa Dam salvage area on the Euphrates, saw a drastic reduction in the number of inhabited sites so that the Iron Age is barely represented. Farther upstream at the major sites of Til Barsib and Carchemish, major Iron Age centers were established. As a major Bronze Age Hittite center which maintained its importance, Carchemish withstood external forces for a considerable time and preserved earlier traditions more consistently than many other cities. The site of ʿAin Dara in the Afrin Valley W of Aleppo, was also occupied at the end of the Bronze Age and through much of the Iron Age.

E. Iron Age II (ca. 1000–550 B.C.)

Many important sites fill in the Iron Age picture in Syria, like: Taʿyinat, Chatal Hüyük, Judeideh, Rifiaʿat, Deneit, Nirab, Qarqur, Afis, Abu Danne, Safire, Hama, Arslan Tash, Halaf, Fakhariyah, Sheikh Hamid, Agaga, Ashara, Mishrife, Nebi Mend, Ras el-Basit, El Mina, Soukas, Amrit, Tabbat el Hammam, es Salihiyeh, and Ashtara. Some sites represent a long sequence and others provide

monumental architectural remains, including wall paintings and elaborate sculptural architectural embellishment, but the length of use and contemporaneity of individual building phases between different structures is difficult to reconstruct with precision. Even where inscriptions mentioning Assyrian rulers are present, it is difficult to be certain unless there is a good clustering of material in its original context. Monumental sculpture was reused and early excavation techniques do not allow us in many cases to tie the artifacts very closely to the architecture. By the end of the 11th century, many independent city-states developed across Syria, similar to the pattern of city-states that existed in the Bronze Age. As time went on, the earlier pattern of struggle between rival coalitions, the creation of larger states, and eventually the incorporation of states into large, foreign-dominated superstates continued.

The city-states of NW Syria were part of a broader culture area which included Cilicia, stretched to Malatya in SE Turkey, and S to Damascus. The term "Neo-Hittite" is often used to describe these states for a number of reasons: Assyrian records refer to much of the Syrian area as Hittina; the characteristic hieroglyphic style of writing of the Hittite Empire period, derived from Luwian written traditions, continues in use; and many other features of Hittite culture, like the sculptural tradition, continue. ʿAin Dara and Carchemish should, with continued excavation, demonstrate exactly how the cultural features, the ruling elite, the organizational structures, etc., depended on earlier models and traditions. An extraordinary temple complex has been excavated on the acropolis of ʿAin Dara where rows of monstrous lions and sphinxes guarded both the entrances to the temple and the holy of holies. Meter-long footprints of the god were carved on the floor between the portico columns and on the door sills. Processions of animals and some dignitaries formed a sculptural band around the exterior walls of the temple and the platform upon which it stood. Hittite conventions and themes are strongly evident in dress, proportions, and surface finish, particularly in the earliest sculptures. Local influence is, however, also clear in the animal bodies, the treatment of the heads, and the stances of the figures. At Halaf, the striking, primitive sculpture of the Kapara palace complex represents a similar phenomenon with unusual combinations of features and awkward proportions in the sculptures.

As the cities of the area revived economically and the local rulers attempted to display their wealth in new artistic and architectural construction, they apparently used local talent either to pick up and continue earlier traditions, reflecting the traditions of the contemporary Assyrian state, or to develop distinctive, independent styles. Some sculptures at Carchemish also provide a continuity with past Hittite traditions. Several long rows of sculptured orthostats have been arranged chronologically and dated through almost four centuries of the Iron Age. The reliefs decorating the royal citadel and "hilani" complex at Halaf can be compared with reliefs early in the Carchemish sequence, representing early works of sculpture of a developing style which demonstrated considerable imagination and innovation.

Isolated sculptures of the 10th and early 9th centuries B.C. have been found at numerous other sites beside Halaf. The awkwardness of the earlier sculpture remains, like the statue of Adad-itʾi/Hadad-yisʿi found at Fakhariyah (probably dating to the middle of the 9th century B.C.), show that the Assyrian influence is considerable. The bilingual inscription in Aramaic and Assyrian seems to be a necessity for communication with different constituencies. The area of Fakhariyah (Sikan)/Halaf (Gozan) on current evidence does not continue the use of the Luwian hieroglyphic script as is the case at Carchemish, Taʿyinat, Malatya, and Hama. The art style demonstrated on the monuments of Kilamuwa of Samal (Zinjirli) are characteristic of this time, but his inscription is in Phoenician script.

The presence of Assyrian motifs and stylistic features are even stronger in the materials which fall between the second half of the 9th century and the middle of the 8th century B.C. With the victory of the Aramean, Israelite, Ammonite, etc., coalition by Shalmaneser III's army at Qarqar in 853 B.C., the political situation in N Syria changed. "Neo-Hittite" building complexes or citadels have been excavated late in the period at Hama, Taʿyinat, Zinjirli, and Sakjegözü with a series of administrative buildings and temples in distinctive "hilani" style, characterized by pillared entrance porticos and main rooms at right angles to the axis of the porticos. The associated inscriptions represent statements of local rulers in monumental form, but in a context of strong Assyrian influence. Apparently the rulers were allowed to maintain their local traditions and independent status, but under ever increasing Assyrian control. At Agag on the Khabur, the accidental discovery of a gateway with flanking lions in a style characteristic of late-9th–early-8th century Assyria clearly demonstrate Assyrian domination in the artistic tradition.

The changing political climate is reflected in many other categories or artifactual evidence beside artistic production. The ceramic hallmark of the period is the use of a red slip to decorate a set range of vessel forms, particularly bowls, platters, and jugs. At the same time, the characteristic monochrome painted pottery of the earliest centuries of the Iron Age ceases. These two changes in particular are quite sudden and occur, as in Palestine, roughly at the beginning of the 10th century B.C. At that time, the red-burnished tradition includes primarily rougher, utilitarian appearing vessels with the most common color range of the slip being in dark shades and often to brown. By the end of the period, the most common range of colors is much lighter and toward a pink shade, but experimentation with more controlled firing procedures produced cream, white, or black variations. Burnishing procedures on the earlier forms were primarily done by hand and often in a variety of patterns. This gives way to the burnishing of vessels on a turning surface or wheel. Solid, overall burnishing is displaced by spaced burnishing in the 7th and 6th centuries B.C.

International contacts expanded with each successive century in the Iron Age and beyond. An increasing level of sharing of information and exchange of materials is evident, though it is difficult to interpret the extent of the rivalry between Phoenicians, Greeks, and Cypriots for control of coastal trade. Imports from Cyprus and the Aegean become more frequent through the 8th and 7th centuries. So far, the quantity of Greek material has not penetrated very far inland from the coastal areas at places like Al

Mina. This trade depot and port city has provided rich evidence for Cypriot imports with White Painted (III), Bichrome (III–IV) wares, Black-on-Red wares, and ring-necked juglets as well as Greek imports, specifically Proto-geometric vessels and Cycladic cups, of the 9th and 8th century B.C., and Protocorinthian, Corinthian, and Rhodian vessels of the 7th century B.C., and Greek imports from the 8th through the 5th centuries.

A break with the pattern of independent city-states seems to come with the reorganization of the areas under Assyrian domination into a provincial structure under Tiglath-pileser III (744–727 B.C.), following a short interlude when one of Assyria's N rivals, Urartu, controlled or influenced a large portion of N Syria. The full effects of the Assyrian reorganization is apparent at the end of the 8th and into 7th century B.C. with the palace complexes which are constructed at Ta'yinat, Barsib (Bit Adini), and Arslan Tash (Hadatu). These large, extended palaces, closer to the Mesopotamian style, replace the "Neo-Hittite" citadel complexes with their grouping of smaller independent structures. Similar to the "Assyrianizing" of architectural building and planning, the same is observable in the area of art styles. The local traditions mentioned earlier give way to increasing influence from Assyrian styles and eventually to art works produced to conform very closely to the contemporary Assyrian styles. The stelae of Panammuwa and Barrekub at Samal represent local styles with strong Assyrian influence in the time of Tiglath-pileser III and just after. The Assyrian royal and governors palaces provide rich sources for the cultural materials from the dependent areas which had been gathered as booty and tribute. Palace reliefs document the contact and confrontation with these areas as well.

The decoration of the palace at Barsib on the Euphrates is an excellent example of Assyrian art, unique in being preserved in full color, as if it were constructed in the Assyrian heartland. Wall paintings decorated in the styles of the reign of Tiglath-pileser III, or just after him, are preserved. The palace continued to be used for a long time, possibly to the end of the Assyrian empire, and saw major refurbishing and the renewal of wall paintings under Assurbanipal (668–627 B.C.). An Assyrian palace has now also been excavated on Syria's E edge at Sheikh Hamid.

A Greek settlement at Soukas in the 6th century B.C. is indicated by the heavy concentration of Greek pottery and a temple installation. Similar pottery is present at the coastal city at Ras el Basit and at Ta'yinat slightly inland, as it was farther S in Lebanon at Arqa, Sarafand, Tyre, and Kamid el Loz. As time went on, the cultural assemblages of these areas displayed their perennial leaning toward Egyptian cultural influence. This increasing influence continued at the end of the Iron Age and beyond when, successively, the Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, and Persian empires controlled extensive areas of the Near East and administered these areas as provincial dependencies. This had a unifying effect on the cultural expression illustrated over a broad area. The evidence for the end of the Iron Age is very limited, but sites like Deneit and Amrit illustrate the distinctive features of the culture of the end of the Iron Age and the Persian period.

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SYRIAC LANGUAGE. See LANGUAGE (INTRODUCTORY SURVEY); LANGUAGES (ARAMAIC).

SYRIAC MENANDER. A collection of popular wisdom sayings ascribed to Menander the Sage and included among the OT Pseudepigrapha. It is found in a Syriac manuscript now kept in the British Museum (BM Or. Add. 14.658, fols.163v–67v) probably dating from the 7th century C.E. The text was edited by J. P. N. Land in 1862 and corrected by the editor (1868), by W. Wright (1863), Schulthess (1912), and later by Audet (1952). A short extract of the same text is found in BM Or. Add. 14.614 of the 8th or 9th century (Sachau 1870). The nature of the florilegium may be adequately defined as wisdom literature in the form of pragmatic rules for human behavior: how to live with parents, children, women, brothers, friends, older people, slaves and enemies; how to behave while drinking or eating; how to use riches or to face the vicissitudes of fate. It consists of precepts, prohibitions, paradigms, and short characterizations of human attitudes.

It is very difficult to determine the number of maxims contained in the anthology. The following sample shows how counts have varied: 96 (Audet 1952), 101 (Schulthess 1912), 103 (Riessler 1928) or 153 (Baumstark 1894). The English translation abstains from numbering the dicta, but presents 474 lines consisting of about 110 different sayings. There is no uniformity in the format of the maxims; some are monostichs, some distichs, and others are longer units of a sapiential nature. Although there are a few thematic groups of sayings, such as on adultery and fornication (II.45–51), on eating and drinking (II.52–66), on servants (II.154–66), it is impossible to find an organizing principle in the sequence of the various counsels. This lack of system may indicate that the redactor drew from different sources in compiling the florilegium.

In the manuscript, the anthology is placed between extracts from Greek authors and philosophers; from this placement it is clear that Menander was held to be the famous representative of the New Comedy at Athens (ca. 300 B.C.). Baumstark (1894) suggested that these sayings might in fact have been borrowed from Menander's plays, but there is no evidence for that. It is more likely that the collector attached the playwright's name to the collection because there were other anthologies of sayings already circulating under the name of Menander.

It is possible that one of the sources was in fact an anthology ascribed to Menander. There are several sayings in our collection reminiscent of Menandric monostichs; one is "Blessed is the man who has mastered his stomach and lust" (1.65 [*OTP* 2: 588]), which resembles the maxim "It is a good thing to master one's stomach and lust" independently attributed to Menander (Jaekel 1964: 57). However, there are also many affinities to Jewish wisdom literature in Proverbs, Sirach, Ahiqar, and Pseudo-Phocylides, which may suggest that the redactor of the florilegium was acquainted with this type of sapiential literature (*OTP* 2: 586–87). Was the author a Jew (Frankenberg 1895), a member of the so-called God-fearing circles in Egypt (Audet 1952), or a cultured pagan writer who, in drawing up this collection of wisdom sayings, incorporated in a Greek anthology material from oriental wisdom traditions, including Jewish sapiential sayings? The author, if Jewish, may have concealed that fact (note *Syr. Men.* II.263–64: "but the gods are despised by their priests," which suggests polytheism) in order to convey Jewish ethical instruction to pagan readers under the guise of a pagan writer. In either case, the author was religious, and could summarize all human conduct by referring to the fear of God: "The main source of all good things is the fear of God, it delivers one from all evil things" (*Syr. Men.* II.394–95).

As to its date (3d century A.D.?) and provenance (Egypt?) nothing can be said with absolute certainty.

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SYRIAC PSALMS. See PSALMS, SYRIAC (APOCRYPHAL).

SYRIAC VERSIONS. See VERSIONS, ANCIENT (SYRIAC VERSIONS).

SYRIACUS, CODEX. See SINAITICUS, SYRUS.

SYRIAN CHRISTIANITY. See CHRISTIANITY (IN SYRIA).

SYRO-EPHRAIMITE WAR. A modern term (but see Isa 7:2) designating a war that pitted the kingdom of Judah against a coalition comprised of Damascus (Syria) and Israel (Ephraim) (2 Kgs 15:37; 16:5–9; Isa 7:1–9; 2 Chr 27:1–9; 28:1–27). The apparent purpose of the war was to dispose of young Ahaz, king of Judah, and to pressure Judah into joining Rezin of Damascus and Pekah of Israel in opposition to the expanding Assyrian empire. Assyria, however, came to Ahaz' assistance and relieved the pressure by attacking Syria (Damascus was captured ca. 732 B.C.). A decade later the Assyrian army attacked Israel, destroying Samaria in 722/721 B.C. Judah then became a vassal state of the Assyrian empire.

A. Sources
1. Biblical
2. Nonbiblical
B. Historical Events
1. Precedents for a Syro-Ephraimite-Judean Alliance
2. The Early Years of Tiglath-pileser III
3. The War

A. Sources

1. Biblical. The rather numerous references to the war in biblical sources raise problems of interpretation related to the editorial arrangement of texts referring to the war. Therefore, we can sketch the main events of the war, but we cannot always be certain about the overall chronological sequence. From 2 Kgs 15:37 we know that the war began during the reign of Jotham, son of Azariah (Uzziah). Rezin of Damascus and Pekah of Israel joined in attacking Jerusalem (16:5), which lost control over Elath to the south (16:6). Jotham's son and successor, Ahaz, then sent messengers and tribute to the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III (16:7–8), who captured Damascus and killed Rezin (16:9), and seized some of Israel's northernmost towns (Ijon, Abel-Beth-Maacah, Janoah, Kedesh) and provinces (Gilead, Naphtali, Galilee) (15:29). Pekah was assassinated by Hoshea, who then became king (15:30). Ahaz met with Tiglath-pileser III in Damascus (16:10). The book of Chronicles (2 Chr 27:1–9; 28:1–27) draws in part from the account in the book of Kings, but arranges the account differently and utilizes other sources, some historical (accounts of wars against the Ammonites and Philistines) and some perhaps not (e.g., the account of Obed the prophet).

Passages in the various prophetic books provide a glimpse into the international tensions of the time. For example, some of the oracles of Amos refer to such affairs (Amos 1–2; 3:9; 5:26–27; 6:1–7, 13), while Hosea knows about plots against kings of Israel (7:3–6), a war between Judah and Ephraim-Benjamin (5:8–9), and pressures from Assyria or Egypt (7:11; 8:9; 9:3). Some of the oracles of Micah antedate the downfall of Samaria (1:6) and the "evil down to the gates of Jerusalem" (1:12, 13). Some prose portions of Isaiah, in Deuteronomic fashion (e.g., 7:1–3 compared with 2 Kgs 16:5 and 8:17b), refer to the war. Many of his oracles seem to have their historical context in the war (7:4–9; 8:3; 9:7–10), in the crisis of the N kingdom in the years before its downfall (10:9), in the consequent political turmoil within Jerusalem (the unpopularity of the Davidic dynasty [7:13; 8:6] and the anarchy during a regency [3:4, 12]), in the pressure of foes from the E and W (2:6–7), and in the conquests of Assyria (10:11–34; 17:1–11; see Donner 1985: 311).

2. Nonbiblical. Assyrian involvement in this conflict fortunately means that there are Assyrian records attesting to this war. Unfortunately, however, they are in a bad state of preservation. The annals of Tiglath-pileser III and two "summaries" offer a chronological order, although their

interconnections are disputed. Other fragments relate events more in a geographical than a chronological order. P. Rost (1893) was able to make an edition based upon Rawlinson's publications and Layard's copies (some originals having been lost). New texts were published by Boissier (1896), Wiseman (1951; 1956; 1964), Levine (1972), while reliefs (with inscriptions) were published by Barnett and Falkner (1962). Rost's readings and edition were greatly improved by the studies and collations of Borger and Tadmor (1982), Weippert (1972; 1975; 1982), and Na'aman (1986). Several translations are available (*LAR* 1: nos. 769–821; *ANET*, 282–84).

The following seven texts directly relate to the Syro-Ephraimite war. The Assyrian list of eponyms (esp. *RLA* 2: 430–31; *LAR* 2: 437) and the Babylonian Chronicles (TCS 5: 52; Brinkman 1984; 1968: 229–32) help provide a chronological sequence for these texts.

(1) *Text A:* Rost lines 197–210 (1893: 34–37) = *LAR* 1: no. 777 = *ANET*, 283 (left column, bottom).

(2) *Text B:* Rost lines 229–40 (1893: 38–41) = *LAR* 1: no. 779 = *ANET*, 283 (right column, lines 17–33).

(3) *Text C:* Rost lines 211–28, and independent series (1893: 38–41); cf. Tadmor 1968: 180; Na'aman 1986: 72.

(4) *Text D: LAR* 1: nos. 815–18 = *ANET*, 283–84; this text is completed by the parallel in Wiseman 1951: 3 (ND 400).

(5) *Text E:* Wiseman 1956 (ND 4301 + 4305) and Wiseman 1964 (ND 5419), with K 2649 (cf. Kessler 1975: 57; Borger and Tadmor 1982: 245; Na'aman 1986: 72).

(6) *Text F: LAR* 1: nos. 801–3 = *ANET*, 282.

(7) *Text G:* Barnett and Falkner 1962: pls. 62 (Gezer) and 70–71 (Ashtartu cf. 30b) (cf. also Weippert 1975).

B. Historical Events

1. Precedents for a Syro-Ephraimite-Judean Alliance. It is important to note that anti-Assyrian coalitions formed by Syro-Palestinian states are evident more than a century before the Syro-Ephraimite War. As early as the Battle of Qarqar in 853 B.C., Damascus (often called ARAM) appeared as a dominant power leading anti-Assyrian coalitions, coalitions extending beyond the Arameans sometimes to include Cilician states as well as Urartu to the north. Even this early, Israel and its king Ahab (of the Omride dynasty) participated in this anti-Assyrian coalition (*ANET*, 278–79). In 840 B.C. Israel under a new dynasty (Jehu) was compelled to render tribute to Assyria (*ANET*, 280). By 800 B.C. Israel was actually allied with Assyria against Damascus, and it is often assumed that Israelite foreign policy remained pro-Assyrian for as long as the dynasty of Jehu remained in power.

However, there is some evidence (extremely indirect and problematic) that, when pieced together, possibly suggests that several decades before the Syro-Ephraimite War (i.e., while the Jehu dynasty was still in power), Israel (and Judah) already had switched allegiances and sided with Damascus to oppose Assyrian interests. The Zakir stela (*ANET*, 655–56) is one piece of evidence; it reports that sometime in the first half of the 8th century B.C. Bar-Hadad of Damascus led of a coalition including Arpad and Sam'al against Hamath and its king Zakir. Hamath was delivered, something Zakir attributed to his gods, although Assyrian intervention was probably also a factor. The likelihood of Assyrian intervention is suggested by the subsequent fates of Damascus' allies. We know from other evidence that Arpad and its king Mati'ilu had become Assyrian vassals already by the time of Ashur-nirari V (754–746 B.C.; *ANET*, 532–33), while in Sam'al (which is sometimes also called "Ya'udi") the Panammu dynasty (which previously had been overthrown) was now restored when Tiglath-pileser III reinstated Panammu II, father of Barrakab) to the throne (*ANET*, 655).

The possibility that Israel and Judah may have participated in Bar-Hadad's coalition against Hamath (and therefore also against Assyria) is suggested by two textual fragments (K6205 + Rost 1893: 20–24 [lines 123–41]) that, when joined together, form a second piece of evidence from Tiglath-pileser III's annals (*LAR* 1: no. 770 = *ANET*, 282–83 [the join occurs where *ANET* notes a "lacuna of three lines"]). (For a critique of this joining, see Na'aman 1974: especially p. 36.) This reconstructed text reports that an unnamed group (of kings) had taken nineteen districts and cities of the coast belonging to Hamath, and had given them to one "Azriau" (line 131, from the Rost 1893: 20–24 fragment; "Azriau" is also mentioned on line 123 of the same fragment). The introductory portion of this text (the K6205 fragment) further identifies this individual twice as "(Azri)au" of "Yauda" and as (A)zriau" of "Yaudi."

The crucial issue concerns the identities of "Azriau" and "Yaudi." Assuming that these two fragments indeed belong together, opinions are divided as to whether this was (a) the same prince of Sam'al (Ya'udi) that Tiglath-pileser III removed when he reestablished Panammu II (cf. Briend and Seux 1977), or (b) Azariah(u) the king of Judah, also known as Uzziah (cf. Tadmor 1961; Haran 1962; Kessler 1975: 53; Cazelles 1978). The cuneiform spelling of Judah and Yaudi are identical *(Ia-u-da-a-a)*.

Since Sam'al is never identified as Ya'udi in any other texts of Tiglath-pileser, this perhaps suggests a reference to the Judean king Azariah(u). However, it seems unlikely that Judah would be involved in (much less profit territorially from) a potentially anti-Assyrian military campaign so far to the north of both Israel and Phoenicia, and it is possible that the two fragments do not even belong together, in which case "Yaudi" (Judah) would not even be mentioned in connection with the nineteen districts of Hamath (Na'aman 1974). On the other hand, "Azriau" is not the sort of name one would associate with an indigenous N Syrian, since in form it is Israelite, not Aramean (Cogan and Tadmor *2 Kings* AB, 166). Furthermore, according to the elliptical biblical statement that "Jeroboam brought back Damascus and Hamath to Judah" (2 Kgs 14:28), it is possible that sometime after 800 his victory against Damascus extended Jeroboam's dominion as far as Hamath. Jeroboam of Israel, may then have compensated Judah for the harsh treatment it had received from his father Jehoash (2 Kgs 14:11–14), by ceding to Judah nineteen districts and towns captured from Hamath (a region that posed no immediate danger). This would explain Judah's involvement in Syrian affairs as far away as Hamath, where Assyria, Damascus, and Israel were already involved.

2. The Early Years of Tiglath-pileser III. Tiglath-pileser III ascended the throne in 745, after the assassination

of his predecessor Ashur-nirari V. That autumn he directed his first annual campaign south against the Aramean tribes threatening Babylon. Apparently encouraged by the turmoil associated with the death of Ashur-nirari and by Tiglath-pileser's preoccupation with the south, an anti-Assyrian coalition was formed under the leadership of Urartu, Arpad, and the Cilician states, a coalition including Rezin of Damascus and Hiram of Tyre. As mentioned above, in 743 B.C. Tiglath-pileser defeated this coalition. The Panammu dynasty was restored to the throne of Sam'al, and Assyria annexed for itself the nineteen cities and districts previously given to "Azriau." Three more campaigns had to be directed against Arpad in the following years (742–740 B.C.); however, it was soon captured and annexed (cf. 2 Kgs 18:34; Isa 10:9). The faithful Hamath remained independent, but never recovered the nineteen cities and districts taken for Azriau and then subsequently annexed into Assyria. In 739 B.C. an Assyrian governor was appointed in Ulluba and a citadel *(birtu)* was seized. Tiglath-pileser III then consolidated his position in Syria a year later when he conquered Kullani/Kalnia (biblical Calneh/Calno; cf. Amos 6:2; Isa 10:9) and organized the new province of Kinalia (Weippert 1972: 36; Kessler 1975: 50–52).

About this time there was a change in Israelite policy. Shallum brought an end to the Jehu dynasty by assassinating Jeroboam's successor; however, scarcely a month later Shallum himself was assassinated by Menahem, who became a tributary of Tiglath-pileser (2 Kgs 15: 19–20; cf. Levine 1972: 18–19; *ANET,* 283). According to 2 Kgs 15:16, Menahem sacked Tiphsah (RSV "Tappuah"; likely Tapsakus in Bit-Adini; cf. I Kgs 5:4—Eng 4:24; Haran 1962: 286), an action he probably undertook as a vassal of Tiglath-pileser.

For the next three years Tiglath-pileser was occupied with enemies to the E (Media, 737 B.C.) and N (Urartu, 735 B.C.). During this time he received tribute from Sam'al, Byblos, Tyre, Damascus (Rezin), Samaria (Menahem), and an Arabian queen (Zabibe) (*LAR* 1: no. 772 = *ANET,* 283), but not from the leper Azariah of Judah, or his son and co-regent Jotham. Because these tributes were heavy and Tiglath-pileser's campaigns against Urartu (735 B.C.) were somewhat unsuccessful, the situation seemed favorable for yet another anti-Assyrian coalition to form in Syria.

3. The War. In N Israel, Pekah assassinated Menahem's son and successor Pekahiah and redirected Israel to embrace a more militantly anti-Assyrian policy. Israel joined a coalition of states including Kashpuna (on the coast southwest of Hamath), Tyre, Ashkelon, and, principally, Damascus; eventually Egypt itself appears to have been solicited to join (cf. the obscure allusion in Amos 4:10). Jotham king of Judah, probably remembering the delicate problems associated with the nineteen cities/districts of Hamath taken for (and then from) his father Azariah, refused to participate in this anti-Assyrian coalition. In retaliation, Damascus and Israel attacked him, and the so-called "Syro-Ephraimite War" began (2 Kgs 15:37).

Jotham died soon thereafter, and the issue of his succession was fraught with turmoil. Jotham's young son and successor Ahaz assumed the throne, apparently under great confusion and under the regency of the queen mother (cf. Isa 3:1–12). Even within Judah and Jerusalem, many viewed the Davidic dynasty unfavorably ("exhausting the patience" of God and man, according to Isa 7:13), and some "rejoiced in" (not RSV "melt in fear of") the plans of Rezin and Pekah. Certainly Philistia, which had suffered under Ahaz' grandfather Azariah (2 Chr 26:6), took advantage of the turmoil to strike against Judah (2 Chr 28:18).

At this critical juncture, the leaders of the coalition hoped to place on the throne of Jerusalem a non-Davidide, the son of their Tyrian ally Tubail (Phoen Ittoba'al; Aram Tabe'el). They attacked Jerusalem (2 Kgs 16:7; Isa 7:1), devastating the towns of Judah right up "to the gate of Jerusalem" (Mic 1:9–12). Rezin also incited Edom to recover Elath (2 Kgs 16:6, where Heb *'ĕdôm* is preferable to MT/LXX *'aram*). Both Moab (which was at war with Edom; Amos 2:1) and Ammon (which was taking the opportunity to expand its own borders; Amos 1:13) refused to join the anti-Assyrian coalition. But since Pekah had interests in Argob (the region between Damascus and Ammon; 2 Kgs 15:25) and in Moab (Arieh; cf. 2 Sam 23:20), he attacked Ammon to secure ties with Damascus; Israel was victorious at Lo-debar and Karnaim (near Ashtartu; Amos 6:13).

Tiglath-pileser III saw the danger and immediately responded to the young Ahaz' request for help. As usual, the Assyrian armies came down the coast "against Philistia" (734 B.C.): Kashpuna was taken, Tyre lost Malahab (see *Text E* in section A.2 above), Mitinti was enthroned in Ashkelon (see *Text F* in A.2 above), Hanuna of Gaza had to flee to Egypt, a stela of Tiglath-pileser was erected on the border of Egypt, and probably Idibi'ilu the Arab was established as governor (although this may have been done the following year). In short, Judah had been rescued and Egyptian interference had been blocked. Tyre decided to submit to Assyria and forsake his "covenant of brotherhood" (i.e., alliance; Amos 1:9) with the coalition, which was now at a stalemate. The following year (733 B.C.) Tiglath-pileser III advanced against Damascus itself, but a second campaign was needed a year later (732 B.C.) to destroy it. With the destruction of Damascus, the Syro-Ephraimite War came to a decisive end.

However, some questions still remain concerning the fate of Samaria, more particularly concerning the context of the assassination of Pekah and the enthronement of Hoshea, and its relationship to the loss of Gilead and Galilee. It is generally conceded that Pekah was assassinated in 732/1 B.C. *after* the fall of Damascus (Donner 1985: 313), and that tribute ("10 talents of gold and *x* talents of silver") was then sent to Assyria by his successor Hoshea (*ANET,* 283–84; see *Text D* in A.2 above). Another text (*Text E* above) recounts that Tiglath-pileser was at Sharrabanu in Babylonia when Hoshea appeared before him, and the Sharrabanu conquest has been dated to between 731 and 729 B.C. (Borger and Tadmor 1982). If *Text E* and *Text D* refer to the same tribute, then it would confirm that Hoshea's nine-year reign (2 Kgs 17:1) should be dated 731–722 B.C.; and that Pekah was the last principal ally in the Syro-Ephraimite War to be killed.

However, it is possible that these texts refer to different tributes, and that Hoshea's reign began *earlier* (i.e., that Pekah was assassinated *before* the fall of Damascus). For example, according to 2 Kgs 15:30 Pekah was assassinated

while Jotham—not Ahaz!—was still king of Judah (although Ahaz probably had been Jotham's co-regent since 734 B.C. This may be corroborated by the note that Ahaz (now king in his own right) met Tiglath-pileser III *at Damascus* (2 Kgs 16:10), suggesting that this occurred after his father had died (and therefore after the assassination of Pekah) and either before or on the occasion of Damascus' capture (732 B.C.). From this, it is possible to date Pekah's assassination and the beginning of Hoshea's nine-year reign to 733 B.C., the same year that Tiglath-pileser's 9th campaign led to the devastation of 16 districts/towns surrounding Damascus (*Text A*), and of Gezer, Ashkelon, "the way of the sea," Galilee, and Gilead (*Text D*; cf. also Isa 8:23—Eng 9:1), with Samaria remaining untouched (*Text B;* Tadmor 1967). Thus, Hoshea's reign would have ended in 724 B.C., which seems to be corroborated by the biblical references suggesting that he was imprisoned for three years prior to 722/721 B.C., during which time Samaria had no king (2 Kgs 17:5; cf. Hos 13:10–11). This combined evidence suggests that Pekah of Samaria was not the last of Ahaz' antagonists to be removed, but rather that it was Rezin of Damascus, the principal architect of the Syro-Ephraimite alliance.

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SYRO-HEXAPLA. An early 7th-century translation of the Bible into Syriac. The Syro-Hexapla was the product of a reconciliation between the Monophysite patriarchates of Antioch and Alexandria, effected in 612–13. Athanasius of Antioch, in flight from the Arab conquest of Syria, reached Alexandria with five of his bishops, including Paul of Tella and Thomas of Harkel. At his command, a new Syriac version of the Bible was made from the Greek. The NT, the work of Thomas (with some assistance from Paul), is known as the Harclean Syriac. The OT was produced by Paul, helped by Thomas. The work was carried out in Alexandria between 613 and 617. There are dates in some manuscripts, to the effect that 3 Kingdoms was completed in February 616, 4 Kingdoms in the same year, the Minor Prophets and Daniel in January 617.

Paul's translation was made from the fifth column of Origen's Hexapla, the one containing the Septuagint (LXX). It included the diacritical symbols indicating those passages found by Origen in his Greek but not in his Hebrew text, and those added by him from elsewhere when he discovered that the LXX lacked material found in the Hebrew. The presence of variants from other Greek versions are recorded in the margins of one Syro-Hexaplaric manuscript. This has led to conjecture that Paul used the Hexapla itself. There is no other evidence to prove that the Hexapla was ever brought to Alexandria, where Paul certainly produced his version. Moreover, the manuscript used by Andrew Du Maes, the editor of the first printed edition, contained a colophon saying that the translation was made from a copy "made by Eusebius with the help of Pamphilus from Origen's books in the library of Caesarea." There seems no doubt that Paul's sources were good and, probably, annotated copies of Origen's fifth column.

The Syriac of the version is so extremely faithful to the Greek as to be highly unidiomatic. This, along with the quality of his sources and the preservation of many of Origen's critical symbols, renders Paul's translation of great importance in recovering Origen's text of the LXX—a vital task in the reconstruction of the history of the LXX.

There are several important manuscripts of the version.

The most valuable is the Codex Ambrosiana, so-called because it is in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana at Milan. Originally in two volumes, the first was lost after its use by Du Maes. The second contains Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Wisdom, Ben-Sira, the Minor Prophets, Jeremiah (with Baruch, Lamentations, and the Epistle of Jeremiah), Daniel (with Susanna and Bel and the Dragon), Ezekiel, and Isaiah. The codex was copied in the 8th century. A manuscript in Paris contains 4 Kingdoms. A whole group from the Nitrian desert, now in the British library, include Syro-Hexaplaric texts of Exodus and Ruth complete, and parts of Genesis, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, and 3 Kingdoms, as well as two copies of the Psalter (for an illustration of one, see Würthwein [1957: 144–45]). There are a number of other fragments. There are also several lectionary fragments (though the Graecized nature of the Syriac cannot have made this version a popular one for reading aloud).

The Syro-Hexapla is also a rare witness to the genuine LXX text of Daniel, which in almost all Greek manuscripts has been supplanted by Theodotion's version.

The first printed edition of the version was by Du Maes, who in 1574 published *Josuae-historia illustrata.* He was followed by, notably, Norberg (1787), Bugati (1788 and 1820), and de Lagarde (1880).

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SYRO-PALESTINIAN ARCHAEOLOGY. See ARCHAEOLOGY, SYRO-PALESTINIAN AND BIBLICAL.

SYRO-PHOENICIAN WOMAN (PERSON) [Gk *Surophoinikissa*]. A Greek woman, born in Syrian Phoenicia, who begged Jesus to drive the demon out of her daughter as recorded in Mark 7:24–30 and Matt 15:21–28. This is the only example in the gospels of Jesus ministering to a woman who was in all likelihood a gentile. Perhaps Luke omitted this story because he found it too offensive to his gentile audience. Mark stresses this woman's political and national identity. She is called a "Greek" (i.e., a Greek-speaking gentile or pagan) and a Syrian Phoenician by birth. Matthew simply calls her a Canaanite, which probably indicates her religious affiliation.

This story shows that Jesus' reputation as a miracle worker was widespread—even those in the region of Tyre and Sidon, well outside of Galilee, had heard about him. In both the Markan and Matthean versions the woman is depicted as persistent, and as having faith that Jesus can do something to help her daughter who is said to be possessed by an unclean spirit. Despite the fact that this woman has no claim on Jesus as Son of David since she is not a Jew, the story indicates that Jesus was willing to respond to her faith. His apparent initial unwillingness to help her is perhaps a reflection of his conviction that the focus of his ministry and mission was on his fellow Jews (cf. Matt 15:24). Herein we are perhaps meant to see a precedent for the later gentile mission of the Church.

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BEN WITHERINGTON, III

SYRTIS (PLACE) [Gk *Syrtis*]. The name of two dangerous, shallow gulfs off the coast of North Africa which briefly threatened Paul's ship as it was buffeted by a storm (Acts 27:17). While Paul was being taken under guard to Rome, a fierce storm called the "northeaster" (v 14) drove the ship away from Crete in a southwesterly direction, straight at the Syrtis. Even though these dangerous gulfs still lay hundreds of miles away, the sailors were so afraid of being driven aground in them that they took measures to guide the ship in a more westerly direction, eventually reaching Malta (Acts 28:1).

According the Strabo (2.5.20), the Greater Syrtis covered an area approximately 450–570 miles in circumference, and 170–180 miles in breadth. This is the modern Gulf of Sirte, off the coast of Libya. The Lesser Syrtis is the modern Gulf of Gabes off the coast of Tunisia. The ancient mariners' fears of running aground while still far out at sea are echoed in Dio Chrysostomus' warning: "Those who have once sailed into it find egress impossible; for shoals, cross-currents, and long sand-bars extending a great distance out make the sea utterly impassable or troublesome" (*Or.* 5.8–9).

MARK J. OLSON

T

TAANACH (PLACE) [Heb *taʿnāk*]. A Canaanite royal town founded ca. 2700 B.C., usually identified with Tell Tiʿinnik (M.R. 171214), a pear-shaped mound 320 m N–S, 137 m E–W at its widest. Strategically located in the upper Cenomanian-Turonian foothills ca. 150 m above the Plain of Jezreel. Tell el-Mutesellim (Megiddo) is visible 8 km to the NW and modern Jenin, in which is located Tell Jenin (En-gannim), can be seen 10 km to the SE. Taanach differs from both Jenin and Megiddo in that it is not located at the point where a natural pass enters into the Jezreel, nor does it possess a spring, but survives on systems of water collected into cisterns. The site fronts on the SW edge of the down-faulted alluvial Jezreel Plain which was a seasonal swamp in antiquity, because of the poor drainage of the Kishon. The mean annual temperature is ca. 22°C (72°F) with an average of ca. 510 mm (20 inches) of annual winter rainfall. Despite gaps, the continuity of name and occupation is evident in the presence today of the village of Tiʿinnik on the SE slope of the tell.

A. Written Sources
   1. Biblical References
   2. Non-Biblical References
B. Excavation History
C. Results of Excavations
D. Special Finds
   1. Cuneiform Tablets
   2. Taanach Cult Stands

A. Written Sources

1. Biblical References. In the currently accepted Massoretic text (Codex Leningradensis) the seven occurrences of the town name are uniformly rendered as *taʿnāk*. The usual transcription, Taanach, drops the *ʿayin* and spirantizes the final consonant. The LXX B text has several variants: *Tanach, Thanak, Thanaach.* Originally a town in Issachar and Asher, Taanach was later assigned to Manasseh (Josh 17:12; 1 Chr 7:29). Though the king of Taanach was one of 31 Canaanite rulers Joshua (12:21) smote, "Manasseh did not drive out the inhabitants of . . . Taanach and its towns" (Judg 1:27). The victory hymn of Deborah describes that the battle against the Canaanite forces led by Sisera was joined "at Taanach, by the waters of Megiddo" (Judg 5:19). The biblical description of this mid-12th century encounter contains no further information about either the contemporary existence or fate of the two towns mentioned. Later, however, "when Israel was strong" (Judg 1:28), it subjected the local population to forced labor. In the 10th century, Solomon included Taanach in the fifth administrative district governed by Baana, son of Ahilud (1 Kgs 4:12). The town was assigned to the Kohathite Levites of W Manasseh sometime after the 10th century B.C. (Josh 21:25).

2. Non-Biblical References. To date, no written documents refer to Taanach before the 15th century B.C. The Egyptian account of the Battle of Megiddo (ca. 1468 B.C.) locates Taanach at the exit into the Jezreel of one of three possible routes. The reference is most likely to a route from today's Baqaʿ to Yabad, past Kufr Qud and down the Wadi Hassan into the Jezreel W of Kufr Dan. The S wing of the Asiatic army was mustering "in Taanach." The "Palestine List" on Pylon VI of the temple of Amon at Karnak enumerates the towns and princes who found refuge in Megiddo and includes Taanach (No. 42). Elsewhere in the same temple is a mutilated list which includes Taanach (No. 14) among the towns in Palestine conquered in the 5th year of Rehoboam of Judah (ca. 918 B.C.) by Shishak, founder of the 22nd Egyptian Dynasty. An 18th Dynasty hieratic papyrus, Petersburg 1116A, lists Taanach among the eleven towns in *sa-hi* (Palestine) from which representatives of the *maryannu*-warrior class were sent to the Pharoah's court. If Amarna Letter 248 is from Taanach, following Knudson's restoration of line 14, its prince had an Indo-Aryan name, Yashdata. He was allied with the prince of Megiddo, Biridiya (EA 245:12, 15), against Labayu of Shechem. In the 4th-century-A.D. *Onomasticon* of Euseubius, Taanach was described as a "very large village" either four (98.12) or three (100.7) miles from Legio (el-Lejjun). Crusader documents of the 12th and 13th centuries, recording disputes among ecclesiastics regarding the distribution of produce from villages assigned to either a monastery or church, indicate that "Tannoch" was colonized by and thus indentured to the monastery of St. Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, Jerusalem. The Ottoman census of 1596 revealed that there were only 13 (?) taxable males in the village of Ta'inniq. A visit by S. Wolcott, an American (published in 1843), reported the existence of "a mean hamlet" at Ta'annuk. The only 19th century explorer to visit and record the visible ruins and living architecture of "Ta'annak" is some detail was V. Guerin who noted evidence of extensive former occupation on the tell and its S slope. He was the first to suggest that the foundation of the present mosque was a Byzantine church.

B. Excavation History

In the same year that Macalister began work at Gezer (1902) the first major archaeological excavation in N Pal-

estine was initiated at Taanach by Ernst Sellin, an Old Testament scholar from Vienna. He excavated ca. 16 percent of the tell surface in ca. 20 weeks spanning three seasons between 1902 and 1904 and promptly published two major reports (1904; 1905). Sellin divided the history of the site into four major periods of occupation, each with a sub-phase. He thought the earliest city was Amorite and should be dated between 2000 and 1600 B.C. Period II saw the site gradually taken over by the Israelites until it became a fortress city under Solomon. Period III dated to the time of the N Kingdom until its incorporation as an Assyrian province in 722 B.C. Period IV followed a long gap in occupation until ca. A.D. 1000–1200, the main evidence for which was a cluster of rooms on the crest of the mound Sellin identified as the "Arab Fortress." Sellin's long trenches criss-crossed the N half of the tell in an unsuccessful search for the city walls. Instead he located six large buildings which he designated "fortresses." Notable among a rich collection of artifacts was a cult stand and twelve cuneiform tablets.

The second major excavation was fielded by Paul Lapp in three seasons: 1963, 1966, and 1968. In ca. 22 weeks in the field, this expedition excavated ca. 6 percent of the surface of the tell. In addition to discovering the fortification system and redating the stratification history of the site, this expedition uncovered two cuneiform tablets (one alphabetic) and a second cult stand. Apart from preliminary excavation reports by Lapp (1964, 1967a, 1967b, 1969) studies of the two new cuneiform tablets have been published (Hillers 1964; Glock 1971). A third program of study of the site began in 1982 with an ethnoarchaeology examination of the present village (Ziadeh 1984) and continued in 1985–87 with the excavation of parts of the Mamluke-Ottoman village on the E slope of the tell (Glock and Ziadeh 1986). This work has been directed by A. E. Glock.

C. Results of Excavations

This review of the material culture of Taanach on the tell is largely based on the ASOR excavations which were necessarily limited to the SW quadrant of the mound except for the reexamination of the "NE Outwork." Four of the five areas excavated were, however, adjacent to Sellin trenches, thus making possible the correction of the earlier work.

1. The Early Bronze Town, ca. 2700–2300 B.C. The physical evidence that Taanach was a prestigious center in the middle centuries of the 3d millennium B.C. is the massive fortification system discovered on the S and W sides of the mound. On the S, the earlier of two city walls was an average of 4.20 m thick and preserved ca. 4 m high at the point where it was realigned during rebuilding. The SE corner of the defense system was vulnerable to both natural and military forces, the latter due to the probability of a city gate on the SW. Against the exterior of the first city wall was a complete rectangular tower bounded by walls ca. 2 m wide separated from a fragmentary second tower by a 2.75 m space through which there may have been an entrance. The second-phase city wall was fronted by a deep *huwwar* glacis revetted by a heavy, stepped retaining wall making the defenses on the S in this third phase more than 11 m thick. In the final phase the entire area was covered over with a beaten earth glacis against the foundation of a massive 20 × 10 m tower surmounting the second-phase and third-phase fortifications. It has been argued that the early glacis at Taanach indicates that this form of "defense" may have been an indigenous Palestinian development (Parr 1968). Limited exposure of the contemporary outer defense system in two places on the W side of the tell showed that a similar massive city wall bounded the site high on the steep slopes. So far only meager evidence of the layout of the interior of the EB city has emerged. Immediately inside the W city wall, a small benched room appeared adjoining a wide courtyard replastered at least six times. Farther E and S, two phases of domestic architecture appeared over bedrock in elements of three (?) living spaces linked by common walls. Unfortunately, both phases were sufficiently pitted by later activity so that walled separations are often conjectural. Nevertheless, several tabuns and hearths, but no cisterns, as well as the range of storage and cooking wares, leave no doubt about the function of the space. More of the city plan will be known once the debris below the MB *insula* to the W has been excavated. Albright (1944: 15) has redated the so-called "Ishtar-washur Fortress" excavated by Sellin to late EB II.

2. Middle Bronze III to Late Bronze IIA, ca. 1700–1350 B.C. A small exposure on the W side of the tell revealed two phases of the earliest casemate defense walls in Palestine. The width of the wall grew from 3.75 m to 4.5 m, the earlier small stones replaced by large stones in phase two. Nowhere else in the areas excavated was this wall preserved. Several phases of a lime plaster surface of a glacis system was evident everywhere against the outer slope of the tell below the walls. The second of three glacis was cut by the foundation trench excavated for the construction of the West Building (Sellin's "Westburg"). This large building (ca. 20 × 20 m) is unique in that it is constructed of an imported hard limestone. The 2d millennium architecture at Taanach is best preserved inside the badly eroded defenses. The most important exposure was in the 16 m wide space between the W casemate wall and the N–S street which led to the West Building. In this space was a dense cluster of 18 small rooms. Child burials were below the floors of these rooms. Assorted jewelers' tools suggest that at least one room had been a workshop. The second-phase reconstruction in the early 16th century B.C. followed the lines of the earlier building but widened the walls from one to two stones. W of the street, an E–W wall ca. 4 m high retained debris along the N side of a stepped (?) approach to a subterranean plastered chamber, 3.5 m wide and high. An arched entrance, 3.5 m high cut into bedrock, led to steps descending 10 m. The function of the room remains obscure though it may have been an aborted effort to reach a spring. Though today there is no spring flowing at the site, the presence of a fault line just N of the tell suggests that in antiquity one may have existed. The first cisterns appear in the MB III houses. It was in the debris that accumulated after the abandonment of the rooms along the N–S street that another cuneiform tablet (TT 950) was found.

In summary, more is known about this period than any other at Taanach. The reoccupation of the site after a gap of 600 years was gradual. The earliest evidence appears to

be of transhumants, followed by more permanent settlers (indicated by flimsy walls) until in the early 16th century (to judge from the W defenses) when a substantial strengthening of existing architecture occurred. There seems to have been a partial abandonment following the battle of Megiddo, ca. 1468 B.C. The presence of Mycenaean III A 1 and 2 and early III B pottery implies continuity into the 14th century though the architectural remains are fragmentary at best.

3. Iron Age through the Persian Period, ca. 1200–400 B.C. The evidence for a settlement in this period is scattered, and implies that the site may not have been intensively settled. Only on the W side of the tell was a small portion of a 12th-century city wall (4.25 m wide) exposed. Three 12th-century houses, one on the S end of the tell, a second ca. 140 m NW, and a third ca. 60 m farther NW (the location of the alphabetic cuneiform tablet), though partially visible, were constructed with paved areas, tabuns, and pillared partitions. The courtyard of the so-called Drainpipe Structure in the S contained a stone trough, plastered basin, feeding bins, tabun, hearth, as well as a cistern more than 12 m deep fed by a series of interlocked, vertical, ceramic drain pipes leading from the roof to a channel which emptied into the cistern. Preservation of this building was due to a late 12th-century collapse of the calcined mudbrick superstructure. Adjacent to the long trench in which Sellin found a cult stand in 36 fragments, the ASOR excavation uncovered a 10th-century structure laden with a large cache of pottery, a figurine mold (Hillers 1970), 140 sheep astragali, 58 ceramic loomweights, and stone and metal tools. Lapp's cultic interpretation of this assemblage has been challenged (Fowler 1984). Nearby in a cistern, a new cult stand with figures in relief on 3 sides of four panels was found in a 10th-century context. See Fig. TAA.01. An addition to the defense system on the N slopes of the tell in the 9th century consisted of a rubble-filled stone platform surrounded with a pavement. This was Sellin's "NE Outwork." Very little evidence has been uncovered for the remainder of the Iron II period. Storage pits and two incomplete rooms belong to the Persian period.

4. Late Roman and Byzantine Periods, A.D. 300–650. This period is abundantly evident from surface surveys in the village and nearby region (Ahlstrom 1978; Glock 1983b). A small portion of the Byzantine town which extends the entire length of the E slope was excavated in 1987. A curbed and paved ramp, an impressive platform, a room destroyed by fire and filled with storejars and bronze objects were excavated.

D. Special Finds

1. Cuneiform Tablets. A small but complete alphabetic cuneiform tablet was found in a 12th-century destruction layer. The preliminary publication (Hillers 1964) interpreted the document as a receipt or invoice for a shipment of grain or flour to a *Kokaba'*. Though some differences of interpretation have emerged (Cross 1968; Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartin 1974), Hillers seems to be essentially correct (Weippert 1966; 1967). In 1968, the ASOR excavation recovered one Akkadian tablet (TT 950) and two blanks in an area more than 100 m from where Sellin found seven tablets and five fragments in, and near, a ceramic box. The

TAA.01. Cultic stand from Taanach (ASOR Excavation)—ca. 10th Century B.C. *(Photograph by D. Harris, courtesy of A. E. Glock)*

Taanach archive of thirteen documents consists of four letters (ca. 100 readable lines) and nine name lists containing ca. 80 personal names dating to the mid-15th century B.C. It is not clear what function the name lists may have served. B. Mazar (Maisler 1937: 48) has suggested that it was a list of taxpayers or soldiers. The ethnic diversity reflected in this onomastica consists of ca. 62 percent NW Semitic, ca. 20 percent Indo-Aryan, and ca. 18 percent Hurrian-Anatolian names (Gustavs 1927–28; Glock 1971; Mayrhofer 1972). Recent study of the letters (Glock 1983a) shows that Hrozny's original transcription (in Sellin 1904; 1905) is more reliable than Albright's (1944). The four letters are from three correspondents to the ruler of Taanach, Talwashur. Two letters are from local rulers requesting intercession for an arranged marriage, subsidy (50 silver shekels), and various kinds of equipment (chariots, bows, bowstrings, copper arrows). Two other letters are from one Amanhatpa who may be co-regent with Thutmose III, the later Amenhotep II (Malamat 1961). In any case, the correspondent reprimands the ruler of Taanach for not paying his respects by visiting him in Gaza, the Egyptian base in Palestine. In another letter, he requests that Talwashur supply specialized military personnel to-

gether with horses and chariots for the Egyptian army in Megiddo.

2. Taanach Cult Stands. Though fragments of several were found, one large (90 cm high) cult stand was excavated by Sellin. Two side panels of its hollow form were crudely decorated with a series of five superimposed lion and griffin figures in relief with human and animal heads projecting from the facade. Lods (1934) debated the possibility that it was simply a stove decorated with mythological symbols, but ultimately preferred to interpret the structure as serving a religious artifact. In 1968 the ASOR excavation recovered a smaller (60 cm high), but more carefully constructed stand in four panels. See Fig. TAA.01. In the top panel above a bovine form, the winged sun disk has been interpreted as a symbol for Baʿal, while the nude female leading two lions on the bottom panel is read as his consort, Asherah (Hestrin 1987).

The location of the site, and evidence from the excavation, may combine to explain the function of Taanach, which may have been different in each major period of occupation. A hypothesis can be suggested for the 3d–2d millennia B.C. Even though the site is not located at the exit of an easily traveled wadi and is thus less accessible than Megiddo or Jenin, it nevertheless enjoys from its crest a panoramic view of the Jezreel Plain to the N. In the EB the site may have been watered by a spring, although in the 2d–1st millennia B.C., the spring was not functioning; it was necessary to resort to cisterns and water collection systems. From the same period there is an unusual quantity of material evidence for metallurgical activity (Stech-Wheeler et al. 1981). The Taanach Akkadian archive remains the largest in Palestine. The existence of two tablet blanks supports the idea that at least one scribe was resident. Though the site was well defended, it appears that in this period there existed considerable open space within the walled town. In short, between the 17th and 14th centuries Taanach served as a protected center for professional and technical work supporting the political power located at neighboring Megiddo.

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A. E. G.

TAANATH-SHILOH (PLACE) [Heb *taʾănat šīlōh*]. A town on the NE border of Ephraim (Josh 16:6), SE of Shechem as one may determine from a comparison of the border description in Josh 16:6–7 with that in Josh 17:7. The ancient place name probably survives in the name Khirbet Taʿna. Consequently, either of the two neighboring sites Khirbet Taʿna et-Taḥta (M.R. 187173) or Khirbet Taʿna el-Foqa (M.R. 185175) affords a possible identification for the ancient town (*HGB*, 158). Both sites have yielded material evidence of Israelite occupation during the premonarchic and the monarchic periods. Eusebius

identifies *thēnath* of the tribe of Joseph (i.e., Taanath-Shiloh, cf. Josh 16:5–6 LXX A) with *thēna*, a town still existing in his time, located ten miles in an eastward direction from Neapolis apparently on a Roman road leading to the Jordan (*Onomast.* 98:13). This information accords well with the actual location of Khirbet Taʿna et-Taḥta, but nonetheless it does not offer decisive evidence for identifying this location with ancient Taanath-Shiloh. It may be that Eusebius was not aware of Khirbet Taʿna el-Foqa because it was unoccupied in the Roman period and because the Roman road ran well to the S of it with the result that the place name did not appear in the official Roman lists of places along the highways from which Eusebius may have drawn his information.

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Wesley I. Toews

TABBAOTH (PERSON) [Heb *ṭabbāʿôt*]. Head of a family of Nethinim (Temple servants) who returned from the Babylonian exile to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel and Jeshua between 538 and 520 B.C.E. (Ezra 2:43; Neh 7:46; 1 Esdr 5:29). The name means "signet rings" (cf. Exod 28:23). It could reflect the clan's role within the guild of Nethinim or be a nickname that had become a family name over time—a likely development if the Nethinim (many of whom possess odd names) were originally foreigners or of low descent. As members of the guild of Nethinim, the family of Tabbaoth would have had a special role in the Temple cult, perhaps assisting the Levites. Whatever their origin, during the postexilic period the Nethinim, as cultic personnel, were considered members of the congregation. Like the Levites, they had been devoted to cultic service the precise nature of which can not longer be identified. The size of Tabbaoth's family, its origins and specific role are no longer discernible. Together with thirty-four more families of Nethinim and ten of families of Solomon's servants, the group included 392 members (Ezra 2:58; Neh 7:60) or 372 (1 Esdr 5:35). See Blenkinsopp *Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL; Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC.

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Tamara C. Eskenazi

TABBATH (PLACE) [Heb *ṭabbāt*]. A site related to the Midianite flight after Gideon's surprise attack (Judg 7:22). It has been identified with Ras Abu Tabat on the Wadi Kufrinje, halfway between Jabesh-gilead and Succoth. The name may be derived from the root *ṭbr* (BDB, 371–72), of uncertain meaning, but the noun *ṭabbûr* means "highest part, center."

Gideon's surprise attack routed the Midianites from the Jezreel Valley toward Zererah to the border of Abel-meholah by Tabbath and beyond. Gideon's pursuit took him to Succoth, Penuel, and Jogbehah (Jubeihat, 15 miles SE of Penuel). The Midianites rallied near Karkor (Judg 8:10; Qarqar in the Wadi Sirhan, 150 miles from Jezreel).

Wright (*WHAB*, 65, map IX) shows Tabbath S of Jabesh-gilead and Abel-meholah and N of Zarethan and Succoth in the mountains E of the Jordan River. Cohen (*IDB* 4:497) identifies Tabbath with Ras Abu Tabat, which he postulates was the vicinity of Karkor and Heres. However, the Midianites did not retire and rally their forces near Tabbath, but at Karkor, which was fairly deep in the desert.

The attempt to locate Tabbath largely depends upon the locations of several others sites mentioned in the narrative: Beth-shittah, Zererah, Abel-meholah (Judg 7:22), and Succoth (Judg 8:4–8). Complicating the analysis is the fact that the identifications of these sites are also unclear.

The location of Beth-shittah is unknown, though Smick (1973: 81) and Aharoni (*LBHG*, 294 n. 222) say that both it and Abel-meholah were near fords of the Jordan. In Judg 7:24, Gideon calls on Ephraimites to capture the fords of the Jordan. Boling (*Judges* AB, 48, map 2) suggests Beth-shittah is on the E bank on the Wadi Kufrinje E of Zarethan, several miles from the Jordan River.

Zererah is usually identified with Zeredah and both are equated with Zarethan (though there is a Zeredah in Ephraim; 1 Kgs 11:26). Zarethan is often identified with Tell es-Saʿidiyeh (M.R. 204186) on the Wadi Kufrinje, but an alternate location for Zarethan is to the S at Tell Umm Hamad (M.R. 205172) on the N bank of the Jabbok. Pritchard (1987: 96–97) identifies Zarethan with Saʿidiyeh (however, the first end-paper map shows Zarethan on the S side of the Jabbok). Pritchard (1985: 3) and Tubb (1986) both say that the biblical identity of Tell es-Saʿidiyeh is uncertain.

Abel-meholah has been located either 12 miles S of Beth-shan at Tell el-Hilu (M.R. 197192; Smick 1973: 168; Pritchard 1987: 99, 113; Boling *Judges* AB, 48) or at Tell Maqlub (M.R. 214201) on the Wadi Yabis E of Jabesh-gilead, 20 miles from Gideon's camp at the spring of Harod. Aharoni (*LBHG*, 284 nn. 222, 313) notes the el-Hilu location for Abel-meholah, but says that it should be identified with Tell Abu Sus (M.R. 203197) where are two fords. Smick (1973: 168) also notes the possible location of the site at Tell el-Meqberah, half way between the Yabis and Kufringe wadis. Soggins (*Judges* ET, OTL, 144) suggests additionally, Tell Abu Sifri, on the W bank of the Jordan, 3.5 miles W of Wadi Yabis.

Succoth is mentioned as one of the towns through which Gideon passed in pursuit of the Midianites, which would imply that Tabbath should be located somewhere along the route from Jezreel to Succoth. Succoth is often identified with Tell Deir ʿAlla (M.R. 208178; Pritchard 1987: 247), N of the Jabbok, though Franken (*EAEHL* 1: 321–24) prefers to identify Succoth with Tell el-Ekhsas, 1.5 miles to the W of Deir ʿAlla (cf. Aharoni *LBHG*, 284 n. 224). Gideon's route of pursuit then passed into the hill country to Penuel and into the desert.

The location of Tabbath is unclear since its identification relies heavily upon the location of these other sites, the location of which are matters of dispute, and the logic of which makes for some confusion in this narrative. If the Midianites fled up the Wadi Yabis (Abel-meholah = Tell Maqlub) or up the Wadi Kufrinje (Zererar = Tell es-Saʿidiyeh and Tabbath = Ras Abu Tabat), one would expect Gideon to pursue them along one of these routes, but he took the Jabbok, which leads E and then turns S toward Amman. It thus gives access to the desert and the

Wadi Sirhan. Perhaps in their panic from the surprise in Jezreel, the Midianites fled whichever way they thought was open to get back to the E desert, but Gideon may have known where they were going and took the more direct route by-passing the forests of Gilead. The Midianites, too, however, may have fled through the Jabbok wadi system, in which case Gideon's route would have followed them.

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HENRY O. THOMPSON

TABEEL (PERSON) [Heb *ṭābēʾal/ṭābēʾēl*]. **1.** Father of the unnamed person whom the kings of Syria and Israel planned to make king of Judah in place of Ahaz at the time of the Syro-Ephraimite war, ca. 735–734 B.C.E. (Isa 7:6). Several possibilities have been put forth for his identity. All theories assume that Tabeel is the name of this would-be ruler's father or tribal ancestor. The most important options stem from the interpretation of two Assyrian cuneiform documents. In an 8th-century-B.C.E. letter discovered at Nimrud, an Assyrian official named Qurdi-Aššûr writes about "the messenger of Ayanûr, the Tabeelite [KUR *Ṭa-ab-i-la-aya*], Ezazu by name" (Saggs 1955: 132; Albright 1955: 34). Albright applied this text to Isa 7:6 and assumed that Tabeel was the name of a tribe and its land which was located in NE Palestine or SE Syria. Hence, "the son of Tabeel" was the son of a Judean king and a Tabeelite princess (Albright 1955: 35). Mazar located the land farther to the S in S Gilead and assumed that it referred to the large estate of a Judean noble family whose ancestor was Tabeel. This family eventually became the important Tobiad family in postexilic Judah, since during the reforms of Josiah the divine element of many names was changed from "El" to "Yah." Hence, Tabeel became Tobiyahu (Mazar 1957: 236–38). Both Albright and Mazar accepted Alt's theory that the "son of Tabeel" referred to the holder of a hereditary state office, following traditional models in Israel and Ugarit (*KlSchr* 3: 212). However, Alt's theory does little to clarify either of their positions. Furthermore, Albright's interpretation of the Assyrian letter is controversial. A second Assyrian document, a vassal list of Tiglath-pileser III on a stele found in Iran and dated to 737 B.C.E., is the source for an entirely different theory. This list names Tubail *(Tu-ba-il)* as the king of Tyre in Phoenicia, immediately following Rezin of Damascus and Menahem of Samaria (Levine 1972: 40–41). Vanel argued that there was an alliance between Damascus, Samaria, and Tyre and that the ruler of Tyre (the son of Tabeel) was offered the throne in Jerusalem in exchange for his support in the anti-Assyrian coalition (Vanel 1974: 17–24). The Heb form *ṭābēʾal* was no doubt originally *ṭābēʾēl* ("God is good"; cf. LXX *tabeēl* and #2 below). The name as given in the present text is intended by the MT as a form of ridicule ("not good").

2. A Samaritan official in the Persian period (Ezr 4:7 [Heb *ṭābēʾēl*] = 1 Esdr 2:12—Eng 2:16 [Gk *tabellios*]). Along with his colleagues Bishlam and Mithredath, he sent a letter to the Persian king Artaxerxes I (465–425 B.C.E.) requesting the king to halt the rebuilding of Jerusalem by those who had returned from exile. The request, which suggested that these Jewish inhabitants of Jerusalem would incite rebellion and the withholding of taxes, was successful.

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JOHN H. HULL, JR.

TABERAH (PLACE) [Heb *tabʿērâ*]. A place on the wilderness itinerary of the Israelite, three days N of Mount Sinai (Num 10:30; 11:3; cf. Deut 9:22). The inhospitable locale led the people to complain, angering Yahweh. This leads Yahweh to send down fire to burn *(bʿr)* part of the camp. This action provides the Hebrew verbal root from which the name "Taberah" ("burning") is constructed.

An itinerary of Israel's campsites in the wilderness is included in Numbers 33, but it omits Taberah, skipping from Sinai to Kibroth Hattaavah (v 16). The latter site is mentioned in 11:34–35 as a location where Yahweh again punished his people for complaining. Since no record is made in Numbers 11 of a move from Taberah to Kibroth Hattaavah, these could be alternative names for the same location. However, Deut 9:22 seems to list them as separate sites (*GTTOT,* 255). Possibly one of the names designates an area and the other a specific site within the area (Wenham *Numbers* TOTC, 106). No compelling identification of the geographical location of Taberah has been proposed.

DAVID W. BAKER

TABERNACLE [Heb *miškān*]. The Israelite tent sanctuary frequently referred to in the Hebrew Bible. It is also known as the tent of meeting (Heb *ʾōhel môʿēd*) and, occasionally, as the Tabernacle (or tent) of testimony *(miškan haʿēdût)*. It is the central place of worship, the shrine that houses the ark of the covenant, and frequently it is the location of revelation. It is presented in biblical narrative as the visible sign of Yahweh's presence among the people of Israel. More verses of the Pentateuch are devoted to it than to any other object. It contains the ark, an incense altar, a table, a seven-light candelabra, an eternal light, Aaron's staff that miraculously blossomed (Num 17:23–26), the vessels that are used by the priests, possibly a container of manna (Exod 16: 33–34), and a scroll written by Moses *(sēper hattôrâ)*.

A. In Biblical Narrative
B. Historicity
1. Archeology and the Biblical Sources
2. Architecture
3. The Tabernacle and the Temple
C. The Tabernacle and the Sources

A. In Biblical Narrative

The Tabernacle's history, as recounted in the biblical text, covers between six and seven centuries. The construction of the Tabernacle is commanded in a revelation to Moses at Mt. Sinai (Exodus 26). The materials are then donated by the people, the component structures and fabrics are fashioned (Exodus 36), and the Tabernacle is erected and consecrated (Exodus 40). In an apparent contradiction or confusion of sequence, it is reported that the Tabernacle is moved outside the camp in the wake of the golden calf episode (Exod 33:7–8), but this relocation comes before the report of the Tabernacle's actually being built (see below). In any case, once the Tabernacle is completed, it becomes the place of communication between the deity and Moses for the remainder of Moses' life. The law requires that all sacrifice and the execution of several other practices must take place at its entrance (Lev 1:3, 5; 3:2, 8, 13; 4:5–7, 14–18; etc.).

During the journey from Mt. Sinai to the promised land, the Tabernacle is disassembled and transported whenever the people travel, and it is erected again whenever they stop to camp. Joshua stands guard inside it. Major events occur in it or in its precincts: the inauguration of the priesthood (Leviticus 8–9), the deaths of Aaron's sons Nadab and Abihu (Leviticus 10), the reprimand of Aaron and Miriam concerning Moses' Cushite wife (Numbers 12), the divine decision that the generation of the Exodus is to die in the wake of the spies episode (Num 14:10–35), the confrontation in the Korah episode (Num 16:18–19), the plague in the wake of the Korah episode (16:6–15), the miraculous flowering of Aaron's staff (16:16–25), the divine command in the Meribah episode (20:6–8), the sexual offense and Phinehas' zealous act at Peor (25:6–8), the transfer of leadership from Moses to Joshua (Deut 31:14–23), and, at the conclusion of the Pentateuch, the placement of the scroll of the *tôrâ* there beside the ark (31:24–26).

Following the arrival in the land and the conquest under Joshua, the Tabernacle is erected at SHILOH (Josh 18:1; 19:51). It is recognized as the only permissible place of sacrifice (22:19, 29). Shiloh and the Tabernacle then retain the status of being Israel's religious center through the age of Eli and Samuel (1 Sam 2:22). In the course of a defeat of the Israelites by the Philistines, the ark is separated from the Tabernacle; the ark is located at the house of Abinadab at Gibeah (7:1) while the Tabernacle remains at Shiloh. Following the destruction of Shiloh (not reported in the narrative books but referred to in Jer 7:12, 14; 26: 6, 9), the fate of the Tabernacle is partly unclear. According to the book of Chronicles, the Tabernacle somehow comes to be located at the high place of Gibeon. When King David brings the ark to Jerusalem he houses it in a new tent (1 Chr 16:1 = 2 Sam 6:17), but he still sends the chief priest Zadok and his retinue to Gibeon to perform the nation's sacrifices (as commanded in Leviticus 17) at the Tabernacle (1 Chr 16:39–40; cf. 21:29). The Chronicler's account of David's sacrifice at the threshingfloor of Ornan explains that David performs the sacrifice at this location only because he is unable to get to the Tabernacle at Gibeon at the time (21:28–30). The Chronicler's history also reports that this division of locations is the case at the beginning of King Solomon's reign, stating that the ark is in Jerusalem in David's tent but that Solomon and the people go to sacrifice at the Tabernacle at Gibeon (2 Chr 1:3–6). The books of Samuel and Kings are silent as to the location of the Tabernacle at this point. They give a report that Adonijah is killed at the "tent of Yahweh" (1 Kgs 2:28–30), but it is not clear whether this means the Tabernacle or the tent of David. However, both Chronicles and Kings report that when Solomon dedicated the Jerusalem Temple, he not only brought the ark to the Temple but also the tent of meeting as well (2 Chr 5:5 = 1 Kgs 8:4).

In the book of Kings, the Tabernacle is never mentioned again after this. The book of Chronicles, though, consistently pictures the Tabernacle as located somewhere inside Solomon's Temple. The Chronicler reports that David appoints Levites who serve at "the Tabernacle of the tent of meeting" until Solomon builds the Temple (1 Chr 6:16–17, MT). There follows a list of these persons whom David appoints, and the list concludes with the notation that "their brothers the Levites were appointed to all the service of the Tabernacle of the house of God" (*miškān bêt ha'ĕlōhîm*; 16:33, MT). The Levites' appointment to keep the charge of the tent of meeting is again explicitly identified as part of the service of the house of Yahweh (1 Chr 23:32). Later, in the Chronicler's report of King Joash's efforts to repair the Temple, Joash demands of the priests that they acquire funds for the support of "the tent of the testimony (*'ōhel ha'ĕdût*, 2 Chr 24:6). Likewise in the Chronicler's account of King Hezekiah's repairs and renewal of worship at the Temple (2 Chr 29: 5–7), Hezekiah speaks of the Tabernacle as present in the Temple:

> Now sanctify yourselves and sanctify the house of Yahweh, God of your fathers, and take the impurity out of the holy place, for our fathers trespassed and did what was bad in the eyes of Yahweh our God, and they left him, and they turned their faces from Yahweh's Tabernacle and turned their backs. They also closed the doors of the hall and put out the lights and did not burn incense and did not offer burnt offerings in the holy place *(qodeš)* of the God of Israel.

The reference to the Tabernacle *(miškān)* in this verse is frequently taken as figurative or as meaning God's "habitation" generally, but all of the other items mentioned in the passage (the house, the holy place, the hall, lights, incense, and offerings) are concrete and literal. The context therefore indicates that this account is part and parcel of the Chronicler's record of the Tabernacle's presence in the Temple in Jerusalem. The references to the Tabernacle in Chronicles end here at the account of the reign of Hezekiah, and none of the narrative books of the Hebrew Bible gives any indication of the fate of the Tabernacle beyond this point. However, a Psalm (74:7) speaks of the Tabernacle as having been destroyed along with the burn-

ing of the Temple: "They cast your Temple into the fire,/ To the ground they profaned your name's Tabernacle."

The book of Lamentations (2:6–7) also speaks of the destruction of the Tabernacle along with the Temple:

> And he has dealt violently with his pavilion as with a garden,
> He has destroyed his [tent of] meeting.
> Yahweh has caused holiday and sabbath to be forgotten in Zion,
> And he has spurned in his angry indignation king and priest.
> The Lord has cast off his altar,
> He has abhorred his Temple.
> He has closed up the walls of her palaces in the enemy's hand,
> They have made a noise in Yahweh's house as on a holiday.

The reference to a pavilion *(sukkâ)* in the first line is consistent with other references to a *sukkâ* as a structure in the interior of the Tabernacle (see below). The parallel line refers to "his meeting" *(mōʿădô)*, which has regularly been taken to mean "his tent of meeting" *(ʾōhel mōʿădô)*, as the context, the parallel with the "pavilion," and the use of *môʿēd* in the sense of "holiday" in the following line all indicate. The context also indicates that the references to the tent are not to be taken as figurative here, for the other items in this poetic reckoning of things that are lost with the Temple are all actual objects, institutions, and persons: altar, walls, holiday, sabbath, king, priest. The books that recount the postexilic period do not refer to the Tabernacle or indicate any attempt to replace it actually or symbolically in the Second Temple. Like the ark, it ceases to play any part in the religious life of the community.

The Hebrew Bible thus presents a picture of the Tabernacle's place in history from its construction in the wilderness to its erection at Shiloh and then at Gibeon to its placement inside the First Temple until its destruction in the burning of the Temple ca. 587 B.C.

B. Historicity

1. Archeology and the Biblical Sources. A central component of the Graf-Wellhausen model of the history of ancient Israel was the view that the Tabernacle never really existed, that it was a pious fraud conceived by the authors of the priestly (P) sections of the five books of Moses to represent the Second Temple. Evidence collected by scholars since the beginning of the 20th century, however, has undermined the view that the Tabernacle was a fiction. Parallel institutions of tent shrines in the Semitic world from ancient Phoenician to modern Islamic examples have been described (see Cross 1961: 217–19, and references; *CMHE*, 72). Most notable among the parallels probably is the pre-Islamic *qubbah*, a small, portable red-leather tent. The biblical tent of meeting, too, is protected by a red-leather covering (Exod 26:14). It has been claimed that the Tabernacle as described in the Torah is too massive to be portable as required. Admittedly, the Tabernacle is set on silver bases that would be quite heavy, but historically the bases may have been permanent mounts that were added precisely when the Tabernacle ceased to be portable. The Pentateuchal text, in that case, would subsequently have included them because, by the time of the composition of this text, they would have been in place for a long time. The actual mass of the Tabernacle itself, meanwhile, is unknowable since it is made of wooden frames, and only the frames' length and width are given in the biblical text, but not their thickness. The thickness has occasionally been assumed to be one cubit (18 inches), which would indeed produce a massively heavy structure, but this is a groundless assumption in the absence of any report in the text. Indeed, this view assumes a frame that is many times the thickness of the siding of a house. The frames were formerly assumed to be solid boards, but the language of the text itself and especially the use of the term *qerasîm* for these boards (with parallels in the dwelling of El in an Ugaritic text) suggest rather that they were formed like a trellis (Cross 1961: 220).

Furthermore, the elaborate details of the fabrics, wood, and precious metals of the Tabernacle do not have the appearance of sheer fiction. Embedded in the priestly (P) Pentateuchal narrative, the description of the Tabernacle's materials looks like the other documents that are embedded in the P narrative, for example the book of generations *(tôlĕdōt)* that is now cut and distributed through Genesis, the list of stations of Israel's journey (Numbers 33), and the Israelite census list (Numbers 1–2). These lists appear to be older documents that were used to add detailed facts to the narrative, and the Tabernacle text is of the same character. There is no need or justification for going into these details of fabrics, rings, rods, poles, embroidery, and silver bases in a work of pure fiction; and indeed there is no comparably detailed description of anything in the priestly work (cf., for example, the description of Noah's ark in Gen 6:14–16).

Cross (1961) and Haran (1965) have sought to identify the referent of the priestly description of the Tabernacle. Cross has argued that it is the tent that David erected. The description of that tent has now been made part of the priestly work and called the Tabernacle of Moses. Haran has argued that it is the Tabernacle of Shiloh, which the priestly writers believed to have been carried there from Sinai. Haran takes the elaborate detail and precious components of the description to be priestly embellishments in picturing the ancient tent structure. If we regard these details as unlikely to be fictional, as suggested above, then Cross' view is more likely. If we doubt that the details have any veracity, then either view seems possible (see below).

Two textual considerations figure in this matter of historicity. The first concerns the passages that picture the place of worship at Shiloh as a tent. The structure is called a house *(byt)* in Judg 18:31; 1 Sam 1:24 and a temple *(hykl)* in 1 Sam 1:9; 3:3. It is called the tent of meeting in 1 Sam 2:22b, but this half verse has been regarded with suspicion because (1) its language is so similar to the priestly (P) passage Exod 38:8, yet it is embedded in a context that otherwise is not priestly, and (2) it does not appear in the Greek or 4QSam^{a}. Still, the half verse may possibly be native to its text and not a "gloss"; and, in any case, Ps 78:60 agrees with its identification of the Shiloh structure as a tent: "And he forsook the Tabernacle of Shiloh,/ The tent that he placed among humans." A. R. S. Kennedy

(*HDB* 4: 654) dismissed this explicit reference to the Shiloh Tabernacle in the Psalm as "of too uncertain a date to be placed against the testimony of the earlier historian"; but Eissfeldt, Albright, and Cross have dated the Psalm as certainly preexilic and possibly as early as the united monarchy (*CMHE* 73n., 134, 242–43). That is, it is no less reliable than the prose source in the book of Samuel that refers to the structure as a house or temple. The Psalm, the reference in 1 Sam 2:22, and the P source in Josh 18:1; 19:51 all speak of a tent at Shiloh. The question is how to adjudicate between these passages and those that speak of the Shiloh sanctuary as a building (see below).

The second textual consideration concerns the depiction of the Tabernacle in the book of Chronicles as located in the Temple of Solomon. This depiction has been doubted on the grounds that (1) Chronicles is a late source and (2) Chronicles simply follows the P conception of the Tabernacle. The claim that the Chronicler is simply following P on this point is questionable. The law according to P declares repeatedly that sacrifice and various other practices can be performed nowhere on earth but at the Tabernacle (see citations above) and that this is the law forever. Since the Chronicler wrote in the period of the Second Temple, which did not contain the Tabernacle, the Chronicler would hardly be expected to go out of his way to develop this P perspective. Moreover, there is evidence that the references to the Tabernacle in the books of Chronicles were not the Chronicler's insertions but rather were part of the Chronicler's preexilic source. Halpern (1981) has assembled evidence that the Chronicler made use of a source text that recounted the history of the Judean monarchy down to the time of Hezekiah. A substantial number of terms, phrases, and concerns in the Chronicler's history run consistently through the accounts of the kings of Judah down to the reign of Hezekiah, and they cease thereafter. In addition to the many items that Halpern lists, we must add the matter of the Tabernacle, which, as we have seen, is treated frequently and with importance down to the time of Hezekiah and then is not mentioned thereafter.

In sum, there is reason to believe that the Tabernacle was historical, and the biblical depiction of it as located in the Solomonic Temple cannot simply be dismissed as late and tendentious.

2. Architecture. The architecture of the Tabernacle is both interesting in itself and significant for the light it sheds on the history of the Tabernacle. The architecture has presented a classic problem in amateur and professional biblical scholarship for centuries. The biblical account of the command to build the Tabernacle includes descriptions of the components of the structure but no directions as to how to put them together. The assembly of the tent must therefore be derived from the character and dimensions of the components.

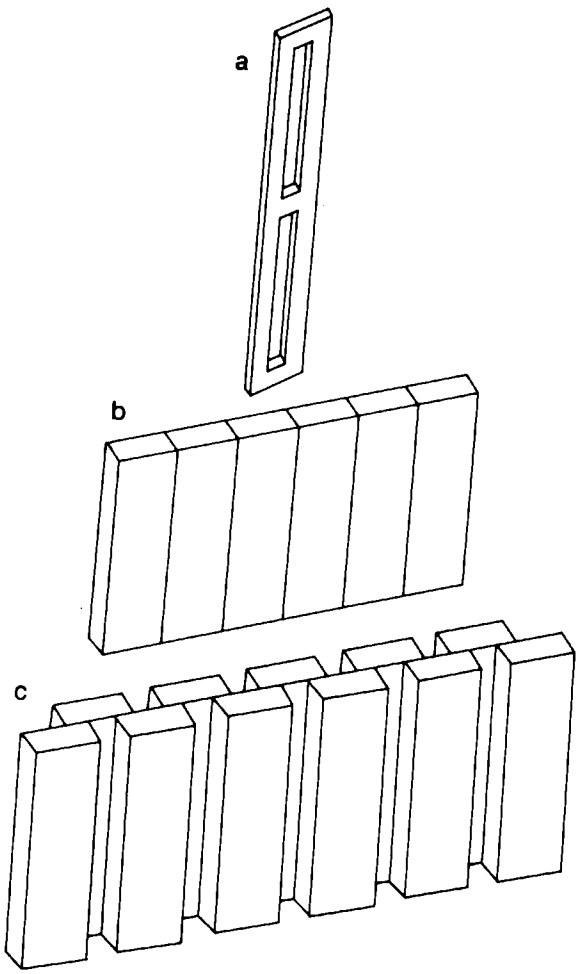
The Tabernacle is a series of enclosures, with diminishing sanctity as one progresses from its interior through the various layers to the outside:

a. The *pārōket*. Inside is a small pavilion that contains the ark. This pavilion is composed of four columns with a fabric canopy spread over them. The pavilion is called the *pārōket*. It has generally been taken to be a veil hanging vertically in front of the ark, but the text says quite explicitly that one is to cover over the ark with it. The divine instruction to Moses at the time of the erection of the Tabernacle is, "And you shall make the *pārōket* cover over the ark" (*wesakkōtā ʿal hāʾārōn*; Exod 40:3). It is called the *pārōket hammāsāk* (40:21; Num 4:5). There is a reference to the *sukkâ* in the passage from Lamentations quoted above and in a passage picturing the deity's tent in Ps 27:5. The LXX uses the term *katapetasma*, meaning something that one stretches, a covering; its verbal form means to spread over, to cover with fabric. The term *pārōket* came to mean a veil by the rabbinic period, and so apparently the Tabernacle *pārōket* was assumed from that time to the present to have been a veil hanging as a partition in the interior of the Tabernacle. This assumption already led to some confusion in rabbinic times. A Talmudic passage (*b. Sukk.* 76) dealing with Exod 40:3 states: "And you shall make the *pārōket* cover over the ark." The *pārōket* was a partition, yet the Scriptures call it a covering *(skkh)*. Consequently, a partition is meant in the sense of a covering. And the rabbis (explain it thus): It means that it is bent a little (at the top) so that it looks like a covering." (See also *b. Soṭa* 37a; *b. Menah.* 62a, 98a; since the verse in Exodus explicitly says to make the *pārōket* "cover *over*" [Heb *ʿal*] the ark, the *Gemara* concludes that in this case the word *ʿal* means "near to.") This confusion and these strained explanations of words that made no sense with reference to a veil underscore the difficulty of this view of the *pārōket*. It is rather a *sukkâ* that is pictured in Exodus as the innermost enclosure. This inner pavilion is made of the finest fabric: linen embroidered with cherubs, with blue, purple, and scarlet; and the columns over which this fabric is spread are made of acacia *(šittîm)* wood (Exod 26:31–32). See also VEIL; SCREEN.

b. The *miškan*. The *pārōket* is set up inside a second enclosure, called the Tabernacle, Heb *miškān*. (The biblical narrative uses the term *miškān* both for this second enclosure and for the entire Tabernacle.) The structure of this *miškān* in particular must be deduced from the information given about its components. The *miškān* is a great cloth composed of sheets of material (*yĕrîʿôt*, generally translated as "curtains"). The curtains that make up the *miškān* are made of the same fabric with the same embroidery as the *pārōket*. The *miškān* is constructed by arranging wooden frames *(qĕrāšîm)* as a rectangular box and then spreading the curtains over them.

(1) The Frames. The frames are made of acacia wood. Each frame is a trellis, with two vertical "arms," joined to one another (Exod 26:17). See Fig. TAB.01a. See also TENONS. There are 48 frames: 20 for each of the 2 sides of the *miškān*, 6 for the rear wall, plus 2 that are somehow arranged at the rear presumably for support at the corners. The frames are 10 cubits tall and 1.5 cubits wide. Metal rings are attached to the frames, and long rods (five on each side) are slid through the rings to hold the framework together. See also RING. The text does not say whether the frames are to be set up flush alongside one another (Fig. TAB.01b) or whether they are to overlap one another (Fig. TAB.01c).

The most common view in scholarly depictions of the *miškān* has been to assume that the frames stand flush against one another. Since the frames are 1.5 cubits wide, the framework has thus been understood to be 30 cubits



TAB.01. Frames of the Tabernacle. *a*, drawing of a single frame; *b*, proposed flush arrangement; *c*, proposed overlapping arrangement.

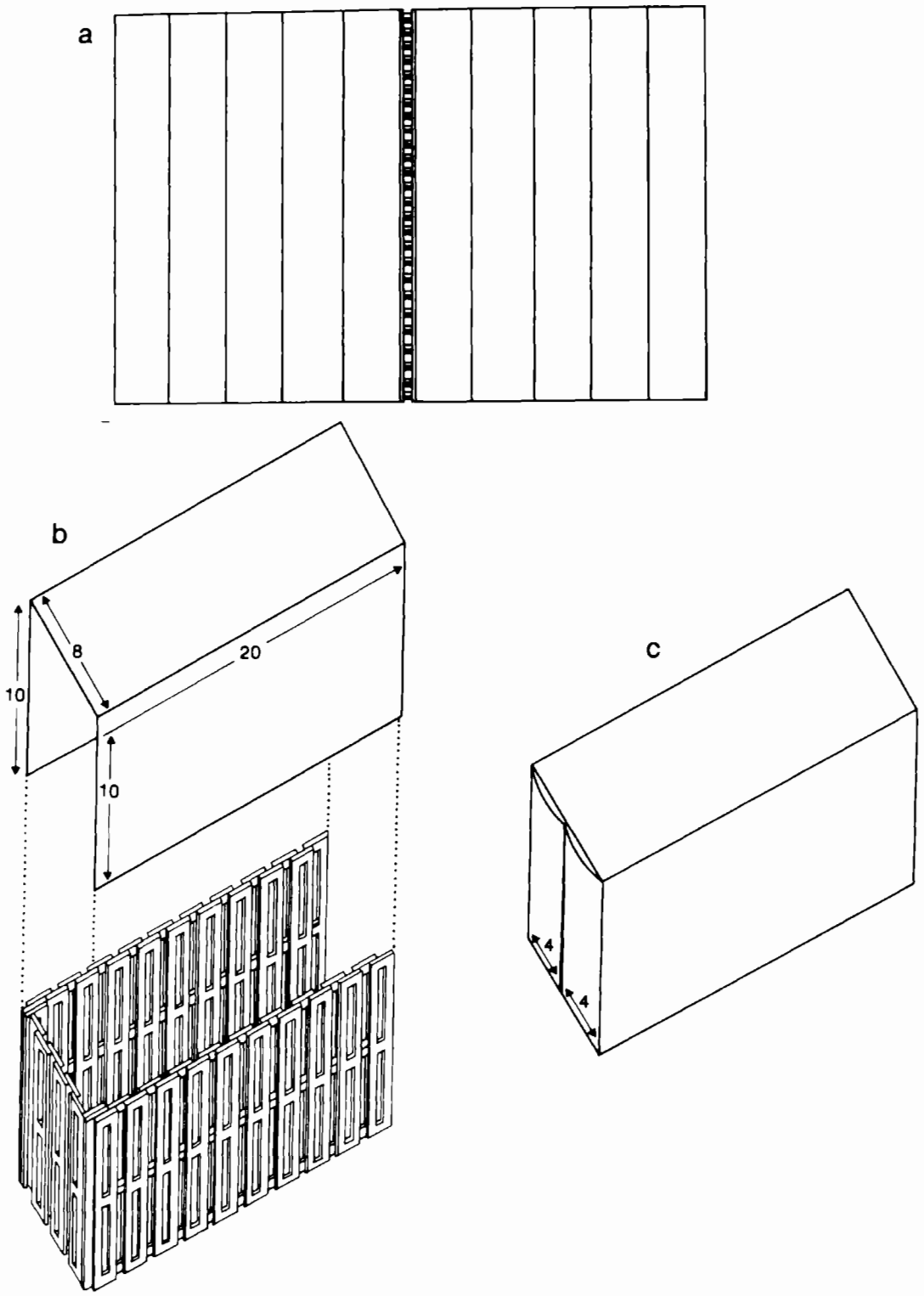
long by 10 cubits wide. In favor of this reckoning it has been observed that the Temple of Solomon is reported in 1 Kings 6 to have been 60 cubits long by 20 cubits wide: the Tabernacle is thus seen as a 1:2 scale model of the Temple. A problem with this comparison is that the six frames of 1.5 cubits width each in the back of the Tabernacle add up to only 9 cubits, not 10. The two special corner frames may make up the difference, or perhaps it is made up by the thickness of the side frames. The fact remains, though, that the 10-cubit width was not determined by what the dimensions in the text require; it was simply a guess that was proposed precisely to make the Tabernacle dimensions analogous to those of the Temple. The 1:2 analogy of the Tabernacle to the Temple is questionable in any case because the Temple's height is 30 cubits while that of the Tabernacle is only 10 (1:3).

A second question with regard to this flush arrangement concerns the 1.5 cubit width of the frames. Why the unusual size rather than a 1.0- or 2.0-cubit width? In the case of the overlapping arrangement of the frames the extra half cubit would be for the overlap. In that case, the 20 frames of each of the *miškān*'s sides would mean a wall of 20 cubits. The rear wall, of 6 frames, would be 6–8 cubits wide depending on the arrangement of the corner frames and the thickness of the frames. The description of the rings and rods that connect the frames seems to fit better with this overlapping arrangement; the middle rod is said to reach from one end of the wall to the other "in the midst of" (Heb *btwk*) the frames.

(2) **The Fabric.** The measurements of the cloth *miskan* that is to be spread over the frames are given, and this information further helps to choose between these alternative arrangements of the frames. The *miškān* is composed of ten curtains, each of which is 4 × 28 cubits. Five of the curtains are sewn together into one large piece that is 20 × 28 cubits, as are the other five, resulting in two larger pieces of fabric, each 20 × 28 cubits. Loops are then sewn into the 28-cubit side of each, and the two larger pieces of fabric are then connected to each other by putting gold rings through the loops, yielding a double cloth that, if stretched flat, would measure 40 × 28 cubits. See Fig. TAB.02a. See also LOOPS; TWINED LINEN. This double cloth is then spread over the standing frames. On the view that the frames are standing flush, forming a rectangular box that is 30 cubits long, 10 cubits wide, and 10 cubits high, the double cloth would be spread full length from the opening. The cloth is 40 cubits long altogether, and so it covers the 30-cubit length of the frames, and its remaining 10 cubits fall as a flap to cover the back frames. The length of the cloth thus matches the structure satisfactorily; the width of 28 cubits, however, does not match. The frames are 10 cubits high on each side, and it is another 10 cubits across the top. That requires that the *miškān* be 30 cubits wide altogether; but, since it is only 28 the cloth is a full cubit above the base on each side. Those who hold this view of the Tabernacle suggest that the shortfall may be to protect the precious cloth from touching the ground; but if this were the case the rear flap of the cloth should be one cubit shorter as well, but it goes all the way to the base. Also, a gap of an entire cubit (about 18 inches) between the end of the fabric and the base seems excessive and awkward looking in any case.

Another problem with this view of the design is that it leaves precious gold rings virtually invisible, for in this view the frames stand between the rings and the interior of the Tabernacle so that one who is inside cannot see them. They cannot be seen from the outside either because the entire structure is wrapped in a red-leather cover. That leaves them unseen. In this view, their purpose is to divide the Tabernacle into two parts, the "holy place" and the "holiest place" (or "holy of holies"). The text says that the *pārōket* is to be hung "under the rings" (Exod 26:33), and so in this view the *pārōket* is pictured as a veil hanging directly below the rings. This is attractive to the extent that it makes the "holy of holies" a perfect cube, 10 cubits long, wide, and high. (The "holy of holies" in Solomon's Temple is a 20-cubit cube.) As we have seen, however, the *pārōket* is more probably a canopy, not a veil; and so it does not make sense to speak of it as standing under a single line of rings.

In the case of the overlapping arrangement of the



TAB.02. Fabric of the Tabernacle: *a*, ten-curtain covering of Tabernacle showing gold connecting rings; *b*, proposed doubled curtain covering of overlapping frames; *c*, tent covering of the Tabernacle.

frames, the two pieces of fabric that make up the *miškān* would not be laid side by side but rather on top of one another as a double layer of the fabric. The rings would thus all be at one end. The measurements of this cloth would be 20 × 28 cubits. The frames would be 20 cubits long, 6–8 cubits wide, and 10 cubits high. The cloth of the *miškān* would fit this perfectly. Its 20-cubit width would match the 20-cubit length of the framework. Its 28-cubit length would go up the 10-cubit high side, across an 8-cubit width, and down the other 10-cubit high side. The rings would form a pattern of gold around the entrance. See Fig. TAB.02b.

The question may be raised against this view that the instruction that the *pārōket* be placed "under the rings" makes little sense if the rings are encircling the entrance. The problem, however, appears to be a textual one. The LXX of this verse does not say "under the rings" but rather "under the frames." The Heb term for "frames," as mentioned above, is *qĕrāšîm*. The Heb term for "rings" is *qĕrāsîm*. The Greek translator is reading the former, while the MT gives the latter. In the light of the clumsiness of the MT text for either of the two views of the *miškān*, and the obvious vulnerability of these two terms to scribal confusion, the LXX is preferable. The command to place the *pārōket* "under the frames" would then mean that the *pārōket* must be lower than the height of the frames.

c. The *ʾōhel*. The *miškān* is covered by a third enclosure, called the "tent" (Heb *ʾōhel*). It is made of a less-valuable fabric, goat wool, and it is not dyed or embroidered. Like the *miškān*, it is made of two pieces of fabric joined together by loops and rings, but its rings are of brass instead of gold. Its measurements shed further light on the construction of the Tabernacle. Instead of having a 28-cubit width, it has 30. In the flush arrangement of the frames, this leaves a cubit of this less-attractive fabric showing on each side (but not on the back) of the structure, which, again, seems questionable. In the overlapping arrangement of the frames, however, the extra cubit would be spread back along the edges of the *miškān* on both sides to cover it and thus protect the finer fabric from touching the ground. This is stated explicitly in Exod 26:13: "And the cubit on one side and the cubit on the other side, of the extra in the length of the curtains of the *ʾōhel*, shall be spread on the sides of the *miškān* on the one side and on the other side to cover it." This favors the overlapping arrangement of the frames. It is difficult to reconcile it with the flush arrangement. There is one more aspect of the *ʾohel* that further confirms the overlapping arrangement of the frames. Instead of being made of two groups of five curtains like the *miškān*, the *ʾōhel* rather has one group of five and one of six curtains. The sixth curtain, which like the others is 4 cubits wide and 30 cubits long, falls along the rear wall of the frames. When folded double, each half of it is spread back to cover 4 cubits of the rear wall. See Fig. TAB.02c. This, too, matches and confirms the 8-cubit width of the overlapping arrangement of the frames. It does not fit the 10-cubit width of the flush arrangement. Those who have held this view of the Tabernacle, i.e. the flush arrangement, have understood the sixth curtain to be folded back around the entrance of the structure, i.e. as a flap folded back along the roof and sides of the front, rather than on the rear wall. The text says, "And you shall double the sixth curtain opposite the front of the tent (*ʾel mûl pĕnê hāʾōhel*)" (Exod 26:9b). The words "opposite the front" do not easily fit with this understanding. The location that is "opposite the front" is the rear; and the verse that refers to the spreading back of the half curtain (v 12) says explicitly, "The half of the extra curtain shall be spread on the rear of the *miškān*." Again, it is the overlapping arrangement that conforms to the description of the materials in Exodus 26.

d. The Outer Enclosures. The *ʾōhel* is covered by two more enclosures: the covering of ram leather dyed red and a covering of *tĕḥāšîm* skins. The meaning of *tĕḥāšîm* is uncertain. It has been translated as "badger" or "dolphin" among other things. It has been connected to an Assyrian word meaning "sheepskin" and an Egyptian word meaning "to stretch or treat leather" see Cross 1961: 220.) The entire structure with all its layers is then surrounded by one more enclosure, a great open court.

3. The Tabernacle and the Temple. The matter of the dimensions of the Tabernacle has implications for the recovery of its history. The view of the flush arrangement of the frames resulted in a Tabernacle that was analogous to the dimensions of the Temple of Solomon. This has been judged here to be questionable since only one of the three Tabernacle measurements (the length) can be ascertained to be one half the size of the corresponding Temple measurement; the height is one third, and the width is uncertain. This raises questions concerning the view in the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis that the Tabernacle was merely a literary fiction, conceived to stand for the Temple. The evidence that the Tabernacle was historical in any case, discussed above, coalesces with this matter of the dimensions to place serious doubt on this point.

In the view of the overlapping arrangement of the frames, the Tabernacle is 10 cubits high, 20 cubits long, and 8 cubits wide. The 8-cubit width, it should be noted, is the size of its *exterior* dimensions. Since the frames themselves have some thickness, the interior of the Tabernacle would be somewhat smaller, but not less than 6 cubits wide since there are 6 frames in the rear. These dimensions correspond to the dimensions of structures known to us from the Hebrew Bible and from archeology. In the Hebrew Bible, these dimensions correspond to the size of the space under the wings of the cherubs in the holy of holies in the Temple of Solomon. The Holy of Holies is a perfect cube, 20 cubits on each side (1 Kgs 6:20; 2 Chr 3:8). Inside stand the two cherubim, carved of olive wood and plated with gold. These two statues are each 10 cubits tall. Unlike the usual cherubs known to us from the ANE, which have their wings folded back against their bodies, the Temple cherubs have their wings spread wide, touching the wall on either side and touching each other in the center. The space under their outspread wings is 20 cubits deep, 10 cubits high, and less than 10 cubits wide (because their bodies take up some of the center space).

The discovery of a temple at Arad by Y. Aharoni led to further confirmation of these measurements. The Arad temple was found to have features strikingly in common with the Tabernacle (Aharoni 1973). The height of the Arad temple is unknown, but its length is 20 cubits, and its width is 6 cubits. As discussed above, the Tabernacle and the space under the wings of the cherubs both match this

20-cubit length. The width of the Tabernacle is calculated here to be 8 cubits wide at the exterior and at least 6 cubits wide in the interior, which also matches the Arad sanctuary's width and fits within the less-than-ten-cubits limit of the place under the cherubs' wings.

The correspondence of the dimensions of the Tabernacle to the dimensions of the space under the wings of the cherubs in the Temple sheds light on the question of the historicity of the biblical report. The Tabernacle may have actually stood under the wings of the cherubs in the Solomonic Temple, or it may have been stored inside the Temple while the corresponding space under the cherubs' wings symbolized and reflected its presence. The Babylonian Talmud in fact reports that the tent of meeting was stored away beneath the crypts of the Temple of Solomon (*b. Sota* 9a). Josephus reports that the Tabernacle was brought to the Temple as well (*Ant* 8.101; see also 106), and he comments that the outspread wings of the cherubs had the effect of looking like a tent (8.103). A number of Psalms (26:8; 27:4) present this same picture of the Tabernacle in the Temple. Remarkably, Ps 61:5, says:

> I shall abide in your tent forever,
> I shall trust in the covert of your wings.

The parallel here of the deity's tent and the hidden place of the deity's wings is notable in the light of the evidence associating the tent of meeting with the wings of the cherubim. It has long been recognized that the referent of the wings in this Psalm is the winged cherubs (Rabe 1963: 35; Dahood, *Psalms I* AB, 107–8; Briggs, *Psalms* ICC, 64; Kraus, *Psalms I* BKAT, 433; Weiser, *Psalms* ATD, 302). The report of the destruction of the Tabernacle along with the Temple in Ps 74:7 belongs with this group of Psalmic references to the Tabernacle in the Temple as well (see also Pss 27:6; 76:2–3; and more general references in Psalms 15; 43; 46; 84).

The report in 1 Kgs 8:4 (= 2 Chr 5:5) that the Tabernacle was brought to the Temple at the time of the Temple dedication thus cannot simply be dismissed as a "gloss"; nor can the references to the Tabernacle's presence in the Temple in the books of Chronicles, Psalms, and Lamentations be lightly discarded as late, idealizing, or figurative. Indeed the rejection of the report of the Tabernacle's arrival in 1 Kgs 8:4 was a product precisely of the Graf-Wellhausen rejection of the historicity of the Tabernacle. Wellhausen argued that "Some mention of the Tabernacle, had it existed, would have been inevitable when the Temple took its place" (*WPHI*, 43). But here in fact was the mention of the Tabernacle that Wellhausen insisted upon, and Wellhausen eschewed it, saying that it "has no connection with its context, and does not hang together with the premises which that furnishes . . ." and he concluded, "it is the interpolation of a later hand" (*WPHI*, 43–44). These claims are simply unfounded. The report of the transfer of the Tabernacle is perfectly consistent with its context, following as it does immediately upon the report of the transfer of the ark. It is true that the Tabernacle is not mentioned for quite some time prior to this point, but this particular source of the Deuteronomistic historian only begins a few chapters earlier (1 Kings 3; the lengthy narrative preceding this is a different source, the Court History of David). The verse in Kings has also been suspected of not being native to this passage because it refers to "the priests *and* the Levites," according to the MT. This is atypical in Deuteronomistic terminology and more characteristic of priestly (P) terminology. These words do not appear in some of the OG texts, however; and the MT (but not OG) of the equivalent verse in Chronicles reads "the Levitical priests," which is in turn atypical in the Chronicler's terminology. The textual situation is therefore too unclear for this wording to be evidential on either side. In any case, whatever the stage at which the report of the transfer of the Tabernacle to the Temple came to be in the text, it is in agreement with the archeological evidence, the architectural evidence, and the reports in Chronicles, Psalms, Lamentations, Josephus, and the Talmud that the Tabernacle was housed inside the Temple of Solomon.

This may also explain the confusion, noted above, over the passages that refer to the sanctuary at Shiloh both as a house/temple and as a tent/tabernacle. The Shiloh sanctuary may have been, like the Jerusalem Temple, a building in which the Tabernacle was stored or erected. If so, then this arrangement would have been made because the Tabernacle already had some prehistory and special status prior to the construction of the building at Shiloh. The report of the Pentateuchal sources E and P that the Tabernacle was the portable sanctuary of the followers of Moses before entering the land must be taken seriously in this regard. At the same time it must be recognized that the Tabernacle as described in the priestly (P) portions of the Torah and discussed above is not likely to correspond to this original tent structure. It is possibly too heavy and certainly too elaborate and costly to have been produced in the Sinai wilderness. As noted above, Haran (1962; 1965) takes the priestly description as an elaboration upon the more modest actual Tabernacle that had been at Shiloh, while Cross (1961) takes the priestly description to reflect the tent that David erected at Jerusalem. On the argument that the elaborate details do not appear to be sheer fabrication, the tent of David is the likely referent of these details. Also historically, if the tent of Shiloh was lost with the destruction of the Shilonite temple, then the tent that was brought to the Temple at Jerusalem and housed there may have been the tent of David, thereafter referred to as the Tabernacle or tent of meeting, whose successor it was.

The association of the Tabernacle with the Temple, whether at Shiloh or Jerusalem, whether the tent of David or the older tent of meeting, had an important symbolic meaning as well. It merged the stability of an established nation in its land with an ancient heritage of a people newly freed from slavery who experience a period of incubation in closeness to God. The Tabernacle in the Temple was a link to a history that played a defining part in the formation of biblical Israel's character.

C. The Tabernacle and the Sources

The Tabernacle is not mentioned in the Pentateuchal sources J and D. Its role is significant in E, but it is mentioned only a few times. There is no indication there of its size or materials. Its importance derives from the fact that it is the place where the deity communicates with Moses. It is pictured sufficiently simply and so connected

to Moses personally that some have argued that it is Moses' own tent, though there is no textual support for this claim. There are contradictions of fact between the E picture of the tent of meeting and that of P. In E the tent is moved outside of the camp following the golden calf incident (Exod 33:7–11), and it remains outside the camp, as indicated by the wording of the episode of Miriam's leprosy (Num 12:4). The E report of the tent's being moved, however, comes before the report of the Tabernacle's being made and erected in P (Exodus 40), resulting in this contradiction, as noted above. According to E, further, Joshua stays inside the tent. This is in contradiction to the view of P, according to which no one who is not a priest is permitted inside the tent of meeting.

Most importantly, though, in P the Tabernacle is the center of religious worship, the only locus of sacrifice. It is thus inextricably bound to the crucial priestly law of centralization of worship (Leviticus 17). One cannot sacrifice anywhere but at the entrance to the tent of meeting. This in turn has important implications for the date of the source P. If the Tabernacle was historically located in the Temple of Solomon until its destruction in 587 B.C., as the evidence discussed here indicates, then the priestly narrative and much of the priestly law must have been composed in the period prior to the destruction. Otherwise one must assume that in the years following the destruction of the Tabernacle a priestly author wrote the law requiring that one sacrifice nowhere but at the Tabernacle that no longer existed. Other recent evidence coalesces with this matter of the Tabernacle's historical place to support a preexilic date for P. See also TORAH.

Centralization of religious worship at the Tabernacle also played a critical role in the development of the priesthood in Israel. It meant the concentration of legitimacy, authority, and income in the priestly establishment at the central sanctuary. At Shiloh this meant the priesthood that is associated with Eli and Samuel. The background of this priesthood is debated and has been identified in recent scholarship as being Levitical, non-Aaronid, and possibly Mushite (*CMHE*, 195–215; Friedman 1987: 40–42, 72–79, 117–49). At Jerusalem, apparently from the beginning of the establishment of the Temple, the Aaronid priesthood was in authority. With the policy of centralization, which begins with the reign of Hezekiah according to the report of the books of Kings and Chronicles, the command to sacrifice only at "the entrance of the tent of meeting" comes to be manifestly in the service of the Aaronid priesthood. This, too, belongs among the evidence that P was composed in the preexilic period and quite possibly in the reign of Hezekiah.

The place of the Tabernacle in centralization also means that the Tabernacle plays a substantive role in the priestly conception of monotheism and thus in the biblical presentation of monotheism overall. Though monotheism need not require that there be only one legitimate place of sacrificial worship, such centralization does seem to be particularly compatible with and serviceable to monotheism: one God, one altar, one central shrine.

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TABERNACLES, FESTIVAL OF. See BOOTHS, FEAST OF.

TABGHA (M.R. 200251). A solitary area with no settlements from NT times, on the NW shore of the Sea of Galilee at the foot of the Mt. of Beatitudes and S of the ancient highway from Tiberias to Capernaum. From Roman times onwards, the spring water was used for irrigation and water mills. In Christian tradition, three events are commemorated in this area: the Sermon on the Mount (Matt 5:1–11), the miracle of the multiplication of the loaves and fishes (Matt 14:15–21; Mark 6:35–44), and Christ's apparition to his disciples, his preparing a breakfast for them, and the conferring of the primacy on Peter (John 21). Byzantine writers add other events. Theodosius (ca. A.D. 530) speaks of the baptism of the Apostles; the Anonymous *"Life of Constantine"* (written during the period of A.D. 715–1009) mentions the *"Dodecathronon,"* the "place of the twelve seats" where Christ taught. St. Jerome (A.D. 404) refers to the site mistakenly as a desert, thus taking Mark 6:31 *erēmos topos* (Lat *desertus locus*) literally and not in the intended sense of a remote spot. The primary source is a section preserved in Peter the Deacon's *"Book on the Holy Places,"* a 12th century monk and librarian at Monte Cassino, who attributed his information to Egeria, thus referring to the late 4th century. The author describes a pilgrimage center, a church with an altar above the place where the miracle of the five loaves and two fishes was performed and from where pilgrims took away small pieces of the rock. During the visit by Bishop Arculf (ca. A.D. 670–80) the church lay in ruins, while the approximately contemporary source of Epiphanius the Monk speaks of a village with a large church. (On the various sources consult Loffreda 1970a: 21–36; Wilkinson 1971: 196–200; 1977: 81, 108, 120, 169–70, 203).

Six of the seven springs, an earlier chapel beneath the main pilgrimage church to the S of the highway, the Sanctuary of the Sermon on the Mount on the N side of the route, and a chapel close to a small anchorage on the shore of the Sea of Galilee, as well as Arabic and Crusader

remains, have been located and brought to light at Tabgha. (See the maps in Loffreda 1970a: 2; and Wilkinson 1971: 195.)

The lakeshore chapel with four steps leading up to it from the S is traditionally connected with the spot where Jesus stood, when he received his disciples and prepared a meal for them (John 21:4, 8–9); Loffreda (1970a: 104–5) calls it the Sanctuary of the Primacy. In this building, a rock-hewn table on the E was the focal point, and, being the only one among the excavated structures to have been in use until A.D. 1263, the medieval sources referring to a "table" *(Mensa Domini)* must relate to it. These sources include the *"Commemoratirium de casis Dei,"* a list of churches and monasteries from A.D. 808, mentioning at the same time the monastery of Heptapegon with ten monks; the report *"De situ Urbis Ierusalem"* from A.D. 1130; Thetmarus' account of A.D. 1217; and a Florentine map of the 13th century, where the site is named Tabula (for an illustration see Loffreda 1970a: 26).

The pilgrimage church was excavated by A. E. Mader and A. M. Schneider in 1932 on behalf of the Görresgesellschaft. The earliest sanctuary was discovered by B. Gauer in 1936 during restoration work on the mosaics and it was subsequently excavated by Schneider. In the same year, a basilica was erected over the ancient remains and a new one was consecrated. In 1970, when the mosaics of the N transept had to be repaired, the missing walls of the earliest sanctuary could be traced by S. Loffreda. In 1976, 1979, and 1980 soundings were made by the author in the *bema* area and the N section of the atrium. B. Bagatti unearthed the Sanctuary of the Sermon on the Mount in 1935, and S. Loffreda excavated the Sanctuary of the Primacy and systematically explored the ancient remains on the Franciscan property at Tabgha in 1969.

The Church of the Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes (56 m long and 24.30 m wide in the E and 33 m in the W), comprises a basilica with atrium and narthex as well as side rooms all round except for the E third of the diagonally set N wall, where the builders had to take into account the direction of the highway. The church (22.60 × 15–20 m) combines the basilical and cruciform floorplans and consists of two units: in the W, the church hall is divided by two rows of five columns into a nave (7.90 m wide) and two aisles (3.58 m wide); in the E, is the transept (20 × 11.30 m) and the sanctuary of a shallow apse (3.50 m deep) and two lateral rooms, an unusual feature and possibly of liturgical significance.

The 6 × 6.9 m presbytery *(bema)* was raised by one step above the floor of the transept and hall. Its focal point was the altar with its E end in line with the chord of the apse. The preserved base (1.70 × 0.95 m) contains four sockets for the legs of the altar slab and within these an unworked block of limestone, placed there intentionally and showing signs of chipping. The presbytery with its central entrance from the W underwent two phases. In an early phase, the chancel screen was T-shaped, covering most of the transept across the width of the nave and extending narrowly along the lateral rooms. In a later phase the chancel screen was removed in front of these rooms. This development does not conform with that of other churches of the region (cf. Gerasa in Kraeling 1938: 181–83).

The W division of the transept was achieved by a row of two columns in the middle and two columns on pedestals on both sides. The center, set in line with the presbytery opening, was marked by a triumphal entrance, which in a first phase consisted of a wide arch rising from the two innermost of the pedestal columns. In a later phase, following the destruction by an earthquake, a portal with three openings formed by the two central columns with architraves was built. Architectural fragments include bases, column drums and capitals of both marble and limestone, fragmentary small marble columns, slabs of the chancel screens, and the altar.

The atrium (ca. 23 × 13 m) has an open space with remains of a fountain *(cantharos)* in the center, three porticos on the S, N, and W, and lateral rooms which continue along the S of the basilica. The atrium and basilica are separated by a corridor *(narthex?)* which appears to have taken the place of the usual E portico.

The basilica and atrium were decorated with mosaic floors. Glass cubes of several colors, found in the apse area, indicate that there once was an apse mosaic. Nave, aisles, presbytery, the lateral rooms and the W corridor had floors in geometrical patterns, the one in the S aisle was completely destroyed, while the others have patches missing. Of the basically white, coarse atrium mosaic little was preserved.

The transept area which flanked the presbytery was embellished with intricate figure carpets of Nilotic landscapes with fauna and flora. There are representations of swan, geese, doves, ducks, herons, cranes, cormorants, and flamingos; lotus, papyrus, reeds, and oleanders. Though there is a definite lack of realism, the birds are shown in their natural activities like nesting, feeding, or hunting for food. The better preserved N carpet shows birds which are bigger than the plants and the three buildings: a tower, a pavilion, and a city gate. The damaged S carpet displays the same setting with a Nilometer.

These mosaics belong to the so-called figure carpets, which emerged during the 5th century A.D. in the E Mediterranean. Essentially representing landscapes filled with various iconographical subjects such as hunting scenes, animal pursuits, or paradise visions, there are two main groups: one with human figures and the other with animals, plants, and buildings (Kitzinger 1976; 1977: 50–52). The Tabgha floor has several characteristics. The two carpets lack an inner division and the subjects are all to be viewed from the front, i.e., the W. The birds are bigger than plants and buildings, and the composition is neither realistic nor naturalistic: one has waterfowl perching on branches and flowers which could not possibly have carried their weight, and the other has incorrect details of the plants and their never growing out of water marshes. Overlapping and shadowing have been avoided. The absence of movement implies tranquility and serenity, thus the theological concept expressed by the artist and the church commissioners could have been peace in nature as part of the savior paradigma (Nauerth 1987) as well as the equation of the Nile with the river of paradise Gihon-Geon in early Christian ideology and iconography (Herrmann 1959: 38–43).

The dating of the church remains problematic, since no dated inscriptions have come to light. The Nilotic landscape mosaics are dated on stylistic grounds to after A.D.

450 (Kitzinger 1976: 72); the subject has a close parallel on the silver trulla in the Hermitage Museum with four stamps from the time of the emperor Anastasius I, A.D. 491–518 (Herrmann 1959: 61–63; Effenberger 1978: 93–96). Soundings in the atrium revealed sealed material which points to a construction date in the second half of the 5th century (Rosenthal and Hershkovitz 1980: 207). Accepting that the architectural structures and the mosaic floors were constructed together, it follows that this church cannot have been seen by Egeria, who then could have visited the earlier, much smaller chapel with a single nave (Schneider 1937: 20–23), dated by Loffreda (1970b: 378–80) to the late 4th or early 5th century on the evidence of a coin minted under the emperor Honorius during A.D. 395 and 408. This evidence does not conform to the now accepted date of Egeria's visit to the E between A.D. 381 and 384 (Wilkinson 1971: 3, 237–39).

Finally, we have to consider the question whether the sacred rock on which bread and fish had been placed and from which pilgrims broke off fragments was venerated in this road church or in the lakeshore chapel (compare the different interpretations of Schneider 1934: 40–41 and Loffreda 1070a: 27–30, 99–105). To the E right behind the altar a fragmentary mosaic piece depicts a basket with two complete breads and two halves, flanked by a fish on either side, the *Tilapia Galileae*—St. Peter's fish. Together with a donor inscription (the last line with the date has unfortunately been damaged) on the N side of the altar, this mosaic belongs to a repair of the 6th century; it shows that until the church's destruction, probably already in the Sassanid invasion of A.D. 614, the miracle of the loaves and fishes was commemorated in this major pilgrimage church.

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RENATE ROSENTHAL-HEGINBOTTOM

TABLE FELLOWSHIP. Ancient meal customs placed a higher premium on the symbolic value of table fellowship than is common in the modern Western world. To the ancients, sharing a meal was embued with ritual meaning and often signified the most solemn and intimate of social relationships. Such conventions were utilized in various social and religious associations and contributed to the development of early Christian communal meals.

A. Conventions of Table Fellowship Symbolism
   1. Dining Together
   2. Sharing Food
   3. Exclusion and Inclusion
B. The Social Function of Communal Meals
C. Table Fellowship as a Literary Motif

A. Conventions of Table Fellowship Symbolism

1. Dining Together. The formal meal or banquet was the primary social event for the ancients and one which carried a great deal of meaning. Dining together created a tie or bond among the diners which in turn created an ethical obligation toward them. For example, in the ANE eating together was often utilized to symbolize the ratification of a covenant between two parties (Gen 26:26–31). In the Greek tradition, table etiquette was a part of ethical instruction and was especially based in the ethics of friendship. That is to say, rules of etiquette at the table were defined in terms of behavior that enhanced the enjoyment of the occasion for all present or contributed to the "friend-making character of the table" (Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 614A–B; see also Plato's "symposium laws," *Leg.* 2.671C–72A). The statutes of Greek clubs and associations express similar concerns, prohibiting individuals from speaking out of turn and engaging in other divisive behavior at their communal banquets (*IG* II² 1368.107–10; *ILS* 7212.2.25–28; Roberts, Skeat, and Nock 1936: 41–42). In the extended section on meal ethics in Sirach (31:12–32:13) the ethical basis for table etiquette is: "Judge your neighbor's feelings by your own, and in every matter be thoughtful" (31:15). Similarly, in the NT, when Paul defines the rules of conversation or speaking at the Christian gatherings, gatherings which include meals (1 Cor 11:17, 20, 33) and whose theological definition is developed at least partially out of meal symbolism ("This is my body . . . all the members are one body" [1 Cor 11:24, 12:12]; Bornkamm 1969), he does so in terms of that which "edifies" the whole church rather than the individual (14:4–5, 26–33; Smith 1980 and 1981).

2. Sharing Food. The idea of social bonding at the meal was especially symbolized by the specific action of sharing food together. Such symbolism was then used in discussions of ethics at the table as in this example from Plutarch: "Indeed, just as the wine must be common to all, so too the conversation must be one in which all will share" (*Quaes. conv.* 614E). Paul draws on similar imagery in defining how the Christian communal meal, the Lord's Supper, creates bonds among the diners: "Because there

is one bread, we who are many are one body, for we all partake of the one bread" (1 Cor 10:17). This motif lends added poignancy to the scene where Jesus' betrayer shares from the same dish (Matt 26:23 = Mark 14:20 = John 13:26).

3. Exclusion and Inclusion. Meals as social institutions are characterized by the ways in which they define social boundaries in terms of who is excluded and who is included (Douglas 1972: 61; Goody 1982: 191). The same was true in the ancient world as expressed, for example, by the way in which the custom of reclining was practiced and understood. Reclining represented the posture of wealth and privilege; thus only a free citizen could recline at table, while women, children, and slaves, if present at the meal, must sit (Dentzer 1971: 240–55; Smith 1980: 33–38). During the Roman period, however, women began to recline along with men, but the original meaning of the custom was not forgotten (Philo *Vita Cont* 68; Lucian *Symp.* 13). This interpretation of reclining is also reflected in the Jewish Passover liturgy where it is specified that the poor are to recline at the meal along with everyone else, thus apparently symbolizing their full inclusion in the community on the occasion of the festival meal (*m. Pesaḥ* 10.1).

In Judaism, the food laws (kashruth) functioned as a means to define boundaries between the Jewish community and the rest of the world (Douglas 1972: 78–80). When Paul opposed this practice in the Christian church at Antioch, he did so precisely because it defined boundaries so effectively, boundaries which in this case worked against his vision of the social solidarity of the larger Christian community (Gal 2:11–21, 3:28).

B. The Social Function of Communal Meals

The effectiveness of a meal in symbolizing exclusion from outside society and inclusion in a special social group helps to explain its popularity as a social institution in the ancient world. Indeed, the banquet functioned as the primary way in which various social groups exemplified and solidified their group identity. Various kinds of clubs and associations are known to have existed in the Greek and Roman world, such as religious, funerary, and trade associations, but in virtually every case in which we are able to reconstruct their structure, we find that they most commonly met together for meals out of a common purse (Smith 1980: 101–77; Klauck 1982: 68–71).

Like the Greek and Roman clubs and associations, other distinct social groups in the Greco-Roman world met together at table. For example, various Jewish groups, most notably the Therapeutae, Essenes, and Pharisees, also shared communal meals together as a major component of their group identity (Philo *Vita Cont* 40–89; 1QSa 2.11–22; Neusner 1979: 67–96). Similarly, the descriptions that we have of the assemblies of early Christian groups tend to emphasize the communal meal as a central activity that helped to define their community identity (1 Cor 11:18–20, 33; Gal 2:12; Acts 2:46; 20:7; Pliny *Ep.* 10.96.7).

The symbolism of social bonding or "communion" was also extended to include the deity at certain kinds of religious meals (see MEAL CUSTOMS; Hauck *TDNT* 3: 799–800). Paul expressed a similar idea when he spoke of the Lord's Supper as providing "communion" *(koinonia)* with the blood and body of Christ (1 Cor 10:16).

C. Table Fellowship as a Literary Motif

When meals were described in literature, they tended to follow the idealized literary model of the formal meal as represented especially by the symposium tradition. This literary tradition was made up of standard themes and motifs that were very influential both in the repetition of the symposium form and in other genres as well (Martin 1931). The classic *Symposia* are those of Plato and Xenophon, in which they idealize a banquet at which Socrates was present. Their models became especially influential in subsequent centuries so that later philosophers as well as satirists mimicked them (Plut. *Quaes. conv.;* Lucian *Symp.*). Indeed, the symposium genre was widely utilized in various types of Greco-Roman literature. In the Jewish tradition, for example, it is utilized in the *Letter of Aristeas* and even contributes to the literary form of the Passover liturgy (Stein 1957). In the NT, it is reflected in the Gospels, especially Luke (de Meeûs 1961; Delobel 1966; Steele 1984; Smith 1987), as well as in 1 Corinthians 11–14 (Smith 1980 and 1981).

Other related literary motifs connected with meal traditions are especially connected with the Jesus tradition and the idealization of Jesus at table. For example, Jesus' ministry is effectively symbolized by the theme: "He eats with tax collectors and sinners," a theme that draws on the symbolism of exclusion and inclusion to define the nature of the kingdom that Jesus preached (Matt 11:18–19 = Luke 7:33–35; Matt 9:10–13 = Mark 2:15–17 = Luke 5:29–32). This became a prominent motif in the parables (Matt 22:1–10 = Luke 14:15–24) as well as in various other table fellowship texts in the gospels (Smith 1987).

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DENNIS E. SMITH

TABLES OF THE LAW. The phrase designates the two stone tablets inscribed with a set of laws and given by God to Moses on Mt. Horeb/Sinai. References to the tables are concentrated in the parallel texts of Exodus (24:12; 31:18; 32:15, 16, 19; 34:1, 28) and Deuteronomy (4:13; 5:22; 9:9, 10, 15, 17; 10:1, 2, 4, 5); they are mentioned elsewhere in the OT only in 1 Kgs 8:9. The Bible itself does not use the above phrase as such, employing rather the equivalent expressions "tables of the covenant" (Deut 9:9, 15) and "tables of the testimony" (Exod 31:18; 32:15). According to both Exodus (31:18; 32:16) and Deuteronomy (5:22; 9:15), the writing on the tables was done by God himself; as such the tablets' content has an authority even greater than that accorded the human written word in the ANE. On the other hand, the biblical record is ambiguous as to just which body of laws stood on the tables. In Exod 24:12 Yahweh tells Moses ". . . I will give you the tables of stone with the law and the commandment which I have written for their instruction." Here, it seems the tablets are to bear the whole body of laws previously communicated to Moses in Exodus 20–23, i.e., the "ten words" or Decalogue of Exod 20:1–17 as well as the prescriptions of the "Book of the Covenant" in Exod 20:23–23:19 (20–33). Deut 5:22 (cf. 4:13; 9:10), on the contrary, clearly and emphatically limits the inscribed text to the "ten words" of Deut 5:6–21 (= Exod 20:1–17). Finally, Exod 34:27–28 suggests that the "ten words" set down on the tablets comprised rather the cultic laws recorded in Exod 34:11–26, the so-called Ritual Decalogue. The uncertainty on the point left by the biblical documentation likely reflects divergent traditions as to which body of Israelite laws could claim preeminent authority in virtue of its having been written by God himself.

In any event, according to the parallel accounts of Exod 32:19 and Deut 9:17, Moses smashed the original set of tables upon seeing the golden calf the people had made during his absence on the mountain to receive the tables. Against the background of ANE practice, his gesture, destructive of the covenant document, signifies the abrogation of the covenantal relationship between God and Israel. Subsequently, God initiates the making of a new set, thereby intimating his readiness to reactivate the disrupted relationship (Exod 34:1; Deut 10:1–2). This second set of tablets receives permanent shelter in a wooden "ark" which Moses, on Yahweh's orders, prepares for them. As a container of the "tables of the covenant/testimony," this object is designated as "the ark of the covenant" (Deut 10:8), or alternatively, as "the ark of the testimony" (Exod 25:16) (1 Kgs 8:9 affirms that the tables were the sole content of the ark; contrast Heb 9:4 according to which it also contained a sample of the manna and the rod of Aaron). The ark with its tables eventually was installed in the "holy of holies" of Solomon's Temple, 1 Kgs 8:6. The Bible does not record what finally happened to either the ark or the tables. Presumably, they were carried off in one of the successive despoilations of the Temple—either that of 587 or an earlier one. See ARK OF THE COVENANT.

In Deut 31:9, 26 one finds a new feature not recorded in the parallel material of Exodus, i.e. "the book of the law" (= some form of our book of Deuteronomy) written by Moses is placed "beside" the ark bearing the tables of the covenant. This notice signifies that the former—while clearly subordinate to the Decalogue recorded on the tables since written by Moses rather than God himself—nevertheless belongs closely together with it as its authoritative interpretation and application.

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CHRISTOPHER T. BEGG

TABLET. See WRITING AND WRITING MATERIALS.

TABOR (PLACE) [Heb *tābôr*]. A Levitical city in the territory of the tribe of Zebulun listed in 1 Chr 6:62 (—Eng 6:77) but missing in the parallel list of Josh 21:34–35. If the town is associated with Mount Tabor, then the latter presumably would also have been included in the tribal territory of Zebulun (*HGB*, 184–85). This, however, seems unlikely. See TABOR, MOUNT. Some scholars have suggested that this Levitical city is actually CHISLOTH-TABOR (*LBHG*, 271; Na'aman 1986: 224). Recent studies show that the lists of the Levitical cities of the N tribes are not derived from an independent geographical source but rather presuppose the descriptions of the tribal territories in Joshua 13–19, thus their value as historical sources is undermined (Auld 1979; Na'aman 1986: 203–36).

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RAFAEL FRANKEL

TABOR, MOUNT (PLACE) [Heb *har tābôr*]. A mountain of very unusual shape and striking appearance located in the NE corner of the valley of Jezreel (M.R. 187232). The most explicit references to this "mountain" (Heb *har*) are found in Judg 4:6, 12, and 14, but Jer 46:18 and Ps 89:13 (—Eng 89:12) also mention "Tabor" in connection with other lofty peaks. The reference to "Tabor" in Josh 19:22 is also presumably to this hill. However, the existence of a place in Judah named Alon-Tabor (RSV "oak of Tabor," 1 Sam 10:3) indicates that more than one place was called Tabor, and some scholars have suggested that the references to "Tabor" in Judg 8:18 and Hos 5:1 also may possibly refer to other places.

The summit of Mt. Tabor is a plateau, 1,000 × 400 m

in area, sloping down steeply in all directions and connected to the hills to the NW by a low saddle. In the past its slopes were thickly forested. It overlooks the Jezreel valley and controls one of the most important crossroads of the region where the main N–S routes meet and cross the valley. It is a landmark that can be seen from great distances, and from its summit Mt. Carmel, Mt. Gilboa, and Mt. Hermon can all be seen, a feature reflected in Jer 46:18 and Ps 89:13. Recently a small Iron Age site has been discovered close to the summit of the mountain, also containing remains of later periods (Gal 1982: 17).

Two biblical references suggest that the mountain was a place of worship. The first, while not explicitly naming Tabor, refers to the mountain where Zebulun and Issachar "shall offer right sacrifices" (Deut 33:18–19). The second reference mentions "a net spread upon Tabor" and clearly suggests some sort of cult practices (Hos 5:1). Krauss (1966: 165–172) suggested that Psalm 68 was directly connected to the cult on Mt. Tabor. Also, the god Zeus Atabyrios was worshipped at Rhodes on a holy mountain named Atabyrion (or Atabyrios), as well as at other places such as Sicily and Crete. Eissfeldt (1934) suggested that this E Mediterranean cult was Phoenician, and that it derived from the cult of the Galilean Mt. Tabor. Lewy (1950–51), however, suggested that both names—Tabor and Atabyrios—stem from the name "Tibira," an epithet of the god Tammuz that he suggested was derived from Akk *tibira*, "metal worker."

The territories of Zebulun, Issachar, and Naphtali meet at Mt. Tabor, and the name Tabor itself is preserved in the names of two towns, CHISLOTH-TABOR (or "Chesulloth") on the border between Zebulun and Issachar, and AZNOTH-TABOR on the border between Zebulun and Naphtali. Some scholars place Mt. Tabor within the territory of Zebulun (e.g., *HGN*, 184), primarily because Tabor is named as one of the Levitical cities of this tribe (1 Chr 6:62—Eng 6:77). However, it has been shown that the lists of Levitical cities of the N tribes is not an authentic geographical list, and apparently derives largely from the description of the tribal territories in Joshua. The occurrence of Tabor in the list probably derived from Chisloth-Tabor, thus its appearance is not relevant to Mt. Tabor's tribal affiliation. Other scholars place the mountain itself within the territory of Issachar (Noth 1953: 119), but the phrase "touches on Tabor" (Josh 19:22) suggests that the mountain itself was not part of the territory of this tribe. Thus, Mt. Tabor was apparently not an integral part of any one of the tribal territories (see *GP*, II: map 3; and map 72 in *MBA*). This and the gathering of the tribes on the mountain in the battle of Deborah (Judg 4:6, 12, 14) makes it probable that the mountain was a shared cultic center for all the N tribes.

In the Second Temple Period Tabor was one of the mountains on which signal flares were lit to announce the new moon (*t. Roš. Haš.* 2[1]:1, p. 210). Antiochus III captured the mountain in 218 B.C.E. (Polybius, *The Histories* 70:6), and it was one of the places held by Alexander Jannaeus (*Ant* 13.15.4). Alexander the son of Aristobulus was defeated near Mt. Tabor by Gabinius in 55 B.C.E. (*JW* 1.18.7; *Ant* 14.6.3). Josephus himself fortified the mountain (*JW* 2.20.6; *Life* 37) and described its capture by Placidus in 67 C.E. (*JW* 4.1.8). According to Christian tradition it was on Mt. Tabor that the Transfiguration of Jesus took place, although the mountain is not named in the NT references (Matt 17:1–8 = Mark 9:2–8 = Luke 9:28–36). The tradition, however, is clearly attested by the 4th century C.E. (Conder and Kitchener 1881: 367).

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RAFAEL FRANKEL

TABOR, OAK OF (PLACE) [Heb *ʾēlôn tābôr*]. A tree in the territory of Benjamin used by Samuel (1 Sam 10:3) to denote the location of Saul's second sign of kingship. The phrase "Oak of Tabor" is found only in one location in the Bible (1 Sam 10:3), yet attempts have been made to associate it with the oak mentioned in Gen 35:8 and the palm in Judg 4:5. Strong reasons do not exist, however, for such an association. A further suggestion has been made that the Oak of Tabor is located near Bethel, since the three men meeting Saul in 1 Sam 10:3 were traveling toward Bethel. This idea is also uncertain. With the lack of archeological evidence concerning the Oak of Tabor, and the vague description of it in the Bible, determination of an exact site is impossible.

As far as the interpretation of the *ʾēlôn*, the word can be understood as either "oak" or "terebinth." Tabor, mentioned in the context of 1 Sam 10:3, appears to be different from the Tabor mentioned elsewhere in the Bible. Again, the lack of detail in the narrative of 1 Samuel 10 produces an unclear picture of the Oak of Tabor. The only conclusive remark of this location is that it must have been a prominent contemporary landmark.

TOM F. WEI

TABRIMMON (PERSON) [Heb *tabrimmōn*]. The son of Hezion and father of Ben-hadad I who was king of Damascus during the reigns of Baasha, king of Israel, and Asa, king of Judah (1 Kgs 15:18). Nothing is known of Tabrimmon, but he may have reigned as king of Damascus prior to Ben-hadad I. His name means "Rimmon is good" (or bountiful), Rimmon being a god worshipped by the Syrians (cf. 2 Kgs 5:18). In Assyria this deity was called Rammanu (Thunderer), a title given to Hadad, the god of storm, rain, and thunder. The compound name, Hadad-rimmon of Zech 12:11, suggests that these gods are identical.

PAULINE A. VIVIANO

TACITUS (PERSON). Roman historian, born ca. 56 C.E., probably of a Gallic or N Italian family. He received his rhetorical education under Marcus Aper and Julius Secun-

dus, the most distinguished orators of his time. In 77 C.E., Tacitus married the daughter of Agricola, the consul, shortly before the latter's departure for Britain.

Tacitus began his political career as quaestor in 81/2 C.E., and praetor in 88 C.E. during the reign of Domitian (*Agr.* 9.6; *Hist.* 1.1; and *Ann.* 11.11). He left Rome on an official commission in 90 C.E. and returned in 93 C.E. shortly after his father-in-law's death. In Rome, Tacitus witnessed the final years of Domitian's criminal atrocities (*Agr.* 1ff.; 3.2, and 44ff.; and *Hist.* 1.1). In 97 C.E., Tacitus was made *consul suffectus* under Nerva and as Rome's leading orator, gave the eulogy for Verginius Rufus. In 100 C.E. with his friend Pliny (the future governor of Bithynia), he prosecuted Marius Priscus for extortion (Pliny *Ep.* 2.12.2). He may have governed a military province and later served as proconsul of Asia in 112/13 C.E. If a sentence in *Ann.* 2.61 was written after 115 C.E., Tacitus may have survived to the accession of Hadrian in 117 C.E.

Concerning Tacitus' writings, the *Dialogus*, once considered his earliest work, was dedicated to a consul of 102 C.E. and was likely published then or shortly thereafter. On the basis of style, some scholars reject its Tacitean authorship. *Dialogus* is a nonhistorical work which discusses the decline of Roman oratory. In the *Dialogus*, two lawyers and two literary men discuss the claims of oratory against those of literature and why eloquence had declined since the days of Cicero. Most notable, great oratory had declined because it was dependent on the free life and institutions fostered under the Republic.

In 98 C.E., Tacitus published *De vita Iulii Agricolae*, describing the life of his father-in-law, particularly his achievements in Britain. The work is at the same time a *laudatio* of the dead man and an *apologia* for Agricola's passive toleration of the tyranny of Domitian. This work is similar to earlier Greek semi-biographical moral eulogies. Although historical and descriptive material about Britain is included in this monograph, a more thorough narrative of Roman activity in Britain can be found in his *Histories*.

In the same year, Tacitus published *De origine et situ Germanorum*, an ethnographic study of the tribes N of the Rhine and Danube. While its purpose is somewhat uncertain, the work contains recurrent moral contrasts between the "noble savage" and the decadence of Rome and warns about the threat of the Germanic tribes on the N frontier.

Tacitus also wrote two longer monographs which survey Roman imperial history from 14–96 C.E. The first of the two historical works is usually called the *Histories* and covers the period from the death of Nero (68 C.E.) to the assassination of Domitian (96 C.E.). The *Histories* probably consisted of 14 books (see Jerome *Comm. in Zach.* 3.14 and below on the *Annales*). Only books 1–4 and the first half of book 5 are extant, describing the turbulent years of civil war that begin the era (from 69–70 C.E.).

Tacitus' last and greatest work was the so-called *Annales*, recording the history of the Julio-Claudian emperors, from the death of Augustus (14 C.E.) to the death of Nero (68 C.E.). The *Annales* consists of sixteen books, which have also not survived in their entirety. Existing mss lack two years from the reign of Tiberius, the entire reign of Gaius (Caligula), half of the reign of Claudius, and the last two years of Nero's rule.

Although tainted by his strong anti-Imperial bias, the works of Tacitus are the earliest extant account of Roman history in the 1st century C.E. SUETONIUS, the Imperial biographer and Tacitus' contemporary, as a court secretary, amassed invaluable material but often without a critical discretion. Likewise, Dio Cassius, a later historian of this period, lived close to the court but was unable to grasp the affairs of the early empire. Supplemented by archaeological, numismatic, papyrological, and artistic evidence, Tacitus is by far the chief witness for this significant historical period.

Tacitus is also the most significant Roman historical source on the Jews in the 1st century C.E. In his *Histories*, Tacitus describes the early stages of the Roman siege of Jerusalem, the end of which unfortunately has not survived. In this context, Tacitus records traditions about the origin of the Jewish nation, the nature of their religion, and a description of their land and history until the outbreak of the Great Revolt (*Hist.* 5.1–13).

Among the versions of the origins of the Jews found in Tacitus, some are neutral, one is favorable, and one is derogatory. One version is derived from the etymological association of Iudaei with Mt. Ida on Crete. Tacitus writes that the Jews, according to some, were refugees from Crete, leaving the island when Jupiter expelled Saturn. Other versions, recorded by Tacitus, assert that the Jews came from an overspill of the Egyptian population, some maintaining that the Egyptian Jews had originated in Assyria (suspiciously similar to the biblical tradition), and others that they came first out of Ethiopia (certainly not the region of modern-day Ethiopia). Tacitus also reports that some assign a very distinguished origin to the Jews, associating them with the Solymi (from which was derived Jerusalem) celebrated in Homer.

Finally Tacitus records the version which reflects what he calls the majority opinion (identical with the Greco-Egyptian tradition about the Jews). The Jews, hated by the gods and disease-striken, were led by Moses through the wilderness with the help of wild asses, which directed them to water. Moses taught the people profane religious notions and established a sabbatical for idleness. Tacitus criticizes Jewish proselytism, misanthropy, separatism, and their refusal to worship the emperor. Because of Tacitus' fame, his account had a tremendous influence from the Renaissance onwards.

Other interesting points about Jewish history are scattered throughout both historical works (see esp. *Hist.* 2.81; *Ann.* 2.42, 85; and 12.54). There is some uncertainty about what sources Tacitus relied on for his information but suggestions include Apion, Pliny the elder, and Antonius Julianus, Mucianus for geography, and, though unlikely, Josephus for the siege.

Tacitus also referred to Christians in his account of the burning of Rome under Nero (*Ann.* 15.44). The passage was intended to illustrate the magnitude of Nero's crimes and not to provide an in-depth description of a religious "superstition" that otherwise is of no interest to Tacitus. He relates that the movement was named after a certain Christus, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate during the reign of Tiberius. Tacitus also states that Christianity had spread to Rome, where it was growing in popularity (compare Suet. *Claud.* 25). Nero made the Christians scapegoats for the burning of Rome and used the occasion

to cruelly execute Roman Christians, not so much for the crime of incendiarism, however, as for their antisocial tendencies (compare Suet. *Ner.* 16). Tacitus' account became a springboard for a later Christian tradition which painted a fantastic picture of persecution under Nero. Tacitus' account reveals Roman attitudes toward Christians in the early 2d century C.E. and is of particular interest when compared with the near contemporary letters exchanged between Pliny the Younger and Trajan.

SCOTT T. CARROLL

TADMOR (PLACE) [Heb *tadmōr*]. An oasis in the N part of the area controlled by the united kingdom of Israel, which was fortified by Solomon (1 Kgs 9:18; 2 Chr 8:4). The Ketib in the MT of 1 Kgs 9:18 reads Tamar (Heb *tāmār*); the Qere corrects it to Tadmor (Heb *tadmōr*). For a further discussion of this point, see below.

Tadmor (34°36′N; 38°15′E) was an important desert oasis on the route to Mesopotamia, located halfway between Mari and Damascus. It is mentioned in the Assyrian records of Tiglath-pileser I (1115–1100 B.C.E.) as "*tadmar ša mât amurri*," "Tadmor of the Amurru country" (*ANET*, 275). Amurru, or Aram, was located in what is now modern-day Syria. During the reign of Solomon, Amurru was one of the areas dominated by vassal treaty, and it appears that Solomon fortified it as part of his control of the trade routes, and also as a defense against the encroachments of the Arameans of the kingdom of Damascus. Tadmor later became known as Palmyra to the Greeks; it was a large and important trading center until its destruction by the Roman emperor Aurelian in 273 C.E.

There is some debate concerning the correct reading of 1 Kgs 9:18. As mentioned above, the Ketib reads Tamar, a word meaning "palm," which suits an oasis as a descriptive term. Therefore, it is possible that the *dalet* of Tadmor was lost by haplography, and that Tamar remained in the text because the error was not at first noticed. The Qere reads Tadmor, as does the LXX of Lucian. The question is, are Tamar and Tadmor identical sites, or are they separate cities, both fortified by Solomon? The identity of Tadmor in 2 Chr 8:4 as the N oasis on the trade route connecting Mesopotamia and Palestine is certain. The city is mentioned as part of Solomon's building program immediately after the recounting of his conquest of Hammath-zobah in Syria. Therefore the identification of Tadmor as the city mentioned in the Assyrian records, later known as Palmyra, is clear.

However, in 1 Kgs 9:18, the name Tamar/Tadmor occurs in a list of cities that begins in the N and ends in the S, with Tamar/Tadmor at the end. If Tamar/Tadmor is to be identified with the site in Syria, it is out of geographical order (being in the N). Therefore, some scholars suggest that the correct reading is Tamar, and identify Tamar with a site in the SE part of Judah, also mentioned in Gen 14:7, Ezek 47:19; 48:28. Tamar was a fortified town on the border of Israel and Edom which functioned as a supply depot for mines in the Arabah. The location of Tamar is uncertain; two locations, Qasr ej-Jeheiniyah (M.R. 173048; W of the Arabah), or el-Qeriya (S of the Dead Sea), have been suggested.

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SIDNIE ANN WHITE

TAHAN (PERSON) [Heb *taḥan*]. TAHANITES. Tahan is a descendant of Ephraim (1 Chr 7:25) and therefore a descendant of Joshua, the hero of the conquest (v 26). Tahan is the son of Telah and father of Ladan. The Ephraimite list in 1 Chronicles 7 is a unit that is interrupted in v 21b and resumed in vv 25–27. Since the antecedent of "his son" before Rephah (v 25) is unclear, the relation of Tahan to the earlier listing is also uncertain. Braun (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 114) suggests there is a repetition of names in vv 20–21 and 25–27 and some variations in spelling. Hogg (1900–1: 149–50) argues that the names in vv 25–27 beginning with Rephah (and therefore including Tahan) are variations or misreadings of the three sons of Ephraim found in Num 26:35–36. This Numbers passage is the only other listing of the Ephraimite clan in the OT and it names three sons of Ephraim: Shuthelah, Becher, and Tahan.

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TAHASH (PERSON) [Heb *taḥaš*]. The third of four sons borne by Reumah, the concubine of Abraham's brother Nahor (Gen 22:24). While Westermann (1985: 368) insists that Tahash is a personal name here, it could rather reflect the name of a land known in Egyptian texts from Thutmosis III to Ramesses II as *ṯḥs* and in the Amarna letters as *taḫši* (Simons 1937: 220). Although the region may have been located just beyond the NE border of Palestine, it more probably was situated N of Damascus, if not even N of Kadesh on the Orontes River. The suggestion that the name of Tahash derives from a place gains some strength by the pairing of him with Maacah. The Aramean Maacah tribe can be geographically fixed to the S foot of Mount Hermon, NW of Bashan (Josh 13:11, 13; 2 Sam 10:6, 8). Heb *taḥaš* is often treated as the same as the Ar term *tuḥas* (cf. *duḥas*) for "dolphin," but this interpretation is not certain. (See Haran [1965: 204 n. 28] for several attempts at identification.)

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EDWIN C. HOSTETTER

TAHATH (PERSON) [Heb *taḥat*]. **1.** A descendant of Kohath (1 Chr 6:9—Eng 6:24), one of the three sons of

Levi (Gen 46:11). Tahath is the son of Assir and the father of Uriel (1 Chr 6:8–9—Eng 6: 23–24). Tahath also appears in 6:22—Eng 6:37 in a listing of the descendants of Heman, the singer, a Kohathite. The Kohathites were the most important of the Levitical families because Kohath was the grandfather of Aaron, Moses, and Miriam (Exod 6:18–20). In the wilderness the Kohathites, along with the Gershonites and Merarites, were charged with the care and transportation of the tabernacle. Later, King David gathered 120 Kohathites, with Uriel as their leader, to bring the ark to Jerusalem (1 Chr 15:5–15). Heman was the leader of those "appointed over the service of song in the house of the Lord" (1 Chr 6:16–18—Eng 6:31–33).

2. A descendant of Ephraim and son of Bered (1 Chr 7:20). The name appears twice in the listing of the sons of Ephraim, first as the son of Bered, and second as the son of Eleadah. This genealogy of Ephraim lists many other descendants including two Shuthelahs, Bered, Zabad and others (vv 20–27). The significance of this passage is to point towards Joshua (v 27), an Ephraimite, the hero of the conquest. Braun (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 114) speculates that this genealogy is a combination of two earlier lists due to the repetition of various names (Shuthelah, Tahath), similarity of others (Bered, v 20 and Zabad, v 21; Eleadah, v 20 and Ladan, v 26; Tahath, v 20 and Tahan, v 25) and length of the genealogy. Hogg (1900–1:147–49) argues that the 1 Chronicles 7 text is corrupt and suggests that Ephraim's descendants should be reduced to Shuthelah, Tahath (or equivalents), and Eleadah (or equivalents). Num 26:35–36 is the only other OT listing of the Ephraimite clan (except Genesis 46 in the LXX). Based on the Numbers passage, Ephraim had three sons: Shuthelah, Becher, and Tahan (Tahath). They are described as the heads of clans.

3. Son of Eleadah (1 Chr 7:20). See #2.

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M. Stephen Davis

TAHATH (PLACE) [Heb *tāḥat*]. A camping site for the Israelites during their journey through the wilderness (Num 33:26–27). The location of Tahath is unknown. It is part of an original list of place names used by the Priestly writer, the majority of which cannot be identified. This list was possibly the itinerary of a pilgrim route to and from Sinai (Noth *Numbers* OTL). The name Tahath occurs elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible as a personal name (1 Chr 6:9, 22—Eng w 24, 37; 7:20).

Sidnie Ann White

TAHCHEMONITE [Heb *taḥkĕmōnî*]. Gentilic identification of Josheb-basshebeth, chief of "the Three," (2 Sam 23:8). In the parallel passage of 1 Chronicles (11:11; cf. 1 Chr 27:32), the text reads "Jashobeam, a Hachmonite, was chief of the three; . . ." The textual difficulties surrounding this name are extensively discussed by McCarter (*2 Samuel* AB, 489). These difficulties preclude any certainty about the personal name, the gentilic designation, and the group title. The most likely reading for the personal name is "Yeshbaal." See JOSHEB-BASSHEBETH. The gentilic designation is most likely "Hachmonite." See HACHMONI. However, neither Tahchemon nor Hachmon, the presumed clan or place names, are identified elsewhere. McCarter states that the MT *thkmny* is a corruption of *bn ḥkmny* (MT 1 Chr 11:11). This has support from the LXX^{L} reading: *huios thekemanei*. Context supports "the Three" as the group name, apparently, but not certainly, a special force among "the Thirty" (cf. 2 Sam 23:18–39), David's corps of military elite *(haggibbōrim)*. See DAVID'S CHAMPIONS.

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David L. Thompson

TAHPANHES (PLACE) [Heb *tahpanhēs*]. An Egyptian outpost in the E Delta of Egypt bordering Sinai, and one of several outposts along the route through Sinai into Palestine and N Arabia. The Hebrew consonantal spelling reflects the Egyptian *T3-ḥ(t)-(n.t)-p3-nḥsy* meaning "the Fortress of Penhase." The Heb *taḥpanhēs*, rendered in Gk as *Taphanais*, through popular etymology was associated by the Greeks with *Daphnai*, as the location was later known (and late also as *Daphne* and *Daphno*), and is probably still reflected in the contemporary Arabic name of the site, Tell ed-Defenna/Dafna (Lambdin, *IDB* 4: 510).

Modern Tell ed-Defenna, the ancient Tahpanhes (30°52′N; 32°10′E), is situated about 8 km W of el-Qantara and about 24 km SW of Pelusium/Farmea/Tell el-Farama (Timm 1985: 551–55). Excavations by Petrie in 1887 produced some earlier Pharaonic objects, but the earliest substantial occupation of the site dates to Psammetichos I (ca. 663 B.C.), founder of the Saite dynasty, who located a garrison of Greek mercenaries there, who were employed in his war against the Ethiopians (Ball 1942: 8). Excavations uncovered Greek pottery, weaponry, and various other objects. Some artifacts were also dated to the reigns of Neco (609–593), Psammetichos II (593–588), and Apries (588–566). There is no clear evidence of occupation of this site by Persians, although Herodotus suggests it, and early excavations of the site yielded pottery of "Persian design" (Fontaine 1948). With the establishment of the colony of Naucratis at the end of the 7th or early 6th century B.C. on the Canopic branch of the Nile, the commercial importance of Daphne must have slowly dwindled (Fontaine 1948). Dwellings of the Ptolemaic period and Roman period tombs were also found, but no Byzantine period remains (Petrie 1886; Fontaine 1948; Ball 1942: 8). The site is dominated by the ruins of a large rectangular building known to the *fellāḥīn* of Petrie's day as *qasr bint el-yahūdīya*, "The Fortress of the Jewish Woman." The *qasr* appears to be a fortified residence of a governor of Daphne from the Saïte period, although the traditional association with the Jews is curious. Also, the famous statue of the god Baal-zaphon located in the Cairo Museum was taken from Tell ed-Defenna/Daphne although details of its discovery are vague.

Herodotus mentions Daphne, along with Elephantine and Marea, as one of three outposts set up against intru-

sions by Assyrians and Arabs from the E during the Persian occupation (2.30.107). Judith 1:9 (here *Taphnas*) and a Greek geographical papyrus (*T[.]aphnaiein*, damaged) both mention the site as one of several settlements along routes into Egypt (Noordegraaf 1938). A new Nabatean inscription from Tell esh-Shuqafiya dated to the last half of the 1st century B.C. mentions the site (Aram *Dpn*') as the location of the shrine of the Nabatean god Dushares, suggesting a significant Nabatean commercial presence in Daphne at that late date (Jones et al. 1988). The *Antonine Itinerary* (late 3d century A.D.) mentions *Daphno* as being 16 Roman miles inland from Pelusium. Some manuscripts of the Latin account of the Christian pilgrim Egeria in the late 4th century A.D. mention *Tathnis/Tatnis* in the land of Goshen along the route of the city of Arabia to Pelusium, which has been identified by some as Daphne (where it reports that Moses was born), but this may be a scribal error for Tanis (Gingras 1970: 63–64, 186–88). A certain bishop Eulogius at the time of the great Athanasius (4th century) is mentioned in a Coptic source as being from *Taphnas* (Timm 1985). In the 6th century A.D., Stephanus of Byzantium mentions the site as *Daphno* which derived its name from the laurels (Gk *daphne*) which grew there (Ball 1942: 171). *Daphne/Taphnas* is also mentioned briefly in connection with Jeremiah in a few patristic writers (Timm 1985: 552 and references). There is also mention of a St. Isidore from *Dafnās* in a late Copto-Arabic source (Timm 1985).

In the Bible, most references to Tahpanhes are found in the book of Jeremiah, especially chapter 43. Jerusalem was about to be besieged. The governor Gedaliah had been assassinated, and those in the circle of Gedaliah feared for their lives and fled to Egypt, taking the aged Jeremiah and Baruch his scribe with them, as both were suspected of having pro-Babylonian sympathies. These Jewish refugees found asylum in Tahpanhes, just within the Egyptian frontier, where Jeremiah lived and uttered his last prophecies of which we have any knowledge (Jer. 43:8–13, and chapter 44), words which again condemned his people for their apostasy. Jeremiah, now presumably in his sixties, is heard of no more, and it seems probable that at Tahpanhes he spent his last days (Bright *Jeremiah* AB, CXI).

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TAHPENES (PERSON) [Heb *taḥpĕnês*]. An Egyptian queen whose sister married Hadad of Edom after he found refuge in Egypt when he fled from David (1 Kgs 11:19–20). Tahpenes is treated as a personal name, but it is probably a corruption of an Egyptian title, "wife of the king" *(t.hmt.nsw)*. This reading is confirmed by the LXX which has a *mu* instead of the Hebrew letter, *pe*, in this name. She is called the "great lady" *(gĕbîrâ)*, possibly indicating her position as "chief lady" of the harem and mother of the heir-apparent. The title, *gĕbîrâ*, is given to the queen-mother in Judah. Hadad's son, Genubath, is weaned by this queen and raised with the sons of Pharaoh. See Gray *Kings* OTL; Noth *Könige* BKAT.

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TAHREA (PERSON) [Heb *taḥrĕ'a*]. See TAREA.

TALENT [Gk *talanton*]. "Talent" is also the RSV rendering of the Heb terms *kikar* and *kikār*. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

TALIONIS. See LEX TALIONIS.

TALITHA CUMI. The Aramaic phrase, transliterated into Greek *(talitha koumi)*, used by Jesus when he healed Jairus' daughter. This provides evidence for an Aramaic basis to the language of Jesus, because (1) it is a full sentence, and (2) *talitha* is from the Aramaic form of *ṭalyâ* ("lamb," "youth") and *koumi* reflects the feminine singular imperative form *qûmî* from the verb *qwm*. It occurs only in Mark's gospel, furnished with an explanation in Greek, *to korasion, soi legō, egeire* ("Girl, I say to you, get up!"). Here, however, the words *soi legō* ("I say to you") have no equivalent in the presumed Aramaic. There is a parallel of substance in Luke 8:54 which lacks those words, but which uses *hē pais* ("child") instead of *to korasion*. Both could easily reflect the same Aramaic original. However, Mark and Luke alike express the vocative here by using the definite article, and in this coincide with the use of the Aramaic emphatic state in the word *talitha* (Aram *ṭlyṭ'*), whereas in the similar cases in Luke 7:14b and John 11:43b the vocative itself is used.

It seems strange that anyone should have addressed an unconscious (or dead) person as "girl" and not by her own name. The context is thoroughly Jewish, the girl's father has a Jewish name (Jairus = *Ya'ir*), and he is a synagogue ruler. If his name is given, why not that of his daughter? Further, the Greek mss and the versions have problems in Mark 5:41. The best attested reading is *Talitha koum*, but at first sight that seems to make the verb masculine *(qwm)* instead of feminine *(qwmy)*. The other three sets of readings all look like attempts to make sense of the matter by seeing in *talitha* (or in their equivalents for it) a proper name. Thus all make both subject and verb explicitly

feminine. The problems could be solved if (1) *talitha* could be documented as a proper name and not just an Aram word meaning "girl," and (2) if in the spoken language the final *yod* in feminine form *qwmy* were silent as in the corresponding Syriac. In Acts 9:40 and John 11:43b the person being "raised from the dead" is addressed by name: since *Thaleththi* (= *Talitha*) has been attested in an epitaph of the 1st century A.D. from Tiberias in Galilee, *Talitha cum(i)* should possibly be read as "Talitha, stand up!"

The view that *talitha cumi* is a foreign word, part of the magician's mystique, is ingenious but fails to take account of the Jewish and indeed Aramaic nature of the whole setting of the story.

MAX WILCOX

TALLIT [Heb *ṭallît; ṭallêt*]. Ceremonial tassels worn in Judaism and ancient Israel. See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

TALMAI (PERSON) [Heb *talmay*]. **1.** A descendant of Anak. Talmai, together with Ahiman and Sheshai, lived in Hebron when the spies were sent by Moses (Num 13:22). They were driven out by Caleb (Josh 15:14) and Judah (Judg 1:10). According to Num 13:33, they had descended from the Nephilim and were considered giants. In Judg 1:10 they are called "Canaanites."

2. The king of Geshur, the son of Ammihud. Talmai's daughter Maacah bore David's third son, Absalom, during David's rule in Hebron (2 Sam 3:3; 1 Chr 3:2). After the assassination of Amnon, Absalom fled for refuge to Talmai in Geshur and remained there three years (2 Sam 13:37–38).

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TALMON (PERSON) [Heb *ṭalmôn; ṭalmôn*]. A levitical gatekeeper, and head of one of the major families of postexilic gatekeepers; the name is found in five of the Chronicler's lists of temple personnel (1 Chr 9:17 = Neh 11:19; Ezra 2:42 = Neh 7:45 = 1 Esdr 5:28; Neh 12:25). Some scholars have questioned whether some of these lists (e.g., Ezra 2:42 and parallels) indicate the originally nonlevitic status of the gatekeepers (cf. Williamson 1979: 253–54 n. 11; *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 35, 347), but D. J. A. Clines (*Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* NCBC, 55–56) is probably right to affirm the likelihood of the levitical status of the gatekeepers from the beginning, with only "terminological differences" being reflected in the various lists (also cf. Myers, *1 Chronicles* AB 120–21). The LXX lacks any reference to Talmon in Neh 12:25 (all six names are lacking in the earliest Greek mss); such omissions are quite common in Nehemiah 12, and they remain problematic. See AMOK. Although the MT does list six names in v 25, probably only the last three (Meshullam, Talmon, and Akkub) are meant to be understood as gatekeepers (*contra* the RSV); the first three names continue the list of singers found in the previous verse (Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 356, 358 nn. 24.d., 25.a.; Clines *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* NCBC, 227; cf. Myers *Ezra-Nehemiah* AB, 194–95).

In regard to the meaning of the name "Talmon," Noth (*IPN*, 223) compared the Arabic word *ẓalmun*, "brightness, splendor," or the like (*θ > *ṭ*, assuming Aramaic influence); he categorized this name as a "pet name," expressing the delight of the parents for their child.

Finally, some have pointed to the reference in Ezra 10:24 (cf. 1 Esdr 9:25) to the postexilic gatekeeper (clan?) of Telem (Heb *ṭelem*) as possibly an alternate form of the name "Talmon" (Clines *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* NCBC, 56). In support of such an identification, one might note the analogous appearance in the same verse of the name "Shallum" (= Meshelemiah = Shelemiah; see MESHELEMIAH), another prominent clan of levitical gatekeepers.

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TALMUD. The compilations of commentary on the Mishnah whose texts have become the core for Jewish legal and moral understanding.

A. Definitions
B. Content
C. Editorial History
D. Textual History

A. Definitions

The word "Talmud" means "study" or "learning." In *M. ʾAbot* 4:13—"Be heedful in *talmûd*, for an unwitting error in *talmûd* is accounted a willful transgression"—"Talmud" refers to the opinions and teachings students acquire from their teachers. In *b. B. Meṣ.* 33a, it indicates the totality of one's acquired knowledge: "He from whom one has acquired the greater part of his *talmûd* is to be regarded as one's teacher" (Berkovits *EncJud* 15: 750). However, talmud most frequently denotes the two collections of materials, one from Palestine and one from ancient Babylonia (modern Iraq), which are organized as commentaries to the Mishnah, which tradition assigns to the leader of the Palestinian Jewish community at the beginning of the 3d century C.E., Judah the Patriarch. Because the Babylonian Talmud became for European Jewry the more important of the two, "the Talmud" usually refers to that document. This collection is also known as the *ŠaS*, an abbreviation for *Šiššâ Sidrê mišnâ*, "the six orders of the Mishnah," the *Gemara* (Aram *gĕmārâ*), from the Heb root, *gmr*, which means "completion," or the *Bablî* (pronounced bavli), the Hebrew adjective "Babylonian."

The Talmud compiled in Palestine is called in the traditional texts "the Gemara of the land of Israel," "the Talmud of the land of Israel," "the Talmud of the West," and "the Gemara of the people of the West." At times the North African Rabbi Nissim (ca. 900–1062 C.E.), names a tractate to which he appends the phrase "of the children of the West." The term *Yĕrûšalmî*, a Hebrew adjectival form of Jerusalem, is used commonly by the North African sage Hananel ben Hushi'el (d. 1055/56 C.E.), occasionally by R.

Nissim, by Isaac ben Jacob Alfasi (1013–1103 C.E.), and by many medieval European sages. The earliest printed edition of this text, published in Venice, and the only complete ms of the document, the Leiden Manuscript, both employ the term "Talmud Yerushalmi." The Meiri, Rabbi Menahem ben Solomon (1249–1316 C.E.), a Provencal sage, refers to the document as the Western Talmud (Bokser 1979: 150–51).

If the Jews are "a people of the Book," that book is the Talmud, especially the Babylonian Talmud. The Babli sets forth the outline of a system of Judaism which is adhered to today. The modes of religiosity in the Hebrew Bible focus on the priests offering sacrifices to YHWH, usually at the altar/Temple in Jerusalem. The leaders of the community, whose ideal place of residence was within the land of Israel, were the kings, anointed by YHWH's representatives, the priests, eventually an inherited office, and the prophets, called by YHWH. With the end of the monarchy in 586 B.C.E., the end of prophecy before the Maccabean period, the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E., and the decline of the Palestinian centers of Judaism after 220 C.E., the Jews had to discover new ways of approaching YHWH. The outlines of the new system were set forth in the two Talmuds (Heb *talmûdîm*, plural of *talmûd*). The Babylonian Gemara became the foundation-document of Central European and American Judaism, while the Yerushalmi served the Jews of the Mediterranean world. YHWH's representatives were now the rabbis, who achieved their status by mastering both the Written Torah, the Hebrew Bible, and the Oral Torah, the rabbinic traditions which "originated" with Moses, our rabbi. Sacrifices were replaced by prayer, study, and good deeds, and the community outside of the land of Israel waited for its return to the holy land at the time of the Messiah (Neusner 1965–70). The Talmuds are our major sources of information about the Jews of late antiquity. While we have other written materials by Palestinian Jews—such as the *targûmîn* (Aramaic translations of the Hebrew Bible), *midrāšîm* (collections of biblical exegeses), and some liturgical and magical texts—and some archaeological artifacts—such as tombs, synagogues, and inscriptions—the Yerushalmi remains our primary source of information about Palestinian Judaism in late antiquity (*HJP*^{2} 3/1; Meyers and Strange 1981; Smallwood 1976; Avi-Yonah 1976). For the Jews of Babylonia, with the exception of a very few archaeological finds—such as the Dura synagogue and the magical bowls of Nisibis—the Babli is our sole source of information about their way of life, their system of beliefs, their modes of thought, and their interpretations of the Hebrew Bible (Neusner 1965–70). Therefore, in order to gain information about the Jews of Late Antiquity, one must delve into the two Talmuds.

The sages cited in the Talmuds are known as Amoraim (Aram *ʾămôrʾāyim*), the sayers, for their statements are usually introduced in the Gemara (commentary section) by the Heb root *ʾmr*, "says." The masters who appear in the Mishnah and related documents are known as Tannaim (Heb *tannāʾîm*), from the Heb root *tnh*, to teach or repeat, because their sayings are introduced in the Gemaras (Aram *gĕmārôt*, plural of *gĕmārāʾ*) by some form of the root *tnh*. The Amoraim are followed by the Seboraim (Heb *sĕbbôrāyim*), a plural noun from *sbr*, to reason, who are in turn followed by the Geonim (Heb *gĕʾônîm*) (a plural noun meaning learned), which is usually applied to the heads of the Babylonian academies at the time of origins of Islam.

The text of the Babylonian Talmud consists of some 2.5 million words, on 5,894 folio pages. About one-third is Halakah (Heb *hălākâ*), legal material or statements of law, while two-thirds is Aggadah (Heb *ʾaggâdâ*), that is, stories, anecdotes, legends, and the like. Interestingly, much of the Aggadah in the Babylonian Talmud seems to have been of Palestinian origin. Only one-sixth of the Palestinian Talmud consists of Aggadah. Some argue that because only the Palestinian sages produced a distinct genre of biblical exegetical texts, the *midrâšîm*, which contains a good deal of Aggadah, they were able to include much less Aggadah in their talmud than did the Babylonian Amoraim (Goldberg 1987a: 336).

B. Content

The two Talmuds differ in scope, language, style, and content. The Palestinian Talmud contains a Gemara to 39 of Mishnah's 63 tractates, occurring in 4 of the base document's 6 major Orders: *Zeraʿim*, Seeds; *Moʿed*, Festival; *Našim*, Women; and *Neziqin*, Torts. It also includes a Gemara to the first 3 chapters of the tractate *Niddah*, Menstruant Woman, which appears in the Order *Ṭoharot*, Purities. However, not all of the tractates are complete: There is no Gemara to the third chapter of tractate *Makkot*, Lashes, in *Neziqin;* to the 21st through the 24th chapters of *Šabbat* in the Order *Moʿed;* or to the 4th through the 10th chapters of *Niddah*. The Palestinian Talmud does contain a Gemara to all of the tractates of *Zeraʿim* and to tractate *Šeqalim* of the Order *Moʿed*. A version of the missing chapter of *Makkot* has been found in the Cairo Geniza. Although some medieval authorities refer to the existence of a Palestinian Gemara to *Qodašim*, Holy Things, and *Ṭoharot*, most scholars agree that none actually existed, and no fragments of these have yet appeared (Rabinowitz *EncJud* 15: 772–74, Bokser 1979: 167–68).

Only 37 of the 63 tractates of the Mishnah receive a connected commentary in the Babylonian Talmud. Materials from the remaining 26 are scattered throughout the text. With the exception of *Berakot*, Blessings, there is no Babylonian Gemara to the tractates in *Zeraʿim*. The Order *Moʿed* is complete in the Babylonian Talmud, with the exception of *Sheqalim*, which does appear in the Palestinian Talmud. Furthermore, the Babylonian Talmud, like the Palestinian Talmud, does not contain a Gemara, to *Eduyyot*, Testimonies, or *Abot*, Fathers. The *Gemara* to *Qodashim* is almost complete in the Babylonian Talmud, with the exception of *Middot*, Measurements, *Qinnim*, Bird-offerings, and part of *Tamid*, Daily Whole-offering. Similar to the situation in the Palestinian Gemara, *Niddah* is the only tractate of *Ṭoharot* which has a Gemara in the Babylonian Talmud (Berkovits *EncJud* 15: 757, Goodblatt 1979: 259). Steinsaltz (1976: 279–83) and Berkovits *EncJud* 15: 751) contain a convenient chart which compares the content of the two Talmuds to the chapters of Mishnah. Krupp summarizes the contents of the various manuscripts of the Palestinian Talmud (1987b) and provides a chart of the contents of the major manuscripts of the Babylonian Gemara, tractate by tractate (1987a).

Both Talmuds are composed in Aramaic as well as He-

brew. The Aramaic of the Babylonian Talmud is classified as Eastern Aramaic, while that of the Palestinian Talmud is known as Western Aramaic. The Babylonian text contains some Persian loan-words, and the Palestinian document contains a considerable amount of Greek in a Syrian-Palestinian dialect. The Hebrew in the Talmuds represents several types: Biblical Hebrew, in quotations from the Hebrew Bible, early Middle Hebrew, especially in the quotations from the Mishnah, and late Middle Hebrew, a post-Mishnaic form of Hebrew. However, because the copyists and printers who transmitted the Talmudic texts often "corrected" the orthography, morphology, syntax, and lexica of the documents to conform to more widely known forms of Hebrew, it is extremely difficult to recapture the traits of the original languages of these documents (Goodblatt 1979: 273–80, Goldberg 1987b: 305, Rabinowitz *EncJud* 15: 774, Bokser 1979: 201–8, Ginzberg 1970: 8).

Many who have compared the Palestinian Gemara to its Babylonian counterpart have observed that the comments in the former are briefer and more focused (Halivni 1986: 82). Its discussions are frequently shorter, more elliptical, less clear, and often enigmatic (Bokser 1979: 170), when compared to those in the Babylonian Talmud. The Palestinian pericopae frequently lack editorial introductions and connections. A passage may consist of nothing more than the juxtaposition of a Tannaitic text which seems to be at variance with the relevant section of Mishnah and a reconciliation of the two. Or, the section may open by quoting an Amoraic statement to which Tannaitic sources or other Amoraic statements are found to support or to contradict it. If the quoted texts disagree, the Amoraim frequently seek to smooth out the differences (Goldberg 1987b: 307). On the other hand, the Babylonian Gemara contains elaborate pericopae which have been described as "colorful, pulsating, outreaching, often presenting an interwoven and continuous discourse . . ." (Halivni 1986: 82). Although scholars disagree concerning the number of layers one can discern in the Babylonian Gemara, they all point to the elaborate ways in which the units have been constructed.

The differences in style between the two documents is no doubt partly the result of the fact that of the two Talmuds, only the Babylonian went through a protracted period of compilation and editing. Depending upon which scholarly theory one accepts, the Seboraim, and even the Geonim, worked at completing, compiling, editing, and polishing the Babylonian text before it found its way into the communities of medieval Europe. Even if one accepts the traditional dates for the completion of the two Talmuds, the Babylonian Gemara had at least a century more of development than did its Palestinian counterpart (Goldberg 1987b: 305–6).

In addition to differing in style, in general terms the content of the two Talmuds is dissimilar. Scholars have long noted that angelology, demonology, sorcery, magic, astrology, and other folk beliefs are much more prominent in the Babylonian Talmud than they are in the Palestinian Gemara (Ginzberg 1970: 20–24, Goldberg 1987b: 306), even occurring in Babylonian retellings of Palestinian materials (Goldberg 1987a: 336). However, the difference between the content of the two Amoraic collections is much more fundamental and relates to the differing ways in which the two Amoraic texts approach their base document, Mishnah. Goldberg suggests that the Palestinian Talmud does for the Tosefta (additional tannaitic materials) what that document does for Mishnah; that is, it expands upon Tosefta in the same way that Tosefta, in Goldberg's view, expands upon Mishnah (Goldberg 1987b: 311)." However, the Palestinian Gemara may "correct" or interpret Mishnah, limiting or expanding its applications, totally without recourse to Tosefta (Goldberg 1987b: 312). Rabinowitz (*EncJud* 15: 772) writes that while the sages in the Babylonian Talmud go "to the most extreme lengths to justify the original text of the Mishnah, explaining differences and difficulties by stating that there are lacunae or that the author of one section is not the same as that of others, the Amoraim of the Palestinian Talmud freely and explicitly amend the text of the Mishnah, sometimes without any ostensible reason." Neusner writes that the Palestinian Gemara "appears in the main to provide mere commentary and amplification for the Mishnah" by doing one of four things to it: "(1) text criticism; (2) exegesis of the meaning of the Mishnah, including glosses and amplifications; (3) addition of scriptural proof texts of the Mishnah's central propositions; and (4) harmonization of one Mishnah passage with another such passage or with a statement of Tosefta" (1986: 18). He estimates that 90 percent of the Palestinian Gemara focuses on Mishnah. The other 10 percent of the *Yerushalmi* contains (1) theoretical questions of law not associated with a particular passage of the Mishnah, (2) exegesis of Scripture separate from Mishnah, (3) historical statements—stories about things which happened, and (4) stories about and rules for sages and disciples, separate from discussions of a passage of the Mishnah (Neusner 1986: 19–21). In brief, most scholars agree that the Palestinian Gemara is much more focused on Mishnah than is the Babylonian Talmud.

Like the Palestinian Talmud, the Babylonian text devotes substantial efforts to explaining, interpreting and amplifying Mishnah. Both Talmuds seek to discover how the Hebrew Bible serves as a basis for Mishnah's statements, and they both employ Tosefta as an aid to comprehending Mishnah. However, Neusner finds "a greater tendency in the Babylonian Talmud to speculate on law beyond the framework of a Mishnah paragraph" (1986: 92–93). For Neusner, the major difference between the content of the two Talmuds is in regard to their use of, and reference to, the Hebrew Bible. He estimates that the Babylonian text contains four to five times more scriptural units than the Palestinian Gemara (1986: 100). Further, only the Babli uses scriptural units independently of its interpretation of Mishnah, for the framers of the Babylonian Talmud "were prepared to organize their larger composition around more than the single focus of a context of discourse dictated by the Mishnah or by points of law or theology deemed pertinent to the Mishnah" (Neusner 1986: 104). To summarize: The Babylonian Talmud contains a good deal more material which is unrelated to Mishnah than does its Palestinian counterpart. And, the Babylonian Gemara includes many more scriptural units than does the Palestinian Talmud.

C. Editorial History

The Palestinian Talmud does not provide us with any information concerning its editing (Rabinowitz *EncJud* 15:

772); however, we can deduce from the events included and omitted from the text as well as from the names of the sages quoted in the document that the Gemara was edited sometime shortly after the end of the 4th century C.E. (Bokser 1979: 192). Rabbi Moses ben Maimon (Maimonides, 1135–1204 C.E.) claimed that Rabbi Yohanan (died last quarter of the 3d century C.E.) edited the Palestinian Talmud. Moses ben Jacob of Coucy (13th century) emended Maimonides' text to read "Yohanan and his disciples" (Rabinowitz *EncJud* 15: 772). Given Yohanan's central place among the Palestinian rabbis, this statement is probably true; however, it is so general as to be meaningless. The Palestinian text seems to come from the three major Palestinian amoraic academies—Tiberias, Caesarea, and Sepphoris. The sages from the fourth center of Palestinian *amoraim*, Lydda, did not leave much material (Rabinowitz *EncJud* 15: 772). The consensus of modern scholarship is that the bulk of the Palestinian Gemara was compiled finally at Tiberias (Bokser 1979: 193). Lewy had argued that the Gemara to *Neziqin* was different from the rest of the Palestinian Gemara, and Lieberman argued that *Neziqin*'s distinctive traits derive from its being composed in Caesarea earlier than the other portions of the Talmud. Most scholars believe that the anonymous parts of *Neziqin* derive from Caesarea, while those elsewhere in Palestinian Talmud ostensibly derive from Tiberias (in Bokser 1979: 193). The material in *Neziqin* consists of short comments, of almost exclusively halakhic (legal) content. It differs in brevity, style, and terminology from the rest of the Talmud. The first three Orders, the remaining tractates of *Neziqin*, and the tractate *Niddah* were edited at Tiberias. Although, the Yerushalmi is not the work of one school (Rabinowitz *EncJud* 15: 313–14). Many scholars have argued that the Palestinian Talmud was committed to writing during the 4th and 5th centuries because of the oppression experienced by the Palestinian Jewish community at that time. Recently these arguments have been demonstrated to be flawed, and they can now be dismissed (Bokser 1979: 197–79).

The editing of the Babylonian Talmud has received a good deal of scholarly attention, most of which Neusner (1970) and Goodblatt (1979: 291–318) have summarized. The traditional view, based on a few ambiguous passages from the Babylonian Gemara, a letter of Sherira ben Hanina Gaon of Pumbedita (ca. 906–1006 C.E.), and a comment by Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac of Provance (Rashi, 1040–1105), attributes the final editing of the Babylonian Talmud to Rav Ashi (died 427/28) and Ravina II (ca. 500). The traditional view does recognize the fact that traditions were produced after Ashi and Ravina, for even Sherira mentions R. Yose, one of the Seboraim, during whose days the Babylonian Talmud reached its ultimate conclusion (Berkovits *EncJud* 15: 761).

Goodblatt (1979) suggests that most modern scholars adhere to some form of a "two-source" theory of the editing of the Babylonian Talmud. Weiss argued that each generation and center of Amoraim produced its own talmud, some of which are still identifiable. He attributed the earliest stratum to Yehudah b. Yehezqel, head of Pumbedita, in the late 3d century, and claimed that it was based on material formulated by Rav and Samuel (middle 3d century), statements of other great Babylonian Amoraim, and some tannaitic material. However, this "talmud was limited and did not cover early tractate." The second recognizable stratum originated in the early 4th century, in Pumbedita under Abayye, and it covered all of the tractates we have in our present Gemara. Rava took this edition with him to Mehoza where it was further supplemented. Later generations continued to add to this edition as it was adopted by the Naresh school under R. Papa and by the school of Sura under R. Ashi (in Goodblatt 1979: 292). Kaplan claims that the Seboraim were the final editors of the Talmud. The Gemara, brief summaries, was produced by the Amoraic academies. The Seboraim took the Gemara collected by Ashi, rearranged it, and added to it Gemaras from other Amoraic academies and other uncollected oral material, so that "the gemara of R. Ashi, accompanied by the Saboraic exposition, make up the bulk of the present Talmud" (in Goodblatt 1979: 314–15). Similarly, Klein writes "the compilation of the Gemara was in fact the work of R. Ashi and Rabina. . . . Sebara [was] added during the 6th and 7th centuries" (in Goodblatt 1979: 315).

Halivni has produced the most recent variation on the "two-source" theory. He argues that the Amoraim followed an apodictic form; they merely stated the law, without preserving the "give-and-take" that stood behind their legal conclusions, a style which closely follows the Mishnah (1986: 76, 52–70). It was the anonymous authorities, the Stammaim (Heb *sĕtāmmayim*) who flourished between 427 and 501 or 520 C.E., who recovered or invented the discursive material which now makes up the bulk of the Babylonian Gemara (1986: 76). The Stammaim created a "flowing discourse" by completing what was missing in the Amoraic text through conjecture and restoration, and by adding introductions, conclusions, and interpolations to the Amoraic material they had received. The Stammaim believed that opinions rejected by the Amoraim were not false; they were rejected for only practical reasons, so that from the point of view of religiosity "even the rejected view was acceptable" (1986: 77). Halivni concludes, citing Occam's razor, "that the redaction of the Talmud was done at one time . . . , after R. Ashi's death, reaching its greatest intensity in the last quarter of the 5th century" (1986: 81).

Looking at the broader picture, however, all of the above versions of the two-source theory, as well as the traditional view, are questionable. Masters who flourished in the early 6th century appear in the Gemara. It seems probable that major redactional activity, which included substantive additions to the text, continued through the 6th and 7th centuries. Also, extensive materials attributable to authorities of the 8th and 9th centuries found their way into the Babli. Furthermore, the text as we have it today contains glosses and comments from the middle ages. Additionally, copyists and printers freely emended the text, "on the basis of conjecture or variants in mss, until modern times." Also, the printed editions of the 19th century, on which all modern printings are based, contain emendations suggested by the commentaries of the 16th through the 18th centuries. And, both Jewish and non-Jewish censors deleted potentially offensive passages and replaced sensitive terms with more neutral ones. Goodblatt writes:

> Through the 7th century, there seems to have been no hesitation to add freely to the text. Beginning in the 8th

century conscious substantive changes were no longer made. From then on additions were mainly the result of marginal notes finding their way into the text. Moreover, in the 8th century independent compositions by rabbinic masters begin to appear. All of this suggests that by the latter date BT was considered a finished work. A 10th century Talmudist claims that a deposed Babylonian exilarch who arrived in Spain ca. 770 wrote out from memory the complete text of the Talmud. (1979: 264–65)

D. Textual History

There is only one complete ms of the Palestinian Talmud: the Leiden Manuscript, Codex Scaliger 3, written in 1289 (Krupp 1987b: 320, Rabinowitz *EncJud* 15: 776, Bokser 1979: 153) by Jehiel ben Jekuthiel ben Benjamin ha-Rofe. Jehiel indicates that he relied on a corrupt text which was full of errors (Rabinowitz *EncJud* 15: 776); however, Krupp (1987b: 320) writes that "the prototype was better than the copyist judged it, whose emendations were unimportant and did no damage elsewhere." The earliest printed edition of the Palestinian Talmud was produced in 1523–24 in Venice by Daniel Bomberg. Krupp (1987b: 320) states that "the real damage" to the Talmud's text "was done by the 'improvements' and arbitrary changes, additions and omissions of the compositor of the Bomberg edition." The Venice Edition serves as the basis for subsequent printed editions of the Palestinian Talmud. There is a Vatican ms, Talmud Yerushalmi Codex Vatican 133 (Vat. Ebr. 133), perhaps from the 13th century, which contains the tractate *Soṭah*, and the whole order of *Zeraʿim*, except for *Bikkurim*. (Rabinowitz *EncJud* 15: 776–77, Bokser 1979: 155). The tractates in the Palestinian Gemara are divided into chapters and Halakot, following the divisions in its Mishnah, and the text is cited in that manner. Therefore, *Ber.* 3:1 refers to the first Halakah of the third chapter of tractate *Berakot*. The Venice edition was printed in two columns on each side of the page. Citations of the text are based on columns a and b appearing on the obverse, and c and d on the reverse. Therefore, *Ber.* Venice 3a refers to the inside column on the obverse side of the third page of tractate *Berakhot*. *Ber.* 3d indicates the inside column on the reverse side of the same page. For a discussion of the other available mss and editions of the Palestinian Talmud see Bokser (1979: 151–63) and Krupp (1987b). Schwab produced a generally unreliable French translation of the Palestinian Talmud in eleven volumes in 1871, and Wunsche translated the aggadic portions into German in 1880. Recently Neusner (1982–89) has undertaken the only English translation of the Palestinian Talmud.

A Bodleian Library ms covering half of the tractate *Keritot*, dated to 1123, is the oldest ms of the Babylonian Talmud listed by Krupp (1987a: 366); however, Berkovits (*EncJud* 15: 765) notes that there is a ms of *Pesaḥim* at Cambridge that "may date" to the 9th century. The Codex Florence, dated to 1177, contains about one-third of the Babylonian Gemara, and the Codex Hamburg, dated to 1184, contains the first three tractates of *Neziqin*. Codex Munich 95 written in Paris in 1343 is the oldest complete ms of the Babylonian Talmud (Goodblatt 1979: 265). The first complete edition of the Babylonian Talmud was produced in 1520–23 in Venice by Daniel Bomberg. Because there is no Babylonian Gemara to *Šeqalim*, Bomberg appended the Gemara from the Palestinian Talmud. This edition also includes the Palestinian version of *Horayot* (Bokser 1979: 151). Bomberg's pagination has become standard. He printed the Gemara on numbered folio pages, with one column of the text on each side of the page. The column on the obverse side is designated a, that on the reverse b. Because Bomberg used the first page as his title page, each tractate of all present-day editions of the Babylonian Talmud begin on page two. Sections of the Gemara are cited according to Bomberg's pagination; therefore, *Ber.* 12a refers to the obverse side of the twelfth folio page of tractate *Berakot*. In addition Bomberg's placement of Rashi's commentary on the side of the page closest the binding and the comments of the Tosafot (Rashi's grandsons) on the outside of the page is followed in all modern editions of the text. Most 20th century editions reproduce the Romm edition published in Vilna between 1880–86 (Goodblatt 1979: 268). Goldschmidt produced a German translation of the complete Babylonian Talmud. The standard English translation was published under the editorship of I. Epstein (1935–52). Recently, Neusner (1984–85) has undertaken a new English translation of the Babylonian Talmud.

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GARY G. PORTON

TAMAR (PERSON) [Heb *tāmār*]. The name of three women in the OT. The name may mean "palm (tree)" (*IPN* 230).

1. In Genesis 38, the Canaanite woman who was married to Er, Judah's first son by the Canaanite daughter of Shua. After Er was slain for his wickedness by God, Judah asked his next son Onan to perform the task of levirite marriage with Tamar. Onan, however, attempted to avoid issue with her by practicing coitus interruptus, and for this he too was killed by God. When Judah tried to save his last son Shelah by delaying giving Tamar to him, she took matters into her own hands. Disguising herself as a prostitute, she had relations with Judah. When he discovered her pregnancy and his own role in it, Judah declared her to be more righteous than he since he had withheld Shelah from her. She bore twin sons, Perez and Zerah and through Perez was an ancestress of David (Ruth 4:12, 18–22; 1 Chr 2–4) and Jesus (Matt 1:3).

The story has been the focus of much recent research dealing with such questions as its origins (Emerton 1979), its function within the Joseph story, especially through a literary analytical approach (Alter 1975), and the reasons for Tamar's actions (Coats 1972; Niditch 1979).

2. The daughter of David and Maacah and the full sister of Absalom, with whom Amnon, her half-brother, fell violently in love (2 Sam 13:1–22). On the advice of his friend Jonadab, Amnon feigned illness and asked that Tamar be sent to feed him. When she arrived, he raped her; and then, his love having turned to hate, threw her out. Tamar fled to Absalom who ultimately avenged her violation by having Amnon killed.

The story has recently been the subject of much literary and structural analysis (Conroy 1978; Fokkelman 1981) underscoring its role within the larger treatment of Absalom's revolt (2 Sam 15–20).

3. The only daughter of Absalom, undoubtedly named after his sister, and described as a beautiful woman (2 Sam 14:27). Some scholars have equated her with Maacah, the wife of Rehoboam, son of Solomon, and the mother of Abijah (1 Kgs 15:2; 2 Chr 11:20–22). This is because some manuscripts of the LXX and the OL have in 2 Sam 14:27 "Maacah" instead of "Tamar", and a further statement in the LXX adds that she was the wife of Rehoboam and the mother of Abijah. McCarter (*II Samuel* AB, 342) notes that it is possible that the original reading for the name in the passage of Samuel was "Maacah" and that Tamar's name replaced it in the MT by confusion with Absalom's sister, prominent in the preceding chapter. However, he prefers to assume that the name Maacah along with the statement about her marriage arose in the LXX through an unfounded scribal equation of the daughter of Absalom, son of David, with the daughter of an otherwise unknown Absalom mentioned in 1 Kgs 15:2. Other scholars have seen Tamar as the mother of Maacah (Dahlberg *IDB* 3: 196).

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GARY H. OLLER

TAMAR (PLACE) [Heb *tāmār*]. A perplexing site located in the Judean Arabah region, SSW of the Dead Sea. Establishing the precise location has been difficult because of the lack of existing toponyms commonly used for identification. One possible location is found in the area of Qasr el-Juheiniya (M.R. 173048) 21 km WSW of the Dead Sea, where the Roman fortress of Thamara is speculated to be. Another possible location is believed to be Ain Hoseb (M.R. 173024) 40 km SW of the Dead Sea. The biblical Tamar is included in the traditional border with the SE nation of Edom and is distinguished as the future E boundary of Israel in Ezek 47:13–48:29. In Ezek 47:18, the LXX and Syr both support the reading of "as far as Tamar" *(tāmārā)*, instead of the MT version "you shall measure" *(tāmôddû)*; placing the city in the area of the extreme SW boundary.

Problems have arisen in Ezek 47:19; 48:28 with the Semitic name of Tamar confused with the city of "Teman" mentioned in the LXX. In these verses the translators of the LXX use the name Teman (Gk *thaiman kai phoinikônos* [Teman and palm-tree] and *thaiman*) for the location. Teman was an Edomite locale situated in the same geographical area Tamar was thought to occupy. See TEMAN. The misconception may be attributed to the similarities in the consonantal form of both words and the previous boundary lists found in Josh 15:1–4 and Num 34:3–5. Both use Edom as the marker for the S boundary. Also note that Teman may be understood to mean "south," adding to the difficulty of the text.

Another disputed identification is found among Solomon's building sites in 1 Kgs 9:18. Here the Ketib reads "Tamar," while other mss and the Qere vocalization supports "Tadmor" as in 2 Chr 8:3. This N Syrian city is situated about 190 km NE of Damascus. See TADMOR. Though problems inherently arise by taking one reading over the other, it is generally thought to be important to maintain that the original reading was Tamar, not only because scholars prefer the more difficult reading, but also because it seems more plausible historically due to its strategic location with respect to the S trade route. The inconspicuousness of the distant Tamar could have contributed to the confusion with Tadmor. Again Tamar and Tadmor are similar orthographically and have same denotation, contributing to the misidentification. The mistake could have been in the simple replacing the more obscure name of Tamar with the more known and prosperous Syrian city Tadmor.

Other references to Tamar may be associated with this site are found in Gen 14:7 and 2 Chr 20:2, where Tamar is identified as Hazazon-tamar (in the 2 Chronicles passage the author places a note connecting it with En-gedi). Since the name Tamar signifies "palm," it is also thought to be referred to in Judg 1:16, the "city of palms," which is mentioned as the departure point from which the Kenites moved into the wilderness of Judah; however, this reference is probably about Jericho, which is often described as the city of palms (Judg 3:13; Deut 34:3; 2 Chr 28:15).

JEFFREY K. LOTT

TAMARA (M.R. 173048). A Cisjordanian Roman *Limes castellum* mentioned in the *Notitia Dignitatum* (36, p. 47, 46), and until now, the only one that has been excavated. The identification proposed by A. Alt (1935) has been sustained by the excavators, based now on archaeological and literary evidence (Gichon 1976a: 80–81).

Tamara (Qasr el Juheinije) was built by the Nabateans in the 1st century C.E. to protect the highway from Moab through Zoar to Mampsis. It seems to have been taken over by the Romans immediately on their acquisition of Nabatea in 105/6 C.E. until the reign of Hadrian.

After its refurbishing under the Illyrian emperors (Propbus ?, 276–281 C.E.), the *castellum* stood until the Arab conquest (634/35). About 279 C.E., the inner portions were completely rebuilt. This and subsequent repairs are attributed to damage caused either by hostile attacks or earthquake, for which archaeological and literary evidence exists (Gichon 1976a: 82).

According to the *Notitia,* the cohors I Palaestinorum, an indigenous infantry regiment, was stationed at Tamara. During the 4th or 5th century this unit was converted to the status of farming militia and the soldiers and their families began farming the surrounding scattered arable plots, doing service in the *castellum* in turns. On the eve of the Moslem invasion of 634 C.E., some of the families found refuge in the *castellum* for a lengthy period and arrangements for their accommodation were made. The final conquest brought much internal destruction, and the site was never permanently resettled.

To ensure the collection of the water from the few winter rains, the *castellum* was built on the lowest spot of a natural trough where the drainage from the surrounding slopes converged. It was then easily channeled into intramural cisterns and more extramural reservoirs, which served the passing caravans. Since the highway was forced to pass through the valley, the site was positioned to ensure maximum control of passage. To compensate for the loss of visibility, a ring of observation posts crowned the surrounding crests.

Excavations were carried out from 1973 to 1976. The *castellum* is a well preserved square building, built of ashlars of varying quality, which are arranged in two faces with a rubble fill. The joints apparently were later repaired and straightened. The building measures 38 × 38 m, with four protruding towers which measure 6 × 6 m each—a typical *tetrapyrgos.* Of the four barrack blocks leaning against the walls, which are preserved 3.5 m above the floor, two obviously served as living quarters and the other two were devoted to other various purposes. See Fig. TAM.01. The following arrangement was preserved through all four construction phases: Phase I: Nabatean construction and occupation; Phase II: Roman takeover and evacuation in about 135 C.E.; Phase III: Probus' reoccupation until the Persian invasion in 614; and Phase IV: Heraclius reoccupation in 628 and final destruction in about 634.

The Nabatean structure lacked the corner towers and had deeper barrack blocks. The towers, not less than 6 m high, were added in phase II and in phase III, the SW and SE barracks were diminished in size. The 6 section rooms *(contubernia)* measured 3.10 × 4 m, but a shaded portico with a roof resting on square pilasters was added. The NW and SW corners housed the higher charges, while the commander occupied a flight of rooms adorned with wall frescos in geometrical patterns (rank obviously carrying its privileges). The other barracks included the regimental shrine *(sacellum),* stores, armory *(armamentarium),* office *(officium),* and a large bakery. The single, 7 m deep gate, had a barrel vault and was divided into three compartments. A guard room led into the gate passage, which could be closed with doors and beams on both sides. In phase IV, the entrance was narrowed from 1.50 m to 0.80 m, emphasizing the largely static character of the garrison. Access to the battlements was gained by three flights of stairs, while the towers apparently had wooden ladders, which could be removed to enhance their defensive capabilities in the event of hostile penetration.

The large cistern, dug into the center of the courtyard, measured roughly 10 × 10 × 3.80 m. Its roof of heavy stone slabs was supported by ten stone pillars.

Obviously, Tamara could not house a complete unit, part of which must have been spread out to man the surrounding outworks and minor fortifications. Tamara and its support facilities was a fortification typical to the *limes* Palestine.

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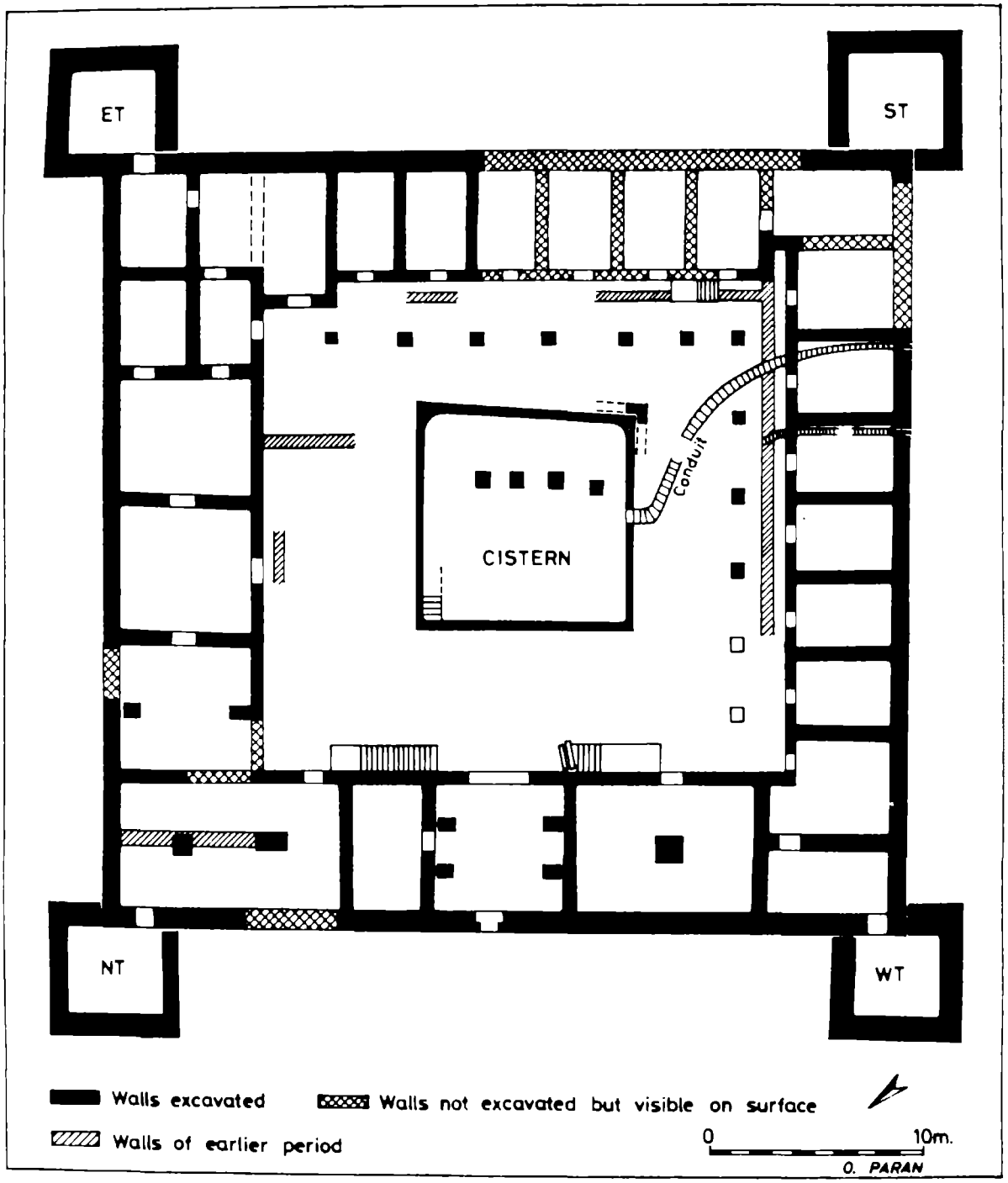
MORDECHAI GICHON

TAMARISK. See FLORA.

TAMMUZ [Heb *tammûz*]. The fourth month of the Hebrew calendar, roughly corresponding to June and July. See CALENDAR (ANCIENT ISRAELITE AND EARLY JEWISH).



TAM.01. Plan of the *castellum* at Tamara. *(Courtesy of M. Gichon)*

TAMMUZ (DEITY) [Heb *tammûz*]. The Mesopotamian god Tammuz (Sum Dumuzi) is well attested from the 3d through the 1st millenniums B.C.E. The origins of the cult of the deity precede our written records, but it has been suggested that, like Gilgamesh, Dumuzi was once a Sumerian ruler who became revered as a god (Falkenstein 1954: 63; Gurney 1962: 150; Alster 1972: 15). Whether or not a human stands behind the divine figure, it does appear certain that Mesopotamian traditions concerning the god adapted various earlier religious themes into his character (Jacobsen 1970: 73–74). The figure which emerges as the deity is that of a shepherd. Various textual traditions survive regarding the god, but they reflect a plurality of traditions, making a consistent representation of the god difficult (Alster 1972: 13).

Early in the 20th century Tammuz was taken to be the classic example of the "dying-and-rising" god. Based on the work of Frazer (1935: 6), this position saw Tammuz as the divine representation of the life cycle of crops and therefore a vegetation deity (Langdon 1914: 114). It was held that the god died with the plants and rose again when they reappeared the next season; the cult, it was maintained, spread from Mesopotamia throughout the ancient world and was found with assorted names given for the Tammuz deity from Egypt (Osiris) through Palestine (Eshmun) into Greece (Adonis). Even the Christian Christ story was related to the myth (Frazer 1935: 6; Langdon 1914: 1; Moortgat 1949: 142–43; Kramer 1969: 133, 160 n. 48; Burkert 1979: 105–11). With the recognition that Tammuz was a shepherd, the death and rising of the god became less obvious (Falkenstein 1954: 65; Kramer 1951: 1–17). A fragmentary end of a myth has been suggested as evidence for Tammuz' return from the dead (Falkenstein 1965: 281; Kramer 1966: 31), but this material is open to more than one interpretation.

Most of the material which has been preserved concerning the god relates him to the cult of Inanna/Ishtar. The courtship and marriage of these two deities have been recorded in numerous poems for her cult and have been taken at times to be examples of fertility rite liturgies. It is the myth of Inanna's Descent which supplies the best known rendition of the death of the god; she sends her husband to her sister Ereshkigal since someone must take her place among the dead. It would seem to be this story which is alluded to in the Gilgamesh Epic (VI: 46–47). Here Inanna/Ishtar assigns annual weeping in the cult for Tammuz, while the context suggests duplicity on her part toward him; this is no doubt what the women are observing at the Jerusalem temple when Ezekiel describes their apostasy (Ezek 8:14). Yet there are other mythological sources for Tammuz which do not include the goddess, perhaps the most intriguing being "Dumuzi's Dream" as it presents a totally different version of the death of the god, one related to his being a shepherd (Gurney 1962: 153; Miller 1980: 50). Other minor works also dwell upon the fact that Tammuz is dead (Gurney 1962: 154), so this aspect of the cult of the god appears to be consistent, while a return to the living is, at best, conjectural. Aside from Ishtar/Inanna, Tammuz' sister Geshtinanna is the most commonly reappearing figure in the texts dealing with Tammuz; his mother's name is given as Turtur.

The reason for Tammuz worship appearing in Jerusalem has been debated for some time. Both the Babylonians and the Assyrian revered Tammuz in their pantheons (Moortgat 1949: 93, 122) but neither would have been apt to require worship of this rather minor deity as a political acknowledgment of their rule (McKay 1973: 68–69). It is possible that the cult arrived in Judah without political sanction and it has been suggested that "Tammuz" is used in the text to refer to an indigenous deity (Ringgren 1966: 97), though the latter is unlikely.

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LOWELL K. HANDY

TANAKH. The Hebrew name for the entire Hebrew Bible (Old Testament). It is an acronym formed from the initial letters of the titles of each of its three major divisions: TORAH ("Law"), NEBIIM ("Prophets"), and KETUBIM ("Writings").

TANHUMETH (PERSON) [Heb *tanḥumet*]. A Netophathite, the father of Seraiah who was one of the captains of the Judean forces who join Gedaliah at Mizpeh following the fall of Jerusalem. Tanhumeth is mentioned in

biblical texts only in Jer 40:8 and 2 Kgs 25:23 in connection with the association of his son, Seraiah, with Gedaliah. In contrast to 2 Kgs 25:23 where Tanhumeth is definitely identified as a Netophathite ("Seraiah son of Tanhumeth the Netophathite"), Jer 40:8 reads "Seraiah the son of Tanhumeth, the sons of Ephai the Netophathite." This identifies Ephai, and not Tanhumeth, as a Netophathite. The location of Netophah is not certain, though it is usually thought to be in the vicinity of Bethlehem. Khirbet Bedd Faluh (M.R. 171119), three miles S of Bethlehem, has been proposed (Gray *Kings* OTL, 771).

JOHN M. BRACKE

TANIS (PLACE) [Gk *Tanis*]. See ZOAN.

TANNA, TANNAIM. Rabbinic sages and scriptural reciters. The name comes from Aram *tannā'*, pl. *tănnā'îm* from the root *tny*. This term has, by derivation, two basic meanings in the rabbinic tradition. First, it refers to sages of the Mishnaic period. On that account, this period and its texts are termed "tannaitic." Tannaim flourished somewhat before but especially in the century and a half following the destruction of the Jerusalem temple in 70 C.E. Tannaitic rabbanism was a Palestinian movement, but some tannaim were active also in Babylonia (Neusner 1962). The period is customarily divided into five or six generations, with the most prominent tannaim including Akiba, Eliezer ben Hyrcanus, Meir, and Judah Hanasi. Tannaitic traditions are recorded in the Mishnah, the Tosefta, the midrashei halakha, and talmudic baraitot.

Second, the term can refer to the professional repeaters or reciters of the rabbinic schools. Publication during the tannaitic and amoraic periods was oral and depended, therefore, on tannaim who were, for all practical purposes, "living books" (Lieberman 1950: 83–99). Though some written records were kept, these bore no official status. Instead, when the version of a teaching needed to be checked it was the tannaim who were consulted. Accordingly, they were valued for their capacity to memorize, not for their intelligence. Nevertheless, some of the greatest talmudic sages also acted as tannaim for their teachers.

The form of rabbinic traditions reflects the centrality of the oral tannaitic system. Neusner (1985) has shown that the Mishnah employs a very limited number of mnemonic patterns in its composition. The same is true, to a significant extent, of amoraic traditions (Kraemer 1984: 47–148).

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DAVID KRAEMER

TAPHATH (PERSON) [Heb *ṭāpaṭ*]. Daughter of Solomon, wife of Ben-abinadab (1 Kgs 4:11). Taphath is one of two wives mentioned in the list of Solomon's officers (1 Kgs 4:7–19). Her husband, Ben-abinadab, was in charge of Naphath-dor, the fourth district in the list. Only two daughters of Solomon are mentioned in the OT—Taphath and Basemath (1 Kgs 4:15). Both are wives of officials responsible for monthly provisions for the royal table. The inclusion of their names (along with the epithet, "daughter of Solomon") distinguishes their husbands from the other officials in the list and is usually interpreted as indicating their husbands' importance.

LINDA S. SCHEARING

TAPPUAH (PERSON) [Heb *tappūaḥ*]. A son of Hebron and a descendant of Caleb (1 Chr 2:43). Some (e.g., Noth *IPN*, 260) see in Tappuah a tribal or family name. The name is presumably to be connected either with Beth-Tappuah (Josh 15:53), modern Taffûḥ (M.R. 154105)—a town over 4 miles W of Hebron in the Judahite hill country—or with Tappuah (v 34), possibly modern Beit Natif (M.R. 149122)—a town in the lowlands of Judah, 12 miles W of Bethlehem. The term *tappûaḥ* means basically "apple, apple tree," but may also have a broader sense. The formula, "x the father of y," in which y is a place name, occurs first in 1 Chr 2:42 and appears often in the subsequent context. The feature looks striking in its frequency here and its absence from the rest of the OT (Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 54). If, as has been suggested, *wbny ḥbrwn* ought to be deleted at the beginning of v 43, then Tappuah and his brothers would have been sons of Mareshah (known otherwise from Josh 15:44 as a chief city in the Shephelah, modern Tell Ṣandaḥannah [M.R. 140111], some 12 miles NW of Hebron). In spite of the textual problems, however, this seems quite unnecessary. The reader may consult the NIV, the NJB, and the RSV to discover other ways of handling these verses. See also TAPPUAH (PLACE).

EDWIN C. HOSTETTER

TAPPUAH (PLACE) [Heb *tappûaḥ*]. **1.** A town situated in the N Shephelah, or lowlands, of Judah (Josh 15:34), in the same district as Eshtaol, Socoh, and Azekah. This settlement is listed among the towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:21–62). The theory that this list is derived from an administrative roster compiled under the Judean monarchy (Alt 1925) has been widely accepted, although controversy continues over the precise makeup of the districts, the proper context of the town lists of Benjamin and Dan, and the period of the monarchy to which the original roster belongs (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 64–72). Beit Natif (M.R. 149122), a modern village in the Shephelah S of the Nahal Sorek, has sometimes been suggested as a possible candidate (*IDB* 4: 517). See also TAPPUAH (PERSON). While this suggestion fits the geographical requirements, it lacks the necessary archaeological support.

2. A town in the hill country of Samaria on the N border of the territory assigned to the tribe of Ephraim (Josh 16:8). In the delineation of the S border of Manasseh we

are informed that, although the city of Tappuah belonged to Ephraim, both the land of Tappuah as well as the inhabitants of En-Tappuah belonged to Manasseh (Josh 17:7–8). Alt (*KlSchr* 1: 193–202) has persuasively argued that the border lists of Joshua 15–19 are derived from ancient documents delineating the territorial claims of the tribes during the period of the Judges. This N Tappuah is probably the same as the Canaanite city whose king is said to have been defeated by Joshua and the people of Israel (Josh 12:17). Although the identification is not certain, Sheikh Abu Zarad, located high on a ridge approximately 12 km S of Nablus (M.R. 172168), is a popular and very attractive candidate for Ephraimite Tappuah (*LBHG,* 384).

3. According to the RSV, a town in Samaria near Tirzah which was destroyed by Menahem after its people refused to open to him (2 Kgs 2:16). Although the MT reads *tipsah,* the editors of the RSV chose to follow the LXX reading *taphoe,* suggesting that the MT is in error. If this emendation is accepted, then an equation with Ephraimite Tappuah may be possible. However, if we accept the common identification of Tirzah with Tell el-Fara, which lies approximately 22 km NE of Sheikh Abu Zarad, it is difficult to see how Tappuah of Ephraim can be considered to be within the territory of Tirzah (2 Kgs 2:16). Perhaps the MT reading is to be preferred in this case.

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WADE R. KOTTER

TARALAH (PLACE) [Heb *tar'ălâ*]. A town in the tribal allotment of Benjamin (Josh 18:27) which was in the hill country NW of Jerusalem. According to Alt (1925), the S town list, of which Taralah is a part, is an older document incorporated by the Deuteronomist into his history, i.e., the province list of the kingdom of Judah from the time of Josiah. Abel (*GP* 2: 92, 480) gives a possible identification for Taralah as Khirbet Erha, which is below er-Ram to the S, and contained a small village inhabited during the Iron Age (the Israelite period). Press (1948–55) has suggested Khirbet Tililiya, which is to the E of Bet Iksa. The exact location of Taralah, however, remains a mystery.

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SIDNIE ANN WHITE

TAREA (PERSON) [Heb *ta'rēa'*]. Var. TAHREA. A Benjaminite, son of Micah, great-great-grandson of King Saul according to 1 Chr 8:35. In the parallel genealogy in 9:41, his name appears as Tahrea *(taḥrēa').* An etymology for either form of the name from Hebrew is unknown, and none of the etymologies proposed from other languages (e.g. Marquart 1902: 350, n. 17 or Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 80) is compelling. The variation between the two forms of the names reflects variation between the gutturals *'alep* and *ḥet,* which is attested to elsewhere in Hebrew, especially in the early postbiblical period (Kutscher 1959: 399). The section that lists Micah's children is segmented, listing four children; it is unclear why this segmented note appears in what is generally a linear genealogy. Tarea's line is not the main line, which derives instead from his brother Ahaz. The name appears in the two nearly identical genealogies of Saul's family in 1 Chr 8:33–40 and 1 Chr 9:39–44. This list is from the end of the First Temple period (Demsky 1971: 20), and was preserved by Benjaminite families that survived the Babylonian exile (Williamson 1979: 356). The existence and preservation of the Saulide genealogy probably reflects the continued prominence of Saul's family, and perhaps even their hope that they would return to power (Ackroyd *Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah* TBC, 42; Flanagan 1982: 25). See MELECH. On the repetition of the genealogy in 1 Chr 8 and 9, and its structure within the genealogies in Chronicles, see AHAZ.

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MARC Z. BRETTLER

TARES. See FLORA.

TARGUM, TARGUMIM. The name given to the Aramaic translations of the Hebrew Bible. "Targum" is the singular form, while the plural is "Targumim."

A. Terminology
B. Texts
  1. The Pentateuch
  2. The Prophets
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D. Origin and Context

A. Terminology

In biblical studies a "Targum" is an early Jewish translation of the Bible into Aramaic. The noun *targûm* derives from the quadriliteral root *trgm* which appears early in the Semitic languages (cf. Akkadian *targummanu,* "translator"), and which may have entered Semitic from Indo-European, possibly via Hittite (Rabin 1963: 134–36). The root was primarily used in situations of trade, diplomacy, or administration which called for translation from one language into another, and it is to this context that its one biblical occurrence, Ezra 4:7, relates. The passage is difficult, but the correct interpretation probably is: "the document was written in Aramaic and was to be translated *(ûmĕturgām),*" that is into Persian when it was presented to the king at court; cf. Ezra 4:18, "the document which you sent us has

been read in translation (Aram *mĕpāraš*) before me" (Lewy 1954: 175–77).

In rabbinic Hebrew the verb *tirgēm* is used in a restricted sense for translating the Bible from Hebrew into another language, usually Aramaic, but sometimes also Greek (see *y. Qidd.* 59a and *y. Meg.* 71c, where the reference is to Aquila's Greek version). So too, while the noun *targûm* could designate a Bible translation into any language (*m. Meg.* 2:1; *b. Šabb.* 115a), it normally denotes the Aramaic version used to render orally the Bible lections in synagogue. The synagogue Bible translator was known as the *mĕtûrgĕmān, tûrgĕmān,* or simply as *hammĕtûrgēm* ("he who translates").

Besides its basic sense of "translate," the verb *tirgēm* in rabbinic Hebrew can also mean "to explain" a biblical verse or a mishnah, where the language of the explanation is the same as the language of the original text (Bacher 1905: Pt. II, 242). These two meanings may be illustrated from the Targumim themselves: Neofiti and Pseudo-Jonathan to Gen 42:23 both state that when Joseph feigned ignorance of Hebrew he spoke to his brothers through a *mĕtûrgĕmān* ("translator"); whereas Neofiti to Exod 7:1 calls Aaron the *mĕtûrgĕmān* of Moses when he acted as Moses' spokesman to Pharaoh and the Israelites (cf. *Exod. R.* 8:3). The root *trgm,* then, like Gk *hermēneuō,* Lat *interpretor,* and English "interpret," covered both "translation" and "explanation."

B. Texts

Targumim are extant for all the books of the Hebrew Bible except Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel.

1. The Pentateuch. a. Onqelos. At least since the Middle Ages, *Targum Onqelos* (= *Onq.*) has been widely accepted by Jews as the most authoritative Targum to the Pentateuch. The name derives from *b. Meg.* 3a: "R. Jeremiah (or some say R. Ḥiyya b. Abba) said: The Targum of the Pentateuch was composed by Onqelos the proselyte from the mouth of R. Eliezer and R. Joshua." This tradition is problematic since the parallel in *y. Meg.* 71c speaks of "Aqilas" rather than "Onqelos," and clearly envisages not an *Aramaic* but a *Greek* version of the Pentateuch (the well-known translation of Aquila). Given that "Onqelos" as a corruption of the Latin name "Aquila" is attested elsewhere in rabbinic texts (cf. *t. Dem.* 6:13 with *y. Dem.* 25d), two proposals can be made to resolve the conflict between these two passages. (1) Silverstone (1931) argued that both are correct and that the same man, Aquila, produced both a Greek *and* an Aramaic version of the Pentateuch. To support this argument he suggested that there are significant similarities between the Greek translation of Aquila and *Targum Onqelos.* (2) Alternatively, and more plausibly, Barthélemy (1963: 148–56) argued that the Babylonian tradition is mistaken: the Babylonians simply misunderstood a logion they received from the West and applied it erroneously to an anonymous Aramaic version which was circulating among them.

There is no doubt that *Onq.* was known in Babylonia in the Talmudic era and was held in high esteem there. The Babylonian Talmud refers to it as "our Targum" (*b. Qidd.* 49a), and quotes it some 17 times, usually under the rubric, "as we translate" (e.g. *b. Sanh.* 106b). It cites *Onq.* from time to time as an authority on halakah (legal ruling), and in general *Onq.*'s halakah agrees with the Mishnah, as the Mishnah was understood in the Babylonian schools. Though *Onq.* is in a different dialect from the Babylonian Talmud, its language at certain points (notably in vocalization) shows the influence of eastern Aramaic. The Masorah to *Onq.* was apparently produced in Babylon and includes a list of cases where the readings of the school of Nehardea differs from those of the school of Sura. All of this, coupled with the fact that no clear quotations from *Onq.* have yet been identified in the Jerusalem Talmud or the early midrashim, would seem to point to Babylonia as *Onq.*'s place of origin (Kahle 1959; Díez Macho 1973).

However, there are good grounds for believing that *Onq.* in fact originated in Palestine. (1) Although the most literal of the Pentateuchal Targumim, *Onq.* still contains considerable quantities of aggada (homily), often in an abbreviated and allusive form (Vermes 1975: 127–38; Bowker 1967; Melamed 1978, Vol. 1: 150–280). This aggada is usually attested in Palestinian sources, and, indeed, can often be found more fully and clearly expressed in the corresponding passages of the Palestinian Targumim. *Onq.*, for the most part, represents a distinctively Palestinian tradition of exegesis similar to that found in the Palestinian Targumim. (2) The western elements in the dialect of *Onq.* are much stronger than the eastern, and extend beyond the vocalization deep into the grammar and vocabulary. *Onq.*'s Aramaic is very similar to that of the *Genesis Apocryphon* from Qumran (Kutscher 1965: 9–11). Basically *Onq.* is written in a literary *koinē,* for which the name "Standard Literary Aramaic" has been proposed (Greenfield 1974), which was in use among Jews in the late Second Temple period. Though, as the name implies, Standard Literary Aramaic was not a localized vernacular, *Onq.*'s use of the dialect is strongly colored by *western* features. The fact that Standard Literary Aramaic was increasingly supplanted for literary purposes after the Bar Kokhba war by the local western spoken Aramaic dialects (found in the Palestinian Targumim and in the Palestinian Talmud) strongly suggests that *Onq.* originated in Palestine in the 1st or early 2d centuries C.E.

This early Palestinian version of *Onq.* (= proto-*Onq.*) was taken to Babylonia, where it became the official Targum. It is probable the Babylonians did more than simply transmit the text they had received from the West: they subjected it to thorough revision. This revision was aimed at shortening the more expansive proto-*Onq.* into closer conformity to the underlying Hebrew (hence *Onq.*'s truncated, allusive aggadot), and at producing a standard text. The Babylonians created a Masorah for the Targum (Faur 1966) and imposed upon it their own tradition of vocalization. The Babylonian redaction of *Onq.* probably took place in the 4th or 5th centuries C.E. The argument that it must be dated before 259 C.E. because the Masorah to *Onq.* contains readings of the school of Nehardea which was destroyed in that year, is unsafe: the name "Nehardea" was applied to the successor school of Pumbeditha down to the Middle Ages. Though the text of *Onq.* is very stable, compared to that of the Palestinian Targumim, it is by no means uniform. Sperber (1973: 3–5) drew attention to doublets within the textual tradition of *Onq.* (and *Tg. Jonathan* to the Prophets) and argued that they pointed to the existence of two "schools of translators." The Babylonian recension of *Onq.* appears to be best represented by

certain Yemenite mss with supralinear pointing, e.g. mss 131 (EMC 952), 133a (ENA 1705), 152 (ENA 80), and 153 (EMC 48) of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, and Ms. Ebr. 448 of the Vatican Library.

As the Babylonian Gaonate increased in influence in the early Middle Ages the Babylonian *Onq.* was carried back to the West. Possibly the earliest reference to it in Western literature is *Pirqê dĕRabbî Eliezer* 38 (8th/9th cent. C.E.). Its return to its place of origin had a profound effect on the development of the indigenous Palestinian Targumim. It is premature to assume that *Onq.* had entirely disappeared from Palestine between, say, the 2d and the 8th cent. C.E., despite the lack of clear references to it in Tannaitic and Amoraic literature. There are certain mss and early printed editions of *Onq.* with Tiberian vocalization which have a much more Palestinian character than the standard Babylonian recension (note, e.g., the aberrant text partially published by Jahn in 1800). These texts may simply represent late contamination of the Babylonian *Onq.* resulting from its being copied in the West by scribes who knew the Palestinian Targumim. However, the possibility cannot at this stage be ruled out that some may be forms of *Onq.* predating the arrival of the Babylonian recension in the West, and are direct Palestinian descendants of proto-*Onq.* It is also possible that the *Onq.* element in Pseudo-Jonathan preserves traces of a Palestinian form of *Onq.*

b. Pseudo-Jonathan. By publishing it as "Targum Jonathan ben Uzziel to the Torah," the *editio princeps* attributed this work to the supposed author of the "official" Targum to the Prophets. However, since Zunz (1892: 71) it has generally been accepted that the title is a misnomer which arose from the false resolution of the abbreviation T"Y as *Targûm Yĕhônātān* instead of *Targûm Yĕrûšalmî*. References to a "Targum Jonathan to the Torah" can be traced back no earlier that the 14th-century Italian Qabbalist Menaḥem Recanati. The work is fundamentally a Palestinian Targum, and its correct medieval designation was *"Targûm Yĕrûšalmî"* or *"Targûm ʾEreṣ Yiśrāʾēl."* Although in modern scholarly literature it is frequently referred to as *"Targûm Yĕrûšalmî* I" [= TY I/TJ I] in contrast to *"Targûm Yĕrûšalmî* II" [= TY II/TJ II], which denotes the remaining recensions of the Palestinian Targum, the title "Pseudo-Jonathan" is perhaps to be preferred as being less tendentious and confusing.

Two text witnesses for *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* (= *Ps.-J.*) are extant: the *editio princeps*, which was prepared for the press by Asher Forins and appeared on Venice in 1591; and Ms Add. 27,031 of the British Library, London. This Italian ms has no colophon, but belongs to the 16th century. The censor Dominico Gierosolimitano has signed and dated it 1598. The ms, though textually very close to the printed edition, is not its exemplar. The Targum covers the whole of the Pentateuch, except for a few verses (the identical verses being missing in both text-witnesses).

Ps.-J. is the most expansive of the Pentateuchal Targumim, and is roughly twice the length of the original Hebrew text. It is a highly complex document which combines traditions from widely different periods. Alleged "late" elements include references to the six orders of the Mishnah (Exod 26:9; 36:16), to the 613 commandments (Exod 24:12), to a wife and daughter of Muḥammad (Gen 21:21), to Constantinople and Rome (Num 24:19–24), to "Edom" and "Ishmael" as representatives respectively of Christendom and of the Islamic world. None of these examples of lateness is as decisive as is sometimes supposed. For example, the 613 commandments are already mentioned in the Talmuds (*y. Šeqal.* 25a and *b. Makk.* 23b). And the "little apocalypse" in *Ps.-J.* Num 24:19–24 which refers to Constantinople and Rome, while it undoubtedly recalls early medieval apocalyptic texts such as the *Book of Zerubbabel* and the *Prayer of R. Simeon b. Yoḥai*, basically belongs to a genre of literature which goes back in Judaism to the Second Temple period. A similar passage in *Targum Lamentations* 4:21–22 speaks of the "Parthians" *(Parkĕwāʾē)* devastating Rome, which *prima facie* suggests a tradition originating before 224 C.E., when the Parthian empire came to an end. However, despite these caveats, there is a consensus that *Ps.-J.*, in the form in which it now stands, cannot have been redacted before the 7th/8th cent. C.E.

Counterbalancing the "late" elements in *Ps.-J.* are elements which appear to be "early." Among these the invocation against the "enemies of Yoḥanan the high priest" (Deut 33:11) has engendered considerable discussion. There is little doubt that "Yoḥanan" here is John Hyrcanus (134–104 B.C.E.), but whether the tradition itself, or the Targum at this point, goes back to the Second Temple period is much less certain. In Talmudic and post-Talmudic times there was some interest in the Hasmonaeans, as the *Scroll of Antiochus* and the *Book of Josippon* show (cf. also *b. Roš Haš.* 18b: "In the year so-and-so of Yoḥanan, high priest of the most high God"). More convincing evidence for an early component in *Ps.-J.* is the fact that it contains a number of translations that are expressly censured in rabbinic literature, sometimes as early as the Mishnah (Exod 12:8 in *y. Bik.* 65d; Lev 6:7 in *y. Bik.* 65d; Lev 18:21 in *m. Meg.* 3:10; Lev 22:28 in *y. Bik.* 9c; Deut 14:5 in *y. Kil.* 18c; Deut 26:4 in *y. Bik.* 65d) (McNamara 1966: 46–56, 134–38). These translations are scattered throughout the Targum and are part of its running text. It seems reasonable to conclude, therefore, that a stratum of *Ps.-J.* must have originated before the redaction of the Mishnah and the Yerushalmi Talmud. Further proof that *Ps.-J.* incorporates early material emerges from a number of detailed analyses of specific passages and themes, which, in the context of a thorough tradition history, show that *Ps.-J.*'s interpretation at times correlates with the earlier stages of the tradition (Vermes 1975: 92–126; Kuiper 1972; Schäfer 1971–72; 8–29; Alexander 1988: 243–47).

A major problem is *Ps.-J.*'s relationship to *Onq.* At numerous points *Ps.-J.* agrees with the text of *Onq.* to an extent that precludes accidental similarity. *Ps.-J.* regularly has doublets in which one element corresponds to *Onq.*, while the other appears to represent a Palestinian Targum (= PT) (see, e.g., Gen 3:5; 4:13; 8:11; 27:29; Exod 1:19; Lev 16:4; Num 26:9; Deut 5:3). The whole text of *Ps.-J.* can be resolved into three basic components: (1) PT material; (2) *Onq.* material; and (3) midrashic material unique to *Ps.-J.* (i.e., not found in *Onq.* or the other PT recensions), but often paralleled in *Pirqe R. El.* or other late rabbinic sources. There are two ways of accounting for *Ps.-J.*'s distinctive character. One is to suppose that *Ps.-J.* has attempted in a rather systematic way to combine a PT with *Onq.* This could have happened in Palestine in the early

Middle Ages when the influence of the Babylonian *Onq.* was being felt in the West. In the interests of preserving *both* traditions a redactor created a text which effectively fused them. To this basic text he added, on his own account, a number of aggadot drawn from late midrashic sources. An alternative explanation would be to suppose that *Ps.-J.* and the Babylonian recension of *Onq.* are independently derived from a common source. If the Babylonian *Onq.* goes back to an old Palestinian Targum which originated before the Bar Kokhba war, then it is at least theoretically possible that *Ps.-J.* descends directly from that old Targum (it is a matter of nuance whether we designate *Ps.-J.*'s source "the old PT," or "proto-*Ps.-J.*" or "proto-*Onq.*"). This model would account for the puzzling fact that just as the PT element in *Ps.-J.* does not correspond precisely with the other extant recensions of the PT, so its *Onq.* element does not always correspond precisely with the extant witnesses of the Babylonian *Onq. Ps.-J.*, then, may preserve not only a distinctive recension of the PT (a fact generally acknowledged), but an independent Palestinian recension of the *Onq.* tradition as well. On this explanation *Ps.-J.* can be seen as the ultimate stage in the evolution of the PT, which in its latest strata betrays the influence of early medieval midrash.

c. Codex Neofiti 1. This Vatican Library ms, wrongly catalogued in 1892 as "Targum Onqelos," was identified in 1956 by Díez Macho as a recension of the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch. Its Palestinian provenance, indicated clearly by the title inscribed on the first folio *(Targûm, Ḥumaš Yĕrûšalmî)*, is confirmed by its affinities to the other recensions of the PT (notably the Fragmentary Targum and the Cairo Genizah fragments) and by its dialect, a form of Palestinian Jewish Aramaic close to the Galilean dialect of the Jerusalem Talmud. The main text, which is written in three different hands, contains a colophon stating that it was completed in Rome in (5)264 AM = 1504 C.E. Some 30 verses are missing, for a variety of reasons, and a further 150 contain lacunae or censor's excisions. Numerous glosses have been added by a variety of hands between the lines and in the margins. Though some of these are corrections of manifest scribal errors, the majority contain variant readings and indicate that the main text has on several occasions been collated with other Targum mss. The interlinear glosses, which are largely grammatical in character, often agree with *Onq.*; the marginal sometimes correspond to *Ps.-J.*, but mainly to Fragmentary Targum and to the Cairo Genizah fragments. Some appear to contain readings which are attested nowhere else (Clarke 1972; Lund and Foster 1977).

Widely different dates have been proposed for *Neof.*, ranging from "pre-Christian" times to the Renaissance. Goshen-Gottstein (1975) has presented the best case for a very late date. He argues that certain Targum texts may have been edited at the time of the Renaissance to purge them of midrashic expansions and to bring them into closer conformity with the underlying Hebrew, the literal, philological meaning of which was the main concern of Renaissance scholarship. This editorial activity may have produced the so-called "Third Targum" to Esther. Very late editorial activity on the Targumim should not be ruled out, but it cannot totally explain the phenomenon of *Neof.* Though *Neof.* is not as expansive as *Ps.-J.*, it is still an expansive Targum, and at numerous points the "editors" missed an obvious opportunity to excise midrashic additions. Moreover, as Speier (1966–67; 1969–70) has shown, *Neof.* agrees with PT quotations in the *ʿArûk* of Nathan ben Yeḥiel of Rome (died 1106) where these cannot be paralleled in other recensions of the PT, so there is evidence for the existence of *Neof.* well before the Renaissance. By way of contrast, Díez Macho (1959) has presented the case for a "pre-Christian" origin for *Neof.* He has argued, e.g., that certain "anti-Mishnaic" halakot in *Neof.* must be "pre-Mishnaic," and he has detected at various points in *Neof.* a non-Masoretic *Vorlage.* Díez Macho's arguments are far from conclusive, though he, and others, have successfully shown that *Neof.* appears to contain early material. In fact, there is no reason why, in principle, Díez Macho *and* Goshen-Gottstein cannot both basically be right. The literary character of *Neof.* is similar to that of *Ps.-J.*: it is a text which has evolved over a very long period of time. Analysis suggests that underlying *Neof.* is a base text which applies certain standard exegetical procedures and employs certain standard equivalents for the original Hebrew, but that this text has been glossed and reworked over a considerable period of time. Sometimes several layers of glosses can ble differentiated with reasonable certainty (Levy 1986). Though there is evidence of "post-Mishnaic" editing of *Neof.* (e.g., it tries to reflect the Rabbinic rules regarding the Forbidden Targumim), it is not marked by any of the very late elements that feature in *Ps.-J.* It probably represents on the whole an older recension of PT than *Ps.-J.* There are no good grounds for dating anything in *Neof.* later than the 3d/4th cent. C.E.

d. Fragmentary Targum. The texts belonging to the Fragmentary Targum (= FT) fall into at least five groups (Klein 1980): (1) Ms.P = Hébr. 110, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (589 verses of the Pentateuch). (2) Ms.V = Ebr. 440, Vatican Library (908 verses); Ms.L = B.H. fol.1, Universitätsbibliothek, Leipzig (293 verses); Ms.N = Solger 2,2°, Stadtbibliothek, Nürnberg (833 verses)—the exemplar for the *editio princeps* in Bomberg's *Biblia Rabbinica,* Venice 1516–17. To this group belong also Ms.M = Ms 3 of the Günzburg Collection, Moscow (probably copied from N) and Ms.S = Ms 264 of the Sassoon Collection (probably copied from Bomberg), which has supralinear vocalization. (3) Ms.B = Or. 10794, British Library, London (Deut 1:1–5:9). (4) Ms.C = T-S AS 72.75, 76, 77, University Library, Cambridge (Deut 23:15–28:5; 32:35–33:9). (5) Ms.J = Ms 605 (ENA 2587), Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York (Exod 14:1, 13, 14, 29–31; 15:1–2; 17:15–16; 19:1–8). The manuscripts differ greatly in content, and even where they overlap display numerous variant readings. It is not possible to derive the five groups stemmatically from a common archetype. Nevertheless, they share certain characteristics which suggest that they are interrelated and form a distinct type of Targum. All the mss give a Palestinian Targum in western Aramaic. The incompleteness of FT is, apparently, deliberate, and not due to accidents of transmission, as is the case with the Cairo Genizah Fragments. FT represents a broadly uniform tradition of Bible exegesis, and typologically stands somewhere between *Neof.* and *Ps.-J.* The major differences between the mss relate to length. They can partly be reconciled by observing that for the most part

(though not invariably; Ms.B is idiosyncratic) the longer forms of FT contain the verses found in the shorter forms. Some shorter forms may, therefore, be abbreviations of the longer, and may result from a further application of the principle which created FT in the first place, viz., the desire to produce—for whatever reason—a Targum which covered only selected verses of the Pentateuch.

It is usually argued that FT-texts have been excerpted from originally complete Palestinian Targumim. (Shinan [1979: 108–10] less plausibly supposes that the FT-texts are the seeds from which the full Palestinian Targumim eventually grew.) But why should anyone create a truncated Targum? Though FT may represent a set of random Palestinian glosses derived from a variety of sources, a more satisfactory explanation is to suppose that, like the Targumic Toseftot (see below), it arose at a time when *Onq.* was establishing itself in the West as the "official" Targum, and displacing the indigenous Palestinian Targumim. Rather than simply discard the PT, certain scribes collated against *Onq.* a number of rather similar versions of the PT (not identical to any of the extant full recensions), and so created shortened forms of the PT to supplement *Onq.* These incomplete Targums recorded those elements of the complete text which were considered most worthy of preservation. Much of PT's aggada was preserved. It is noticeable that the sections of the Pentateuch missing from the longest recensions of FT are usually translated more or less literally in one of the other recensions of the PT, thus suggesting that they were literal also in FT's exemplars. However, the desire to preserve PT's aggada cannot have been the only motive, for there is a small but significant proportion of FT which offers a more or less "literal" version of the original. The precise reasons for preserving these "literal" renderings in tandem with *Onq.* probably varies from case to case. The selection may sometimes have been governed by subjective considerations no longer recoverable. In general, however, the phenomenon should be seen within the broad setting of medieval Jewish scholarly activity (well documented in *Neof.* and in *Targum Job*) which was prepared to record even minor variations between one Targum text and another. It is not possible to put any kind of precise date on FT, but it probably represents a recension or recensions of the PT earlier than *Ps.-J.* but later than *Neof.*

e. Cairo Genizah Fragments. Seven fragmentary copies of Pentateuchal Targumim—mss A, B, C, D, E, G, X in Klein's nomenclature (1986: XXII)—have been published from the Cairo Genizah collections. B, C, D give the Hebrew verse in full; A, E, H, Z quote only lemmata. It is not certain how extensive the original texts were. D, which preserves parts of Genesis, Exodus, and Deuteronomy, presumably once covered the whole of the Pentateuch. B, C, E, H, Z contain fragments of Genesis, and A contains fragments of Exodus. According to Beit Arié the dates of the mss range from 8th to 14th century (Klein 1986: XXXVII), which makes them among the earliest witnesses to the Targum. They are particularly valuable from a linguistic point of view since they represent a relatively pure dialect of Palestinian Jewish Aramaic (Kutscher 1976: 3–4). They are typical PT texts, alternating aggadic passages with literal translation. They do not agree precisely with any of the other extant PT recensions, nor with each other, where they overlap.

f. Toseftot. In certain mss of *Onq.*, sometimes in the text (Ms. Parma 3218), sometimes in the margin (Ms. Sassoon 282), sometimes gathered together at the end of a biblical book (*Biblia Hebraica*, Lisbon 1491, end of Exodus), aggadic passages are to be found labelled "Tosefta" or "Tosefta Yerushalmi" (Sperber 1959: XVII–XVIII). Separate collections of such Toseftot are also extant (Ms. Heb.c.74, Bodleian Library, Oxford; Ms. T-S NS 184.81, Cambridge University Library: see Klein 1986, 1: XXVII). Most of the Toseftot, including those in the independent collections, are to greater or lesser degree linguistically mixed and contain elements of both the dialect of *Onq.* and of the PT. The most plausible explanation of the Toseftot is that they are extracts from complete copies of the PT made after *Onq.* had become the standard Targum in the West. They illustrate the concern to preserve Palestinian aggadot and to embellish the drier, more literal style of *Onq.* An attempt was made (not always successfully) to recast them from their original PT dialect into the *Onq.* dialect, presumably in the interests of stylistic uniformity. There is also another possibility, which, though less likely, may explain some cases. Given the history of *Onq.* outlined above, some Toseftot may represent the more expansive old Palestinian *Onq.* (proto-*Onq.*), before it was revised in Babylon to bring it into closer conformity to the Hebrew text. The Western features of the language could then be seen as secondary—the result of the transmission after ca. 200 C.E. of proto-*Onq.* in a linguistic milieu where western Aramaic dialects had become the norm.

2. The Prophets. a. Jonathan. *Targum Jonathan* (= *Jon.*) derives its name from *b. Meg.* 3a which states that "the Targum of the Prophets was composed by Jonathan b. Uzziel from the mouth of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi." Elsewhere Jonathan b. Uzziel is placed among the pupils of Hillel (*b. Sukk.* 28a; *b. B. Bat.* 134a; *ʾAbot R. Nat.* A14, 29a). Barthélemy (1963: 150ff) has suggested that the tradition in *b. Meg.* 3a, which is given in the name of two Palestinian authorities of the 3d century (R. Jeremiah and R. Ḥiyya b. Abba), originally referred to the Greek translation of Theodotion (= Jonathan). It was misapplied in Babylonia to an anonymous Aramaic version of the Prophets (cf. the Aquila/Onqelos problem discussed above). An alternative Babylonian tradition cites *Jon.* under the rubric "as Rab Joseph translates" (*b. Pesaḥ* 68a = *Tg. Isa.* 5:17; *b. B. Bat.* 3b = *Tg. Obad.* 6; *b. Yoma* 32b = *Tg. Jer.* 46:20). Rab Joseph b. Ḥiyya (ca. 270–333 C.E.) was head of the Academy of Pumbeditha.

Jon.'s character and history are similar to *Onq.*'s. In grammar its Aramaic dialect is the same as *Onq.*'s (though there are curious differences in lexicon). As with *Onq.*, a great deal of aggada has been discreetly worked into *Jon.*, but it is generally not expansive. Any expansion that does occur tends to be found, as in *Onq.*, in poetic passages (see, e.g., Judges 5; 1 Sam 2:1–10). Since poetry forms a greater proportion of the Prophets than of the Pentateuch, the general complexion of *Jon.* appears slightly more aggadic than *Onq. Jon.*'s renderings are consistent across the whole second division of the canon, and stock phrases recur at different points where they fail to reflect precisely the underlying Hebrew (cf. e.g., *Tg. Jer.* 8:16 and *Tg. Hos.*

10:5; *Tg. Jer.* 8:21, 14:2, *Tg. Nah.* 2:11, and *Tg. Joel* 2:6; *Tg. Judg.* 20:16, *Tg. Jer.* 10:18 and *Tg. Zech.* 9:15). Parallel passages are rendered in the same way (cf. 2 Kings 18–20 and Isaiah 36–39; Isa 2:2–4 and Mic 4:1–4). There are links between *Jon.*'s rendering of the *haptārôt* and the corresponding Torah passages in *Onq.* (cf. Judg 5:8 and Deut 32:17; Judg 5:26 and Deut 22:5; 1 Sam 12:3 and Num 16:15; 2 Kgs 14:6 and Deut 22:5; Jer 48:45f and Num 21:45f). This would not be surprising if the suggestion is correct that the Targum of the Prophets grew from an Aramaic version of the *haptārôt,* which would naturally be influenced by the already extant renderings of the matching Torah lections.

Jon. was held as authoritative in Babylonia even in matters of halakah. The Babylonian Talmud introduces a number of quotations from it with the formula: "Were it not for the Targum of this verse we would not know what it means" (*b. Ber.* 28b; *b. Moʿed Qaṭ* 28b; *b. Meg.* 3a; *b. Sanh.* 94b). *Jon.*'s uniformity suggests that it was subjected at some point to an official redaction. From the Babylonian Talmud quotations of *Jon.* it may be deduced that this took place in Babylonia in the 4th/5th century C.E., at the same time as the Babylonian redaction of *Onq.* That Babylonian redaction is probably now best preserved in Yemenite mss with supralinear pointing such as Ms 229 (EMC 105), Jewish Theological Seminary of America, and Mss Or. 2210 and 2211, British Library, London.

Despite its Babylonian redaction, *Jon.* (like *Onq.*) originated in Palestine. This is indicated by its essentially Judean dialect (Tal 1975), and by its aggadot which have strong affinities with Palestinian tradition (Hayward 1987: 5). Attempts to show that it contains very early aggada (e.g., *Jon.*'s Messianic interpretation of Mic 5:1–3 must be pre-Christian [Díez Macho 1959: 226f]) are not always convincing. It is debated whether any remnants of the pre-Babylonian *Jon.* still survive. *Jon.* is extant in a number of Western mss with Tiberian pointing, and some of these (e.g. Codex Reuchlinianus of the Badische Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe) differ significantly from the text in the Yemenite mss. It is unclear whether this Western recension represents a Palestinian phase of *Jon.* predating the Babylonian recension, or a case of the standard Babylonian recension being contaminated by the lost PT to the Prophets, subsequent to *Jon.* being brought (with *Onq.*) from Babylonia to the West.

b. Toseftot. Toseftot are extant for *Jon.* (just as they are for *Onq.*), sometimes written in the margins of the mss, sometimes inserted into the running text. Around 80 are found in Codex Reuchlinianus (Sperber siglum f): note, e.g. the long aggadic addition relating to the Aqedah at Isa 33:7. They are also frequent in Ms p. 116 of Jews' College, London (Sperber siglum c), and in the early edition of the Prophets printed at Leiria, 1494 (Sperber siglum d): see 1 Sam 17:39, 43; 18:19; 2 Sam 12:12; 1 Kgs 5:11; 22:21, 22; 2 Kgs 4:1, 6, 7 in Sperber's edition (1959). Qimḥi in his commentaries cites a number of these additions under the rubric "Targum of the Tosefta." In the mss, however, they are commonly designated "Targ[um] Yerush[almi]," or "Tosefta of the Land of Israel." It is very likely that the Toseftot to *Jon.* originated in the same way as the Toseftot to *Onq.* They are remnants of a once complete Palestinian Targum (or Targums) to the Prophets, which were preserved to supplement *Jon.* when the Babylonian recension of the latter began to predominate in the West. The surviving Toseftot appear to correspond with *haptārôt* for the Sabbath and festival lections. Many have been recast in the dialect of *Jon.*, but some have preserved a more PT Aramaic coloring.

3. The Writings. There is no official Targum of the Writings. According to *b. Meg.* 3a Jonathan b. Uzziel wanted to provide one, but was restrained by a heavenly voice because the date of the Messiah is foretold in the Writings. Medieval writers usually quote the Targumim of the Writings as "Targum Yerushalmi." The view that they originated in Palestine is, on the whole, borne out by their language and aggada. However, *Masseket Sôpĕrîm* 13:6 introduces *2 Tg. Esth.* 3:1 with the words "Rab Joseph translated." This is the same Rab Joseph b. Ḥiyya, head of the Academy of Pumbeditha, to whom certain Babylonian sources attributed the Targum to the Prophets. The Targumim of the Writings fall textually into two groups: (1) the Five Scrolls (Lamentations, Canticles, Ruth, Qohelet, Esther); and (2) Job, Psalms, Proverbs, and Chronicles. The Five Scrolls are extant in both Yemenite and Western mss, and in *Tg. Lam.* and *Tg. Cant.* the Yemenite mss present a quite different recension of the text from the Western. In *Tg. Ruth* and *Tg. Qoh* the distinction is not so clear. In *Tg. Esth.* the situation is totally confused. It is possible there was once a distinctive Yemenite recension of the Targum for each of the Five Scrolls, but in three of them (Ruth, Qohelet, and Esther) it has been contaminated to varying degrees at a fairly late date by the Western recension. In the Yemen, the Five Scrolls were read at five different festivals throughout the liturgical year—Canticles at Pesaḥ, Ruth at Šabuʿot, Qohelet at Sukkot, Esther at Purim, and Lamentations at the 9th of Ab. Canticles, Ruth, and Qohelet are read with Targum. The link between Esther and Purim is, of course, very old, but it is debated how early the other Scrolls were associated with their festivals. The Talmud does not mention any connection. It is not unlikely, however, that in some cases the connection was early enough to have influenced the Targum. Note, e.g., how the Exodus is a major theme of *Tg. Cant. Tg. Job* and *Tg. Ps.* are very close. *Tg. Prov.* and *Tg. Chr.* stand on their own.

a. Job. Some 14 mss of *Targum Job* (= *Tg. Job*) are known, of which Ms Ee 5.9, University Library, Cambridge, is, perhaps, the best. All mss are of Western provenance and represent four different recensions of the text (Vallina 1980; Stec 1989). One of *Tg. Job*'s most distinctive features (affecting all its recensions to greater or lesser degree) is multiple translation: two, sometimes three or even four, different translations of a verse, or substantial part of a verse, are presented, under the rubric *targûm ʾaḥēr* or *lāšôn ʾaḥēr.* Approximately 50 verses are treated in this way. Bacher (1871) attributed the alternative Targumim to a glossator of *Tg. Job* living in the 8th or 9th cent. C.E., who, dissatisfied with the midrashic-aggadic renderings of certain verses, made more literal versions which he inserted into the text as the first Targum. He then recorded the original translation as *targûm ʾaḥēr.* Thus Bacher explained the fact that the first Targum tends to be literal, and the second aggadic. But this hypothesis fails to explain why in some cases both first and second Targumim are more or

less literal, or why numerous aggadic verses have been left untouched by the glossator. A more plausible solution is to suppose that *Tg. Job* as we now have it represents a series of scholarly "editions" which result from scribes collating various mss and recording the substantial variants. Such scholarly interest in collecting variant readings is attested elsewhere in the Targumim (e.g., *Neof.* 1). The four recensions and the multiple translations bear witness to the textual fluidity and complexity of *Tg. Job*. This complexity suggests that it evolved over a considerable period of time. Though textually unrelated to the Rabbinic Targum of Job, 11QTgJob from Qumran shows that translation of Job into Aramaic had begun already in Second Temple times. Also, *t. Šabb.* 13:2–3 (cf. *y. Šabb.* 15c; *b. Šabb.* 115a) records a story about Rabban Gamliel immuring a copy of a Targum of Job in the 1st century C.E. There are a number of non-Masoretic readings implied in *Tg. Job* (e.g. 31:18; 33:17). They may point to the presence of an early stratum of material. Bacher (1871) suggested the *Tg. Job* originated in Palestine in the 4th or 5th cent. C.E., but this is little more than a guess. Linguistically *Tg. Job* is mixed: it has strong affinities to the language of PT to the Pentateuch, but it also contains elements of eastern Aramaic as well. For long sections it is literal (e.g., chaps. 19–23 and 32–33), but it does have a considerable number of expansions and non-literal renderings (e.g. 5:12–13; further Weiss 1979: 235–87).

b. Psalms. In language, style, exegesis, and textual type *Targum Psalms* (= *Tg. Ps*) is very similar to *Tg. Job:* both Targumim have gone through a parallel process of transmission and probably originated in the same milieu. Díez Merino (1982) has published a Spanish tradition of this Targum, represented by Ms.116–Z–40 of the Biblioteca de la Universidad Complutense, Madrid (= No.5 in the catalogue of Villa-Amil and Castro), which was prepared for use in the Complutensian Polyglot by Alfonso de Zamora, but no comprehensive critical edition is available. *Tg. Ps.*, however, is found in the same Western mss as *Tg. Job* (including Cambridge Ee. 5.9), and is likely to reflect the same four recensions. Multiple Targumim are less frequent (only some 21 verses in all are involved), but are more common in the mss than in the standard printed editions. Aggada is also less extensive, but tends to agree with Palestinian tradition. There are some notable cases of historicizing exegesis, where the words of the Psalm are contextualized in the sacred history (see e.g., Ps 9:6–7; 91; 118)—a device used throughout the *Tg. Cant.* As with *Tg. Job*, the complexity of the textual tradition means that little can be said with certainty about the date of *Tg. Ps.* It does imply a non-Masoretic *Vorlage* at a number of points. For example, the Madrid ms translates MT's *ʾôr zāruᶜ* in Ps 97:11 by *nĕhôr dĕnaḥ* ("light has shined") in agreement with LXX and Peshitta. (The reading of the Targum in Bomberg's edition—*nĕhôr dĕnaḥ ûmittamar* ["light has shined and is preserved"]—represents a secondary attempt to conform the Targum to MT.) Such non-Masoretic readings are a sign of early material. *Tg. Ps.* 22:1, *ʾēlî ʾēlî* [v l. *ʾĕlāhî ʾelāhî*] *mĕṭûl mah šĕbaqtānî*, is close to Jesus' words on the cross (Mark 15:34; Matt 27:46) which some have claimed as evidence of a Targum of the Psalms in the 1st century C.E. But not too much should be made of this since both the Targum and the NT give the obvious Aramaic translation of the Hebrew. All that can safely be deduced from the reference to Rome and Constantinople in *Tg. Ps.* 108:11 is that the Targum of this verse cannot have arisen before Constantinople was founded as the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire. It should be noted, however, that some text-witnesses omit the reference to Constantinople.

c. Proverbs. *Targum Proverbs* (= *Tg. Prov.*), though commonly grouped with *Tg. Job* and *Tg. Ps.*, differs from these Targumim in two significant ways. First, it is almost totally literal, and avoids midrashic interpretation even when such interpretation might reasonably be expected: e.g., in 8:22ff. it makes no attempt to exploit the rich Rabbinic traditions which identify wisdom with Torah and which give Torah a role in the creation of the world (see FT Gen 1:1; *Gen. R.* 1:1; further Komlosh 1973: 72). None of the Rabbinic exegeses of Proverbs collected in Midrash Proverbs is reflected anywhere in *Tg. Prov.* Second, in 300 verses out of 915 *Tg. Prov.* is verbally identical to Peshitta Proverbs, and on a number of occasions it agrees with the Peshitta against the MT (e.g., 1:7; 4:26; 5:9; 7:22–23; 9:11; 12:19; 16:4, 25), though it should also be noted that there are instances where it agrees with MT *against the Peshitta* (Maybaum 1871: 89 fn). The Aramaic of *Tg. Prov.* is a curious mixed dialect: e.g., it has the 3d masc. sing./plur. impf. of the verb with prefixed */n/* (as in Syriac and Babylonian Jewish Aramaic) and with prefixed */y/* (as in *Onq.* and PT dialects) (see 9:11). Some of its linguistic features, such as *gyr* instead of *ʾry*/*ʾrwm* (29:19), appear to be clear "Syriacisms."

Two main theories have been advanced to account for these facts: (1) *Tg. Prov.* is a reworking of the Peshitta Proverbs. In other parts of the Bible it is normally thought that significant agreement between Peshitta and Targum is evidence of the latter's influence on the former, not vice versa, but there is nothing intrinsically improbable in the suggestion that a Jewish scholar, wanting to create a Targum for Proverbs, saved himself some trouble by adapting and, rather inconsistently, revising a Christian Aramaic version. If this theory is correct, then *Tg. Prov.* is a late work, and its non–Masoretic readings have simply been taken over, presumably unnoticed, from the Peshitta. Its dialect is a totally artificial mixture of Jewish Aramaic and Syriac, created by patchy reworking of the Peshitta into more standard Targumic forms of Aramaic. (2) According to the second theory, Peshitta Proverbs is derived from *Tg. Prov.*, or (more subtly) both Peshitta and Targum draw on a common earlier Jewish source. This theory, which follows the usual lines of influence between Targum and Peshitta, implies that *Tg. Prov.*, or the Ur-Targum that lies behind *Tg. Prov.* and the Peshitta, is a relatively early work based on a non-Masoretic *Vorlage*. The "Syriacisms" might be explained by supposing that *Tg. Prov.*, or the Ur-Targum, was composed somewhere in the East, perhaps for use in the Jewish community of Nisibis, or some other center in N Mesopotamia, where the local Aramaic dialect would have been close to classical Syriac. In transmission, however, the eastern Aramaic of this text was modified quite heavily, but unsystematically, to make it conform to "normal" Targumic Aramaic. *Tg. Prov.* is extant in most of the mss that contain *Tg. Job* and *Tg. Ps.* Until its textual tradition has been fully investigated and clarified there is

no solid basis on which to decide between these competing theories.

d. Lamentations. Two recensions of *Targum Lamentations (Tg. Lam.)* are extant—one in the Yemenite mss (e.g., Or. 1476, Or. 2377 and Or. 2375, British Library, London), the other in the Western mss (e.g., Codex Urbinas 1 [= Urb.Ebr.1, Vatican Library] and Héb. 110, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris). The Western recension is longer than the Yemenite, and usually gives a better text. However, the supralinear vowelling of the Yemenite mss (which derives from the Babylonian tradition of reading the text) is linguistically more coherent than the Tiberian vowelling of the Western manuscripts (van der Heide 1981; Alexander 1986). The two recensions are not self-contained: some of the later Yemenite mss appear to have been contaminated by the Western tradition. *Tg. Lam.* is very expansive, the aggadic additions tending to cluster toward the beginning of the work. It shares many exegetical traditions with *Lamentations Rabba,* which is generally regarded as one of the oldest of the midrashim, but it is hard to say whether *Tg. Lam.* drew on the midrash or vice versa. Linguistically *Tg. Lam.* is a mixture of PT and *Onq.* Aramaic: *ḥzʾ* (= *Onq.*) occurs 19 times as against 4 occurrences of *ḥmʾ* (= PT). *Tg. Lam.* 4:21, "Rejoice and be glad, Constantinople, city of wicked Edom, that is built in the land of Armenia, with great crowds of the people of Edom," could hardly have been written before 330 C.E. when Constantinople became the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire. From an analysis of *Tg. Lam.* 4:21–22, Komlosh (1973: 90) dates the work to the early 7th century C.E., when Jews saw the Persians as potential deliverers from the yoke of Byzantium, but before the liberation of Jerusalem in 614.

e. Canticles. *Targum Canticles* (= *Tg. Cant.*) is a very expansive Targum (about five times the length of the original Hebrew), which systematically interprets Canticles as a cryptic account of the relationship between God and Israel from the Exodus to the Messianic Age: 1:3–3:6 covers the Exodus, Sinai, the wilderness wanderings and the entry into Canaan; 3:6–5:1 covers Solomon and the Temple; 5:2–6:12 covers the Exile under Sennacherib and Nebuchadnezzar, the return under Cyrus, the rebuilding of the Temple, the Great Assembly, and the Hasmonaeans; 7:1–13 is a miscellany of themes corresponding to the present age in the chronological schema. Exhortatory in tone, it urges Israel to repent and pray for the redemption; 7:14–8:14 depicts the Messianic Age: the coming of the Messiah, the resurrection, the return to Jerusalem, and the war against Gog and Magog. The basic exegetical technique of the Targum is to deduce from the direct speech in the original an appropriate context in the sacred history to which the words could apply, all within the basic equation of God as the "beloved" *(dôd),* and Israel as his "darling" *(raʿyâ).* The exegesis is historicizing, and not, strictly speaking, mystical, even at 5:10–16, a passage which may have influenced the *Šiʿûr Qômâ* speculations of the Merkabah mystics (Alexander 1989: 126).

Tg. Cant.'s unusually holistic reading of its text, its stylistic and exegetical uniformity, and the conspicuous lack of alternative Targumim, seem to point toward an original single author. However, textual considerations put this idea in some doubt. Textually *Tg. Cant.* is similar to *Tg. Lam.*, and exists in two distinct recensions—a Yemenite (e.g., Ms. Or. 1302, British Library, London, and Ms. Opp.Add. 2333, Bodleian Library, Oxford) and a Western (e.g., Codex Urbinas 1, Vatican Library, and Ms. 3189, Biblioteca Palatina, Parma)—which cannot be derived stemmatically from a single archetype. So if there was an original author his work has been modified quite heavily in transmission. *Tg. Cant.* is also linguistically similar to *Tg. Lam.* and contains elements both of PT and *Onq.* Aramaic. *Tg. Cant.* is usually regarded as a late Targum composed possibly in the 7th century C.E. At 1:2 and 5:10 it refers to the "Six Orders of the Mishnah and the Talmud" as a completed text. At 1:7 it appears to envisage a world divided between "Esau" (= Christianity) and "Ishmael" (= Islam). At a number of points its language may be influenced by Arabic (note 1:7 *šittûp* = Arabic *širk;* 4:3 *min bar* = Arabic *baʿda;* further R. H. Melamed 1921: 395). It contains numerous indirect quotations from other parts of Scripture and these betray a knowledge of *Onq., Ps.-J.* and *Jon.* Its relationship to *Canticles Rabba* is unclear: both the midrash and the Targum share many traditions, but *Tg. Cant.* also has a number of striking aggadot not attested in the much fuller midrash. E. Z. Melamed's contention (1970–71) that *Tg. Cant.* makes use of (indeed, misquotes) traditions from the Babylonian Talmud has been contested by Heinemann (1971–72). Melamed (1970–71: 215) also suggests that the reference to "this polluted land" in *Tg. Cant.* 8:14, and the description of the rabbinical academy in 8:13, suggest the work was composed in Babylonia.

f. Ruth. *Targum Ruth* (= *Tg. Ruth*) is well attested both in Western mss (e.g. N.72, Biblioteca Angelica, Rome, and 3231, Biblioteca Palatina, Parma) and in Yemenite (e.g. Or. 2375 and Or. 9906, British Library, London), but the two groups do not represent such clear-cut recensions in Ruth as they do in *Tg. Lam.* and *Tg. Cant. Tg. Ruth* is moderately expansive and alternates blocks of aggadic material (e.g., 1:1, 13, 16–17; 2:10–13; 3:7–8, 10, 15; 4:20–22) with passages of more or less literal translation. Much of its aggada is found also in *Ruth Rabba* (cf. e.g., the list of ten famines at *Tg. Ruth* 1:1 with the similar list in *Ruth R.* 1:4). Little can be said with certainty about *Tg. Ruth*'s date. Levine (1973: 6–8) argues that it contains pre-Rabbinic halakah. The most striking case is at 1:17 where four kinds of death penalty are listed, viz., stoning, burning, the sword, and hanging on a tree *(ṣĕlîbat qĕsāʾ).* This contradicts the standard Rabbinic view (reflected in *m. Sanh.* 7:1) that the four death penalties are stoning, burning, beheading with a sword: cf. *m. Sanh.* 7:3), and strangulation (with a scarf [*sûdārîn*]: cf. *m. Sanh.* 7:3). According to Rabbinic halakah criminals who are stoned should be hung on a gibbet after they are dead, but hanging in itself is not regarded as a means of causing death (*m. Sanh.* 6:4). *Tg. Ruth* is clearly at odds with the Mishnah (a fact recognized by the Parma ms which reads *ḥĕnîqat sûdārāʾ* ["strangulation with a scarf"] for *ṣĕlîbat qĕsāʾ*), and with the corresponding passage in *Ruth R.* (9:14 §8), which lists the four Mishnaic death penalties in the precise wording of the Mishnah. However, it is too simplistic to argue, as Levine does (1973: 7), following Díez Macho, that "anti-Mishnaic" halakah must be "pre-Mishnaic," and is evidence of the antiquity of the Targum. Certainly *Tg. Ruth*'s position that hanging is a mode of execution is attested as early as 11QTemple 64:7–13, but it represents an intrinsically

plausible interpretation of Deut 21:22 which was apparently advocated by some Qaraites (who may, of course, have derived it from Second Temple Jewish sources). In its "anti-Mishnaic" halakah *Tg. Ruth* could be reflecting Qaraite halakah just as easily as "pre-Mishnaic" sectarian halakah.

g. Qohelet. As with *Tg. Ruth,* the Western and Yemenite mss of *Targum Qohelet* (= *Tg. Qoh.*) do not appear to present two clearly differentiated recensions of the text. *Tg. Qoh.* is moderately paraphrastic, and its aggada can usually be paralleled in *Qohelet Rabba,* the Babylonian Talmud, and other classical rabbinic sources, although sometimes with idiosyncratic variations. For example, *Tg. Qoh.* allegorically interprets the "little city" in 9:14f as the human body, the "great king" as the evil inclination, and the "poor wise man" as the good inclination. This interpretation is broadly similar to that found in *Qoh. R.* 9:14 §8 and *b. Ned.* 32b. But the Targum works out the allegory with much greater detail and precision, and its view that the "few men" refer to the virtues of the heart contrasts with the midrash and the Talmud's view that the reference is to the limbs of the body.

h. Esther. Early printed editions offer three recensions of *Targum Esther* (= *Tg. Esth.*). *1 Tg. Esth.* and *2 Tg. Esth.* both appeared in Bomberg's *Biblia Rabbinica,* Venice 1517, the former in the main text, the latter in an appendix entitled, "Targum Sheni" ("Second Targum") to Esther. These two Targumim are very expansive; *2 Tg. Esth.,* in fact, is the most consistently expansive text in the whole of the Targumic corpus. In stark contrast the so-called "Third Targum" to Esther *(3 Tg. Esth.),* which was printed in the Antwerp Polyglot of 1569–72 (cf. Alfonso de Zamora's *Tg. Esth.* in Ms. 116–Z–40, Biblioteca de la Universidad Complutense, Madrid [= No.5 in the catalogue of Villa-Amil and Castro], and in Ms. M–2, Biblioteca Universitaria, Salamanca) was almost completely literal. Goshen-Gottstein (1975) strongly suspects the authenticity of *3 Tg. Esth.* He argues that humanist scholars created it in the 16th century by purging the expansive Esther Targums of their aggadic additions. Grelot (1975), however, accepts *3 Tg. Esth.* as genuine, with some reason, for, although scholars such as Alfonso de Zamora or Arias Montano (the editor of the Antwerp Polyglot) had the ability to produce such a Targum, creating *3 Tg. Esth.* would have been a tour de force, and it is puzzling that similar Targumim were not attempted for easier texts such as Lamentations. Grelot argues that *3 Tg. Esth.* is, in fact, the oldest recension of *Tg. Esth.* and forms the basis for *1 Tg. Esth.* The picture is complicated by the fact that Yemenite mss of *Tg. Esth.,* such as Or. 2375, British Library, London (Sperber 1968), do not respect the distinction between *1 Tg. Esth.* and *2 Tg. Esth.* but combine elements from both recensions (Díez Merino 1984: 289). Indeed, even some Western mss do the same (e.g. Ms. Nürnberg = Kennicott no. 198, Ms. Sassoon 282, and Ms. Héb 110, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris). *1 Tg. Esth.* and *2 Tg. Esth.* contain many aggadot (the traditions regarding Solomon's Throne are a case in point) attested elsewhere only in late sources such as *Esther Rabba;* therefore the presumption must be that both these Targumim, in the form in which we now have them, date from the early Middle Ages. However, the public reading of Esther was a part of the festival of Purim at least from Tannaitic times (see *m. Meg.*), so there was good reason for rendering Esther into Aramaic at an early date. The immense complexity of the textual tradition of *Tg. Esth.* can be seen as a measure of the length of time that Esther had been read and studied in connection with Purim. It has yet to be proven, however, that early strata can be identified in the expansive *1 Tg. Esth.* and *2 Tg. Esth.*, or that the literal *3 Tg. Esth.* takes us back to the earlier stages of the tradition.

i. Chronicles. *Targum Chronicles* (= *Tg. Chr.*) is for the most part a literal translation, with a few aggadic expansions (e.g., at 1 Chr 4:18; 7:21; 11:11, 22; 2 Chr 3:1; 23:11; 33:12–13). It is extant in three German mss of the 13th and 14th centuries, all with Tiberian vocalization: Ms.E = the Erfurt Codex (now Ms.or.fol. 1210 and 1211, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin); Ms.C = Ms.Or.Ee.5.9, University Library, Cambridge; and Ms.V = Codex Urbinas 1 (Urb.Ebr.1, Vatican Library). These give two rather different recensions of the Targum, one represented by E, the other by C and V. In the parallel passages of Chronicles, Kings, and Samuel, *Tg. Chr.* shows strong affinities to the Targum of the Former Prophets, especially as found in Codex Reuchlinianus. *Tg. Chr.* may originally have been created by taking a Targum of the parallel passages in Kings and Samuel and extending its general style to the rest of Chronicles. However, *Tg. Chr.* seems to have made use, not of any extant recension of the Targum to the Former Prophets, but of an earlier form of that Targum which predated the emergence of the standard Babylonian recension. The similarities between *Tg. Chr.* and Peshitta Chronicles are also best explained by the hypothesis that Peshitta Chronicles is derived from an earlier form of the Targum than the one now extant. *Tg. Chr.* appears to have known and made use of PT to the Pentateuch. It is particularly close to *Ps.-J.* in its vocabulary, style of translation, and aggadic content (cf. *Tg. 1 Chr.* 1:4–24 with *Ps.-J.* Gen 10:1–32). Its language is mixed and contains elements of PT Aramaic, of *Onq.* Aramaic, and of Babylonian Talmud Aramaic. In this case the PT Aramaic stratum is probably original, and the other dialectal features secondary, having been introduced by scribes who knew well *Onq.* and the Babylonian Talmud. Le Déaut and Robert (1971), following Rosenberg and Kohler (1876), argue that *Tg. Chr.* originated in Palestine in the 4th century C.E., but that its final redaction may be as late as the 8th/9th cent. C.E. A late date for the text as we now have it is suggested by the fact that certain aggadot in *Tg. Chr.* seem to betray the influence of the Babylonian Talmud. It is hard to envisage such a knowledge or respect for the Babylonian Talmud in the West before the early Middle Ages.

C. Genre

Targum and midrash share the same hermeneutical approach and apply the same exegetical techniques to the interpretation of Scripture, but they differ in important ways as to their literary form and presentation. Targum is translation, and as such its form tries to mirror the form of the original text, its voice and perspective is supposed to be the same as that of the original author. Midrash, by way of contrast, has its own distinctive form of lemma + comment which never varies whatever the form of the original, and its voice and perspective is always explicitly

that of the *daršān*. Targum, unlike midrash, can offer essentially only a monovalent reading of Scripture; it cannot be argumentative, nor make explicit its exegetical reasoning, nor quote other verses of Scripture with the formula, "as it is written" (though there are numerous "concealed" quotations from Scripture in the Targum). Targum cannot cite rabbinic authorities by name, nor be selective: it must present the whole of the original in proper order.

It is true that the Targumim show certain formal similarities to midrash, which tend to be more marked the later the text. The hugh expansions found in some of the late Targumim (e.g., *Ps.-J., Tg. Cant., 2 Tg. Esth.*) put the translation form under great strain, and would have been more easily accommodated by midrashic form. Moreover, the Targumim do achieve a degree of polyvalency in their readings of Scripture. They contain numerous double renderings of single biblical items: e.g. *Ps.-J.* translates the Hebrew *nĕśô'* [RSV "bear"] in Gen 4:13 as both "tolerate" and "forgive": "my rebellion is far too great to be *tolerated,* yet before you is the power to *forgive* it." Sometimes these doublets have resulted from the incorporation of alternative translations from the margin into the text; sometimes they may be original. Either way they arguably involve an understanding of the Hebrew text as polyvalent. Polyvalency is also achieved, very directly, in those Targumim (e.g., *Tg. Job*) which offer multiple translations. The formula *targûm 'aḥēr* used to introduce these variant translations seems deliberately to echo the formula *dābār 'aḥēr* used in midrash to introduce alternative interpretations. The midrashic form of lemma + comment also has its analogies in Targum. Targum was intended to be read side by side with Scripture: Targum proper is arguably only part of a larger literary structure which includes the Bible. The biblical text therefore can be seen as the lemma, the Targum as the comment. Even within the Targum proper there is an analogy to lemma + comment. At many points in the Targum it is possible to distinguish a literal base-text from explanatory plusses: the base-text is equivalent to the lemma, the plus to the comment.

All these formal analogies between Targum and Midrash should be duly acknowledged, but they do not invalidate the assertion that Targum and Midrash are two different literary genres. The Targumim, even at their most expansive and midrashic, try to stay within the limits of the translation-genre as they understood it. It should be noted that Targum appears to treat all Scripture formally as narrative: it does not distinguish between Hebrew poetry and prose. It often expands the poetry in such a way that its poetic form is lost and it is reduced to prose in translation (Alexander 1988: 228–37).

The material that makes up the Targumim may be classified into two broad categories: (1) literal translation and (2) non-literal translation. Though all translation involves some interpretation, the degree of interpretation presented by literal (i.e., natural and obvious) translation may, for practical purposes, be rated at zero. In non-literal translation the interpretative element is introduced in three main ways: by addition, by substitution, and by rewriting (Samely 1989: 197–206). The addition may be an explanatory word, clause, or clauses attached to a literal base-translation: e.g., Gen 10:2: Hebrew, "The sons of Japhet were: Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, Tubal, Meshech, and Tiras"; Targum *Ps.-J.*, "The sons of Japhet were: Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, Tubal, Meshech, and Tiras, *and the names of their provinces were: Phrygia, Germania, Media, Macedonia, Bithynia, Asia, and Thrace.*" Care is always taken to link the addition seamlessly to the base-text, and to conform it to the overall syntax of the verse, so that it is usually impossible, without looking at the Hebrew, to distinguish base-text from addition. However, the addition is inserted in such a way that it can be "bracketed out" leaving behind a viable, freestanding, literal rendering of the Hebrew.

In substitution a biblical word or phrase is given only a non-literal equivalent: e.g., Num 34:4, Hebrew, "its goings out [i.e., of the border of the land] shall be south of Kadesh-barnea"; Targum *Ps.-J.*, "its goings out shall be south of *Reqem-Ge'ah* [= Petra]." Here the non-literal rendering can be analysed as substituting the potentially literal rendering. The interpretative element cannot be bracketed out leaving a viable base-text. For that to have been possible the Targum would have had to read: "its goings out shall be south of Kadesh-barnea, that is Reqem-Ge'ah."

In rewriting the Targum creates essentially a new syntactic structure, rather different from the one that would have been created by literal translation, and inserts into it elements derived from the biblical text, usually in the order in which they appear in the original. These biblical elements may be translated literally or non-literally, or the non-literal equivalent may be related to the literal in some way, such as by using the formula, "X [= non-literal equivalent], which is likened to Y [= literal equivalent]." Rewriting, which is typical of the *Tg. Cant.*, may be illustrated by the following example: Cant 1:11: Hebrew, "We will make for you circlets of gold [*tôrê zāhāb*], with studs of silver [*nĕquddôt hakkāsep*]"; Targum: "Then it was said to Moses: Ascend to the firmament and *I will give you two tables of stone,* hewn from the sapphire of the throne of my glory, *gleaming like fine gold,* arranged in lines and written by my finger. *Engraved on them are the Ten Words, refined more than silver* that has been refined seven times seven ways (which corresponds to the number of interpretations by which they [the Ten Words] are expounded—49 modes of interpretation in all), And I will give them by your hand to the people, the House of Israel."

D. Origin and Context

In Talmudic times it was customary to translate the biblical lections in synagogue simultaneously from Hebrew into Aramaic (*m. Meg.* 4:4, 6; further Alexander 1985). Tradition traced the institution of this practice back to Ezra's public re-promulgation of the Law described in Nehemiah 8: "*They read from the book, from the Law of God* (Neh 8:8)—this refers to Scripture; *clearly* [*mĕpōrāš*]—this refers to Targum" (*y. Meg.* 74d). A major reason for the origin of the Targum must have been the fact that increasingly in the postexilic period Aramaic replaced Hebrew as the vernacular of the Jews of Palestine. It came to be recognized, however, that the Targum could do more than provide a simple rendering of Scripture into everyday speech: it could be a commentary as well as a translation, and impose a comprehensive interpretation on the original

Hebrew. This function of the Targum to provide an acceptable reading of Scripture, which was distinct from Scripture and left the original intact, helps to explain why the Targum continued to be recited even when its language did not correspond to the local dialect of Aramaic (e.g., *Onq.* in Babylonia), or when Aramaic had been replaced altogether by Arabic as the Jewish vernacular in the Middle East. The Rabbis recognized this function of Targum and, as part of their policy to stamp their authority on the synagogue liturgy, they tried to control both its content and the manner of its delivery in synagogue; certain translations were banned (see *m. Meg.* 4:9, with reference to Lev 18:21), and certain passages excluded from translation (the so-called Forbidden Targumim: see Alexander 1976). The Rabbis were concerned that Targum should be clearly distinguished from Scripture: the same person could not publicly read the Hebrew and recite the Targum. Targum belonged to the oral Torah, and the translator had to recite it orally in public, while the reader had to read (and be manifestly seen to read) the Hebrew from the scroll. At the same time it is a fundamental rabbinic principle that the Targum is not a freestanding translation, to be used on its own; it should always be heard and studied in conjunction with the original Hebrew. Even when Targum was studied in the privacy of one's home, the suggested rule was that the *pārāšâ* should be read twice in the Hebrew and once in the Targum (*b. Ber.* 8a). Besides its use as a liturgical version in synagogue, and as a repository of traditional exegesis in private study, the Targum played a role in elementary education (*Sipre Deut.* §161, p. 212). Children appear to have learned it in the *bêt hassēper*. The Hebrew Bible formed the staple of elementary education, and in the absence of formal grammars the Targum provided a valuable aid to the acquisition of the biblical language (York 1979; Alexander 1985). In later centuries Arabic and Yiddish Bible translations served a similar purpose for Jewish schoolchildren.

Fragments of Aramaic translations of the Bible have been discovered at Qumran (4QTgLev, 4QTgJob, and 11QTgJob). This suggests that the Targum is a pre-rabbinic institution which the Rabbis attempted to rabbinize and to control. The culmination of that process was the production in Babylonia of official rabbinic Targumim for the Torah and the Prophets (*Onq.* and *Jon.*). The enormous textual fluidity of the extant Targumim (which must broadly reflect regional variation and a largely oral transmission over long periods) proves that official uniformity was never achieved.

Though aimed primarily at a popular audience, the Targumim are the work of scholars with a deep knowledge of Hebrew, Aramaic, and Bible exegesis. At no stage can they be envisaged as spontaneous renderings of untutored translators. And, despite the present textual fluidity, the content of the Targum in any given locality was probably always largely predetermined and traditional. According to Rabbinic halakah the Targum had to be given orally in synagogue (*Pesiq. R.* 5, ed. Friedman 14a-b; Tanḥuma *Wayyērā'* 6, ed. Buber II, 87–88), but there is clear evidence that written texts of the Targumim were in circulation in the Talmudic era: Rabbinic stress on oral transmission related primarily to liturgical use.

It is a matter of dispute just how directly the extant written texts go back to the Targumim of Talmudic times. It would be a mistake to assume that they all represent direct transcripts of the oral Targum delivered in the early synagogue. Certainly some of our texts *were* recited in synagogue: *Onq.* and *Jon.* are cases in point, and some of the Cairo Genizah mss of the PT are clearly marked up for liturgical purposes. However, there are other texts (e.g., *Ps.-J.*) whose liturgical role, at least in their present form, must be seriously questioned. They represent scholarly editions of genuine Targumic traditions put together in the early Middle Ages as serviceable collections of early Bible exegesis.

For full bibliography on the Targumim, see Grossfeld 1972–78; the introductions to Díez Macho 1968–79; and Aufrecht 1974–.

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TARSHISH (PERSON)

[Heb *taršîš*]. Var. TARSHISHAH. As an Israelite name, "Tarshish" belongs to a class of names drawn from words for precious stones (*IPN,* 223). Three persons in the OT bear this name.

1. One of the four "sons" of Javan, the "son" of Japheth, and thus a great-grandson of Noah (Gen 10:4 = 1 Chr 1:7). The author of Genesis 10 is clearly intending to set forth tribal and national entities (the so-called "Table of Nations"), and thus the references to this son of Javan are also references to a place by the same name. See TARSHISH (PLACE).

2. One of the seven sons of Bilhan, the son of Jediael, listed in the military census of the Israelites (1 Chr 7:10). This Tarshish is therefore the great-great-grandson of Jacob through Benjamin.

3. One of the seven princes of Persia and Media who were advisers to king Ahaseurus (Esth 1:14). These men were the most prominent at the court (lit. "sat first in the kingdom") and had the privilege of personal audience with the king (lit. "saw the king's face"). Extrabiblical sources attest to such a council of seven prominent nobles customarily advising the Persian monarch (see Paton, *Esther* ICC, 153; and especially *ISBE* 3:971). Although it is reasonable to presume that the names of these counselors are Persian (see Millard 1977, who counters the excessive caution of Moore [*Esther* AB, xli–xliv] regarding the reliability of the MT spellings), no name equivalents to this have thus far been found in the extrabiblical literature, nor has a generally acceptable Persian etymology been suggested (despite Paton, *Esther* ICC, 68).

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TARSHISH (PLACE)

[Heb *taršîš*]. Var. TARSHISHAH. According to the Table of Nations (Gen 10:4), Tarshish is one of the four sons of Javan, the son of Japheth, and thus a great-grandson of Noah. See TARSHISH (PERSON). The descendants of the siblings of Tarshish are associated with maritime countries in the Mediterranean and Aegean (Elishah, Kittim, Rodanim), so the descendants of Tarshish could well be found in this same area. In spite of over 30

references to Tarshish in the OT, its exact location is still a matter of debate.

A. Precious Stones and Ships

Seven of the references use Tarshish in the description of a precious stone (Ezek 28:13). The stone is used in the priestly breastplate (Exod 28:20; 39:13) and is known for its beauty (Cant 5:14) and flaming brilliance (Dan 10:6; cf. Ezek 1:10; 10:9). It has variously been identified as chrysolite (LXX; NIV), topaz (NEB) or beryl (RSV; JB). Its name, Tarshish, apparently derives from its geographical source, but the references provide no direct clue as to where that might be. There needs to be a mutual interaction between proposed sites and the identification of the stone to check for minerals which might not naturally occur in a suggested site.

Ten further references use Tarshish to describe ships. Some of these were in the service of Solomon, along with Phoenician ships, in trade for gold, silver, and exotic merchandise (1 Kgs 10:22; 2 Chr 9:22). It is generally accepted that these ships were harbored at Ezion-Geber on the Red Sea, because mention is made of ships built there for Solomon, manned in part by Phoenician sailors (1 Kgs 9:26–27), though in this context they are not specifically identified as Tarshish-ships. Those ships built by Jehoshaphat to sail for gold to Ophir at least made landfall at Ezion-Geber, since they were ultimately wrecked there (1 Kgs 22:48; cf. Ps 48:8, where similar ships are destroyed by a violent east wind). A bit more detail is provided in the account of the same incident in 2 Chr 20:36–37. Here the ships are explicitly stated to have been built in Ezion-Geber "to go to Tarshish." The contrast in function and destination could indicate a misunderstanding on the part of the Chronicler concerning what was meant by a "Tarshish ship" in his source documents.

In several cases it is the Mediterranean rather than the Red Sea which is the field of operation of the Tarshish-ships. They carried heavy cargoes of the wares of Tyre (Ezek 27:35), and they are to weep when it, their harbor stronghold, is destroyed (Isa 23:1, 14; cf. v 10). In an eschatological passage describing the future glory of Zion with abundance flowing into Israel, maritime areas usually associated with the Mediterranean will give up their Israelite exiles along with their gold and silver to Tarshish-ships in order to restore them to Israel (Isa 60:9).

The final ship collocation does not describe location but grandeur and great size. The Day of the Lord will not only humble the high mountains and the cedars of Lebanon, but also the Tarshish-ships (Isa 2:16), which appear to have become proverbial for their great size.

In these contexts, Tarshish has been generally understood to refer to a geographical location, but there is a difficulty in that the references point both toward the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, which makes a single-site identification tenuous.

B. Etymologies

Albright suggested a different approach to the name Tarshish, associating it with the Akkadian *rašāšu* "to heat, melt, smelt" (Albright 1961: 347 and n. 96; cf. *AHW,* 960–61). In this case the form *taršīšu* might be a refinery. This would then lead to an understanding of the ships as oar boats, providing transport of the raw material to the refinery, or as carriers of the purified metal from the refinery. In support of this interpretation is the association of Tarshish-ships (Isa 60:9), and Tarshish itself (Ezek 27:12), with metal. Also supportive is the great size of the ships (Isa 2:16), necessitated by their heavy cargo (Ezek 27:25). This type of vessel would thus be expected wherever there was bulk trade in metal, so their occurrence in association with two unconnected seas no longer poses an insurmountable problem.

Wiseman tentatively suggested another etymology for the name, from the Greek *tarsos* "oar" (*NBD,* 1180). This receives some support from the identification of Tarshish-ships with those from Mycenae which had 30 to 60 double banked oars (Barnett 1958: 226), but it has not been widely accepted.

C. Geographical Locale

Tarshish as a geographical location is mentioned in several places. Three verses speak of it as a source of precious metal (Jer 10:9; Ezek 27:12; 38:13). The exact location of Tarshish, or even its direction in relation to Israel is not univocal. Its association with the West and the Mediterranean is best known from Jonah's flight toward Tarshish from Joppa on the W seaboard of Israel (Jonah 1:3; 4:2). Its further association with the "islands," mainly a designation of maritime areas W of Israel, also points in the same direction (Ps 72:10; Isa 23:6, where it is also associated with Egypt and Sidon; 66:19, associated with Asia Minor and Greece). There are also weaker links with the S in the literary connections of Tarshish and Sheba, Seba and Dedan (Ps 72:10; Ezek 38:13).

Extrabiblical sources and cognate terms have been used as evidence for locating Tarshish. Tartessus in SW Spain, a Phoenician colony on the Guadalquiver River, has received some attention (Herodotus 1.163; 4.152; Albright 1961: 347). The area is known for its metals (Strabo *Geog.* 3.2.11) and chrysolite is found there (see Pliny *HN* 37, 43; Driver 1963: 498), though not true topaz. Mineral deposits are also found on Sardinia, where a Phoenician inscription of approximately the 9th century B.C. was found. It apparently refers to one of its towns as Tarshish (*CIS* I: 144; Albright 1961: 346–47). A more recent suggestion is that Tarshish is to be identified with Carthage in N Africa (Berger 1982: 61–65). In part this identification is made on the basis of the LXX reading of the name in Ezek 27:12 as *karchēdonioi* "Carthage."

Tarshish *(tarsisi)* is mentioned in Akkadian sources from the 7th century B.C. on (Parpola 1970: 349), but the extent of Assyrian contact or knowledge of the area so far W is not clear.

Part of the ambiguity of identification of Tarshish could well be the descriptive rather than definitive role of the name. It is used not to clearly identify one discrete geographical site, but rather to indicate what activity—smelting or refining—went on in a location. The term could therefore very easily refer to any number of different sites, including all of the suggestions made previously, as well as Ezion-Geber itself and other Red Sea locations. The same multi-reference usage might also be evident in the name Carthage, Semitic *qrṯḥdšt* "New Town." It is also generic enough to apply to a number of locations. In

addition to the N African locale, there is also a Carthage on the coast of W Spain (Strabo *Geog.* 3.2.10; Hallward 1930: 31, 34), which is in close proximity to the earlier Tartessus. Berger's argument identifying Tarshish and Carthage (1982) therefore might not be incompatible with its identification with Spain.

Because of the ambiguity regarding the identification of Tarshish, we are not able to say with confidence where Jonah was heading when he set sail from Joppa. All we can be sure of is that he was going west, and that he thought he would be leaving his God behind.

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DAVID W. BAKER

TARSUS (PLACE) [Gk *Tarsos*]. The principal city of the fertile plain of East Cilicia in SE Asia Minor, remembered today as the home of Saint Paul.

A. Location

The ancient territory of Cilicia was composed of two quite distinct parts. In the E there was a fertile plain, called Cilicia Pedias ("Flat Cilicia"), extending from the edge of the Taurus Mountains in the N to the sea in the S. The major trade route from Syria to central Asia Minor ran through this coastal plain, crossing the Amanus Mountains by the Syrian Gates and then the Taurus range by the Cilician Gates. In the W there was the rugged coastland of Cilician Trachaei ("Rough Cilicia"), where the Taurus Mountains extend all the way to the sea. The latter was notorious in antiquity as a refuge for pirates, as well as a source of mercenaries and timber. Tarsus was the chief city of the E plain, located about 10 miles (16 km) up the river Cydnus and 30 miles (50 km) S of the celebrated Cilician Gates. It is a Turkish city today of just under 100,000 inhabitants.

B. History

Tarsus is at least 4,000 years old. The Hittite texts refer to the region of Cilicia as "Kizzuwatna" and make specific mention of Tarsa (Tarsus) and Adaniya (Adana). The historical foundations of the city are somewhat confused in the sources (Hemer *ISBE* 4: 735). It is no longer tenable to identify it with the biblical Tarshish (Gen 10:4), but we know it existed as a fortified city and trade outpost before 2000 B.C. The whole region was linked by treaty to the Hittite empire and was later incorporated in it until its demise ca. 1200 B.C., when it was destroyed by the invasions of the Sea Peoples. Resettled by Greeks, in the 9th century B.C. the city, along with all of Cilicia, came under the control of the Assyrians. Tarsus is mentioned in the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III (9th century B.C.). From the early 6th century B.C., the region was ruled by a succession of local puppet kings bearing the dynastic title "Syennesis," who continued to rule under the Persian empire until ca. 400 B.C., when they were replaced by Persian governors (satraps). In spite of its Greek heritage, the city of Tarsus was dominated by the oriental culture imported as a result of the influence of its eastern overlords. Coins during the Persian period (5th–4th centuries), for example, bore the legend *Baal Tarz* ("lord of Tarsus") rather than the name of the Greek god Zeus. In 333 B.C., Cilicia was conquered by Alexander the Great, when he defeated the armies of Darius III at Issus and so opened up the way into Syria. Tarsus was saved from being burned by the retreating Persians (Arr. *Anab.* 2.4–5; Quintus Curtius *Historiae Alexandri* 3.4.14–15) and came under the rule of the Seleucids for the next two centuries, and, as a result, became Hellenized (though without ever losing entirely its oriental character; see Ramsay 1907: 122–31; 198–205).

Under the Seleucids, Tarsus was given a new name, Antioch-on-the-Cydnus, and a new constitution with a degree of municipal autonomy (in the aftermath of the revolt mentioned in 2 Macc 4:30–31, 36). Ramsay (1907: 161–86) suggested that the new constitution given by Antiochus Epiphanes (175–164 B.C.) provided the occasion for new colonists, including both Greeks (especially Argives) and Jews. The latter were probably given citizenship rights as a group and enrolled in a civic "tribe" (Gk *phylē*, Lat *tribus*), with its own religious ceremonies. There is no certain proof for this supposition, but there is evidence that this was the case in cities like Alexandria, Cyrene, Syrian Antioch, Ephesus, and Sardis (Bruce 1977: 36). In 83 B.C. the city came under the power of Tigranes I, king of Armenia, ally and son-in-law of Mithridates VI, but then passed rather quickly into Roman hands through the conquests of Pompey (67 B.C.), who established Tarsus as the capital of the province of Cilicia. Cicero resided in the city as proconsul of Cilicia in 51–50 B.C. (*Att.* 5.20.3; *Fam.* 2.17.1). The city enthusiastically welcomed Julius Caesar in 47 B.C. and adopted the name Iuliopolis in his honor. After the death of Caesar and the defeat of the anti-Caesarian party at Philippi in 42 B.C., Tarsus received the status of a free city by Antony, who controlled the eastern Roman provinces. And it was at Tarsus that the celebrated meeting took place between Antony and Cleopatra of Egypt, who sailed up the Cydnus on a barge in the guise of Aphrodite (Plut. *Vit. Ant.* 26).

Under Augustus, Tarsus enjoyed a variety of special privileges, including exemption from imperial taxation (Bruce 1977: 34), and reached the height of its prosperity. Tarsus also became a center of intellectual life (Finegan 1981: 53). To reform the administrative structure of the city, Augustus sent his former tutor, Athenodorus, the Stoic philosopher, who was himself one of the city's most illustrious sons. Athenodorus and his successor, Nestor the Academic (tutor of Marcellus, the nephew and intended heir of Augustus), initiated not only civic reforms, including the requirement that citizens must have a net worth of at least 500 drachmae, but also significant cultural and

educational institutions. According to Strabo (14.5.131), the people of Tarsus in the 1st century C.E. were keen students of philosophy, the liberal arts and the entire encyclopaedia of learning; this was true to such a degree that it surpassed both Athens and Alexandria as a center of culture and learning, even though people did not, as a rule, come from other regions to study in its schools. Native Tarsians, however, went on to study elsewhere and frequently held educational and civil posts of importance throughout the empire. A less-flattering picture of Tarsus during the 1st century is found in Philostratus's *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, the neo-Pythagorean sage. According to the story, Apollonius (who would have been a contemporary of Paul) went to Tarsus at the age of fourteen to study with the rhetorician Euthydemus but was shocked by the frivolous and luxury-loving atmosphere of the city and withdrew to a more congenial environment (*VA* 1.7). This account, written nearly two centuries after the event, is probably influenced by knowledge of two orations by Dio Chrysostom, in which he addresses the Tarsians and castigates them for their lack of moral earnestness (Bruce 1977: 35).

C. Home of Paul

Whatever the fame of Tarsus prior to the 1st century A.D., the city's fame today rests in its association with Paul the apostle (Acts 9:11, 30; 11:25; 21:39; 22:3), missionary hero of the second part of the book of Acts (chaps. 13–28). Although Paul is only connected explicitly with Tarsus in Acts, there is no reason to doubt that he was, as he asserts to the Roman tribune Claudius Lysius, "a native of Tarsus in Cilicia, a citizen of no mean city" (21:39). "The claim to citizenship of a Greek city is unusual in a Jew, and possible only where a special constitution made a body of Jewish citizens possible" (Hemer 1989: 127). But there is evidence that there were Jews who were citizens of Greek cities (as, for example, inscriptions from the synagogue recently excavated at Sardis demonstrate; Philostr. *VA* 6.34 presupposes that Jews were known to be citizens of Tarsus), and there are indications that the refoundation of the city by Antiochus Epiphanes may have created this possibility (cf. above). However, Ramsay (1907: 228–35) and others were probably wrong in overestimating the influence of his native city on his life. Rather than having studied Greek philosophy and graduating from the university of Tarsus, so to speak, it seems likely that Paul was sent to Jerusalem as a youth to receive the proper educational formation that wealthy but pious Jewish parents would desire for their child (so van Unnik, Bruce, Hemer, Finegan). In Acts 22:3, Paul informs his Jewish brethren in the courtyard of the Jerusalem temple: "I am a Jew, born in Tarsus of Cilicia, but brought up in this city, educated at the feet of Gamaliel according to the strict manner of the law of our fathers. . . ." The three participles used here suggest three stages in Paul's life, namely, (1) his birth in Tarsus, followed by (2) being raised as a child *(anatethrammenos)* in Jerusalem and (3) subsequent education as a youth in the school of Gamaliel. The narrative of Acts also makes an incidental reference to a sister who lived in Jerusalem (23:16). Thus, it seems likely that whatever formal instruction Paul had in the classics of Greek literature and philosophy he would have received in Jerusalem rather than in Tarsus, if the Acts account is to be accepted as historically reliable. Contrary to Ramsay and others, this fits quite nicely with Paul's rather scanty use of Hellenistic writers and ideas, as well as his much deeper dependence on the Pharisaic Jewish heritage (Bruce 1977: 41–52). Paul's trade as a "tentmaker" (Gk *skēnopoios*) (Acts 18:3) has usually been identified with his family home in Tarsus, which was (and still is today) famous for a type of felt cloth (Lat *Cilicium* or Gk *Kilikion*) made from the wool of the shaggy black goats characteristic of Cilicia, but Hock (1980: 20–25) argues that *skēnopoios* means "leatherworker" rather than "tentmaker." The evidence seems inconclusive (Hemer *ISBE* 4: 736; 1989: 119). Whatever trade Paul learned as a boy, he most likely learned it in Jerusalem rather than Tarsus.

The remains of the 1st-century city of Tarsus lie underneath the modern city and have been therefore largely inaccessible to archaeologists. The remains of the Sea Gate (dubbed "Cleopatra's Gate") are still standing, and the foundations of a number of Greco-Roman buildings have been uncovered in the process of modern excavations. A small outpost of the city, today known as Gözlü Kule, has been excavated under Hetty Goldman, and a large number of terra-cotta figurines of mythological characters, deities, animals, and people (Finegan 1981: 54–55).

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W. WARD GASQUE

TARTAK (DEITY) [Heb *tartāq*]. The deity Tartak is attested only once in the ANE, in 2 Kgs 17:31. The god is mentioned as having been brought to Assyrian-controlled Samarina, after the fall of Israel, by the Avvites whom the Assyrians resettled in the land. The absence of any hard extrabiblical evidence for this deity has led to innumerable theories, more ingenious than illuminating. Three theories proposed around the beginning of the 20th century remain the favored identifications of the divinity.

Talmudic tradition (*Sanh.* 63b) states that Tartak has the form of an ass; this information, along with an attempt to associate the name with a Persian word for "intense darkness" led to a theory that Tartak was possibly a chthonic deity (*SDB* 4: 3182; Slotki 1950: 268).

Montgomery (1914: 74) argued that Tartak was a vastly altered form of the name Atargatis, a Syrian goddess known from Greek sources. The names are sufficiently different and the emendations so conjectural that the identification is unlikely. However, the theory remains popular with cautionary notes (Gray *1 and 2 Kings* OTL, 654).

Hommel (1912: 118) suggested that the pair of deities

Nibhaz and Tartak had been found together, and in that order, on a list of Elamite gods published by Meissner (1910: 66). A certain amount of reconstruction is entailed, especially with *dag-da-ad-ra* (or the proposed variant *dir-tak*). While this theory would have the gods come from Elam, nothing is known about either deity from Elamite sources at this time, but it has proved attractive for supplying an origin for the god (Cogan and Tadmor *2 Kings* AB, 212).

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LOWELL K. HANDY

TARTAN [Heb *tartān*]. The tartan (Assyrian *turtānu*) was a high-ranking Assyrian official who, together with the RABSHAKEH and the RABSARIS, played an important role in the siege of Jerusalem by Sennacherib as described in 2 Kings 18–19. For further details about the siege, see SENNACHERIB. Regarding high ranking officials in the Assyrian administration, see MESOPOTAMIA, HISTORY OF (ASSYRIA). The title tartan also appears in the MT of Isaiah 20:1 which in the English versions is translated as "the commander-in-chief." In this passage the tartan of Sargon II of Assyria is credited with the siege and capture of Ashdod. See SARGON.

A. KIRK GRAYSON

TASSEL. See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

TATIAN. Christian apologist of the 2d century who is best known for having been a pupil of Justin Martyr, writing a defense of the Christian faith which was mainly an all-out attack on Greek culture, composing a gospel harmony called the *Diatessaron,* and founding a very ascetical and possibly heretical sect known as the Encratites.

Tatian says that he came from Assyria (*Oratio ad Graecos* [*Or.*] 42), which could mean anywhere E of the Euphrates. Nothing is known of his early years except what may be gained by inference. Growing up in one of the petty kingdoms which formed a buffer zone between the territories of the Romans and Parthians, he lived in an area where the Hellenistic culture imposed on society by the Seleucids was declining and the native Semitic culture was reemerging. Tatian nevertheless cast his lot with this disappearing culture and studied rhetoric with the intention of becoming a sophist, the most glamorous profession of his day.

His studies and career took him eventually to Rome, the goal of all aspiring sophists. Whatever his success in the profession, it was not extensive enough to have been noticed by any pagan writer whose account is preserved. After having been at Rome some time, he was converted by reading the Bible (*Or.* 29). His conversion does not seem to have been (as Justin's was) the result of a philosophical quest but instead the superiority of biblical religion was established on religious grounds. Justin probably was not the one who evangelized or catechized Tatian since the account of Justin's martyrdom shows that he functioned instead as a Christian version of the school-keeping philosophers of the time.

At some point, Tatian wrote his apology, *Logos pros hellenas,* known by its Latin name, *Oratio ad Graecos.* It is not addressed to the emperor, as so many apologies were, in the hope that it would be signed as a rescript and thus give legal protection to the Christians. Rather, it is addressed to the Greeks—that is, those educated in Greek culture—and devotes more space to attacking that culture than it does to defending Christianity or setting forth its beliefs systematically. Few writings from antiquity show emotion as genuine as Tatian's hatred for the culture in which he had set out to make his career. His onslaught against Greek culture is actually our only source for some information about details of Greek culture. The catalog he gives of Greek sculpture (*Or.* 33, 34), for instance, supplements even what is known from Pliny. Most of the material he uses appears to be gleaned from the doxographies available to orators of the time. Indeed, the apology itself is a showpiece of Asianic rhetoric. There has been much debate about the date of composition of the *Logos* as well as about the document's intended purpose. But the debate has yet to produce agreement among scholars.

The sole solid date we have for Tatian is the time of his return to his native Mesopotamia, 172 C.E.; the date derives from Eusebius *Chron.* 12 and Epiphanius *Adv. Haeres.* 1.3.46. At some point, he produced his gospel harmony, the *Diatessaron,* but there is much disagreement about whether it was written in Rome or after he returned to the East. Closely connected is the question whether its original language was Greek or Syriac. The *Diatessaron* fell into disfavor with Theodoret in the 5th century, despite its general use in churches of Upper Syria. All accessible copies (about 200) were destroyed by order of Theodoret. No complete copy is extant today. The only known survivals of it are a Greek page discovered at Dura-Europos and a recently discovered commentary on the Diatessaron by Ephrem Syrus. Many scholars associate the *Diatessaron,* perhaps mistakenly, with readings in a number of later gospel harmonies and other documents in a wide variety of languages.

When he returned to Mesopotamia, Tatian must have felt at home in the very ascetic forms of Christianity he found there. If he ever became heretical it must have been then, because his *Logos* is perfectly orthodox. Nothing is known about his Encratites except that he is supposed to have been their founder, but a few fragments attributed to him do indicate both extreme asceticism and some doctrinal deviations. Since, however, no Syriac document mentions him for centuries, this whole issue is obscure.

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O. C. EDWARDS, JR.

TATTENAI (PERSON) [Aram *tattĕnay*]. Var. SISINNES. Persian governor of the province Beyond the River during the reign of Darius I (ruled 521–486 B.C.E.) who sent a letter to inform the king of building activity in Jerusalem (Ezra 5:3, 6; 6:6, 13 = 1 Esdras 6:3, 7, 27, and 7:1). Tattenai is one of the few Persian officials mentioned in the Hebrew Bible for whom there is external attestation. The tablet naming Tattenai is dated in the year 502 B.C.E. "The crucial passage is a reference to a slave of ^{m}Ta-at-^{r}tan-ni^{1}, governor *(pahal)* of Ebir-nari" (Olmstead 1944: 46). Williamson (*Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 76) says, "Tattenai himself is now known to have been at this time governor of Beyond the River only, and thus subordinate to Ushtannu, who was governor of Beyond the River and Babylon together." Tattenai led an investigation into the building of the temple in Jerusalem (vv 3–5). After making their inquiry, Tattenai, "and Shethar-Bozenai, and his associates" (Ezra 5:6) sent a report to Darius informing him of the building activity in Jerusalem and asking whether a decree was issued authorizing the work. Williamson suggests that the associates in v 6, are "inspectors" (Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 77). Darius's response to the inquiry is favorable to the Jews, and Tattenai complied "with all diligence what Darius the king had ordered" (Ezra 6:13). The narrative and letters in this section of Ezra are in Aramaic. The study by Hensley (1977) maintains the authenticity of the letter (vv 5:7b–5:17).

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DAVID E. SUITER

TAU. The nineteenth letter of the Greek alphabet.

TAVERNER'S BIBLE. See VERSIONS, ENGLISH (PRE-1900).

TAVERNS, THREE (PLACE). See THREE TAVERNS.

TAW. The twenty-second (and final) letter of the Hebrew alphabet. In its early forms it resembled an "X," and was used as a personal "mark" or signature. Thus, "my signature" in Job 32:35 is literally "my taw."

TAWILAN (M.R. 196972). The site of Tawilan was first surveyed by N. Glueck who suggested (1935: 82–83, 177) that it might be identified with biblical Teman in the land of Edom (Jer 49:7, 20; Ezek 26:13; Amos 1:12; Obad 9; Hab 3:3). However, modern scholarship follows de Vaux (1969) who equates Teman with a region of S Edom hence the equation of Teman with Tawilan is no longer considered acceptable. No other biblical candidate for Tawilan has been suggested.

Tawilan is located in central Edom, near the modern village of Wadi Musa (El-Ji), just outside the Nabatean capital of Petra. The exact course of the Kings' Highway (the major N–S route through Transjordan) is unknown at this point, but it presumably passed close to Tawilan. Access to the Wadi Arabah and the W is also possible here.

The site is situated on a terrace at the W foot of the Jebel Heidan. Its establishment seems to have been with a view to agriculture rather than defense since the terrace is fairly flat and the site is overlooked by a nearby slope. Glueck (1935: 83) identified what he thought might be defensive walls, but Bennett (1984: 2) states that "nowhere in the excavations did we come across any fortifications or any structures which might be considered defensive." The closest known water source is the perennial ʿAin Musa, several km to the SE.

Excavations at the site have been undertaken by C.-M. Bennett (1968–70) and the British Institute at Amman for Archaeology and History (1982). Three major trenches were opened, in which four phases of Iron Age occupation were isolated by the excavator (Bennett 1984: 4):

Phase 1: The site was used as a source of clay with a settlement presumably in the vicinity (10th–9th centuries B.C.).
Phase 2: Uneven bedrock levelled with stone and clay. Flimsy stone partition walls and pillars in some places overlie the Phase 1 pits. Other pits were constructed to house storage jars (8th century B.C.).
Phase 3: Architecture becomes more elaborate with steps up to various levels (8th–7th centuries B.C.).
Phase 4: Doorways and entrances were blocked and some of the major walls rebuilt or repaired (7th–5th centuries B.C.).

These dates are highly speculative, particularly the 10th–9th century date for Phase 1 where there is very little supporting evidence. Furthermore, the phases are mostly based on additions and modifications to existing struc-

tures. Phases seldom overlie each other. It is possible that the village was not in use for more than about 200 years.

The only absolute date available for Tawilan comes from Phase 4 where, in Trench III in a blocked doorway, was found a cuneiform clay tablet. It has been published by Dalley (in Bennett 1984: 19–22) and is a business document recording the sale of livestock. It is dated to the accession year of a King Darius, mostly probably Darius I (521–486 B.C.), indicating that Tawilan was still functioning at the end of the 6th century. An overall date of 7th–6th centuries B.C. for Tawilan seems most likely, but the phases cannot be accurately dated within this.

There is no evidence for substantial occupation of the site following the Iron Age. The site was used as a cemetery at some point, probably during the Romano-Nabataean period (ca. 2d century B.C. to 3d century A.D.). There is some evidence for Mamluk occupation, but no clear associated structures.

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STEPHEN HART

TAX COLLECTOR. Among the NT writings, only the Synoptic Gospels recount Jesus' association with tax collectors (*telōnai*, KJV, "publicans"). Three problems attend this picture: (1) the identity and status of the *telōnai*, (2) the moral evaluation of them, and (3) the significance of Jesus as "a friend of tax collectors and sinners" (Matt 11:19; Luke 7:34).

A. Identity and Status

Etymologically *telōnēs* is a combination of *telos* in the sense of something paid for the purpose of the state, a toll, tax or duty; and *ōneisthai* (noun, *ōnē*), to buy or purchase. Its earliest usage describes those in the Greek city-states who purchased the right to collect taxes or who were contracted by civic officials to do so. The lessee would pay the state in advance the sum to be collected for the coming year and the cost of the enterprise and the profit for the individual collectors would be the responsibility of the lessee. The practice was taken over by Rome, and during the expansion of the Roman Republic, taxes were collected in the provinces by groups of individuals, the *societas publicanorum*, composed principally of Romans of the Equestrian order (Badian 1976: 48–66). Tax collecting became a lucrative and politically important occupation (Finley 1973: 60) and Roman writers recount that the publicans often exploited the provinces. The system was drastically curtailed, first by Julius Caesar and later, under the Principate, by Augustus (Garnsey and Saller 1987: 87).

After the conquest of Palestine in 63 B.C.E. by Pompey, Palestine was forced to pay tribute to Rome. The Roman publicans were active for a short time, and employed indigenous officials (high priests and local assemblies) as their agents. Under Gabinus (57 B.C.E.), who was opposed to the publicans, the district sanhedrins were made responsible for collection of taxes (Smallwood 1976: 33). After his defeat of Pompey at Pharsalia in 48 B.C.E., Julius Caesar reorganized the province of Syria and the publican system, which had never become entrenched in the provinces of Egypt and Syria, disappeared totally in Judaea. Julius Caesar made the ethnarch Hyrcanus responsible for the collection of the taxes, and shortly before his death in 44 B.C.E. authorized the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem and a reduction in taxes (Smallwood 1976: 42). Under Herod the Great (37–4 B.C.E.) direct taxes were collected by royal officials, attached to the court. When Judaea came under the Roman prefects in 6 C.E. (called procurators after 44 C.E.), the direct taxes, the "head" or poll tax and the land tax were collected by officials in direct employ of the Romans. In Galilee, similar officials were under the supervision of Herod Antipas (4 B.C.E. to 39 C.E.).

In addition to the principal taxes, the personal or poll tax *(tributum capitis)* determined by the census (Luke 2:2; Matt 17:25; Acts 5:37) and the land tax *[tributum soli]*, there were a host of indirect taxes, especially on the transport of goods. Jews were also subject to religious taxes such as the temple tax and tithes on produce for the Jerusalem priests (Perkins 1984: 185–86). This double burden of taxation created considerable hardship and often precipitated both passive and violent resistance (Freyne 1980: 281–87; Horsley 1987: 61–62). Collection of the indirect taxes was most likely subcontracted (farmed out). The term *telōnai* could be used of three distinct groups (Herrenbrück 1981): (1) those who purchased the right to collect specific taxes, (2) supervisory officials like Zacchaeus (called *architelōnes* in Luke 19:2), who had the opportunity for personal gain (Luke 19:8), and (3) their employees who collected such taxes at toll booths or tax offices (*telōnion*, Mark 2:14; Matt 10:3; Luke 5:27). The *telōnai* with whom Jesus associates in the Gospels are most likely "toll collectors." They appear at transport and commercial centers (Jericho and Capernaum) and when John preaches to them (Luke 3:12–13), he tells them to collect no more than is "appointed" (*diatetagemenon*, which suggests minor functionaries fulfilling the orders of higher officials).

B. Moral Evaluation

Negative views of the *telōnai* occur in secular literature, in the NT, and in rabbinic writings. In Roman and Hellenistic literature they are lumped together with beggars, thieves, and robbers (Cicero, *De offic.* 15–51; Diogenes Cynicus, *Ep.* 36.2; Lucan, *Pseudolog.* 30; Dio Chrysostom, *Orat.* 14.14; Michel *TDNT* 8: 99). In the NT they are paired with sinners (*telōnai kai hamartōloi*, Mark 2:15; Matt 9:10; 11:19; Luke 7:34; 15:2) and with "immoral people" (*pornai*, Matt 21:31), and they are likened to Gentiles (Matt 5:46; 18:17). The Pharisee contrasts himself with "other men, extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even this tax collector" (Luke 18:11) and Jesus is accused of being a drunkard and "a friend of tax collectors and sinners" (Matt 11:19). The rabbinic writings (which, though not written before the 3d century C.E., incorporate early oral traditions) link both tax and toll collectors *(gabbā'îm* and *môkĕsîn)* with robbers, murderers, and sinners (*m. Ṭohar.* 7.6;

m. B. Qam. 10.2; *m. Ned.* 3.4) and appear in lists of "despised trades" which no observant Jew should follow (*b. Sanh.* 25b; Jeremias 1969: 302–12). The parable of Bar Ma'jan, a tax collector, which most likely dates from the 1st century and may have influenced Jesus' parable of the Great Supper (Luke 14:16–24; Matt 22:1–10) reflects similar negative views. Though not having lived a pious life he is given a fine funeral because he did "a single good deed" in his lifetime by inviting the poor to a banquet when the city counselors did not come (*y. Sanh.* 6.23c; Jeremias 1972: 178–80).

C. Jesus and the Tax Collectors

The two major sources of the Synoptic Gospels, Mark (2:15–16) and Q (Matt 11:19 = Luke 7:34) as well as Luke's special material (Luke 15:1–2; 19:1–10), affirm that Jesus associated with and had table fellowship with tax collectors. In Matt 10:3, one of the Twelve, Matthew, is called a tax collector (Mark 3:18; Luke 6:15). Luke 3:12–13 records that tax collectors were baptized by John, while Matthew mentions that "tax collectors believed him" (Matt 21:32). Despite claims that such fellowship may be a creation of the early church (Walker 1978: 238; Horsley 1987: 216), both the multiple attestation of the sources as well as the improbability that the church would join Jesus to such social outcasts argue that such association was an authentic practice of Jesus. It also is consistent with the accounts of Jesus' concern for other marginal people such as Samaritans (Luke 10:29–37; 17:16), widows (Mark 12:40–44; Luke 20:47–21:4; Luke 7:11–17), and the poor (Luke 6:20–23).

The gospels also attest to the opposition evoked by Jesus' association with tax collectors (Mark 2:15; Matt 9:11; Luke 5:30; Luke 15:1). Jeremias (1969: 310) argued that, because of their tendency to enrich themselves through dishonesty (Luke 3:11–12; 19:8), they were thought to be sinners for whom repentance was difficult. Perrin (1967: 93–94) claimed that they were considered "Jews who made themselves as Gentiles," and were especially scorned as "Quislings" because they collected taxes from their fellow Jews on behalf of the hated gentiles. While the precise basis of opposition to them is uncertain, in Galilee, which was not directly under Roman prefects during the ministry of Jesus, they would not have been employees of gentile rulers, but officials of a Jewish client king. However in Judaea they would have been more directly linked with Roman administration, so opposition there to Jesus' actions could have been more intense (Donahue 1971: 59–61).

Jesus' association with them is viewed as an "acted parable" of his message of God's mercy to sinners and "an anticipatory sitting at table in the kingdom of God" (Perrin 1967: 107). Parables such as the Two Debtors (Luke 7:41–43), the Two Sons (Matt 21:28–31), the Lost Sheep (Luke 15:3–7), the Lost Coin (Luke 15:8–10), and the Prodigal Son (Luke 15:11–32) vindicate Jesus' concern for "the lost" and association with tax collectors and sinners (Jeremias 1972: 124–36). This association is also to be interpreted in the context of those traditions in the gospels where Jesus' actions challenge the religious and social conventions of his time, such as the forgiveness of sin (Mark 2:1–12), and violation of the sabbath by plucking grain or healing (Mark 2:23–3:6).

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TAX OFFICE [Gk *telōnion*]. The place where Matthew or Levi, the son of Alphaeus, was sitting when Jesus recruited him in the parallel passages Matt 9:9, Mark 2:14, and Luke 5:27. The word occurs elsewhere in the Greek-speaking east and seems to refer to a public building where custom duties of various kinds were collected (see Dittenberger 1905, 2: #496 line 9). Presumably this is the place of business of the *telōnēs,* "tax farmer" or "tax collector," a figure much despised in the Roman world.

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TAXES AND TAXATION. The revenues received by governments in money, in kind, or in labor; the process of extracting those revenues.

Taxation is extremely important to the state, and the state cannot be said to exist in its fullest form if it has no taxing power. In the states about which we are informed in the ANE and the biblical record we know little about that power because our documents come from persons who were not very interested in how it worked. There are in the Bible traces of resistance to taxation and measures like the census of King David that appear to have been connected with taxation (2 Samuel 24). A simple society was being asked to pay for David's adventures in new ways, and its leaders did not always like the new order.

There are surprisingly few words for "tax" in Biblical Hebrew. The verb from the root *ʿrk* in 2 Kgs 23:35 seems

to mean "evaluate for taxation": "And the silver and the gold Jehoiakim gave to Pharaoh, but he evaluated *(he'ĕrîk)* the land to give the silver according to the Pharaoh's command, each person according to his evaluation brought the silver and the gold . . ." A similar case is 2 Kgs 15:20: "Menahem exacted the money from Israel, that is, from all the wealthy men *(gibbôrê haḥayil)*, fifty shekels of silver from every man, to give to the king of Assyria." These are unusual events, but the use of words from the root *'rk* in the Priestly sections about fiscal obligations to the temple shows that *'rk* could be used for more regular dues, as in Lev 27:7.

The term also occurs in connection with the temple in 2 Kgs 12:5 (—Eng 12:4): ". . . All the money of the holy things which is brought into the house of the Lord, the money for which each man is assessed—the money from the assessment (Heb *'erek*) of persons—and the money which a man's heart prompts him to bring . . ." This passage implies that there was a forced taxation for the temple in this period.

But even though the word *'erek*, "evaluation, assessment," seems too general to have been the normal equivalent to modern words for "tax" (though one might note that in Middle English *taxen* meant "to estimate, assess"), it is hard to find any other word that is more likely. The term *mekes* "tax" occurs only in Num 31:28, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41 as a term for obligatory donations for the priests. The lack of detailed vocabulary for taxation implies, probably correctly, that neither the terminology nor the practice of taxation was systematic or well developed in ancient Israel.

The description of the future custom of the envisioned king in 1 Sam 8:15–17 does not use technical words for taxation, but the process is certainly described: "He will take the tenth of your grain and of your vineyards and give it to his officers and to his servants. He will take your menservants and maidservants, and the best of your young men and your asses, and put them to his work. He will take the tenth of your flocks, and you shall be his slaves." There is considerable doubt whether the Israelite or Judean kings ever exercised such broad powers. An incidental reference to a time "after the king's mowings" (Amos 7:1) may imply that the Israelite king had the right to a first mowing of hay. The idea that the king could exempt a household from taxes appears in 1 Sam 17:25, where the troops inform David of what will be done for the man who kills Goliath: "the king . . . will make his father's house free (Heb *ḥopšî*) in Israel."

The list of governors, or perhaps tax farmers, who supplied Solomon's table in 1 Kgs 4:7–19 implies a regular rotation of supply, but it does not indicate how the officers exacted the food they provided. Tax rebellion seems to be a motive in the speech of the Northern Tribes to Rehoboam in 1 Kgs 12:4, though the language is vague.

Solomon collected transit duties, according to 1 Kgs 10:15. The Chronicler says that Jehoshaphat also received taxes and transit duties (2 Chr 17:5, 11).

From the period of the divided monarchy, the ostraca from Samaria record deliveries of wine for the use of the king; sealings with the label *lmlk* "for the king" found in various sites in Judah indicate that there were central depots to which local taxes in kind were gathered. See SAMARIA (OSTRACA).

Ezra 4:13 and 7:24 show through the offer of tax exemption for the temple-building activities that there may have been "tribute, custom, or toll" (*mindâ, bĕlô* and *hālāk*); the words all have Akkadian etymologies, and so they are not likely to reflect earlier Hebrew practices. (On the *ḫatru* system and related revenue-gathering institutions of the Persian imperial administration of the 5th century B.C.E., see PALESTINE, ADMINISTRATION OF (PERSIAN); PERSIAN EMPIRE.) The people may also have had to pay a tax in kind called "the bread of the governor," which Nehemiah claims he did not take as his due, though previous governors had (Neh 5:14–15). We had no per capita figures for such exactions. See also TITHE.

Another aspect of taxation in Israel was forced labor (Heb *mas*, which may have an Egyptian etymology, from *ms* "bearer"). The oppressive nature of forcing people to work for a period on government projects is clear in a number of texts, and it is remembered as an aspect of Egyptian life in Exod 1:11. Traditions also recall that the Israelites, when they entered the land, imposed forced labor on the subdued population (Josh 16:10). Under David an officer who oversaw the forced labor bore the Phoenician name Adoram (2 Sam 20:24). He succeeded in keeping his post under Solomon (1 Kgs 4:6 and 5:28, both calling him Adoniram), but later was killed by northerners (1 Kgs 12:18). 1 Kgs 9:15 and 21 assert that the great works of Solomon were accomplished with forced labor. But 1 Kgs 5:27 (—Eng 5:13) reports, "King Solomon raised a levy of forced labor out of all Israel; and the levy numbered thirty thousand men." The number seems high, and the duration of service is not known.

It is unclear to what extent the kings of the divided monarchy managed to continue this taxation in labor. It may be significant that Jereboam, first king of the Northern kingdom, got his bureaucratic start as the official over the forced labor (Heb *sēbel*) of the house of Joseph (1 Kgs 11:28; the Hebrew word *sēbel* elsewhere means "hard work"). The fact that this fellow was later chosen to be king implies that being involved in administering forced labor was not always a sure guarantee of unpopularity, and perhaps the principle that the king could demand forced labor for reasonable periods of time had been established in the popular mind. It is implied that King Asa of Judah also imposed forced labor (1 Kgs 15:22). Forced labor was apparently still an issue in 1 Macc 10:34–35, where a Seleucid king grants exemption from work on Jewish holy days.

Mesopotamian and Assyrian taxation is better documented than Israelite in some periods, but its general features are similar. The state demanded a percentage of agricultural staples and perhaps of herds. It also levied taxes on goods transported by merchants, and required at least some citizens to perform labor for the state for part of the year.

In the NT the Greek terms for tax are few and hard to differentiate: *kēnsos* in Matt 22:17, 25, *phoros* "tribute" in Luke 20:22 (using different words in what is clearly the same story), and *telos* "toll" in Matt 17:25, *didraxmon* "half-shekel tax" in Matt 17:24; *apographē* in Luke 2:2 and Acts 5:37 is "writing down in a census" for the purpose of later taxation.

The attitude of the early Christians is demonstrated in

the story in Matt 22:17 = Luke 20:22 and Matt 17:25, where Jesus advises rendering unto Caesar what is Caesar's and obeying the taxation requirements of the government (note Romans 13:6–7, using Gk *phoros*). The Roman census at the birth of Jesus in Luke 2:2 seems not to have met with opposition, but a later census did, as we hear in Acts 5:37, if indeed two different censuses took place; see also CHRONOLOGY (NT). The advice to go the extra mile in Matt 5:41 may show that Christians believed that the requirement of forced labor was acceptable.

A half-shekel tax was exacted by temple authorities for the upkeep of the temple; it may at first have been only a third of a shekel, according to Neh 10:32–33. Josephus (*Ant* 18.9.1) says it was collected each year from every Jew twenty years of age and over in the land of Israel and abroad. A head tax was imposed by the Emperor Vespasian on all Jews living anywhere under Roman control after the fall of the temple in 70 C.E., to pay to the Roman government revenues of the temple tax which the Jews had already been used to paying (*JW* 7.218).

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TEACHER OF RIGHTEOUSNESS (HALACHIC LETTER).

See MIQSAT MAʿASE HATORAH (4QMMT).

TEACHER OF RIGHTEOUSNESS.

The dominant figure associated with the branch of the Essenes that established itself at Qumran. The fifteen references in the published Dead Sea Scrolls, however, furnish only meager information about him. Some are so fragmentary as to yield only the name *môreh haṣṣedeq* (1QpHab 1:13; 4QpPs^{b} [= 4Q173] frag. 1, 4; frag. 2, 2). See also MIQSAT MAʿASE HATORAH (4QMMT). Despite periodic efforts to argue that the allusion is to a function carried out by different individuals at various stages of the sect's history (Buchanan; Rabinowitz; Starcky), the consensus is that it is the title of a particular personage. Two texts (4QpPs^{a} [= 4Q171] 3:15; 1QpHab 2:8) identify him as "The Priest," which must be understood in a titular sense and so indicates that he was a high priest (Stegemann 1971: 102, 210–20; de Vaux 1960: 267; Schürer *HJP*^{2} 1: 605–6). The Essenes were already in existence when he joined them (CD 1:9–11). Yet he is considered the founder of a community (4QpPs^{a} 3:15–16) in which he enjoyed the status of a prophet (1QpHab 2:3; 7:4–5) whose interpretation was the only valid understanding of the demands of the Law (1QpHab 8:1–3; 1QpMic frag. 8–10, 6–7). For his followers he was the Unique Teacher (CD 20:1) and fidelity to his teaching was the criterion of salvation (CD 20:32). Within the Essene movement, nontheless, he was opposed by the Man of Lies (1QpHab 2:1–4; 5:9–12), and from without he suffered persecution at the hands of the Wicked Priest (1QpHab 9:9–10; 11:4–7).

Is it possible to identify the Teacher with an historical figure? A number of authors have answered in the affirmative and their proposals range from Onias III in the 2d century B.C. to the rebel Menachem during the First Revolt in A.D. 66–70 (Schürer *HJP*^{2} 3/1: 436 n. 7). All the late identifications, however, are excluded by the paleography of the Scrolls, which means that none of the individuals mentioned can be dated after the middle of the 1st century B.C. A much tighter time frame is indicated by the link between the Teacher and the Wicked Priest, because with great probability this latter figure has been identified with Jonathan Maccabeus (Jeremias 1963: 36–78; Stegemann 1971: 202–7), although some prefer his brother Simon (Schürer *HJP*^{2} 3/1: 435 n. 6, 438). Since the two were contemporaries, the activity of the Teacher must be dated in the middle of the 2d century B.C. In view of 4QpPs^{a} 3:15–16 this provides an important correlation, because the first phase of Essene occupation at Qumran could be dated to the second half of the 2d century B.C. (de Vaux 1973: 5), although positive evidence is virtually nonexistent (*DBSup* 9: 748–52).

Although the Teacher was a high priest, his rigoristic attitude toward the Law precludes his identification with any of the Hellenizing high priests who ruled from the murder of Onias III in 172 B.C. to the death of Alcimus in 159 B.C. Neither, of course, can he be identified with either of the Maccabean brothers, Jonathan or Simon, or with John Hyrcanus, since Jonathan's successors would have inherited his enmity toward the Teacher. This focuses attention on the period 159–152 B.C. when, according to Josephus, "the city continued for seven years without a high priest" (*Ant* 20.10.3 §237). This can only mean that no one had been appointed officially. As a description of the real situation it is impossible, because the indispensable liturgy of the Day of Atonement demanded the participation of at least a *de facto* high priest. 2 Macc 10:38 attests the existence of such an individual (Murphy-O'Connor 1976). If his identification with Onias IV, who as the son of Onias III had the preeminent claim to the high priesthood, is impossible (Schürer *HJP*^{2} 3/1: 145–47), then we must presume that the function of high priest was assumed by the leading member of the Temple hierarchy (Graetz 1884: 122). In the eyes of traditionalists such as the Essenes his legitimacy would have been unquestioned, and from a Jewish perspective the credit for the return to orthodoxy would have belonged to Jonathan (1QpHab 8:8–9; Murphy-O'Connor 1974: 230 n. 73), even though in reality the vacuum is explained by divisions among claimants to the Seleucid throne. In order to consolidate his power, however, Jonathan accepted the high priesthood in 152 B.C. when it was offered to him by Alexander Balas (1 Macc 10:15–20; Jos. *Ant* 13.2.2–3 §43–46). Thus he became the Wicked Priest, and the deposed *de facto* high priest joined the Essenes. Their demand for radical religious reform (CD 2:14–6:11) coincided with his own desires.

His presence quickly provoked a split within the Essene movement. The reasons are complex and not entirely clear. One factor was probably his assumption of the

eschatological (but not messianic) role of "the one who teaches righteousness" predicted in CD 6:10–11 (Davies 1983: 123–24); this is the simplest explanation of his title, Teacher of Righteousness. The heightened sense of the imminence of the eschaton that this implies appears also in the movement of some Essenes to Qumran in fulfillment of Isa 40:3. 1Qs 8–9 (minus 8:16–9:2) is the proposal for this project (Murphy-O'Connor 1969: 529–32; Knibb 1987: 127), and its attribution to the Teacher is adequately justified by 4QpPs^a 3:15–16 and by the position he enjoyed within the Qumran group. Such initiatives may have been associated with an intensification of the rigorism of the Essene movement, since "the latter ordinances" (CD 20:9, 31–32) are probably additions by the Teacher to "the former ordinances" (1QS 9:10) by which the sect had hitherto been governed (Laperrousaz 1971).

Jonathan, the Wicked Priest, had first dismissed the Teacher as insignificant, but when it became known that he had acquired followers and moved to Qumran, he had to act against him because an eschatological movement was both a threat to his authority and a danger to the Jewish people at a critical moment in their history (1QpHab 9:9–10). Various attempts have been made to reconstruct what happened during the inconclusive encounter recorded in 1QpHab 11:4–7 (Jeremias 1963: 57; Stegemann 1971: 236; Talmon 1951), and the only one that is certainly wrong is Dupont-Sommer's (1950: 121–22) hypothesis that the Teacher was killed. It became the foundation of a bizarre interpretation of the Teacher's career, which was decisively refuted by Carmignac (1957).

At the beginning of Qumran studies there was a tendency to consider the Teacher the author of 1QS, 1QM, and 1QH (e.g. Carmignac and Guilbert 1961: 13, 86, 136). For the reasons noted above 1QS 8–9 is substantially the work of the Teacher, but nothing in 1QM suggests the attribution of any part to him. Scholars working independently and with different methods agree that the following hymns at least should be ascribed to the Teacher: 1QH 2:1–19; 4:5–29; 5:5–19; 5:20–6:36; 7:6–25; and 8:4–40 (Becker 1963: 53; Jeremias 1963: 171; Kuhn 1966: 23). Despite certain hypercritical reserves (Schürer *HJP*^{2}: 454), it is certain that these hymns are the work of a single author and the radical nature of his claims to be the ultimate religious authority (1QH 2:13; 5:22–23; 7:12; cf. CD 20:1) makes the Teacher the only plausible candidate (Schulz 1974). Attempts have been made to use the hymns to fill out the career of the Teacher (Carmignac 1960; Delcor 1962; Mansoor 1961: 45–49; Michaud 1956), but all specific biographical inferences are excluded by the fact that the texts is a tissue of OT citations and allusions. At most the hymns reveal the inner life of the Teacher (Jeremias 1963: 266). It has been suggested that the historical data in the *pesharim* concerning the Teacher were derived from the hymns (Davies 1987: 87–106), but this approach has not yet been adequately tested. See also MIQSAT MA^{c}ASE HATORAH.

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TEACHINGS OF SILVANUS (NHC VII,*4*). A treatise from Nag Hammadi remarkable both for the fact that it is in the form of a wisdom writing and for the fact that it develops a theology closer to Catholic Christianity than to Gnosticism. Documents reused in the covers of the codex in which *Teach. Silv.* is found have dates from before 350 A.D., and some of the handwriting of the cartonnage may be dated as late as 360 A.D. The Coptic text (in the Sahidic dialect with admixtures of Achmimic and sub-Achmimic) is a translation from a Greek original. Theological affinities provide the only other evidence as to date

and provenance. The name Silvanus may refer to the companion of Paul but little or nothing is made of the connection. The treatise need not be pseudonymous, however, since Silvanus was to become a common Christian name (Broek 1986: 18–19).

There is very little by way of coherent order to *Teach. Silv.*, and an outline of its contents is not very illuminating. Suffice it to say that the first half of the treatise (84,16–98,20) is dominated by ethical discussion and includes an interesting reflection on the "three races" or "three parts" of human nature and a striking rejection of any form of human friendship. The second half of the treatise (98,20–118,7) is preoccupied with questions about the nature of God and of Christ, although these are increasingly interrupted by ethical reflections as the writing draws to a close. *Teach. Silv.* leaves the impression of being a collection of diverse materials and probably represents the end product of a long literary development. In particular, the discussion of the nature of God and Christ in the second half looks as though it may once have been more unified than it now is.

The similarity between *Teach. Silv.* and Jewish Wisdom Literature is obvious, and reformulations of passages from the Wisdom of Solomon are particularly noteworthy. It is equally obvious that a more otherworldly atmosphere pervades *Teach. Silv.*, and that consequently a comparison between *Teach. Silv.* and the *Sentences of Sextus*, the *Parangelmata* of Clement of Alexandria, and the later collections of precepts for monastic purposes is appropriate. But *Teach. Silv.* occupies a place somewhere between these two worlds. On the one hand, *Teach. Silv.* is closer to late Jewish wisdom in its blending of classical Jewish forms (proverbs, admonitions, discourses), elements of the Stoic-Cynic diatribe, and the Hellenistic hymn; on the other hand, such materials are charged with deeper spiritual significance by *Teach. Silv.* and undergo subtle literary transformations under the impact of this intensification of traditional wisdom themes (Schoedel 1975).

It is not inaccurate to speak of Gnosticizing tendencies in *Teach. Silv.* Included here are the following: an emphasis on the transcendence of God; a view of Christ that makes much of his role as revealer; the apparent (though not fully certain) treatment of Christ's descent into the underworld as a descent into this world (103,28–104,14; Peel 1979); the reference to the "three races" of human beings and the devaluation of the "female" constituent of the human frame (92,10–93,24); an emphasis on the derivation of humanity's essence from God (93,26–27; 117,7–9); and a string of symbols and images having to do with ignorance, drunkenness, wild beasts, the bridal chamber, and so forth. It is probably significant for the literary history of *Teach. Silv.* that such elements predominate in the ethical sections of the treatise. Even there, however, they are not developed in characteristically gnostic ways. The "three races," for example, are dealt with as the "three parts" found in all human beings. There is in fact little here that could not also be illustrated from writers like Clement of Alexandria or Origen. At least in its present form, *Teach. Silv.* is clearly non-gnostic: God, the father of Jesus Christ, is the creator (114,30–115; cf. 112,37–113,30); and Christ is the incarnate Lord (101,22–102,7).

Indeed, even anti-gnostic sentiments are to be found in *Teach. Silv.* Thus gnostic views of the ignorance of the creator are rejected: "Let no one ever say that God is ignorant, for it is not right to place the demiurge of every creature in ignorance" (116,5–9). Mysterious revelation is suspect: "And he [the Adversary] casts spurious knowledge into your heart in the guise of mysterious words" (96,3–6). And in words reminiscent of anti-gnostic predecessors *Teach. Silv.* argues: "If we scarcely find things on earth, who will search for the things of heaven?" (112,5–8; cf. Schoedel 1984).

It is coherent with this that the bedrock of the philosophical language of *Teach. Silv.* can be designated as a mixture of Stoic ethical and anthropological terms and Platonic metaphysical conceptions such as is found also in Philo (Zandee 1974) and Clement of Alexandria (Zandee 1977). An especially interesting point is the description of God as the one who contains but is not contained (99,29–101,10)—a theme rooted in classical philosophy, developed at length by Philo, adapted by numerous Church Fathers and even some gnostics, decisively refined by Augustine, and handed on to the Western world through Gregory the Great and others (Frickel 1956; Schoedel 1972, 1980). Special links with Origenistic and post-Origenistic theology in *Teach. Silv.* is possible in the light of the treatment of certain biblical texts and the development of a number of theological themes (Broek 1986). Thus the application to the incarnation of the image of the sun shining on filth without being defiled by such contact (101,29–102,7) is otherwise known to us from Origen and his successors. And the view that Christ "is always the Son of the Father" (115,9–10) seems to presuppose a post-Origenist analysis of the relation between God and Christ. One of the soteriological themes of *Teach. Silv.* suggests that the treatise may even move in the shadows of Athanasius (*De incarnatione verbi* 54.3): "He [Christ] who has exalted man became like God, not in order that he might bring God down to man, but that man might become like God" (111,8–13).

The ascetic cast of the ethic of *Teach. Silv.* and the use of the sapiential literary form made *Teach. Silv.* of special interest to proponents of the monastic movement. A passage akin to *Teach. Silv.* 97,3–98,22 in fact appears in two other sources where it is associated with the name of Antony the great desert hermit (Funk 1976). A common source may lie behind *Teach. Silv.* and Ps-Antony (Funk 1976: 18–19), or it may be that Ps-Antony drew on *Teach. Silv.* (Broek 1986: 23, n. 53). The advice given in the passage to avoid all human friendship no doubt owes something to a sharpened form of ascetic withdrawal from society, but it may also be another instance in which a rather unusual theme from classical Egyptian wisdom literature proved attractive to the monastic movement (Funk 1976: 20–21).

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WILLIAM R. SCHOEDEL

TEBAH (PERSON) [Heb *ṭebaḥ*]. The firstborn son of Reumah, the concubine of Abraham's brother Nahor (Gen 22:24). The personal name Tebah would have meant something like "(born at the time [or place] of) a slaughtering." The man himself is said to have been the ancestral father of an Aramaean tribe and presumably founded the city of Tibhath (1 Chr 18:8; cf. 2 Sam 8:8, where *ṭbḥ* should be read instead of the erroneous *bṭḥ*). The town belonged to the empire of Hadadezer, the king of Aram-Zobah. King David of Israel took from Tibhath and brought to Jerusalem large supplies of bronze, which were used later in Solomon's construction. "Tebah" has been thought to be related to the place name *tubiḫi* of the Amarna letters and probably to *dbḥ* of Tuthmosis III's Palestine list. This city was likely located between Baalbek and Kadesh, in the Beqaʿ Valley between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon Mountains (*GTTOT* 333; *LBHG*, 171, 296).

EDWIN C. HOSTETTER

TEBALIAH (PERSON) [Heb *ṭēbalyāhû*]. A gatekeeper in the temple at Jerusalem, Tebaliah is named in 1 Chr 26:11 as the third son of Hosah of the Levitical line of Merari. The list in which this name occurs may come from the Chronicler (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 169) or from a later reviser of the Chronicler's arrangement of these temple functionaries (Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 173). The derivation of the name itself is a matter of some speculation. Noth (*IPN*, 244) found no satisfactory possibilities for its meaning. If the root *ṭbl* is understood, then the meaning might be "Yahweh has dipped" or "purified" (BDB, 371). If, on the other hand, the initial element is understood to be derived from *ṭōb* (see Coogan 1976: 74–75), then the meaning might be "good for Yahweh" (see Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 170).

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J. S. ROGERS

TEBETH [Heb *ṭēbēt*]. The tenth month of the Hebrew calendar, corresponding roughly to December and January. See CALENDAR (ANCIENT ISRAELITE AND EARLY JEWISH).

TEFILLIN [Heb *tĕpillîn; tĕpîlîn*]. See PHYLACTERIES.

TEHILLIM [Heb *tĕḥillîm*]. See PSALMS, BOOK OF.

TEHINNAH (PERSON) [Heb *tĕḥinnâ*]. The father of Irnahash in the genealogy of Judah (1 Chr 4:12).

H. C. Lo

TEKOA (PLACE) [Heb *tĕqôaʿ*]. TEKOITE. A town in the highlands of Judah (2 Chr 11:6). It is identified with Khirbet Tequʿa (M.R. 170115), ca 16 km S of Jerusalem at an altitude of 825 m. The site is located exactly on the border between arable land and the desert. E of it extends "the wilderness of Tekoa" (cf. 2 Chr 20:20). To the W there is a fertile area once known for its olive trees, as we know from Talmudic sources (*m. Menaḥ* 8,3). Perhaps the mentioning of Tekoa in Jer 6:1 refers to its location bordering the waste land, and thereby to the possibility of using the town as a refuge where the people of Jerusalem could "flee for safety" on the day of desolation. The Hebrew text of Joshua 15, giving an administrative division of the kingdom of Judah, does not mention Tekoa. The LXX though presents an additional district with Tekoa, Bethlehem, and some other towns (v 59b). If we interpret the genealogical lists in the beginning of 1 Chronicles correctly (especially 2:24; 4:5) Tekoa was founded as a result of a merging of people from the clan of Ephrathah at Bethlehem and Calebites from the Hebron area. This also seems perfectly logical, since the site is situated exactly between the areas of the two cities mentioned.

Tekoa appears a couple of times in the narratives of king David. One of David's heroes, Ira the son of Ikkesh, came from Tekoa (2 Sam 23:26). According to the Chronicler this Ira later served as officer in charge of a division of 24,000 men (1 Chr 27:9). It was also in this area that David gained support and laid the foundation for his further accession to the throne. When David's son Absalom after having killed his brother Amnon had fled abroad, Joab, the commander of the army, arranged a reconciliation between father and son by sending for a "wise woman" from Tekoa to talk to the king. This has led some scholars

to suggest that "wisdom" had a particular association with Tekoa (Wolff *Joel and Amos* Hermeneia, 123). This is possible but by no means certain. Wise women do exist both here and there and everywhere. After the division of the monarchy we are told that king Rehoboam of Judah strengthened the fortifications of Tekoa along with some other cities in his little kingdom (2 Chr 11:5 ff.). It is quite possible that he did, but the list of fortified cities preserved here rather seems to derive from the time of Josiah (Keel and Küchler 1982: 733). The most prominent resident of Tekoa mentioned in the Bible was neither an army officer nor a wise woman but a prophet, the great Amos. Carrying out his ministry in the N kingdom he nevertheless was a southerner, probably a sheep breeder, from Tekoa. Indeed there have been assumptions that the Tekoa of Amos was situated in the N kingdom, but we are on the safer side relying on the traditional localization in Judah (see Wolff *Joel and Amos* Hermeneia, 123). It has been suggested that the sheep breeders of Tekoa, one of whom was Amos, were indeed cultic personnel, in charge of the temple flocks (see e.g. Kapelrud 1961: 5–7, 69), but we don't know of such an arrangement. The book of Nehemiah (3:5, 27) tells us that after the exile Tekoites restored sections of the city wall of Jerusalem. We are also informed that their leaders were not very interested in the project, which may reflect the permanent conflict between city and countryside. During the Maccabean revolt ca. 160 B.C., Jonathan was operating in the wilderness of Tekoa (1 Macc 9:33) while Antiochus IV refortified the city (*Ant.* 13.15). During the Jewish wars in the 1st centuries C.E. Tekoa seems to have been in the hands of the Jewish rebels (*JW* 4.518; cf. Keel and Küchler 1982: 665). In Byzantine times Tekoa was a Christian town.

There are ruins of a Byzantine church in the site. The apse and the S wall are still discernible, as also parts of a floor mosaic. Ca. 50 m to the NE of the church we find a dubble cave probably originally a cistern, that seems to be the place honored since the 1st century C.E. as the grave of Amos. A built-up passage leads into the cave from the E. Fragments of walls indicate that a building, ca. 10 × 10 m, once stood above the cave. This was presumably the memorial building, the propheteion of Amos. The monastical life was flourishing in this area in the middle of the 1st Christian millennium. There were monks and monasteries in the vicinity of Tekoa, frequently representing rebellious and unorthodox tendencies in theological thinking, e.g. Monophysitism and Origenism. Some centuries later, in the days of the crusaders, Tekoa was a big village inhabited by Christians and Muslims. In later times the place has gradually lost its significance. Today sometimes bedouins dwell on the site. A couple of kilometers away from it we can find a little Arab village called Tequa as well as an Israeli settlement by the name "Tekoa."

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LARS AXELSSON

TEL-ABIB (PLACE) [Heb *tel ʾābîb*]. A place in Babylonia where a number of exiles from Judah dwelt (Ezek 3:15). This Tel-abib was on the bank or the vicinity of the canal Chebar. The name "Tel-abib" is only mentioned in Ezek 3:15, but the name of the river Chebar is mentioned six times in Ezekiel. The great river (or canal) flowed through the site of ancient Nippur and then entered again into the Euphrates. The site of Tel-abib has not yet been identified. Avi-Yonah (*MBA* map no. 163) considers Tel-abib, Telmelah, Tel-harsha, Cherub, Addan, Immer, and Casiphia to be the villages of Jewish exiles on Chebar river near Nippur.

In the documents of Murashû and sons, the Babylonian trade and banking house, from the 5th century B.C., a number of Jewish names are found. This fact may confirm that the Jewish exiles had settled in this region. The Babylonian name *nār kabāri,* "kabaru river," which may be identified with the biblical Chebar is found on two contracts from the time of Artaxerxes I (464–424 B.C.).

The word "Chebar" is mentioned in relation to Ezekiel's vision and his residential home. Apparently Ezekiel returned to his home in the village called Tel-abib. Cherub (Ezra 2:59; Neh 7:61) may be another name for Tel-abib from the consideration that Ezekiel saw the vision of Cherubim on the bank of Chebar River near Tel-abib.

In the Akkadian language the expression *til abūbi,* "hill of ruins made by the Deluge," was commonly used from the Old Babylonian period on. For example, "May (Adad) turn his land into hills of ruins *(māssu ana tilli abūbim litêr)*" (CH 50: 79–80). If one tears up the citadel's foundation, it will become "like a hill of ruins *(til abūbi).*" When the Assyrian army destroyed and flattened the rebellious cities, those became like *til abūbi.* Tiglath-pileser III wrote, "I destroyed (them) like *til abūbi.*" The Akkadian noun *abūbu* means "tidal wave; flood; the Deluge," but the biblical *mabbûl* "Deluge" is probably related to another Akkadian word *biblu* "flood" (a noun derived from the verb *abālu* "to carry off, sweep away"). A variant form of the same word *bibbulu* "flood" in Code of Hammurapi §45:43 is more similar to *mabbûl.* It is most likely that the Hebrew meaning of the name "Tel-abib," "hill of fresh ears of barley," is a modification of the Akkadian words *til abūbi,* "ruins by Deluge," similar to Jacob's changing the name of his son from Ben-oni to Ben-jamin (Gen 35:18).

YOSHITAKA KOBAYASHI

TEL-ASSAR (PLACE) [Heb *tēlaʾśśār*]. An Aramaean city inhabited by the people of Eden mentioned with Gozan, Haran, and Rezeph, situated on the middle Euphrates. It might have been a city of the kingdom of Eden, the House of Eden or *Bît Adini* in Akkadian inscriptions which lay between the river Balih and Euphrates.

The Hebrew transcriptions *tēlaʾśśār* and *tēlaśśār* are conglutinations of *tēl-ʾAśśār* "Ruin-mound of ʾAssar," which may probably be identified with the Akkadian *Til-Aššuri* which means "Ruined mound of Aššur," namely "Ruined mound destroyed by the Assyrian god Aššur." This name may be an alternative name for the destroyed Aramaean city of Til Barsip, modern Tell Aḥmar, on the E bank of the Euphrates. In 2 Kgs 19:12 and Isa 37:12 the Rabshakeh referred to it probably because he passed through the cities of Gozan, Haran, and Til Barsip. Even if Til Aššuri which is referred to in the annals of Tiglath-pileser

III and Esarhaddon appears to lie near the Assyrian border with Elam, Tel-Assar inhabited by the people of Eden seems to lie in the kingdom of Eden on the middle Euphrates.

The kingdom of Eden was located between Assyria and Syria-Palestine. Barsip (*ANET,* 269), the capital city of the house of Eden, was conquered by Shalmaneser III. He "renamed it after himself" (Hallo 1960) and annexed Bit Adini to Assyria in 855 B.C. Afterward Amos denounced the house of Eden (Amos 1:5). It probably rebelled against Assyria, and in the 8th century B.C. it was destroyed.

Sennacherib, through his messengers, tried to convince Hezekiah to surrender. By enumerating the names of cities, he showed that the gods worshiped by the people of these places had been unable to deliver them from the power of the kings preceding him. See *MBA,* map nos. 127, 138, 146.

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YOSHITAKA KOBAYASHI

TEL-HARSHA (PLACE) [Heb *tēl ḥaršā'*]. A Babylonian site from which a number of lay people who were unable to establish their genealogies to prove they were the descendants of Israelites came back to Jerusalem and Judah with Zerubbabel in 537 B.C. by the decree of Cyrus. The Jewish exiles were probably taken to several unpopulated ruin mounds based on the assertion that some of the names of the locations where they lived were preceded by the word *tēl* "ruin mound of . . ." (Ezra 2:59; Neh 7:61; 1 Esdr 5:36). There were 652 people who could not prove their Israelite ancestry: the sons of Delaiah, the sons of Tobiah, and the sons of Necoda who came up from Tel-melah, Tel-harsha, and other exilic villages.

If it is an Aramaic word, it means "ruined mound of the deaf (or dumb)," and also less probably "ruined mound of a sorcerer." There were also cities called Ḥaršu and Ḥaršaya, but its Akkadian meaning and the relation to Tel-harsha cannot be ascertained (*CAD* H, 115–16). Aharoni (*MBA,* map no. 163) considers that Tel-harsha was one of the villages for exiles on Chebar River near Nippur, such as Tel-abib, Tel-melah (Ezek 3:15; Ezra 2:59), but the location is not yet identified. See TEL-MELAH.

YOSHITAKA KOBAYASHI

TEL-MELAH (PLACE) [Heb *tēl melaḥ*]. A place probably in Babylonia from which Jewish exiles returned to Judah, some of whom could not prove their Israelite lineage through their genealogies (Ezra 2:59; Neh 7:61; 1 Esdr 5:36 [RSV, Telmelah]).

The name means "the ruined mound of salt." Some consider that it was a ruined town which had been strewn with salt for purification of a site devoted for destruction (cf. Judg 9:45). The salt land is uninhabitable (Jer 17:6) and the Jewish exiles were probably deported to such a place. The soil of the site was probably too saline to produce crops.

According to Aharoni (*MBA,* map no. 163) the villages of the Jewish exiles on the Chebar River near Nippur are Tel-abib, Tel-melah, Tel-harsha, Casiphia and others (Ezek 3:15; Ezra 2:59; 8:17). However, the site is not yet identified. See TEL-HARSHA.

YOSHITAKA KOBAYASHI

TELAH (PERSON) [Heb *telaḥ*]. A descendant of Ephraim and son of Resheph (1 Chr 7:25). What the name Telah means is not apparent. It appears in a postexilic Ephraimite genealogy which is difficult to interpret. Clearly he is the son of Resheph, but the relationship of Resheph to the preceding names is not clear. See RESHEPH (PERSON). The general tenor of the list aims toward situating the descendants of Joseph in the area N of and including Bethel. *BHS* proposes reading Shutelah for Telah. Similarly, Curtis and Madsen (*Chronicles* ICC, 154) view Telah as possibly an abbreviation of Shutelah. In the present form of the text, Telah is in the sixth generation before Joshua.

JAMES M. KENNEDY

TELAIM (PLACE) [Heb *ṭēlā'îm*]. Var. TELEM. The site where Saul mustered his troops in preparation for an invasion into Amalekite territory (1 Sam 15:4). There has been a long history of confusion over the identity of this site. The LXX reads "Gilgal" in place of Telaim, a tradition followed by Josephus as well (*Ant* 6.7.2). This tradition is unlikely, even though Saul was known to frequent the shrine located at Gilgal. It is much more likely, given the Amalekite destination, that Telaim is to be identified with Telem, a settlement in the Negeb allotted to Judah (Josh 15:24). Scholars who read Telem in place of *mē<ôlam* (= "from ancient times," 1 Sam 27:8) or of Havilah (1 Sam 15:7) do so on conjectural grounds alone. The exact location is unknown.

ELMER H. DYCK

TELEILÂT EL-GHASSÛL. See GHASSUL, TULEILAT EL-.

TELEM (PERSON) [Heb *ṭelem*]. One of the three gatekeepers among the returned exiles who married a foreign woman during the era of Ezra's mission (Ezra 10:24 and 1 Esdr 9:25 where LXX reads *tolbanēs*). Noth contends that the name is etymologically related to the Arabic *ẓalmun* and means "brightness," probably an expression of joy over the birth of the child (*IPN,* 223). The three-month investigation (Ezra 10:16–17) culminating in the list in which Telem's name appears produced only three names of gatekeepers, leading some to believe that the list only includes prominent members of the Temple staff. Telem's importance at the Temple, however, remains a mystery. While it seems probable that Telem divorced his foreign wife (note the prior oath taken by the people [Ezra 10:3–5] and the possibly generalizable v 19), that is not certain. The RSV follows 1 Esdr 9:36 in clearly stating that all on the list did indeed divorce their foreign wives and put away their children, but the Hebrew text of Ezra 44b is so

corrupt that a definite translation is impossible, leaving the final outcome of the investigation in doubt.

JEFFREY A. FAGER

TELEM (PLACE) [Heb *ṭelem*]. See TELAIM.

TELHARSHA (PLACE). See TEL-HARSHA.

TELL/TEL. In biblical and archaeological usage, a mound that has resulted from the depositions of successive layers of human occupation. Geographic names containing the element "tel" or "tell" are alphabetized under the second element of the name; for example: IRA, TEL; BEIT MIRSIM, TELL.

TELMELAH (PLACE) [Gk *Thermeleth*]. An alternate form of the name TEL-MELAH.

TEMA (PERSON) [Heb *têmāʾ*]. One of the sons of Ishmael (Gen 25:15). As with many of the names in this chapter, the name "Tema" has Arabian elements, and is certainly to be connected with the prominent oasis city of Teima. See TEMA (PLACE).

TEMA (PLACE) [Heb *têmāʾ; tēmāʾ*]. A city in N Arabia (Isa 21:14; Jer 25:23; Job 6:19). It was apparently associated with a "son of Ishmael" (Gen 25:15; 1 Chr 1:30).

A. Name and Identification
B. Location and Topographical Description
C. History of Exploration
D. Tema in the 1st Millennium B.C.

A. Name and Identification

The identity of biblical Tema with Tayma *(Taymâʾ)*, one of the major caravan oasis cities of N Arabia, has never been seriously doubted. The name of the city is rendered as *Te-e-me* (not accepted by Ephʿal 1982: 125, n. 437), *Te-ma, Tè-ma-a* and *Tè-ma-ʾ* in Akkadian inscriptions from Sennacherib through the reign of Nabonidus. It is spelled *tymʾ* in Aramaic inscriptions from the city itself, and *tmʾ* in contemporary Thamudic texts from its vicinity. Both the Aramaic and the Thamudic references derive from the 5th or 4th centuries B.C. In Minaean, the name may once occur as *tymy*. The geographer Ptolemaeus from the 2d century A.D. mentions *Thaîma* (Knauf 1989: 80, 149).

The name cannot be interpreted with certainty. In its present form, it looks like a *faʿlaʾ*-formation from *TYM; taym* means "slave, servant" in Arabic. Alternatively, one may analyze the name as a formation with *ta*-prefix from *WMY*. Akkadian *wamāʾum*, later *tamû(m)*, Syriac *îmâ*, means "to swear an oath"; Qatabanian *wmy* could signify "confederates" (Müller 1963: 113). In this case, the name may elucidate the cultic and political centrality of the oasis for the surrounding tribes. Although one would expect a form like *Tawmâʾ if the name should indeed be derived from *WMY*, this explanation is not entirely impossible since we do not know how far the NW Semitic shift of *w-* to *y-* had, by the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C., penetrated into Arabia. The ethnic adjective formed from the city's name is *tymny* "Temanite" in Hebrew and Aramaic, and *taymâwî* in Arabic.

B. Location and Topographical Description

Tayma (27°38′N; 38°29′E) is strategically situated on the W edge of the N Arabian desert *(an-Nafûd)*, where three important trade routes merge: (a) the "incense road," the main artery of traffic between S Arabia, Syria, and the Mediterranean, which follows the E escarpment of the W Arabian mountain ridge; (b) the connection between the "incense road" and Mesopotamia, which leads NNE from Tayma via Dumah (see DUMAH) to the Euphrates, and circles the N fringe of the Nafûd; and (c) the connection between the "incense road" and E Arabia and the Persian Gulf, which leads E from Tayma via Hâʾil to Gerrha (see HAGAR), skirting S of the Nafûd. The city is situated on the S border of a salt swamp *(sabkha)*. The core of the settlement lies within the limits of the present oasis which today consists predominantly of mudbrick compounds and palm gardens. The view of ancient Tayma would probably not have been much different except for some more magnificent buildings; also, in antiquity the oasis extended to the NE and to the NW for 1–2 km beyond the present limits of cultivation. The whole ancient oasis was surrounded by a wall, most of whose course can still be traced. The wall includes an area of ca. 800 hectares (Edens and Bawden 1988: 52–54). Rocky hills overlooking the city from the S (Jabal Ghunaym) contain rock drawings and Thamudic inscriptions of religious significance.

C. History of Exploration

From the late 19th century onwards, the city was visited by several explorers who described its visible monuments and recorded its inscriptions. The most important among these were C. Doughty in 1877 (Doughty 1936: 284–300, 517–65), C. Huber and J. Euting in 1884 (Euting 1914: 146–63, 198–207), H. St. J. B. Philby in 1951 (Philby 1957: 72–103), W. L. Reed and F. V. Winnett in 1962 (Winnett and Reed 1970: 22–37), and R. Stiehl in 1966 (Altheim and Stiehl 1968: 74–77; 1973: 243–53 with fig. 2–12). Archaeological surveys and soundings commenced in 1979 and are presently continued (Bawden et al. 1980; Livingstone et al. 1983; Abu-Duruk 1986).

D. Tema in the 1st Millennium B.C.

A small amount of "Midianite" pottery attests human presence at the oasis for the end of the 2d millennium B.C. (Bawden and Edens 1988: 209–11; Edens and Bawden 1988: 54–57; Parr 1988a: 76–81). As early as shortly after the middle of the 8th century B.C., Sabaean and Temanite caravans reached the Euphrates in the vicinity of ʾAna. See SHUAH. When the participants in the commerce on the incense road paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser III in 734 B.C., so did Tema (Knauf 1989: 3–4, n. 16, 138). Tema's close cooperation with the Sabaeans who controlled the incense trade from the 8th through the 5th centuries B.C. is attested by Job 6:19. It can also be argued that the local N Arabic script, "Tayma-Thamudic" or "Taymanite," is

derived from Sabaic writing (von Wissmann 1976: 355, n. 89).

Around 600 B.C. Tema and Dedan were the two major urban centers of N Arabia (Jer 25:23; Knauf 1989: 103f.). In 553/552, the Babylonian king Nabonidus marched into N Arabia via Edom and made Tema his headquarters during his ten years' sojourn in N Arabia (Beaulieu 1985). Nabonidus' march of conquest is reflected in Isa 21:12–17 (Galling 1963; Lindsay 1976). During the 5th century, the city reached the peak of its prosperity (Bawden and Edens 1988; Edens and Bawden 1988; Parr 1988b). It remained the metropolis of N Arabia under Persian rule, and most probably was the seat of a Persian governor (Knauf 1990). Its trade and cultural relations to Mesopotamia, Egypt, and various parts of N Arabia are reflected in the Aramaic inscriptions, the names and places of origins of the city's gods, and the iconography of the reliefs accompanying the inscriptions (Dalley 1986; Knauf 1989: 150–52; 1990). When, around 400 B.C., the Minaeans expelled the Sabaeans from the incense trade, Tema lost its preeminence to Dedan. In the course of the 1st century B.C., the town was incorporated into the Nabataean realm (Wenning 1987: 116–17).

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

TEMAH (PERSON) [Heb *tāmaḥ*]. The name of a family of temple servants who returned to Palestine with Zerubbabel shortly after 538 B.C.E., the end of the Babylonian exile. The name appears in Ezra 2:53 in the phrase "the sons of Temah" (Gk *thema*), where the temple servants are distinguished from the people of Israel, the priests, and the Levites. The parallel verse Neh 7:55 (Gk *thēma/ēmath*) and the later parallel 1 Esdr 5:32 (Gk *thomoi/thom(e)ei/thomthei*) also list "the sons of Temah."

STEVEN R. SWANSON

TEMAN (PERSON) [Heb *têmān*]. The firstborn son of Eliphaz, the most prominent of the tribes of Edom (Gen 36:11). It seems that the Edomite tribes were basically regional organizations; names of Edomite tribes have survived into the present toponymy of the region. See also FEINAN, WADI; ZERAH. The references to Teman in Gen 36:15, 42 are dependent upon 36:11 (Weippert 1971: 437–46).

Teman is a geographical designation from the root *ymn* with *t*-prefix; it signifies "south" in general (e.g., Exod 26:18). As a toponym, Teman refers either to Edom, the southernmost Canaanite state in the first half of the 1st millennium B.C., or to a part of Edom. In Amos 1:12, the fire that Yahweh is going to hurl on Teman will consume the palaces of Bozrah. It seems, then, that Teman was the name of the N part of Edom whose capital was located at Bozrah (Buṣeirah; M.R. 208016). Ezek 25:13 threatens the Edomites "from Teman to Dedan," i.e., from the northern to the southern borders of their realm at the beginning of the 6th century B.C. (Knauf 1983; 1985: 250). In Jer 49:7, 20, and Obadiah 9, Teman is used as a synonym for Edom. If Teman was the name of the region surrounding Bozrah/Buṣeirah, the capital of Edom, this broadening of the term's meaning becomes intelligible. This was the region where the Edomite state began to form in the 9th century B.C. and from where it penetrated farther S in the following centuries.

It is clear from all these references, that Teman designated a region and, secondarily, a tribe (de Vaux 1969). The identification of the archaeological site of Tawilan near Petra (Glueck 1935: 82f.) with Edomite Teman is untenable both in terms of linguistics and philology.

Since the classification of an Edomite as an Edomite would not make much sense, the "land of the Temanite," which was the origin of the Edomite "king" Husham (Gen

36:34; 1 Chr 1:45), does not refer to Teman, but to Taima in N Arabia. See also HUSHAM. It cannot be decided whether Job's friend Eliphaz the Temanite (Job 2:11; 4:1; 15:1; 22:1; 42:7, 9) was thought to have come from Edom or Taima (Knauf 1983: 25). His personal name may allude to the Edomite tribe of Eliphaz (Weippert 1971: 246).

"Yahweh of Teman" is attested in the ostraca from Kuntillet ʿAjrud (Emerton 1982). It is unclear, whether this Teman refers to the Edomite region, or to "South, Country of the South" in general. Authors who look for the origin of the God Yahweh in Edom would tend to argue for the first option (Ahlström 1986: 58); those who assume Yahweh's homeland to have been located farther S would choose the second one (Knauf 1988). The same ambiguity applies to Hab 3:3.

A settlement *Thaiman* in S Transjordan is attested for the 3d and 4th centuries A.D. by Eusebius and St. Jerome (*Onomast.* 96:19–21; 97:15–17). Their locations, however, vary (5 or 15 miles N of Petra?); therefore, the place still remains unidentified (Weippert 1971: 422).

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

TEMANITE [Heb *têmānî*]. An ethnic designation in the OT. A Temanite is either a person from Teman or from Tema. See also TEMA and TEMAN. Teman refers to "the south" in general and to Edom specifically; accordingly, a Temanite is a "southerner," or an Edomite. As for the Edomite "king" Husham, who came from "the country of the Temanite," or "Temanites" (Gen 36:34; 1 Chr 1:45), a possible origin in the Tema area has been proposed. See HUSHAM. Job's friend Eliphaz (Job 2:11; 4:1; 15:1; 22:1; 42:7, 9) may have been at home in either Tema or Edom. See also ELIPHAZ; NAAMATHITE; SHUAH; UZ. Temni in 1 Chr 4:6 (a proper name) seems to refer to an Idumaean clan incorporated into the statistics of the tribe of Judah. See also HUR; SHOBAL; MENUHOTH.

ERNST AXEL KNAUF

TEMENI (PERSON) [Heb *têmĕnî*]. One of the sons of Ashhur, a descendant of Judah (1 Chr 4:6). His name indicates that he was a southerner.

H. C. LO

TEMPLE OF OLYMPIAN ZEUS. See OLYMPIAN ZEUS, TEMPLE OF.

TEMPLE SCROLL. A scroll emanating from Qumran Cave 11 (hence its designation 11QTemple; Heb *Megillat Hammiqdaš*) which sets forth the author/redactor's plan for a perfect society, cult, and government of the Jewish people in the land of Israel.

A. Discovery

The *Temple Scroll* was first brought to the attention of the late Yigael Yadin by Joseph Uhrig, a Virginia minister, in 1960 who said it was in the hands of a Jordanian antiquities dealer (Shanks 1987). After two years of negotiations, Yadin had little more to show than a small fragment proffered as a sample, and he gave up hope of recovering the scroll. In the aftermath of the Six Day War in 1967, Yadin was able to locate the antiquities dealer and the scroll which was eventually purchased for the Shrine of the Book in Jerusalem (Yadin 1983, 1: 1–5).

B. Description and Paleography

The scroll was in poor condition. It had been kept under the floor of the antiquities dealer's home in a shoebox. In addition, other fragments were in a cigarbox, and some had been hidden elsewhere. The task of unrolling the scroll and placing the fragments in order was made even more difficult because the writing of some columns was preserved only on the back of the preceding column. The upper edge had been severely damaged by dampness, either in antiquity or in the care of the antiquities dealer.

The scroll consists of 19 sheets, each containing 3–4 columns. Adding space for the damaged beginning, the entire scroll would have been approximately 8.75 m, making it the longest of the preserved scrolls (1QIsa^a is 7.34 m). It is written in two hands, one scribe writing cols. 1–5 and another (with some overlap of text) the remainder of the scroll. Yadin (1983, 1: 12) suggests that the scribe of the first part of the scroll repaired the scroll by rewriting the first part which had become worn through use. The scribal techniques and script are typical of the other Qumran manuscripts. While the language of the scroll has much in common with the dialect in which the sectarian compositions from Qumran are written, in certain linguistic features and in its legal terminology, it exhibits more affinities to rabbinic Hebrew than do the other scrolls (Schiffman 1980).

The *Temple Scroll* is also known from other manuscripts. These other manuscripts are extant only in fragments and some have been used in restoring parts of the text. Yadin (1983, 1: 17) identified the script of the two scribes of 11QTemple as Herodian, dating to around the turn of the era. He also discussed two fragments, dating Rockefeller 43.975 to the Herodian period but 43.366 to the Hasmonean, from the end of the 2d century B.C.E. J. Strugnell (in Wacholder 1983: 205–6), having examined the manuscripts at the Rockefeller Museum, writes that 43.366 belongs not to a manuscript of the *Temple Scroll* but rather to a Pentateuch with supplementary additions. Further, Strugnell calls attention to a group of Cave 4 fragments which quote the *Temple Scroll* or one of its sources and

which he dates no later than ca. 150 B.C.E. A few fragments from Cave 11 are also awaiting publication.

C. Contents

The scroll presents itself as a rewritten Torah which begins with the renewal of the Sinaitic covenant in Exodus 34 and then turns to the building of the temple in Exodus 35. From this point, the scroll continues in the order of the canonical Torah, covering the basic structures of the sanctuary and its courts, the sacrificial system, the various other Temple rituals, laws of ritual purity and impurity, and finally a long series of Deuteronomic prescriptions, including a distinct section on the king, the government, and the army. The scroll concludes with the laws of consanguineous marriages.

11QTemple 29:2–10 indicates clearly that the purpose of the *Temple Scroll* was to provide a system of law for the pre-messianic temple. This temple, it was expected, would be replaced in the end of days with a divinely created sanctuary. Until then, the author/redactor saw his scroll as representing the correct interpretation of the Torah.

The scroll does not simply recapitulate the prescriptions of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. It collects together the various pentateuchal (and sometimes prophetic) material relevant to the issue at hand and weaves together a unified, consistent text. In this respect it can be said that the text redacts the Torah, combining all materials on a single topic together. In many cases, statements in the canonical Torah referring to God in the 3d person are shifted into 1st-person-divine direct address. In this way the intermediacy of Moses is eliminated and the contents of the scroll are presented as the direct revelation of God to Israel at Mt. Sinai.

Yet the scroll goes further. It uses a distinct form of exegesis, in some ways similar to the midrash of the later rabbis, to reconcile the differences between the various pentateuchal texts so as to create a unified and consistent whole. At times, it makes minor additions to clarify its legal stance. In a few places, extensive passages appear which are not based on our canonical Scriptures. In this way the scroll propounds its own views on the major issues of Jewish law relating to Temple, cult, government, and sanctity. It is this exegetical and legal approach which makes the *Temple Scroll* so central for the history of Jewish law and midrashic exegesis, and for understanding the sects of the Second Temple period.

The laws of the scroll include a number of provisions of great interest. The architecture of the temple proposed here differs from biblical accounts, on which the author claims to base himself, as well as from descriptions of the Second Temple in Josephus and the Mishnah. Most interesting is the extension of the *temenos* (the "Temple City") by the addition of a 3d courtyard, so large that it would have encompassed most of what was then Jerusalem. The courtyards and their gates represent the Israelite encampment in the wilderness. Unique approaches appear here for the construction of the temple furnishings. The sacrificial festival calendar includes a number of festivals not part of the biblical or rabbinic cycle. A second New Year festival is to be celebrated on the first of Nisan, in the spring, followed by annual celebration of the eight days of ordination. Besides the Omer festival for the barley harvest (the 2d day of Passover) and the first fruits of wheat (Shavuot), the scroll adds two more first-fruits festivals, each at 50-day intervals, for oil and wine. The wood offering is also celebrated as an annual festival in the summer. Extensive laws deal with the sacrificial procedure and ritual purity and impurity. Here we see a general tendency to provide additional ways to protect the sanctuary from impurity. This brief survey does not even begin to indicate the rich nature of the scroll's exegesis and the many details of Jewish law in which the text diverges from the views of other sectarian documents or rabbinic literature.

D. Sources

Even in its present form, it is not difficult to discern that the *Temple Scroll* has been redacted from a number of sources by an author/redactor. His sources most certainly included the sacrificial festival calendar (11QTemple 13:9–29:1) and the law of the king and army (56:12–59:21). It has also been suggested that the description of the temple precincts and furnishings (2:1–47:18, *passim*) and the laws of purity (48:1–51:10) constituted separate sources (Wilson and Wills 1982). It was the author/redactor who added the Deuteronomic paraphrase at the end (51:11–56:21, 60:1–66:17).

E. Dating

Rockefeller 43.366, taken by Yadin as the earliest manuscript of the *Temple Scroll*, led him to date the scroll to no later than the reign of John Hyrcanus (134–104 B.C.E.) or Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 B.C.E.). Yet, as already noted, this is not actually a manuscript of our scroll.

All sources now included in the scroll presuppose the existence of a canonical Torah differing from MT only in minor details (contrast Stegemann 1988: 246–56). Only a few legal rulings can be shown to derive from variant biblical texts. For this reason the scroll had to have been completed after the period of the return (ca. late 6th to mid-5th centuries B.C.E.). Further, all manuscripts of the *Temple Scroll* identified thus far are of Herodian date, although it is possible that a source of the scroll was extant by 150 B.C.E. It is within these parameters that we must seek both a dating and a *Sitz im Leben* for the scroll.

More specific dating must take into account the particular regulations of the law of the king which is the largest sustained non-pentateuchal section. This text provides the clearest indications of date in the scroll. It emphasizes the separation of roles of the high priest and king and the need to constitute the *gerousia* so that it would consist of twelve each of priests, Levites, and Israelites. It argues against the use of mercenaries which were used extensively by John Hyrcanus. The *Temple Scroll* requires that the king have a special palace guard to protect him against kidnap. Here we have an illusion to the perfidious kidnap and murder of Jonathan the Hasmonean in 143 B.C.E. (cf. 1 Macc 13:24). The text further polemicizes against campaigns such as those of John Hyrcanus and Alexander Jannaeus when it prohibits wars with Egypt for the sake of accumulating wealth.

Since the law of the king is incorporated into the fully redacted scroll, it is therefore appropriate to date the scroll as a whole to no later than the second half of the reign of

John Hyrcanus (Schiffman 1987; Yadin [1983, 1: 386–90] dates the scroll to the reign of Hyrcanus or slightly earlier; Hengel, Charlesworth, and Mendels [1986] date the scroll to 103–88 B.C.E.). At this time, the author/redactor called for a thoroughgoing revision of the existing Hasmonean order, desiring to replace it with a Temple, sacrificial system, and government which was in his view the embodiment of the legislation of the Torah. This dating is fully consistent with the paleographic data described above.

F. Relation to Other Qumran Documents

In his initial study of the *Temple Scroll,* Yadin assumed that it, like the rest of the Qumran corpus, represented a text of Essene provenance. Accordingly, he interpreted the scroll to agree with the previously known Dead Sea sectarian texts and Philo and Josephus' description of the Essenes. Many scholars have followed this lead. Others have pointed to the absence of the usual Qumran polemical language and distinctive terminology, and the lack of some characteristic linguistic features in these texts (Levine 1978 [and the responses of Milgrom 1978 and Yadin 1980]; Stegemann 1988: 237–46; Schiffman 1983: 13–17). Further, this text has a different view of the origins, authority and derivation of Jewish law. Whereas the sectarian texts from Qumran generally expect the law to be derived by inspired biblical exegesis from the canonical Torah, the *Temple Scroll* sees extrabiblical laws as stemming from the Sinai revelation as an actual Torah. Some recent scholarship now sees the *Temple Scroll* as emerging from a related group which was either contemporary with or earlier than the previously known Qumran sect. Still to be investigated are the unpublished Torah scrolls with supplementary material which at some points seem to underlie the *Temple Scroll.*

There is an even closer link between the *Temple Scroll* and the *Miqsat Maᶜaseh Ha-Torah* (4QMMT). This "halakhic letter" describes a series of laws over which the authors disputed with the established authorities of the Jerusalem priesthood. The 4QMMT claims that due to disagreements with the Jerusalem establishment its authors left Jerusalem and forswore worship in its temple (Qimron and Strugnell 1985). It is most likely that this letter dates to the origin of the Qumran community. In general, 4QMMT takes positions equivalent to those of the Sadducees in rabbinic literature and ascribes to the Jerusalem priests views identified as Pharisaic. In many cases, this text's rulings agree with those of the *Temple Scroll.* This new evidence suggests that the *Temple Scroll* stems from forerunners of the sect who shared Sadducean rulings on many matters. See also MIQSAT MAᶜASE HATORAH (4QMMT).

G. Significance

This scroll is the largest of the Dead Sea Scrolls and for this reason alone it vastly enriches the textual remains of Second Temple Judaism. This text shows that the exegesis of Scripture for the derivation of Jewish law, the activity which the later Rabbis called midrash, was already a central part of the Judaism of some groups in the Hasmonean period. This exegesis served as the basis for highly developed legal teachings which are evidence that among some groups of Second Temple Jews strict adherence to a living and developing tradition of Jewish law was the norm. Further, some of these Jews objected strenuously to the conduct of the Hasmoneans in both the religious and political/military spheres. These opponents were at the forefront of the movement represented by the Qumran sect. Among the texts they brought with them to Qumran were the sources of the *Temple Scroll.*

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LAWRENCE H. SCHIFFMAN

TEMPLE, JERUSALEM. Although not a trace of any phase of the temple building in Jerusalem seems to have survived to the present day, the Jerusalem Temple holds a place of great prominence in the architectural history of the Western world. No other building of the ancient world, either while it stood in Jerusalem or in the millennia since its final destruction, has been the focus of so much attention throughout the ages. Such attention has taken the form of the prayers and pilgrimages of the faithful, the discussions and deliberations of the postbiblical sages, and, in recent centuries, the incessant explora-

tions, excavations, and expositions by the scholarly community.

A. Introduction
B. Terminology
C. Sources
  1. Literary
  2. Archaeological
D. Solomonic (First) Temple
  1. David Precursors
  2. Architectural Features
  3. Temple Furnishings
  4. Role in National Life
E. First Temple After Solomon
F. Temple of Zerubbabel
  1. Postexilic Rebuilding
  2. Post-Zerubbabel Alterations
G. Herodian Temple
H. Future Temple

A. Introduction

The architectural entity known as the Jerusalem Temple was a complex institution. It played a central religious and cultic role in Israelite life. It also was an expression of the artistic and aesthetic standards of Near Eastern antiquity. In addition, and in relation to its religious and artistic value, it functioned on a political level. It contributed to the authentication, first, of the national state of which Jerusalem was the capital during the preexilic period, then of the semiautonomous community of Judeans after the exile, and finally of the Jews who continued to live in Jerusalem and the surrounding territory, with sporadic periods of autonomy, in the centuries before its final destruction.

The history of this building thus extends from the origins of the monarchy in the 10th century B.C.E., when it was constructed by King Solomon, until the capture of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 C.E. However, this millennium-long period did not entail the continuous existence of the original structure. A major rebuilding effort, nearly from the ground up, took place after the Exile, beginning in 520 B.C.E., after nearly seventy years of desolation in the wake of the Babylonian conquest of Jerusalem in 587. A second, enormous rebuilding effort took place near the very end of the Temple's history, when King Herod included the Jerusalem edifice among the extensive building projects that characterized his reign (37 to 4 B.C.E.). Although the early and late postexilic temples were in many senses continuations of the first temple building, they were also new buildings, exemplifying the techniques and styles of their own periods.

Consequently, the term Jerusalem Temple can designate one or all of these three distinct yet related buildings. The first is usually called the Solomonic Temple, because of Solomon's role in the building project; it is also called the First Temple. The next building is designated the Second Temple or sometimes Zerubbabel's Temple, in recognition of the chief political officer in the Persian province of Yehud (Judea) at the time of the reconstruction efforts of the late 6th century B.C.E. The third structure, while technically existing during the period known as the Second Temple period (515 B.C.E. to 70 C.E.), was in fact a new and grandiose edifice and is generally referred to as the Herodian Temple.

This division of the architectural history of the Jerusalem Temple into three major stages does not represent the only periods of change or renewal during the building's existence. Except for the Herodian Temple, which was completed only shortly before its destruction, the first two edifices underwent periodic renovations and alterations, both in structural features and also in the elaborate appurtenances associated with the cultic practices that took place in the Temple and its courts. These changes, which can often be linked to shifts in the political climate of Jerusalem as an administrative center, point to the political as well as religious functions of this series of monumental buildings.

Unlike religious structures or institutions in today's Western world, which are usually seen as functioning apart from institutions of political power, the Jerusalem Temple, like that of other temple buildings in the ANE, was inextricably linked to political rule. Furthermore, although it has been customary to project onto the Jerusalem Temple our contemporary experiences with religious architecture as places of worship for the community of the faithful, the Temple like its ancient counterparts played a somewhat different religious role. The temple building itself was not a place of public gathering and prayer, although its courtyards were the scene of such activity. Rather, the Temple in conception was a dwelling place on earth for the deity of ancient Israel and in this way, too, was fundamentally different from the religious buildings (synagogue, church, mosque) of postbiblical times.

B. Terminology

The English word "temple," as used to denote the central religious building in Jerusalem, comes from a Latin word (*templum*). In English translations, "temple" is used to translate the Hebrew word *hêkāl*, which is used in the phrase *hêkāl Yahweh*. The word *hêkāl* is related to similar terms in Ugaritic and Canaanite and is based on the Akkadian word *ekallu*. The Akkadian in turn comes from Sumerian *ê-gal*, meaning "great house." The connotation of this etymology is that a temple is a large building, or palace. It signifies a residence; and when used with the name of the deity, it indicates that the building is conceived of as a residence for that deity.

With respect to the Jerusalem Temple itself, the term *hêkāl*, when used with the definite article, is the same as the term for the major interior space (RSV "nave") of the building. This fact has led some scholars (e.g., Albright *ARI*) to suggest that the early Canaanite temples, of which the Jerusalem Temple is a development, consisted of one major chamber, the name of which thus designated the entire building. In the ongoing architectural tradition, rooms were added but the name of the largest interior space continued, *pars pro toto*, to represent the whole structure.

In biblical terminology, the noun *hêkāl* can be a nonsacral term referring to any palatial dwelling (such as Ahab's palace, 1 Kgs 21:1; or that of the Babylonian king, 2 Kgs 20:18 = Isa 39:7; or that of the Phoenicians, Joel 3:5—Eng 4:5), although royal palaces are usually called *bêt hammelek*, "house of the king." Its use for Yahweh's dwelling

includes references to pre-Solomonic structures, notably the shrine at Shiloh (1 Sam 1:9; 3:3), as well as to the heavenly abode of God, where Yahweh is envisioned as enthroned in his holy habitation (e.g., Isa 6:1; 2 Sam 22:7 = Ps 18:7; Ps 11:7). Only rarely is Solomon's Temple called by this term: twice in 2 Kings (23:4; 24:13); several times in Jeremiah (7:4; 24:1; 50:28; 51:11); and three times in 2 Chronicles (26:16; 27:2; 29:16). Postexilic biblical sources, however, do use *hêkāl* as a general designation for Zerubbabel's Temple.

Although the use of *hêkāl* is significant in pointing to the conceptualization of the Temple as a dwelling place, another biblical term is more common in reference to the Temple and likewise indicates the residential nature of the building. The basic term for temple in the Hebrew Bible is *bêt Yahweh* or *bêt ʾĕlōhîm*, "house of Yahweh" or "house of God." These terms are used in the Bible for Solomon's Temple (as in 1 Kgs 7:12, 40, 45, 51; 1 Chr 9:11, 13, 26) and for the postexilic temple (e.g., Zech 8:9; Neh 6:10). They are also found in reference to Yahweh shrines located outside Jerusalem (e.g., Judg 19:18; 2 Sam 12:20).

The other major national shrine of ancient Israel, the Tabernacle, apparently was a portable structure and is associated with the premonarchic tribal period of Israelite history. Its character as a non-permanent tent gave rise to a pair of appellations for its successor structure, the Jerusalem Temple: "tent" (*ʾōhel*) and "tabernacles" (*miškānôt*, only in the plural). These terms appear only in the book of Psalms (e.g., 15:1; 43:3). Several less common terms also reflect a temporary structure. The noun *nāweh*, which indicates the abode of flocks or shepherds, is applied to the earthly temple, usually poetically (e.g., Isa 33:20), or to God's heavenly abode (as in Exod 15:13), which is the prototype for the divine dwelling-place on earth.

A similar occurrence, in which the Jerusalem Temple is conceived of as the place where Yahweh "sits"—as in the heavenly temple, Exod 15:17—is the use of *mākôn lĕšibtô* in 1 Kgs 8:13. This verse also includes the designation "lofty house" (*bêt zĕbûl*). Both of these terms may reflect stereotypical language drawn from Canaanite mythology (Haran 1978: 14). Somewhat less rare is the appearance of *māʿon* or *mĕʿônāh*, meaning refuge or lair and thus "habitation." Used alone or in construct with "house" or "holiness," these words can denote either God's heavenly dwelling (as in Jer 25:30) or earthly abode, the latter being the Jerusalem Temple (Ps 26:8).

One other word in the Hebrew Bible associated with the Jerusalem Temple is *miqdāš*, which is usually translated "sanctuary" or "shrine" by lexicons and dictionaries. This term can actually refer to anything, object or place, possessing sanctity. It can even designate the whole order of sacred acts to be carried out by the priests (as Lev 19:30, "you shall keep my sabbaths and venerate my *miqdāš*"; so Haran 1978: 15). More typically it refers to a sacred structure, such as the Tabernacle and its precincts (Exod 25:8, etc.), non-Jerusalem shrines (as at Shechem, Josh 24:26, and in the N kingdom, Amos 7:9), and the temples of non-Israelites (as a Moabite shrine, Isa 16:12, or Tyrian shrines, Ezek 28:18).

As a designation for the Jerusalem Temple, *miqdāš* came to be used generally for the entire sacred area of the Temple and its precincts, that is, the building itself and the series of courtyards surrounding it. This inclusive usage is especially true in Ezekiel (see, e.g., Ezek 44:1). But the term can also be found as a designation for the temple building itself, as in Ps 74:7, "They have burned thy sanctuary with fire." One late biblical passage, 2 Chr 36:7, uses the phrase *bêt miqdāš*, "house of holiness." This designation, in the form (*bêt hammiqdāš*), becomes the most common term for the Jerusalem Temple in postbiblical Hebrew literature (in the Mishnah, e.g., *Maʿas. Š.* 5:2, and the Tosefta, e.g., *Ber.* 3:16).

The NT references to the Jerusalem Temple, largely to the third or Herodian building, are numerous but employ only two different Greek terms. The word *naos* designates the temple building itself, and *hieron* indicates the sacred compound in its entirety. Both these words are commonly rendered "temple" in English translations.

C. Sources

Information about the various structures located in Jerusalem and referred to as the Temple comes from two major sources: ancient texts, both biblical and extrabiblical; and archaeological materials.

1. Literary. The Temple is mentioned, directly or indirectly, in many different places throughout the Hebrew Bible, in over half of the biblical books (according to the enumeration in Christian Bibles). In addition, eleven different NT books refer to the Temple. However, the major source for our knowledge of the Temple is the elaborate description—a veritable blueprint in words—contained in 1 Kings 6–8 and its parallel account in 2 Chronicles 2–4. These chapters provide a wealth of detail and are particularly valuable because they appear to be texts derived from records of the Temple's construction.

These temple texts deal specifically with the First Temple, as do the many references in Ezekiel. However, the testimony of Ezekiel is problematic. For one thing, it postdates the destruction of the First Temple and thus can provide information only about the last years of that building's existence, by which time the Temple may have been significantly different from the structure erected during Solomon's reign. Furthermore, much of the book of Ezekiel is cast in a visionary mode, in which reality and fantasy intermingle; such literary materials are not entirely reliable as historical witness. Similarly, some references to the Temple in postexilic sources, such as Haggai and First Zechariah, predate the completion of the Zerubbabel Temple and hence might contain impressions based on memories of the First Temple. But again, such reminiscences would reflect only the last days of that building. Also, in the case of First Zechariah, the temple passages are part of visionary scenes that are rooted in reality but go beyond the real.

In addition to the major sections of Kings and Chronicles that portray the construction of the Solomonic Temple, other scattered verses in these historical books mention it. Mainly, they serve to indicate the changes that were made in the original Solomonic building over the centuries between its construction and its destruction. As such, these references (see below) reveal that the Temple was not a static architectural entity. The fact that there are major differences between the Kings account, for example, and the passages in Ezekiel may be, in part, a result of the

visionary character of the prophet. Yet, such differences are also the consequence of the substantial alterations that were made in the Temple's form and contents by various rulers between the reigns of Solomon and Jehoiachin. A case in point is the altar of the inner court, which is not mentioned in the Kings passage but which is found in the Chronicles version (2 Chr 4:1) and which is presented in detail by Ezekiel (40:47; 43:13–17). Conversely, the great "sea" is absent in Ezekiel but present in the other two main accounts.

Although not dealing directly with the Temple, the prescriptive and descriptive accounts of the construction of the Tabernacle are relevant to the accounts of temple building. See TABERNACLE. The final form of those priestly accounts, found in Exodus 25–30 and 35–39, may date to the exilic or postexilic period. But at least some of the materials come from the earliest period of Israelite existence. Some scholars (notably Haran 1978) have argued that the Tabernacle, with its appurtenances, personnel, and cultic acts, reflects conditions in the latter part of First Temple period.

The specificity of detail in all the temple accounts as well as in the tabernacle texts is a great boon to the scholarly task of reconstructing what the building looked like in antiquity, in its various phases. At the same time, the technical nature of the vocabulary that is involved sometimes makes it very difficult, if not impossible, to understand what is being portrayed. Many of the architectural or construction terms are lexically rare, and hence their exact meaning cannot readily be determined. Furthermore, the ancient versions often provide little assistance in such cases. Both the technology and the architectural and decorative fashions had changed sufficiently by the time of the earliest translations so that accurate renderings by the ancients was not always achieved.

The construction of the Second Temple under the governorship of Zerubbabel is heralded in Haggai and First Zechariah, and it is referred to by both Ezra and Nehemiah and by the Chronicler at the very end of 2 Chronicles. None of these accounts attempt to provide a description of the edifice itself; they are more concerned with the difficulty of bringing the building project to fruition and with the political and economic aspects of the construction work. Any references to the dimensions or quality of the rebuilt sanctuary are incidental (as Ezra 6:3) and probably incomplete; their reliability as witnesses to the building as it existed is thus questionable. The few references in Daniel (7:25; 8:11–13; 9:24–27) are pre-Herodian but deal with the desecrations of the Temple by the Syrians and tell little about the building itself.

The Second Temple survived for nearly a hundred years longer than did the Solomonic Temple. The latter part of its existence, at the end of the period witnessed by the canon of the Hebrew Bible, was thus within the time frame that saw the production of extrabiblical materials that have survived. Many of these works contain information about the Temple. Some of them are pre-Herodian; others are somewhat later but apparently contain reliable materials concerning the last stages of the Zerubbabel building. Most of these sources, however, like their biblical forebears or counterparts, are not comprehensive architectural descriptions. The technical data provided are random. However, the historical information about the changes that were made, while perhaps incomplete, is nonetheless valuable in attesting to the ongoing series of renovations that characterized the Zerubbabel structure as well as that of Solomon.

These extrabiblical sources include several apocryphal and pseudepigraphical books, namely 1 Esdras, Ecclesiasticus, and 1 Maccabees. The material in 1 Maccabees, by virtue of that book's concern with the Syrian control of Jerusalem, provides some details about the Temple. Another source, the *Letter of Aristeas,* is difficult to date and is also so outrageous in what it claims for the Temple that it could hardly be taken to represent Herod's Temple, let alone Zerubbabel's; rather, it seems to be the product of grandiose imaginings. The 1st century C.E. Jewish historian Josephus and the early 3d-century rabbinic work, the Mishnah, both deal briefly with the pre-Herodian Second Temple. However, these sources are far more concerned with the last temple, that of Herod the Great. Finally, another ancient source dating from the late Hasmonean period, probably no later than the reign of John Hyrcanus (135/134–104 B.C.E.; so Yadin 1983: I, 39, 386–89), describes the Temple in great detail. This text, known as the Temple Scroll, clearly draws from biblical sources yet is visionary in nature. Consequently its reliability as a witness to the later phase of the Zerubbabel Temple is doubtful.

References to the Herodian Temple abound in the NT, in Josephus (mostly in *Ant* 15.12 and *JW* 5.5) and in the Mishnaic tractate *(Middot)* ("measurements"). A brief and not very useful description can be found in Philo. Of these four sources, Josephus and the Mishnah stand out for the wealth of technical, descriptive data that they contain. Josephus in particular represents an extraordinary testimony to the process of construction, in all its facets, that characterized the most famous of the manifold Herodian projects. The Mishnaic description tends to focus on the sanctuary itself rather than on the elaborate series of courts and porticoes that Herod's architects and engineers erected on the enlarged platform that constituted the Temple Mount.

As for the First Temple, with its several diverging sources, details of the Herodian Temple appear to be different in the two major written sources, Josephus and the Mishnah. Most scholars take seriously the fact that Josephus was a gifted historian and also an eyewitness observer of many of the events he chronicles and the places he describes. Inevitably there are contradictions, mistakes, and other problems in his description of the Herodian Temple. Yet he is a contemporary of that building, whereas the Mishnaic material was compiled long after the Temple was destroyed. The Mishnah may be akin to Ezekiel in its tendency to aggrandize and glorify the past; and for that reason alone the witness of Josephus, despite what is known of his penchant for exaggeration, may be preferable. Archaeological evidence (see below) from excavations on the Temple Mount (and from other places described by Josephus) is striking in its tendency to confirm the reliability of the Josephus accounts (Mazar 1975: 15).

In addition to *Middot,* other Tannaitic (Mishnaic) and also Amoraic (Talmudic) passages contain extensive materials dealing with the Temple in general. Most of these are concerned with the ritual acts that took place within the

temple precincts and are not concerned with either the structure or its courts. The same can be said for references in other ancient rabbinic treatises.

2. Archaeological. The location of the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, and thus of the place where the three successive temples were built in biblical antiquity, has never been in doubt. The site is that of the Muslim shrine known as the Dome of the Rock (Qubbet es-Sakhra), built in 691 by the fifth Omayyad caliph, Abd-el-Malik, to mark the earthly spopt from which the prophet Muhammad was said to have ascended to heaven. This spot is presumed to be very close to the site of the three ancient temples, if not above the actual place where the innermost sanctum ("holy of holies"; see below) of the temples once stood.

The beginning of the modern exploration and excavation of historic and holy sites in Palestine in the 19th century did not, therefore, involve attempts to locate the Temple's site. Research from the outset concentrated on the recording and identifying of the visible remains in the area of the Old City and the Temple Mount and on the excavation of areas not part of the Muslim holy places. Edward Robinson, the American biblical scholar who is perhaps considered the founder of biblical archaeology broadly conceived, first traveled to Palestine in 1838. Although he traveled widely in the land, he also spent considerable time exploring the Temple Mount, where he drew attention to a wide arch extending from the S end of the Western Wall (the remains of the great platform built by Herod to support the temple compound). That arch, which became known as Robinson's Arch, is one of the most impressive remains of the Herodian building project.

Other 19th-century explorers followed Robinson's lead. Perhaps most notable among them was Charles Wilson, whose publications in 1865 revealed the existence of another arch leading to the W side of the Temple Mount. Wilson, too, is commemorated for his discovery: the arch is called the Wilson Arch. Several years later, Charles Warren led a systematic exploration, which included soundings on three sides of the Temple Mount. Although he erred in some of his datings and conclusions, his skill as a trained engineer allowed him to produce drawings and diagrams of exceptional quality and of great value to all subsequent research. Among the many other late-19th-century scholars to work in Jerusalem, the German architect Conrad Shick deserves mention because of his topographical studies and also because of his famous reconstruction drawing of the Temple.

For most of the 20th century until the Six Day War of 1967, the ongoing archaeological attention to Jerusalem was directed largely to the many other vestiges of ancient Jerusalem of all periods and not to the Temple Mount itself. Beginning in 1968, an archaeological project of enormous proportions was initiated by Professor Benjamin Mazar on behalf of the Hebrew University and the Israel Exploration Society. The work of Mazar and his assistants (see Mazar 1975; Ben-Dov 1982) gave serious attention to the remains of all periods of occupation in the area excavated. Yet the main focus of this project, which concentrated on the S and W sides of the Temple Mount, was the recovery of architecture and artifacts that could be dated to the time of Herod and thus to the last of the Jerusalem temples.

The archaeological record for the Herodian period is thus extensive. The major features of Herod's ambitious construction projects have been identified, usually with the effect of corroborating the witness of Josephus. But even so, because the Temple Mount is a Muslim holy place, the site of the temple building itself has not been excavated. Furthermore, since Herod's workmen apparently demolished the Zerubbabel Temple, and since the 7th century Muslim architects cleared away the debris of the centuries before they began their work on the Dome of the Rock, it is unlikely that more than the most meager and scattered remains of any of the three ancient temples could ever be recovered. The verbal descriptions of 1 Kings and of Josephus remain far richer sources for our knowledge of at least two of the temples than excavation in Jerusalem could possibly provide.

Despite the limited results or potential of archaeological work related to the Jerusalem Temple in Jerusalem itself, the archaeological recovery of ancient Palestine and of the ancient biblical world has provided a rich array of evidence that indirectly informs the attempts of scholars to recreate the form and comprehend the meaning of the successive temples built in Jerusalem. Excavations of the major sites of the Canaanite and Israelite periods in Syria and Palestine have all sought to identify, describe, and classify the remains of temples found on these sites. The impetus to excavate temples and to establish a typology of temple architecture surely comes in part from the desire to shed light on the origins and nature of the Jerusalem Temple, which cannot be reached directly by archaeological investigation.

The excavations at such Palestinian sites as Megiddo, Ai, Arad, Shechem, Beth-shean, and Hazor have all contributed important data to an understanding of temple architecture in the Bronze and Iron Ages. Similarly, temple remains at several Syrian sites of the Neo-Hittite period, notably Tel Tainat, Alalakh, and Zenjirli, exhibit features that can be compared to the First Temple. Analyses of Semitic temple architecture, particularly as it bears upon the Jerusalem Temple, have appeared sporadically in the past fifty years as independent works and as chapters in archaeological handbooks. Perhaps the first of these comparative studies is that of G. E. Wright, whose relatively brief treatment of Syro-Palestinian temples (1944) was in the context of a series of articles in *Biblical Archaeologist* on the "Significance of the Temple in the Ancient Near East."

Another, notable contribution to this comparative approach is that of Ottosson (1980), who discusses and catalogues the three basic temple types found in Syria-Palestine: the broad house (*Breitraum*), the longroom (*Langhaus*), and the square (*Quadratbau*). Aspects of at least the first two of these, if not of all three, appear to be relevant to the Jerusalem Temple. By far the most comprehensive study thus far is that of T. Busink (1970–80). Busink seems to examine the architecture as well as the contents of the Jerusalem Temple as completely as possible. In so doing, he reviews not only the comparative archaeological evidence and the literary sources but also the plethora of reconstructions proposed by scholars over the ages.

D. Solomonic (First) Temple

1. Davidic Precursors. The biblical sources and the weight of tradition all point clearly to Solomon as the

Israelite monarch responsible for the original construction of the Jerusalem Temple. Nonetheless, as the biblical texts themselves make clear, the idea for this monumental building did not originate with Solomon. Furthermore, the architectural expertise, many of the building materials, and at least some of the skilled labor came from outside Israel's borders; the Phoenicians are clearly associated with the technical and material aspects of the temple-building project (see 1 Kgs 5:17–32). Still, King David is inextricably linked with the conceptualization of that project. But the fate of his vision for a divine dwelling place in Jerusalem took a curious turn, leaving his son Solomon as the biblical figure most prominently associated with the Temple.

When David captured the Jebusite stronghold of Zion, he built a royal palace there with the help of Phoenician workmen and materials (2 Sam 5:7–11). From his new capital, he set out to deal once and for all with the Philistines. Thereupon he brought the holy ark, the visible symbol of Yahweh's presence among the Israelites, up to Jerusalem and eventually, amidst a great celebration, deposited it in a tent that he had arrayed for it (2 Sam 6:17). As the beginning of Nathan's vision indicates, David fully intended to honor Yahweh with a permanent dwelling, for David already had a "house of cedar" while the ark of God was "sitting in the midst of curtains" (2 Sam 7:2). Thus he selected a site, the threshing floor of Araunah, as the site of the Temple. Furthermore, according to 2 Chr 22:1–5, David contacted the Phoenicians and procured all the materials that would be needed for the construction of the Temple. This part of the building process is attributed to Solomon in the Kings account.

The authenticity of the Chronicler's version has been questioned. In light of the known tendency of Chronicles to aggrandize both David and the cult, linking these two key areas of the Chronicler's interest might be construed as a feature of his manipulation of historical data. However, several recent trends in biblical scholarship now tend to validate the Chronicles account. David's ascension to the throne marks the transition of Israelite national existence from a tribal basis through a chieftaincy to a monarchy (see Frick 1985; Flanagan 1989). The political nature of David's kingdom in its imperial extent has been reemphasized (as by Malamat 1982). In that context, the construction of public works, which serve the state on a pragmatic level and also help to consolidate power and establish the new political authority, has been considered in relation to David's extraordinary political and military achievements (Meyers 1987).

The integrative role of monumental (temple) architecture in achieving stability and support in a centralizing state is apparently a fact of state formation that should be attributed to the beginnings of the Israelite monarchy, to the reign of David as well as to that of Solomon. David expanded the priestly bureaucracy according to the two lists of high officials attributed to the time of David (2 Sam 8:15–18 and 2 Sam 20:23–26; see also the Solomonic list, 1 Kgs 4:1–6). Furthermore, David's direct involvement in cultic matters as well as his association with psalmody (and thus liturgy) represent more than personal piety; David was astutely utilizing public cultural (religious) forms that served to garner wide support among his constituency and to indicate the legitimizing presence of Israel's god Yahweh in the transition to statehood. Finally, David's conscriptive policies in securing both temporary and permanent labor forces was surely meant to foster public works. In light of these factors, the procurement of materials recorded in Chronicles seems a likely concomitant of these other features of David's relationship to the projected temple.

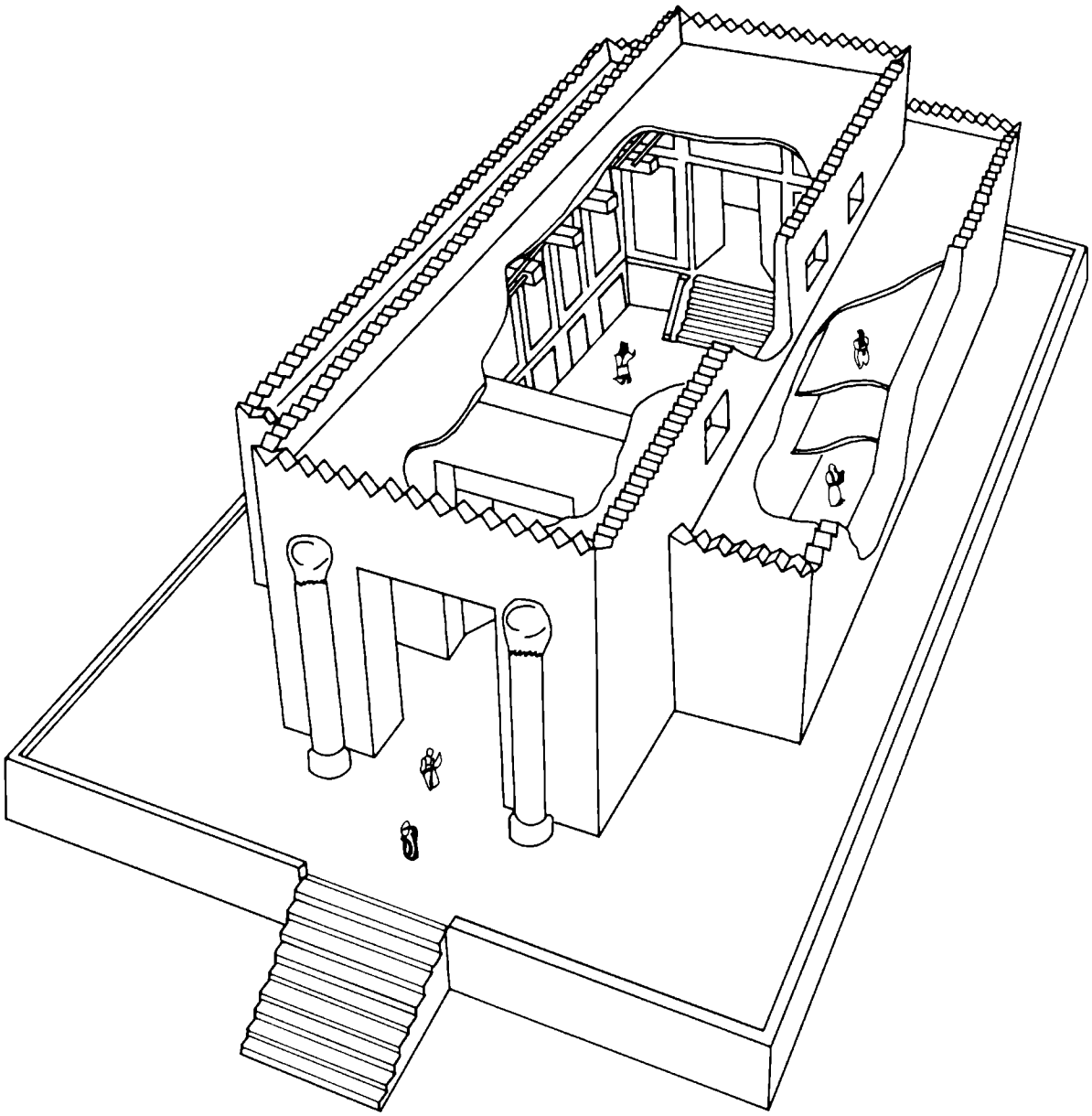
The Temple, once erected, conformed to an array of motifs (see below) that characterized sacred architecture in ancient W Asia. The steps leading to the construction and completion of a sacred building also constituted a distinct sequence of events in the Mesopotamian and NW Semitic world. A five-part thematic arrangement typifies such projects, and Solomon's temple-building efforts adhered to that arrangement (see below). But the David story includes the initial two stages of a temple-building project, and the intentions of David to erect a national sacred monument can be established not only by the biblical evidence but also by reference to such extrabiblical information about temple building. David's role as temple builder included the receipt of initial divine approval (2 Sam 7:3), site selection, and the amassing of materials and probably labor; it remained to Solomon to bring to completion David's strategic plan by overseeing the construction of the building and by carrying out a lavish dedication ceremony.

2. Architectural Features. The basic ground plan of the Temple was a rectangle, 100 cubits long and 50 cubits wide (about 165 feet × 84½ feet). These dimensions do not include the platform upon which it was built (according to Ezek 41:13–14); but they do include the width of the interior and exterior walls as well as the auxiliary chambers and storerooms that surrounded the interior sacred space on three sides.

The inner sacred space was subdivided laterally into three sections. This tripartite plan is similar to that of many of the Canaanite temples excavated in Palestine and also to the Neo-Hittite temples in N Syria. Of the former, the series of LB II temples at Hazor are often cited as having many of the features—proportion, size, or division of space—that characterize the Jerusalem Temple. As for the latter group, the small 9th-century temple adjacent to a royal palace, discovered in 1936 at Tell Tainat (McEwan 1937), has been singled out as the ancient structure that provides the closest parallel to the Jerusalem Temple. That this N example is closer than Palestinian ones is not surprising, considering the N (Phoenician) involvement in the Jerusalem building project and also in light of the fact that the Tainat example is closer in time (later by about a century) than the Canaanite ones, which predate the First Temple by at least several centuries.

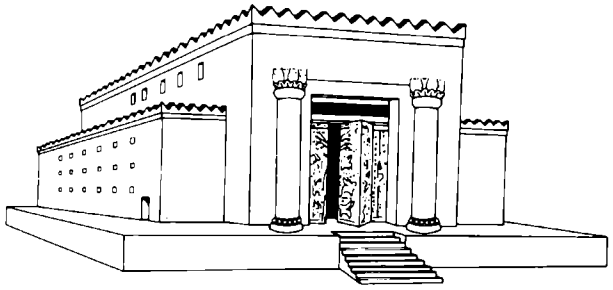
Despite the similarities in plan and in decorative elements to roughly contemporary buildings of ancient W Asia, the Jerusalem Temple has no exact parallels. Some have suggested that, were a 10th-century Phoenician temple to be discovered and excavated, the existence of something approaching an exact parallel might be established. However, there is no reason to expect any sanctuary in the ancient world to replicate another. While current architectural modes were followed by the various structures of a given era, each building had its own idiosyncratic features and variations, in ground plan and decoration as well as in furnishings.

The interior tripartite division created three separate



TEM.01. Reconstruction of Solomon's Temple. *(Drawing by G. Herion, from* Great People of the Bible and How They Lived *[Pleasantville, NY, 1974], p. 191).*

units, each 20 cubits in width. Taken together these units measured 70 cubits long, and 6 cubits separated the first two units and probably also the second from the third. The height of the central part is given as 30 cubits; the innermost part is 20 cubits high, with the difference in height not accounted for in the biblical sources; and the outer section may have also been 30 cubits high, or it may have been atop a platform ascended by stairs (so Ezek 40:49). The biblical information is inconclusive for all three dimensions; but a combined interior space for the



TEM.02. Steven's reconstruction of Solomon's Temple. (*Redrawn from* The Illustrated Bible Dictionary, *p. 1527*).

three parts of about 145½ feet long and 35 feet wide, and 52 feet high in its central part, can be calculated using 20.9 inches as the size of the cubit, more specifically the royal cubit, which was probably the intended unit of linear measure in the biblical temple texts. The 20-cubit width, which seems to represent the largest distance that could be spanned without interior columnation, appears to be a realistic figure (Paul and Dever 1973: 78). The Temple was as large as it could be according to the architectural conventions of its day.

The first section of the interior space of the Temple is designated by the Hebrew word *ʾûlām*, which may be derived from a root *ʾwl*, "to be in front" (cf. Arabic *ʾawala*, "to be first"; so Gray *Kings* OTL, 163) and hence related to the Akkadian term *ellamu*, "front." The variety of the English renderings of *ʾûlām* is striking. The RSV translates it "vestibule" (as in 1 Kgs 7:19; 2 Chr 3:4). Other versions call it "porch," "entrance hall," or "portico." The LXX merely transliterates it. The resistance of the LXX to translate it and the diversity of English renderings reflect an uncertainty about the nature and function of this part of the Temple except that it was the first space that one entered.

Although the biblical information clearly intends that the *ʾûlām* be considered part of the internal space of the sanctuary, certain details of its construction set it apart from the other two internal sections. For one thing, it apparently was not flanked by the adjacent complex of auxiliary chambers of the Temple; it would thus have appeared to be a projection in front of the entire rest of the building. In addition, instructions are given for the paneling of the inner two sections of the interior but do not appear for the *ʾûlām*; this suggests that the walls of the first section may not have been treated so elaborately as those of the other two interior rooms. Further, the construction technique given for the *ʾûlām* (1 Kgs 7:12; cf. 1 Kgs 6:36) is identical to that described for the Temple's public court and also for the great courtyard that formed part of the adjacent palace area. Finally, the doorways to the two inner sections are presented in considerable detail, whereas no doorway at all is specified for the *ʾûlām*, a fact that is related to the omission of any height specifications for this first section.

These distinctions between the two inner chambers of the Temple and this first one suggest that it functioned as a transitional space that shared both in the closed sanctity of the interior and the more open accessibility of the courtyard space surrounding the Temple. It had no doorway and, without a height specified, perhaps no roof. As such it served as an open-air forecourt that gave access to the divine dwelling much as most Near Eastern houses or villas were reached through private courtyards.

This understanding of *ʾûlām* as forecourt is also suggested by the presence of the great pillars, named Jachin and Boaz (2 Kgs 7:15–22), on either side of the entrance to the *ʾûlām*. These somewhat enigmatic pillars were each 18 cubits high (according to 1 Kgs 7:15; 2 Chr 3:35 and Jeremiah in the LXX record the less likely figure of 35 cubits) and were surmounted by ornate double capitals at least another 5 cubits in height. Although the interior space of the Temple was lavishly decorated, the exterior stone walls presented a rather simple and unadorned visual impression. The elaborate bronze pillars, standing at the entrance, were thus the visual link, just as the *ʾûlām* was the spatial link, between the public areas outside the Temple and the private grandeur within. Although some earlier studies comparing the Temple to the Assyrian *bit hilani*, with its two entryway pillars supporting a lintel, suggested otherwise, the pillars were probably freestanding. As such, they can be considered the gateposts flanking the entrance to the forecourt of God's house and signifying the entry of the deity to this earthly dwelling (see Meyers 1983a, and below).

The second and largest section of interior space, measuring 40 cubits long by 20 cubits wide and 30 cubits high, is designated by the term *hêkāl*, or main room. The RSV calls it "nave," an inappropriate term derived from classical architecture in reference to the floor plan of a basilical building, in which the central space (nave) is separated from flanking spaces (aisles) by rows of columns or pillars. As noted above, the *hêkāl* may have originally been the only room of early Semitic shrines, since the term is sometimes used to designate the Temple as a whole (as Jer 7:4, Zech 8:9). Access to this central room from the forecourt (*ʾûlām*) was gained through a 10 cubit-wide doorway spanned by a double-hung door of cypress hinged on olivewood doorposts. The location of the windows of the Temple (2 Kgs 6:4) is not specified. If they indeed provided illumination in the central room they would have been set in the fashion of clerestory windows, high in its walls, above the height of the adjoining chambers.

The large size off this section of the Temple in relation to the other two parts suggests that it was the locus of much of the cultic activity connected with the interior space of the Temple. This supposition is supported by the fact that the internal furnishings of the Temple, which

required regular ritual attention according to Pentateuchal sources, were located in the *hêkāl* (see below).

The innermost chamber is known as the *dĕbîr*, or "inner sanctuary" (RSV; other translations render it "oracle," "Holy of Holies," "shrine," "adytum," "most holy place"), a term that may be derived from the common Hebrew root *dbr* meaning "to speak." If this derivation has any validity, it would reflect the function of the inner chamber as the place where Yahweh's invisible presence or glory rested and from whence God "spoke," that is, gave oracles or responses to those who "inquired of the LORD." Entry to the *dĕbîr*, a perfect cube 20 cubits on a side, was gained through double-hung, olivewood doors.

The doors to both the central and inner chambers and the cedar walls of those two rooms were carved with some combination of cherubim, palm trees, and floral designs; they were then overlaid with gold. The floors of both these rooms were set with cypress boards, which, in one or both of these chambers, is said to have been covered with gold (2 Kgs 6:30). Thus, while the building was constructed of quarry-hewn stone blocks, no stonework would have been seen within these two spaces.

The auxiliary rooms surrounding the interior space are difficult to reconstruct. Apparently a multitude of small chambers of varying widths extended along the two sides and the rear of the Temple. They were arranged in three stories, each story having about thirty rooms. The rooms in the bottom level had an interior width of 5 cubits, and each succeeding level was one cubit wider than the one below, apparently because the thickness of the walls was decreased at the roof level of each of the upper two levels to allow for insertion of the roof beams (1 Kgs 6:6). Each level was 5 cubits high; their combined height was probably somewhat more than 15 cubits, if roofing thickness is added. Still, this auxiliary space reached little more than halfway up the 30 cubit high walls of the *hêkāl* (and *dĕbîr*). Access to all these rooms was apparently from the S side (1 Kgs 6:8), although Ezekiel reports entrances on both sides (Ezek 41:5–6). The orientation of the Temple is not specified, but this detail about the chambers indicates an E–W orientation (cf. also Ezek 8:16).

The outdoor space surrounding the Temple is given little attention in the Kings account except for the mention of an "inner court" (1 Kgs 6:36), which was constructed of "three rows of hewn stones and a row of cedar beams," just as was the great court of the nearby royal palace, and also the forecourt or "vestibule" (*ʾûlām*) of the Temple itself (1 Kgs 7:12). The paucity of information about the areas exterior to the building, along with the fact that the royal palace, with a very large courtyard space, was apparently adjacent to the temple precinct, suggests that the two precincts, temple and palace together, formed one very large royal-cultic compound. It is not clear how one moved between these two parts of the center of government of ancient Israel nor how access was gained to one or both from outside the compound. Presumably there were gates, as several passages in Ezekiel indicate. However, the references in Ezekiel to a complex series of gates, courtyards, and other structures may reflect the cumulative results of the renovations and rearrangements of space carried out at various times after the reign of Solomon.

3. Temple Furnishings. The elaborate temple structure with its interior decorations of costly, carved wooden panels and doors, overlaid with gold, did not sit empty. As a house for the divine resident, the interior was furnished, as was the courtyard in front of it. The interior furnishings were made of wood and covered with gold, while bronze is the material that dominated both the pillars (Jachin and Boaz) just outside the forecourt and the appurtenances situated in the courtyard.

The large central chamber (*hêkāl*) contained a number of different ritual furnishings. A small golden altar, probably made of cedar (1 Kgs 6:20) and used for incense, apparently stood in front of the entrance to the innermost chamber. No information about its size or location is found in the temple texts of 1 Kings; perhaps the information about the placement of the incense altar in the Tabernacle (Exod 30:6) is relevant. The lampstands, also made of gold (presumably laid over wood), were situated in two groups, five on the north and five on the south. These objects were probably hollow cylindrical stands surmounted by multi-spouted lamps (1 Kgs 7:49) and not the seven-branched stands so familiar from postbiblical art and as suggested by the Pentateuchal description (Exod 25:31–40; 37:17–24) of the single lampstand (menorah) that stood in the Tabernacle (*IDBS*, 586–87; Meyers 1979). A third kind of furnishing was the small table, also made of gold or perhaps just overlaid with gold, upon which the "bread of the Presence" was placed.

The cubical space of the inner sanctum (*dĕbîr*) was filled by two enormous cherubim, carbed of olivewood and covered with gold (1 Kgs 6:23–28). Each had a 10-cubit wing span, and each was 10 cubits high. The protective outspread wings of these composite beings sheltered the holiest object of all, the "Ark of the covenant of Yahweh" (1 Kgs 6:19), which was the specific representation of God's presence within the elaborate and richly decorated temple-dwelling. (On the question of whether the tabernacle was stored or erected therein, see TABERNACLE.)

A series of bronze appurtenances, of spectacular dimensions and design, were placed outside the Temple building. All were said to have been fashioned by Hiram of Tyre, who belonged to the tribe of Naphtali on his mother's side (1 Kgs 7:13–14). The two pillars just outside the entrance to the forecourt (*ʾûlām*) have already been mentioned.

An enormous basin, 5 cubits high and 10 cubits in diameter, was placed in the court at the SE corner of the temple building. The 1 Kings temple text calls it the "molten sea" (1 Kgs 7:23) or simply "the sea" (1 Kgs 7:24; cf. 2 Kgs 16:17). Elsewhere it is designated "bronze sea" (2 Kgs 25:13; 1 Chr 18:8; Jer 52:17). The basin rested upon four sets of three oxen, each set facing outward towards one of the four directions of the compass. The function of this imposing vessel is not specified, although 2 Chr 4:6 indicates that it was for priestly washing. Clearly its great size and elaborate ornamentation bespeak its symbolic value. Although the texts do not attempt to explain what that value might be, scholars have long assumed that the sea is related to the role of the "sea" or *apsû* in Canaanite and Babylonian mythology, with its vestiges in the Hebrew Bible (*ARI*, 148–50).

A series of ten objects, each 4 cubits by 4 cubits and 3 cubits high and each supporting a basin ("laver"), were also placed in the court, five to the south of the Temple and

five to the north (1 Kgs 7:39). RSV "stands" does not properly convey the complexity of these objects, which rested on four wheels and which were decorated with an extensiive series of faunal (lions, oxen, cherubim) and floral (palm trees, wreaths) motifs (1 Kgs 7:27–37). Again, the use of these ornate and movable objects is not specified in 1 Kings, although 2 Chr 4:6 relates the lavers, which are said to have had a capacity of 40 baths (ca. 243 gallons), to the purification of certain sacrifices. The fact that Ezekiel omits mention of these wheeled stands accords with the fact that they no longer existed in his day.

In addition to these major cultic objects, the Kings account also lists a number of subsidiary bronze objects made by Hiram, presumably for the courtyard ritual (1 Kgs 7:40). Finally, the text mentions a detailed set of golden objects and fittings meant for the interior ritual (1 Kgs 7:48–50).

Amidst this elaborate array of cultic appurtenances described in 1 Kings, specifications for a courtyard altar are strangely absent. However, outside the temple texts themselves, the Deuteronomistic narratives assume that a bronze altar stood in the courtyard since the days of Solomon (1 Kgs 8:22, 64 and 9:25; cf. 2 Kgs 16:14). The parallel temple texts in 2 Chronicles include a large (20 cubits square and 10 cubits high) bronze altar (2 Chr 4:1); and Ezekiel of course describes an altar but probably one that came from later in the monarchic period (Ezek 43:13–17).

It is difficult to imagine, given the attention to symmetrical arrangements, that the "molten sea" at the SE corner of the Temple would not have had a counterpart, presumably the altar, at the NE corner. In the description of Solomon's dedicatory sacrifices (1 Kgs 8:64), the sanctification of space for sacrifice in the *middle* of the courtyard area is reported, an act that took place because the altar itself was too small for all the offerings of the occasion. Perhaps the middle space was available because the enormous appurtenances, sea and altar, were already in place on the N and S sides of the front of the Temple. In any case, it is unlikely that the omission of the altar from the temple texts of 1 Kings is the result of the absence of an altar, which was the most basic item of temple appurtenances in the ANE. The explanation for this omission perhaps lies in the role of Solomon's predecessor in the temple project. David had already built an altar at the place he had chosen for the Temple and had proceeded to offer sacrifices there (2 Sam 24:21, 25; cf. 1 Chr 21:18–22:1), thus initiating the altar and, in a sense, temple sacrifice long before Solomon's dedicatory feast.

4. Role in National Life. Solomon's workers, according to 1 Kgs 6:37–38, completed their monumental task in seven years, between the fourth and eleventh years of his reign. This is a relatively short construction time, considering the grandiose nature of the building and its furnishings. Some scholars thus feel that the details of fabrication are exaggerated, that the extent of costly (gold and bronze) decorative elements and cultic objects are beyond reasonable possibilities, and that the sheer size of certain aspects of the building and its associated features is improbable. Such objections to the biblical description are difficult to evaluate. However, archaeological discoveries of architectural modes and artistic motifs in ancient W Asia tend to authenticate the biblical record of the Temple in its conception if not in its scope. Whether or not the text preserves an accurate picture of the Temple, the idea of an extraordinary and precious sacred structure located on Mt. Zion in Jerusalem is emphatically presented in the Kings account. Later biblical materials only serve to intensify the sense of the building's magnitude and grandeur.

Because of its prominence in the text, and because of the way its basic form and decoration can be linked to Iron Age styles, the Temple of Solomon clearly played a central role in the emergent national state. As a house for God, its role can of course be evaluated in terms of the religion of ancient Israel. However, to do so without also giving attention to its part in the economic and political dynamics of the Davidic-Solomonic empire would be both to underestimate its religious value and to lose sight of the integral nature of the religious and sociopolitical spheres in the ancient world.

a. Religious Symbolism. The ability of the Temple to play an important role in the national and international life of the imperial kingdom of Solomon lay in its conceptualization as a divine dwelling place on earth. Although the God of Israel was viewed as transcendent, and God's presence was hardly restricted to a designated place or places, the need for the assurance of divine availability led the Israelites, like all other peoples, to establish locales in which access to the transcendent deity could be secured. The nearly universal human willingness to commit substantial resources to the construction of sacred buildings, the maintenance of expensive cultic practices, and the provision for extensive priestly personnel attests to the profound nature of humanity's insecurity about the nearness of divine power and protection (Levine 1968).

The presence of God in Jerusalem was all the more critical at the period of sociopolitical transition (see below) at the outset of the monarchy. The great risks involved in the military and diplomatic endeavors of the earliest biblical monarchs motivated them to establish new visual cultic forms, or emphasize existing ones, so that the availability of divine support for these ventures could be assured. The ability of the Temple to convince both the rulers and the ruled of its efficacy in representing God's presence rested upon its incorporation of features that were part of the symbolic language of sacred art and architecture in the world of the Israelites.

The symbolic nature of the Jerusalem Temple, as for all major shrines in the ancient world, depended upon a series of features that, taken together, established the sacred precinct as being located at the cosmic center of the universe, at the place where heaven and earth converge and thus from where God's control over the universe is effected. When the royal capital is brought into this sphere of divine activity through the construction of a temple, the regime acquires the might involved in the heavenly arena. A series of visual symbols, rooted in the mythic consciousness of the Israelites and their neighbors, provided the affective power of this notion of cosmic center. Evidence for the Israelite understanding of the symbols of the sacred center comes not only from the details of temple construction but also from the poetic celebration of Zion in psalmody and prophecy.

Perhaps chief among the symbols expressing the sacred

centrality of the Temple is the idea that Zion, and the Temple built there, is the cosmic mountain (Clifford 1972; 1984; Levenson 1985: 111–75). The temple building, on a mountain and a platform, replicates the heavenly mountain of Yahweh (cf. Ps 48:1–4) and also its earlier manifestation at Sinai. It also reaches back to the beginning of time, to the creation of the world (cf. the seven years of Solomonic temple-building activity in relation to the seven days of creation). The foundation of the Temple thus becomes a protological event, going back to the beginnings of time and established by God, not by either David or Solomon (see Ps 78:69–70).

Other symbols constitutive of the cosmic order made visual and vital in the Temple can be identified in the exuberant presence of floral and faunal motifs in the interior decoration of the building and in the construction and decoration of its appurtenances. The trees carved on the walls, the groves on the Temple Mount, and perhaps even the sacred lampstands, are part of the symbolic expression of the mythic Tree of Life that stood on the Cosmic Mountain, and in the paradisial garden at creation. Similarly, the waters of the Molten Sea and the great fountains of the deep present in God's habitation on Zion (Ps 46:4) contribute to the notion of the Temple as cosmic center.

The convergence of heavenly temple and earthly temple, with the concomitant reality of God's presence, is further conveyed by the overriding concern to make the Temple a fit dwelling place for the divine sovereign. The degree to which the quality and scope of the temple complex and its objects manifest the finest and costliest materials affects the way in which the most exalted of inhabitants is understood to be nearby in this house. The very terminology used for the building ("house," "palace") and the emphasis on the extraordinary nature of its design and fabrication together provide symbolic statements that God is in residence on Zion. The furnishings meet the "needs" of the building's occupant, with the glory of those furnishings signifying the Glory within.

The notion of purity associated with the Temple likewise intensifies the sense of divine nearness. The Temple precinct, its contents, and its personnel exhibit a gradation of materials used and of cultic acts performed which can be reconstructed in part from the Kings account and in part from the evidence of the tabernacle materials (Haran 1978: 175–88, 205–29). Every category of structure, furniture, ritual, and human attendants is arrayed in a continuum, from the profane territory outside the sacred precinct, to the somewhat holy and pure character of the courtyard area with its bronze implements and its access to the public, to the holier and hence more pure and precious gold-adorned *hêkāl*, to which only certain priests had access, and finally to the inner sanctum, the place where God's glory rests. The innermost room was the essence of holiness and thus off-limits to all but the chief priest, only once a year and only after he attained an exceptional state of purity (at least in Second Temple times).

This carefully arranged gradation involves a consciousness that the closer one gets to the inner sanctum, the nearer one is to the perfection of the divine presence. Even if an ordinary individual can never approach the holiest place, the existence of the concentric circles, as it were, of increasing holiness signified that the Holiest One of all could be found at the sacred center.

The purity of the sacred center involved physical cleanliness. But it also involved the moral perfection associated with the nature of Yahweh. The Psalmist who expressed the need for both "clean hands" and a "pure heart" in order to ascend the Temple Mount (Ps 24:3–4) points to the nature of the cosmic center as moral center (Levenson 1985: 172). God's presence in the inner sanctum, in the last analysis, is symbolized by the covenant document, the "two tables of stone" contained in the ark that was placed under the protective wings of the cherubim and that represented the moral imperatives of the Israelite pact with Yahweh, according to the Deuteronomistic record of the Temple dedication (1 Kgs 8:9). As important as the ideas of cosmic center and divine accessibility are for understanding the role of the Temple, so too is the association of sanctuary with covenant and the concomitant establishment of social order through law (Lundquist 1988; and see below).

b. Political Function. David's intention to construct a major sacred edifice in Jerusalem and Solomon's compliance with his father's plan virtually from the outset of his long reign represent neither acts of personal piety nor arbitrary quests for personal aggrandizement nor the considerate provision of divine availability to any Israelite whose heart and hands would turn towards the Temple Mount. The Jerusalem Temple, in dimensions alone if not also in decoration, was apparently one of the largest and most beautiful structures of its kind in ancient W Asia. It is not a coincidence that the construction of this sacred complex is associated with the formation of a national state that, for less than a century, occupied a unique position in the ongoing power struggle that for millennia has characterized the narrow strip of land between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea. The construction of the Temple has typically been seen as a by-product, and a somewhat overblown one at that, of Davidic and Solomonic political might. It now may be more accurate to understand the Jerusalem Temple as an essential part of state formation rather than as an ornament of such a process.

The Davidic-Solomonic state not only unified the tribal groups inhabiting the highlands from Upper Galilee to the N Negeb; it also extended its domain to the surrounding regions of Syria and Transjordan. Jerusalem became the capital of a nation-state squeezed between the Jordan Rift and the Mediterranean. That in itself was a status not easily won in the Levant. But Jerusalem became more than the capital of a small kingdom; for one fleeting moment in the long history of the Near East, Jerusalem was the seat of an empire, albeit an empire of modest proportions in comparison with the territories periodically controlled by the ancient superpowers of Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia.

That David set out to acquire such extensive territory when he began his military forays is impossible to determine. Yet the momentum of his military strategy and his charismatic leadership brought victory on the battlefield and carried him further and further afield. This success can hardly be comprehended unless it was the result of careful and astute advance planning. David succeeded by the end of his reign in establishing a supranational state—

a centralized polity with a ruling bureaucracy that exercised a monopoly of force over a three-tiered constituency of immediate supporters, the Israelite tribal groups, and imperial subjects.

David's ability to establish an imperial domain and Solomon's success in sustaining it are both linked to the way in which their policies and sovereign acts succeeded in convincing their subjects that obedience to royal dominion would be amply rewarded by peace, stability, and prosperity. The initial force of arms to achieve subject compliance had to be replaced or accompanied by effective assurance that the monarchic authority also had *the right* to exercise power. Throughout ANE history, divine sanction has been invoked to legitimize that right. Communication of the deity's approval of the ruling power and involving the populace in the goals of the state were characteristically effected by the construction of a monumental religious building or, if a new dynastic power was emerging or a major political shift was taking place, by the renewal or renovation of an existing structure.

Recent research has identified the various features of a typology of temple building that obtained throughout the ANE and has shown that the Jerusalem Temple partook of the dynamics of that typology. For example, the series of steps leading to the completion of a legitimate temple, which the deity will approve and agree to inhabit, can be identified in the biblical texts relating to the Jerusalem Temple. David initiated these steps; Solomon repeated some of them and completed the ones David had been unable to carry out. In so doing he assured the legitimacy of the shrine.

The legitimacy of the shrine as a House of Yahweh in turn gave legitimacy to the monarchy. It helped to convince those whose resources and labor contributed materials and manpower to the temple project that their service was divinely ordained. But their contributions were not simply in the service of a coercive bureaucracy. The temple typology that heralded the presence and sanction of the deity in the cosmic center symbolized and secured by the Temple included the establishment of just rule through law, and hence social stability. The culminating feature of this typology was the belief that the construction of a major temple would ultimately bring peace and prosperity to all the inhabitants of the realm.

Many of the aspects of the religious symbolism of the Jerusalem Temple discussed above constitute elements in this typology of temple-building. Holy mountain, cosmic center, living waters, sacred vegetation—all of these features are visual indications of divine presence and of God's participation in the fortunes of the nation-state ruled from the temple-palace complex. The sacred precincts on the Temple Mount constituted a visual revelation, a signification of Yahweh's potent availability. The overwhelming dominance of verbal revelation in scripture and in post-biblical Judaism and Christianity makes it difficult to appreciate the visual component of biblical religious experience (Levenson 1985: 145–51). Yet the temple materials in the Bible record a visual reality that conveyed on an affective, nonverbal level the accessibility and the revelatory might of the unseen God of Israel.

Such interrelated religious and political significance was operant for all three components of the Davidic-Solomonic realm. The subject peoples were perhaps the most difficult of all to convince of Yahweh's (and thus the Davidides') supremacy. For them, the Jerusalem Temple's striking reality communicated the message of Yahweh's presence and power in the language of visual symbolism and through the modes of design and decoration that were part of their own cultural vocabularies. Much has been made of the Davidic and Solomonic "borrowing" of Phoenician workers and artistry, as if Israel lacked indigenous artisans and creativity. That may be so; but there is a certain political genius involved in appropriating architectural conventions to form a visual idiom that would have been meaningful to the widest possible population.

The erection of Jachin and Boaz (see above) is a case in point. The two gateposts flanked the forecourt to the Temple, just as the monumental gateways of many major Near Eastern cities marked the entrance to the sacred precincts. As the stone-carved reliefs adorning some of these gateways show, the completion of a temple was marked by a grand procession and celebration by which the statue of the god of the new temple was taken through the city, into the sacred compound, and finally into the niche for the cult statue in the inner sanctum (as at Khorsabad, Carchemish, Karatepe; see Barnett 1981). The two pillars in the Jerusalem Temple, along with the 1 Kings 8 description of the bringing of the ark into the Temple and the accompanying extravagant dedicatory feast, belongs to this scheme of introduction: bringing the deity into the new abode. Once installed within, the pillars as gateposts remain highly visible, signalling the legitimizing presence of Yahweh in the Temple to all subsequent onlookers. For Solomon, those onlookers included the array of emissaries and wives from subject peoples or from other foreign peoples in uneasy alliance with the ascendant Israelite ruler.

These religious-political dynamics clearly functioned on an economic level as well. The Temple, with its treasures and treasuries, was a national bank of sorts. It was a stronghold, safely situated in the most defensible part of the Jerusalem landscape. The extracted tribute of the peoples conquered by David, perhaps referred to in the terse comment in 1 Kgs 7:51 that Solomon brought into the temple treasures all the precious materials that David had dedicated to Yahweh, became part of the national assets. Presumably, some of the tribute collected by Solomon also made its way into the temple precincts. The some ninety side chambers of the Temple provided storage for more than the cultic objects used in the rituals of the *hêkāl* and the court. They also held at least some of the revenues of the state, be they the tribute of foreigners or the sacrificial surplus brought by Israelites. The sacred space of the temple building itself, off-limits to all but a small group of priests, offered maximum security for the resources of the realm.

As a state institution, the Temple thus represented the intersection of the ideological values and religious beliefs of the nation with the social, political, and economic aspects of its organization. As a monumental public work marking the transition from tribal league to nation-state, it was instrumental in establishing both divine and royal power. The fact that Temple and palace occupied adjacent areas in Jerusalem does not mean, as some have supposed,

that the Temple was merely a royal chapel for Solomon and his court. Rather, its smaller size bespoke the fact that it was not meant as a physical place for multitudes. But it was a place that multitudes could see in its conspicuous location near the palace. With its visual symbols of holiness that could be comprehended by all, both Israelites and foreigners were apprised of Yahweh's revelatory and legitimizing sovereignty.

E. First Temple After Solomon

In light of its integral and integrating role in the dynamics of Israelite national life, it comes as no surprise that the ongoing history of the Temple is related to both internal and external aspects of the history of the southern kingdom, Judah, which retained Jerusalem as its capital and the Temple as its sacred center following the dissolution of the united monarchy and the loss of subject territories after Solomon's death. Incursions by foreign powers often meant the diminution of the Temple's resources and thus of the state's vitality. Only five years after Solomon's death, his son Rehoboam was forced to relinquish quantities of treasure to the invading Shishak of Egypt (1 Kgs 14:25–26) while at the same time becoming embroiled in armed struggle with the sister kingdom Israel to the north.

Early in the 9th century, Asa removed all the silver and gold "that were left" (1 Kgs 15:18) in the Temple stores, a statement implying that these resources had already been depleted. Asa presented these treasures to the Syrian ruler Ben-Hadad in order to secure a Syrian liaison against the northern kingdom. Later in the 9th century, Joash drew upon temple revenues to institute extensive structural repairs to the divine dwelling (2 Kgs 12:1–16), a restoration project effected with some difficulty. No explanation for priestly resistance to Joash's orders is offered in the Kings account. Yet the looming Syrian threat may have meant that the nationalistic statement made by the temple work seemed unwise to some factions. Indeed, Joash eventually emptied the temple treasuries of its resources, consisting mainly of the votive offerings of his three predecessors, in order to appease Hazael of Syria. Nearly a century later, Hezekiah presented Sennacherib with a tribute consisting of all the silver from Yahweh's house (and from the royal palace too); he also stripped off the gold trim of the temple doors and doorposts (2 Kgs 18:14–16). The latter were adornments that Hezekiah himself had commissioned for the Temple and perhaps are indicative of other refurbishings likely to have accompanied his purge of the Temple of the alien elements introduced by his predecessors.

Additions or changes to the Temple and its furnishings often reflected the political entanglements of the Judean rulers. Normally viewed through the tendentious perspective of the Deuteronomistic historian as syncretistic acts disloyal to Yahweh, the bringing of foreign cultic elements into the Temple can also be seen as strategic religio-political accommodations to foreign powers. Ahaz, for example, may have been currying favor with Tiglath-pileser III of Assyria and with the powerful Assyrian gods by installing a new altar fashioned exactly after one that he saw on a state visit to the Assyrian monarch in Damascus (2 Kgs 16:10–16; cf. Ezekiel's description, 43:13–17). Ahaz also altered other items of the courtyard appurtenances, and he removed some post-Solomonic architectural additions apparently in compliance with Assyrian standards (2 Kgs 16:18).

Similarly, Manasseh installed various non-Yahwistic cultic elements into the Temple and its courts (2 Kgs 21:3–5), actions that may have troubled Judean loyalists but that were also strategic ploys in the face of Assyrian hegemony. Josiah later could reverse Manasseh's deeds, in his radical centralizing purge; but he could do so because of the effective demise of Assyrian might by the late 8th century. Josiah's extensive temple restoration project (2 Kgs 23:3–7; 2 Chr 34:8–13) was a nationalistic move. He strengthened his Jerusalem power base by ridding the sacred center of foreign elements and thus establishing the renewed legitimacy of his rule under Yahweh alone.

In the many centuries between Solomon's implementation of the bold and visionary temple project of King David and its destruction at the hand of the Babylonians, the Temple underwent countless changes, some directly recorded in the Bible, some tangentially indicated, and others no doubt left unmentioned. All of these alterations were related to some extent to the waxing and waning of monarchic power. It is no accident that the biblical report of the Babylonian conquest of Jerusalem records the burning of the Temple as the first in the litany of conquering deeds perpetrated upon the Judeans and their institutions (2 Kgs 25:8–9; Jer 52:12–13). The royal palace, which had probably also seen countless renovations over the centuries since Solomon built the "House of the Forest of Lebanon" (1 Kgs 7:2) and which probably was as likely a source of booty as the Temple, was also burned, along with other palatial dwellings. Yet only the sacking of the Temple is recorded.

The Deuteronomic historian, in describing the loss of the Temple furnishings, is reporting the demise of the political state more than would a description of the sacking of the palace or its furnishings. The removal of the pillars of bronze receives special attention (2 Kgs 23:13, 16–17) in the sad tale of the devastation of Jerusalem. Just as the erection of the two pillars marked the legitimizing entry of Yahweh into the earthly dwelling, the toppling of those highly symbolic elements of the Temple signified the loss of political autonomy in the eyes of the Babylonian forces, the surviving Judean bureaucracy, and the remnant of the people.

F. Temple of Zerubbabel

The First Temple was subject to continual alterations, which paralleled political shifts, during its four centuries of existence. So too the successor structure in Jerusalem cannot be conceived of a single building, standing unaltered from the late 6th century until the next catastrophic destruction at the hands of the Romans in 70 C.E. The shifting fortunes of the postexilic community are mirrored in the complex architectural history of the Second Temple. As for the First Temple, not all of the inevitable modifications are preserved in the ancient sources. Yet some of those changes, especially in the late centuries B.C.E. after the rise of Hellenism in the Near East, can be detected.

The most radical change of all, associated with the grandiose building schemes of Herod the Great in the last decades of the 1st century B.C.E., resulted in a temple building that was not technically a renovation: it was an

entirely new structure. Consequently, the Herodian Temple constituted in fact a "Third Temple," although it is often subsumed under the designation "Second Temple" since there was no chronological interruption of consequence involved when Herod built a spectacular new edifice to replace the Temple dating back to Zerubbabel.

1. Postexilic Rebuilding. The ruins of the First Temple remained desolate on the Temple Mount for the long decades of Babylonian rule over Judah. However, the conquest of the Babylonians by Cyrus the Great in 538 B.C.E. had momentous consequences for the inhabitants of Judea, now called (or soon to be called) the province of Yehud, as well as for those living in exile. Persian imperial policy under Cyrus involved granting more autonomy to subject peoples than had either the Babylonians or Assyrians before him. As for other displaced groups, Cyrus encouraged the Judean exiles to return to their homeland. An official edict, recorded on a clay cylinder and echoed in two biblical versions (in Hebrew in Ezra 1:1–4; in Aramaic in Ezra 6:1–5), permitted not only the return of the exiles but also the rebuilding of the Temple. The latter aspect of Persian policy was tantamount to restoring a measure of political autonomy to the Judeans, albeit without the restoration of a royal house, even though the man eventually appointed governor, Zerubbabel, was a Davidic scion.

The temple rebuilding project began with a restoration of the altar, the amassing of materials and workers, and a celebration marking the renewal of the foundations of the Temple (Ezra 3). Cyrus had already allowed the surviving temple treasures brought away by Nebuchadnezzar to be returned to Jerusalem (Ezra 1:5–11). Yet the project was stalled, apparently for local political reasons. It remained for Darius I to reinstitute Cyrus' encouragement of the Jerusalem Temple restoration. With the support of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, the restoration work was begun again in the fall of 520 B.C.E. The Temple was soon completed and was rededicated by 516 or 515, just about exactly at the end of the seventy years of desolation that prophetic tradition foresaw as the fate of the sinful Judeans and their Temple (Jer 25:11–12; 29:10; cf. Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8* AB, 117–18).

The biblical information about the Temple restored under the leadership of Zerubbabel and the high priest Joshua (Hag 1:1, 12; 2:1) comes mainly from the contemporary witness of the two prophets who encouraged the project and also from the somewhat later record in Ezra. None of these sources provide much by way of concrete data about the dimensions and quality of the renewed edifice; it is perhaps ironic that the temple building that survived the longest—almost exactly five centuries—evoked the least descriptive material in the literary record. Presumably, the surviving foundations and rubble of walls, along with the availability of the Deuteronomic temple descriptions as well as the Pentateuchal tabernacle texts, guided the supervisors of the construction work. The outstanding richness of the Solomonic structure may not have been replicated. Yet it is reasonable to believe that the ground plan of the Zerubbabel building followed that of its predecessors; and the availability of precious temple items carried to Babylon in 587 allowed for a return to at least some semblance of the First Temple's splendor.

The physical attributes of the Zerubbabel Temple are elusive; but the symbolic qualities survive in a prominent way in postexilic prophecy, especially in the unique set of visions found in First Zechariah. The visionary materials found in Zech 1:7–6:15 contain many of the symbolic features associated with the First Temple. Often called the "temple visions," their very sequence and structure envision a universe with the Jerusalem Temple at its sacred center (see Meyers and Meyers *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8* AB, liv–lix, and chart 8). Further, the revelatory nature of the visions constitutes the equivalence, in a community without a royal leader, of the preconstruction revelation to the king that characterized Near Eastern temple-building typology and that was present for both David and Solomon.

Other features of the envisioned Temple in Zechariah contribute additional evidence of its symbolic holiness and centrality. The association of the Temple with law and justice (covenant and order) is present in the charge to the chief priestly official (Zech 3:7) who will have access to heavenly justice at the Temple as sacred intersection of earth and heaven. The necessary purity of the high priest involves cleanliness and also the removal of all iniquity (Zech 3:3). The concern for righteousness and justice is also part of the symbolic message of the flying scroll in the fifth vision (Zech 5:1–4). The enigmatic stones of Zech 3:9 (cf. 4:7 and 4:10) participate in the language of temple foundation (see *Haggai, Zechariah* AB, 204–7, 246–48, 253–54), particularly in the paradigms of temple refoundation, in which a new ruler and polity create anew, on an existing temple site, a sanctuary that has existed since the beginnings of time. The golden lampstand of the central vision (Zech 4:1–6a, 10b–14) merges the prophet's knowledge of First Temple and of Tabernacle appurtenances. It introduces the richness and purity of an extravagantly golden object, and it invokes the notion of sacred tree in its portrayal of two olive trees flanking the lampstand.

The oracular materials in Zechariah, which frame the visions and are also integrated into them, also contain vivid imagery of the cosmic center. Prominent among such passages are those heralding the "great mountain" (Zech 4:7), the "Mountain of Yahweh" (Zech 8:3), and the "Mountain of Holiness" (Zech 8:3). These designations echo the literary and visual idioms of temple building found throughout the ANE as well as the many biblical references, notably in Psalms, linking temple and mountain and thus portraying the Temple as the embodiment of the cosmic mountain.

Finally, the notion of prosperity and fecundity that result from the construction of a divinely ordained and approved temple, in which the deity's presence is thus secured, is an integral part of the message of both Zechariah and Haggai. Haggai contrasts the relative impoverishment of the inhabitants of Yehud (Hag 1:6, 10–11) with the bounty that will obtain once the temple project is underway (Hag 2:10–19). Zechariah, too, equates anticipated prosperity (as in Zech 2:8–9 and especially 8:9–13) with the restored divine presence in the Temple (and thus throughout the land) and the attendant blessings. As for Solomon centuries before, and as for countless monarchs of the ANE, the legitimation of a political entity signified by the deity's dwelling and presence meant social stability and economic growth.

The clear presence of typological and symbolic elements of temple building for the postexilic period is all the more significant because these elements retained their value for the inhabitants of Yehud in the face of the absence of a crucial element. The construction of a monumental sacred structure, expressed in the cosmic vocabulary of both texts and artistry, was characteristically and fundamentally associated with state formation or state renewal. For the restoration community, such full political autonomy was precluded. Yet the Persian overlord saw the value in granting near autonomy to this and other subject peoples by encouraging the building of local temples. This policy was intended to secure loyalty and also stability, since the renewal of legal authority was a commitment feature of the revival of a sacred structure.

Whatever the strategic aims of Darius' policy may have been, the effect for the restoration community was the transition of a Yahweh-centered people organized in an autonomous nation-state to that of a Yahweh-centered community lacking full political autonomy. The Zerubbabel Temple stood alone, with no adjacent royal compound. It thus gave legitimacy to a new form of community identity that was not linked, except in eschatological vision, to monarchic rule. The construction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem validated a community consisting of people present in Yehud and also those still in exile; and it secured the authority of the community ideals contained in the legal code or Torah promulgated as law under Persian encouragement.

2. Post-Zerubbabel Alterations. Virtually no information about the fortunes of Zerubbabel's Temple in the centuries immediately after its dedication is available. Occasional passages in Nehemiah refer to ritual acts associated with the Temple (Neh 10:32–39; cf. 12:44–47). Some elaborations of the Second Temple may have accompanied the revitalization of Jerusalem and its fortifications in the mid-5th century. No record of such activity exists except for the cryptic notation that before setting out on his mission, Nehemiah secured permission to procure lumber for his projected work in building the walls of Jerusalem, his own house, and also the "gates of the fortress of the house" (Neh 2:8). If the "house" is the Temple, then some changes were surely made in the time of Nehemiah.

The use of "fortress," apparently in relationship to the Temple, is one of several references in Nehemiah to features of the Temple precinct that are unknown from earlier sources. Another cites a chamber prepared for Eliashub the priest in the "courts of the house of God" (Neh 13:7); this chamber seems to be distinct from the storage chambers attached to the temple building itself (as probably in Neh 12:44; 13:4–5). These features may have been present since the days of Zerubbabel, or they could equally represent alterations carried out thereafter.

Similarly, the broad area (Neh 8:1) in front of the Water Gate where Ezra read the law to the gathered assembly may have been an outer court of the Temple. The reading of the Torah of Yahweh would presumably have taken place close to God's residence (so 1 Esdr 9:3). However, the gate and court system of the refortified city and of the temple compound within cannot readily be understood. Although only the inner court is mentioned for the First Temple at its inception, sources for the late Second Temple refer to a variety of inner and outer courtyard areas, a picture in accord with Nehemiah's allusions to structures for priestly use situated at some distance from the Temple.

Following the Greek conquest of Palestine, a succession of rival factions seeking to control Jerusalem left their mark on the appearance of the Temple. As the Seleucids began to dominate the Ptolemies, who had held sway in Jerusalem at the outset of the Hellenistic age, the high priest Onias II, who backed the Seleucids, gained power. Early in the 2d century, Onias' son Simon apparently made extensive repairs to the Temple under Seleucid sponsorship (so Sir 50:1–21). The report in Ecclesiasticus invokes cosmic language (fountains of water, holy trees) and also makes it clear that the renovations were really in the nature of fortifications.

The security of the Temple Mount and of the Jewish community under the Oniads was in jeopardy, and internal strife among Jewish factions made the Temple vulnerable to the advancing Seleucid forces. The consequent seizure of Jerusalem in 168 B.C.E. by Antiochus IV is recorded in several ancient sources (1 Maccabees; Daniel; Josephus), all of which deplore the desecration of the Temple perpetrated by the Seleucids. Antiochus IV intended to eradicate Jewish culture and replace it with Hellenistic culture; and he took steps to do so by placing in the Temple, at the focus of Jewish life, a statue of Zeus Olympius. This outrageous religio-political act triggered a successful revolt, the Maccabean War; and the purification of the Temple marked the restoration of Jewish autonomy in Judea. The relatively brief span of the Hasmonean rule in Jerusalem was marked by internal strife, the vagaries of which apparently saw repeated although minor adjustments to the Temple. The nature of these adjustments was that of increasing the fortifications of the Temple, a sign of the tenuous grasp of independence by the Maccabean rulers and of the increasing threat posed by the expanding interests of Rome into the troubled Hasmonean state.

By 63 B.C.E., Roman domination of Jerusalem was established, marked by Pompey's three-month siege and then capture of the Temple Mount (Josephus *Ant* 14.3.1–4.4; also *JW* 1.7.6) and later by Crassus' plunder of the temple treasures. However, it was some years before the Maccabeans were fully ousted. Although vassals of Rome, they tried to resist Rome by regaining the safety of the temple fortifications (*Ant* 14; 13.3–4; 16.2). Nonetheless, authority over Judea was held by a Roman appointee, Antipater the Idumean. Even after Antipater's appointment, Hasmonean resistance continued and was not finally overcome until Antipater's son Herod laid siege to Jerusalem and captured the Temple Mount in 37 B.C.E. Herod had plans for Judea that involved a radical transformation of the kingdom from a provincial Jewish community to a model of Hellenistic culture.

G. Herodian Temple

Herod had an exalted view of his constituency. His building schemes, especially for the Temple, were geared towards three distinct groups whose support, respect, and admiration he sought. He saw himself as king of the Jews—not only the local traditional Palestinian Jews, but also the patrician Jews living both in Judea and in the Hellenistic Diaspora. He hoped to serve the concerns of the former

group by upholding traditional Jewish religious practices and especially, in terms of his building projects, by restoring the Temple, which had suffered the ravages of the previous centuries of strife. In setting out to have a new building constructed, he was careful to adhere to authoritative specifications in the canonical texts. Thus he was limited in the size of the building he could construct.

Yet the standards of the Hellenistic Jews, living in cosmopolitan cities of the classical world such as Corinth, Alexandria, Antioch, and Rome, and accustomed to seeing sacred architecture on a more massive scale than that recorded for the First Temple, also had to be met. The same might be said for the third group in Herod's purview: the Roman authorities upon whose favor his right to rule in Palestine depended. By making Jerusalem a spectacular metropolis carrying out its international business in the shadow of a shrine that legitimized the full political and economic range of the city's activities, Herod would retain the favor of Rome. The scope of a much-enlarged Jerusalem and the classical tastes of the imperial power to the West both mandated a temple larger than those of comparable eastern cities. Just as David and Solomon planned, in accord with the international status of Jerusalem, a temple grander in size and decoration than those of the nations with which the Israelite empire was interacting, so too would Herod have to commission a building that would be preeminent in its day.

The inherent tension between the size limitations of the canonical blueprint and the more massive standards of Hellenistic-Roman architecture was resolved by Herod and his architects with a bold plan. While the Temple itself would have to have the same dimensions as its predecessors, the Temple Mount was not restricted in its potential size. Herod would expand and raise the temple platform, thus creating an unparalleled and truly monumental temple precinct containing the sanctuary, courts, gates, a fortress (Antonia), approaches, porticoes, and subsidiary buildings. So incredible were the dimensions of this project, as recorded in Josephus and, with some variations, in Mishnah *Middot*, that many scholars suspected Josephus of gross exaggerations.

The archaeological work in Jerusalem since 1968 (see above), while not able to excavate the site of the sanctuary, has undertaken extensive and careful excavations of the Temple Mount's massive support walls and of the arched ramps leading up to the surmounting enclosure walls and gates. The magnitude suggested by the ancient sources has been strikingly confirmed. The enormous raised platform was indeed constructed in the Herodian period, and the resulting size of the Temple Mount compensated for the relative modesty of the Temple's size. The Temple Mount as a whole could be viewed as a suitably imposing feature dominating the Jerusalem landscape.

This extensive platform, with its huge retaining walls to bear the weight of the fill and of the structures to be built above, was trapezoidal in shape. The area of this expanse was over 172,000 square yards, making it the largest site of its kind in the ancient world (Ben-Dov 1982: 77). See Fig. TEM.03. The entire holy area was twice as large as the monumental Forum Romanum built by Trajan, and three and a half times more extensive than the combined temples of Jupiter and Astarte-Venus at Baalbek.

The retaining walls themselves towered more than 80 feet above the roadways going around its perimeter and reached over 50 feet below street level in their foundation courses. The stones used to build these walls were gigantic. On the Western Wall (the "Wailing Wall" in Jewish tradition) the largest stone is about 40 feet long; an even larger one in the S wall weighs over 100 tons. These incredible dimensions are calculated from archaeological remains, not from the ancient sources. (For a summary description of archaeological features associated with this Herodian retaining wall, see Ritmeyer 1989.)

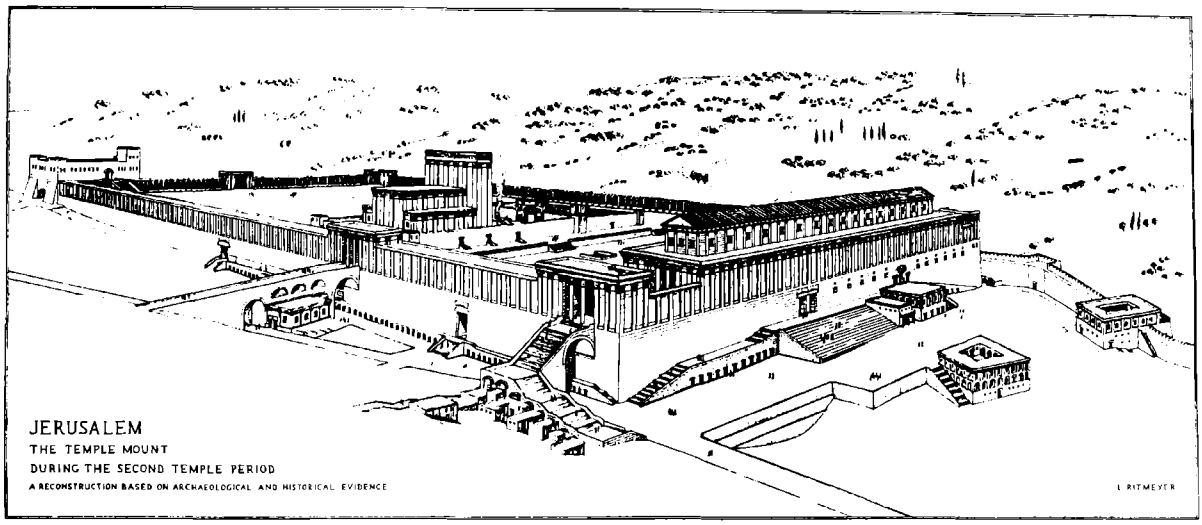
Although Herod did not tamper with the dimensions of the Temple proper, nor, it seems, with its internal furnishings, he did choose to outdo Solomon in golden embellishments of the building's exterior and in the scale of the courtyard furnishings. See Fig. TEM.04. The result was an awesome structure. According to Josephus, the outside of the Temple was adorned with so much gold that, when the sun shone upon it, it virtually blinded those who looked at it. The grandeur of the whole complex of courts, buildings, and porticoes led rabbinic sources to proclaim that "No one has seen a truly beautiful building unless he has seen the Temple" (*Sukk.* 51:2).

The task of building the Temple, its platform, and all its attendant structures began in the eighteenth year of Herod's reign (20 B.C.E.). Elaborate preparations and planning preceded the actual work and the dismantling of the existing Second Temple. Careful not to offend the religious sensibilities of the local populace and their concerns about the purity and holiness of the site, he arranged for a large workforce (1,000 men, according to Josephus) of priests to supplement the much larger labor pool, estimated at tens of thousands of workers. The priests were specially trained in construction work and masonry so that they could carry out the work on the sacred areas where the general public could not tread.

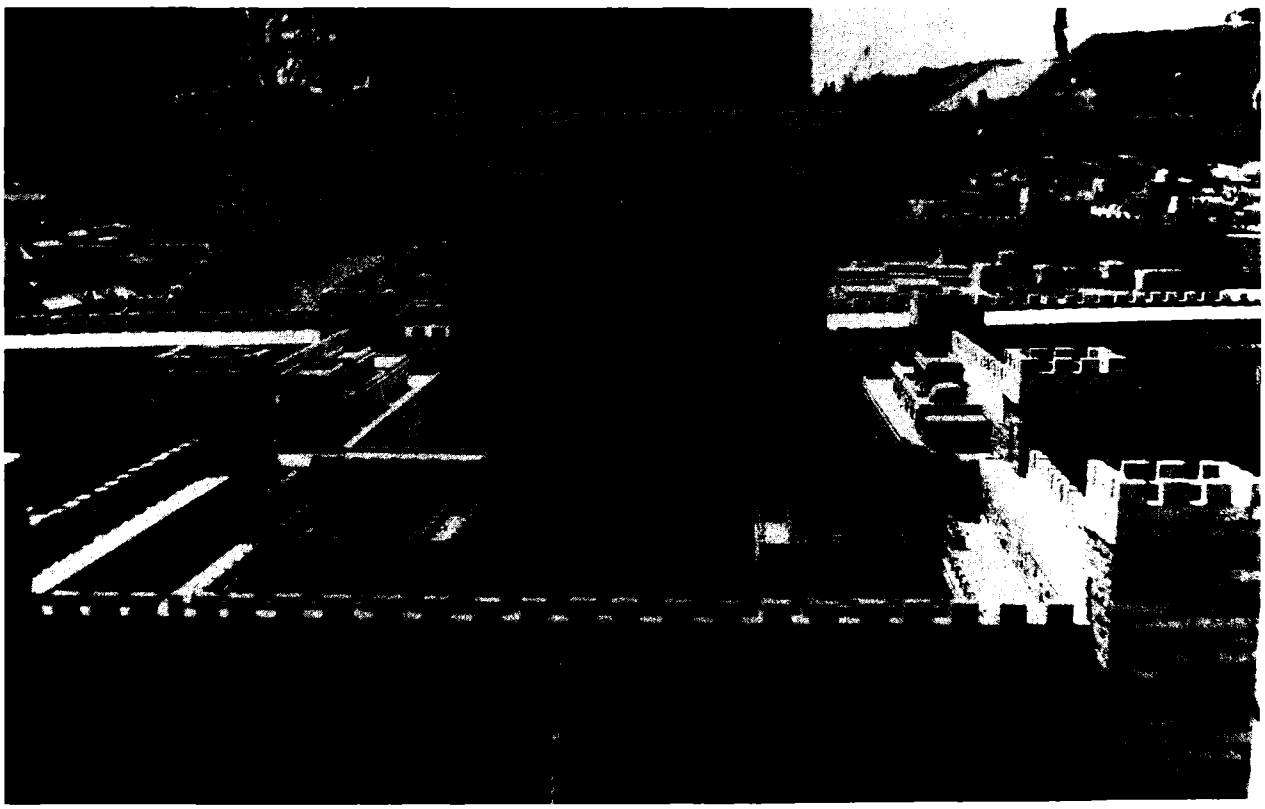
Herod was also careful not to have the existing temple building demolished until everything was ready for its successor to be erected. Thus the new Temple, because of its relatively small size and the meticulous preparations for its construction, was completed in a remarkably short period of time, about eighteen months. But the whole project took a great deal longer to complete. The ancient sources are not in agreement about how long the building operations continued. The Gospel of John (2:20) indicates that the project took 46 years, well beyond Herod's lifetime (cf. *Sanh.* 41.2 and *ʿAbod. Zar.* 8.2). Josephus (*Ant* 20.219) indicates that final embellishments and even repairs on components finished earlier in the project's duration took place virtually to the time of the Great Revolt, when Titus and the Tenth Legion Fretensis turned the magnificent holy compound into smoldering uninhabitable ruins in the year 70 C.E.

H. Future Temple

The destruction of the largest, grandest, and shortest-lived of the Jerusalem temples hardly brought about the demise of the temple idea in the religious communities emerging from Jerusalem. Both Judaism and Christianity, albeit in distinct ways and to different magnitudes, responded to the end of the earthly temple with ideas about its future existence. Both of these traditions had, in their



TEM.03. Reconstruction of Herodian Temple and Temple Mount. *(Reconstruction by Leen Ritmeyer).*



TEM.04. Scale model of Herod's Temple and surrounding courtyard (facing W). *(Courtesy of G. Herion)*

formative stages, witnessed the Temple's glory and had been profoundly affected by its presence in Jerusalem; both of them were forced to consolidate their constituency and reorder their beliefs in the wake of the calamitous religious and political changes that swept over Palestine in the wake of the Roman armies.

For Christianity, which had barely emerged with a distinct religious identity by the year 70, the adaptations to the loss of the Temple were far less complex than for Judaism. The two major figures of earliest Christian tradition, Jesus and Paul, had both been in the temple precincts, though not in the temple building itself. The earliest Christians in Jerusalem apparently continued to participate in temple ritual (Acts 2:46; 3:1). Still, the experiences of Jesus and Paul at the Temple and with various personnel had been fraught with tension (see, e.g., Mark 11:12–19; 14:53–65; Acts 26:21). Jesus is even said to have proclaimed the eventual and eschatological destruction of the Temple (Mark 13:1–2).

Such experiences may underlie in part the fact that the early church at the end of the 1st century and later placed no emphasis on the notion that the Temple might one day be restored. Pragmatic reasons, too, may have influenced antipathy toward the temple idea. It would not have been advantageous to be aligned with the Jews and their hopes to restore the Temple when the Roman armies had perpetrated and celebrated its devastation. In any case, the eschatological visions of the early Christians had no place for a fourth temple. The visions in Revelations of a celestial Jerusalem, a city of gold and jewels, partakes of cosmic temple language with its references to a "great high mountain" (Rev 21:9) and the "waters of life" (Rev 22:1).

Yet the new Jerusalem would not have a temple (Rev 21:22). In the Byzantine period, when Jerusalem was largely a Christian city, no steps were taken, despite the flurry of construction work that characterized the 4th to 6th centuries, to clear the ruins on the Temple Mount let alone to restore it. On one level, the presence of the ruins may have been seen as witness to the validity of Jesus' prophecy that the Temple would be destroyed. On another level, there were strong theological reasons for the neglect of the temple building. The Christian understanding of Jesus' life, death, and resurrection drew on Jewish ideas of sacrifice and transformed them. The ongoing cycle of sacrificial offerings and especially the annual sin offering were epitomized and fulfilled, once and for all, by the sacrifice of Jesus' life. Jesus' entry into the eternal Temple on behalf of humanity ruled out forever the need for further sacrifices at either an earthly or a heavenly temple (see Heb 8:10). The crucifixion of Jesus in association with the Passover meant an understanding of his death in terms of the slaughter of the Pascal lamb and, by extension, in terms of the full sacrificial component of the Temple.

In contrast, the loss of the Holy Place in Jerusalem did not bring about a shift in its centrality for Judaism. In the 6th century B.C.E., Israelite political autonomy had disappeared, but the rebuilding of the Temple under Zerubbabel had provided a focus for a reconstituted and hierocratic community that transcended territorial and political boundaries. The Temple had been a force for survival. Yet, even without an earthly temple, the centrality of such a structure continued for the Jews of antiquity. It could continue to function that way because it had never been understood and defined only by is physical shape and its concrete nature (Levenson 1985: 178–84). From the very beginning, under the aegis of David and Solomon, the temple conception involved a continuum from heaven to earth. It bore meaning that transcended its material reality. It was a cosmic structure and it involved covenant/Torah. The removal of the earthly component did not detract from its heavenly existence, nor from the dynamic reality of the Torah.

Because the Temple had never been fully mundane, it could never be completely destroyed. It continued to exist in Judaism in present reality through Torah. At the same time, its structural conception persisted in the hope that it would one day be rebuilt on earth. That fervent hope for the restoration of the Temple gave rise, in late antiquity, to three separate attempts at rebuilding. The first, in connection with the Bar Kokhba Revolt (132–35 C.E.), is documented largely through the fact that several coins minted by the ephemeral rebel government depicted the facade of the Temple. The interest of the Jewish insurgents in rebuilding the Temple was no doubt provoked by the acts of Hadrian, who set out to make Jerusalem a Roman city. His founding in 130 C.E. of *Colonia Aelia Capitolina*, as Jerusalem was to be called, may well have included the beginning of work on a temple to the Capitoline Triad (Jupiter, Minerva, and Juno) a project that was carried out once the rebellion was quelled in 135.

Another attempt to restore the Temple was also provoked by Rome, but this time through the emperor's encouragement. Julian "the Apostate" strove to weaken the ties between Rome and the Christian church and to strengthen pagan religions. As part of this plan, he tried to disrupt the Christian character of Jerusalem in 362–63 C.E. by allowing Jews, who had been banned from Jerusalem since Hadrian's reign, to resettle the Holy City and even to restore the Temple. It seems that work on the building actually was initiated—only to be abandoned when Julian died in 363.

A final effort to re-establish the Temple came about near the end of the Byzantine period, when the Persians gained control of the Holy Land in 614 C.E. The Persians were favorably disposed to the Jews and gave them control over Jerusalem, an act that apparently sparked plans for temple building. However, it soon became clear that the Persians should not slight the Christian majority. Jerusalem was returned to Christian control, a status secured when the Emperor Heraclius restored Palestine to Byzantine rule in 629 C.E.

These futile efforts at temple restoration in the centuries after the destruction of 70 C.E. perhaps only served to increase the eschatological aspects of the Temple's reality. If it couldn't be rebuilt historically, it surely would be part of the world-to-come. Yet at the same time, these rebuilding efforts punctuated and no doubt stimulated the intense consideration of temple matters that characterized rabbinic Judaism.

Whether the interest in temple building was eschatological or not, the centuries immediately after the events of 70 C.E. meant an outpouring of popular and scholarly energy into temple matters. With all its rituals, festivals, officials, and structural aspects, the Temple was the focus

of much of the discussion of the sages of postbiblical Judaism. In their fervent hopes and beliefs that they would regain Jerusalem and the Temple Mount, they took pains to retain and clarify all the information that would be necessary to rebuild the Temple and restore its service according to divinely ordained specifications.

These discussions by generations of scholars were preserved in the Mishnah, in the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds (up to the 6th century C.E.), and also in the homiletic literature (Midrash) recorded up to the 10th century. The obsession of the Jewish sages with being prepared for a rebuilt Temple meant the preservation of a wealth of information about the last of the Jerusalem Temples as well as about the general way of life in Jerusalem before it fell to Rome.

The Jewish response to the great destruction meant continuity of the temple idea; yet it also involved radical institutional change. Preexilic Israel had its Temple and palace; postexilic Judaism had its Temple and priesthood. Postdestruction Judaism had neither—but it had its synagogue, the origins of which are shrouded in uncertainty. Much has been made about the relationship between Temple and synagogue, to the extent of supposing that the latter is hardly more than surrogate of the former, with prayer the equivalent of sacrifice.

While it is inevitable for parallels or lines of continuity to be drawn between Temple and synagogue, there are fundamental differences between the two (Cohen 1984). Linking them does a disservice to the synagogue which, as a democratic and scholarly institution of the people, is a true creation of Judaism, whereas the Temple as a dwelling place for God and as maintained by a hierarchical and elitist personnel was a creation of the ANE world from which Israel emerged. By their very nature, the multiplicity of synagogues scattered throughout the Jewish dispersion precluded the participation of such buildings in the cosmic imagery of the sacred center that was the essence of the Jerusalem Temple.

The survival of the Temple in Christian conceptions of Jesus as the sacrifice that secured eternal redemption and in Jewish images of an eschatological Temple does not exhaust the ways in which the Temple endured beyond 70 C.E. As a visual object that endured for nearly a thousand years in physical reality, it has persisted for another two thousand years in artistic conceptualizations. Graphic representations of the Temple began to proliferate almost from the moment it was reduced to ruins. Representations of the temple building and of its furnishings were used to adorn mosaic floors, bronze and silver coins, ceramic lamps, stone sarcophagi, tomb paintings, gilded glassware—practically every available artistic medium of antiquity. Beginning in the medieval period if not earlier, biblical, liturgical, and scholarly manuscripts were illuminated with depictions of temple treasures. Ceremonial religious objects were inspired by what were deemed to be their temple analogues. And of course many of the masterpieces, as well as lesser works, of European sculpture, painting, and engraving included depictions of the Temple in their portrayals of biblical themes.

Finally, the modern scholarly explorations of biblical lands and texts (see above), which overlap to some extent with visits of pilgrims to the Holy Land, have given rise to a plethora of detailed architectural reconstructions and of actual models. In the 19th and 20th centuries, biblical scholars, archaeologists, and architectural historians have produced countless graphic representations of all three of the Jerusalem Temples. Some of these are little more than fanciful projections; others have shown painstaking attention to every possible source of information. Perhaps the most elaborate reconstruction of all is the scale model of the entire Herodian city built on the outskirts of Jerusalem (Holyland Hotel) in the 1960s under the guidance of the late Professor Avi-Yonah.

In the two millennia since the Temple was destroyed, generation after generation of draftsmen, painters, archaeologists, artisans, photographers, and scholars have sought through a variety of graphic modes to reconstruct this ancient building. The motivations which led to the construction of the three successive temples in Jerusalem have been perpetuated in part by these manifold postbiblical efforts to simulate and so to comprehend the visual expression of a nonmaterial reality.

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TEMPLES AND SANCTUARIES. This entry consists of four articles that survey temples and sanctuaries in the ancient world of the Bible. The first focuses on temples in ancient Egypt, and the second focuses on temples in ancient Mesopotamia. The third focuses on temples in Syria and Palestine during the biblical period, while the fourth surveys Greco-Roman temples. See also TEMPLE, JERUSALEM.

EGYPT

Egypt can truly be called a land of temples. From the great sprawling complex of the Amon temple at Karnak to the tiny shrines found along village streets, temples and sanctuaries devoted to the cults of the gods were a dominant feature of every city and town. Hundreds are mentioned in the texts (Helck 1960b) though a relatively small portion have actually been discovered. In the cemeteries, hundreds more, in the form of royal funerary temples and chapels for private mortuary rituals, were part of the tombs of both kings and commoners. These two kinds of temples—cultic for the gods, funerary for mortals—dotted the Egyptian landscape and were an integral part of Egyptian life. The functions they performed went far beyond religious ones. Religion was not a separate category of thought in ancient Egypt, but pervaded every aspect of society and culture. Temples were therefore deeply involved in what we would term secular life.

A. Introduction
1. Cult Temples
2. Funerary Temples
B. Temple Personnel
C. Economic Functions of the Temple
D. Other Non-cultic Functions

A. Introduction

1. Cult Temples. The cult temple was first and foremost the home of a deity and thus the point of contact between that deity and the mundane world of man. The cult temple as a building symbolized the divine creation of the universe. It represented the eternal existence of an ordered universe as opposed to the chaotic forces which, according to myth, once attempted to destroy that order. This struggle between order and chaos—that is, good and evil—was part of all ancient thought, including that of Egypt. The cult temples of the land, built of stone to last "for eternity," stood as a constant reminder of the inevitable triumph of good.

The cult temple as an institution provided the vast and complicated ritual by which a deity was worshipped. The essential goal of worship was to coax the deity into positive action on behalf of the community. All deities could bestow or withhold their largesse as they pleased; temple ritual was geared to pleasing them so they would act favorably. Because of its primary function as the house of a god, the building itself was erected only after an important foundation ritual. This can be traced from the early 3d millennium B.C. to the Ptolemaic period. The ceremonies lasted up to two weeks with the participation of the king and priests representing various deities (Montet 1964).

Three cult temples with long histories, each noted for its prestige and wealth, played a dominant role for many centuries (Helck 1960a). The largest of all Egyptian temples was that of Amon-Re, king of the gods, at Karnak (Thebes), begun ca. 1550 B.C. and enlarged and repaired over the next 15 centuries. Within its precincts were 26 chapels for deceased kings and 34 temples of varying size dedicated to other deities. The other two major temples were those of Re the sun god, at Heliopolis, and Ptah, an old god of craftsmen and creation, at Memphis. Both also included numerous other temples for kings and gods. The dominance of these cult places arose because Thebes and Memphis were Egyptian capitals; Heliopolis was originally the cult center of Atum, one of the oldest and most revered

deities of the pantheon, who was superseded at this site by the sun god Re in the 3d millennium B.C.

A list of the more important cult centers would be too long for the present context, but a few are worthy of mention. Abydos, the holy city of Egypt to which Egyptians went on pilgrimage, was the traditional site of the burial of Osiris, the ruler of Paradise. The Osiris temple, one of the most splendid buildings in Egypt, was erected by Seti I (1303–1289 B.C.). A major temple to Horus, son of Osiris and protector of the living king, stands at Edfu. See Fig. ART. 21. While this is of Ptolemaic date, the temple existed long before as shown by the numerous priests of this temple mentioned in earlier texts. The great temple of Elephantine was dedicated to the chief guardians of the first cataract of the Nile—Khnum, Satis, and Anukis. And, of course, there is the once magnificent temple to the Aton at El Amarna used for only the few years of Akhenaton's reformation.

Among other temples for major deities were those of Thoth, god of writing and knowledge, at Hermopolis; of Montu, god of battle, at Armant; of Min, an early fertility deity, at Coptos; and many others. This does not mean that these and other deities were worshipped only at those towns at which they were most closely associated. The greater deities such as Amon-Re, Ptah, Horus, Osiris, and Thoth, had temples and shrines throughout the land, and even abroad, especially in the Hellenistic period. With the advent of Egyptian imperialism in the period 1540–1100 B.C., temples to Egyptian gods arose in Nubia, the Sudan, and Palestine (Giveon 1978: 22–27). Hathor, goddess of motherhood, was a particular favorite of Egyptians living abroad with temples in such foreign places as the southern Sinai, Byblos, the Wadi Timnah, and Nubia.

2. Funerary Temples. Funerary temples, which otherwise had much in common with the houses of the gods, had a different primary function. Whether a large complex built for a king's pyramid or a tiny chapel in an artisan's tomb, the funerary temple served to perpetuate the eternal existence of the human soul. Ritual and ceremony played a major role in assuring the soul of food and drink and the other necessities of continued existence in the afterlife. Moreover, the funerary temple was the point of communication between the soul of the deceased and the living. Just as the living communed with gods in the cult temples, they communed with the dead in the funerary temples. For the souls of the dead, now living in the realm of the supramundane and in direct contact with the gods, could also act on behalf of the world of the living. Innumerable texts show that the souls in Paradise were called upon to intercede in the affairs of men. Among these are letters written to deceased relatives and placed in their tombs which call upon them to help solve personal and household problems (Gardiner and Sethe 1928). There are also graffiti and monuments left by visitors to tomb chapels in the hope that the soul of the deceased will intercede for them (Davies and Gardiner 1920; Alliot 1937–38). This was in direct response to the "Appeal to the Living" frequently found in tomb texts in which the deceased promises such intercession for any passerby who makes offerings or says prayers on behalf of his soul.

Royal funerary temples developed out of the tiny structures of the Archaic period (ca. 3200–2700 B.C.) which became larger and more complex with the construction of pyramids during the Old and Middle Kingdoms (ca. 2575–1630 B.C.). During the Empire period (1540–1075 B.C.) and later, royal funerary temples were built along the western fringe of the Nile Valley opposite Thebes while the actual tombs were hidden away behind them in the Valley of the Kings. The temples at Deir el-Bahri (Thutmose III and Hatshepsut), the Ramesseum (Ramesses II), and Medinet Habu (Ramesses III) are examples of such royal funerary temples.

The funerary chapels of commoners likewise had humble beginnings. The solid, bench-shaped mastaba tombs of the Archaic period were decorated with vertical niches on all four exterior walls. One of these niches, always at the S end of the wall facing the Nile, was designated as the focal point where prayers and offerings were made for the deceased. The next step was a tiny exterior chapel at the same point on this wall. By the time of the Old Kingdom, chapels were built into the superstructure of the freestanding mastaba type tomb or, in the case of tombs cut into the mountainsides along the Nile Valley, quarried out of solid rock. Burials associated with these chapels were in simple underground chambers hidden from view. This practice continued for the rest of Egyptian history.

All funerary temples and chapels were open to the public which considered them as readily accessible points of contact with human intercessors, now in the divine realm. Certain royal funerary temples and even tomb chapels of commoners became particularly venerated over long periods of time as being shrines more efficacious than others. Their walls are covered with the graffiti of ancient visitors calling upon the deceased to intercede for them with the gods.

B. Temple Personnel

The wide range of religious and secular functions of the temples required a variety of personnel to carry them out (Sauneron 1960). The number of people attached to a temple varied from a single priest to many thousands of priests and lay workers, depending on the size of the sanctuary and the extent of its property. In the larger temples, a substantial part of the staff was concerned with administering and caring for fields and crops, gardens, animal herds, granaries, housekeeping, and the copious written records of daily life. This administrative staff was made up mostly of lay persons, though priests could also be appointed to such duties.

The actual work of these enterprises was carried on by a large number of workers. Peasant families tilled the fields and watched over the numerous flocks. Craftsmen of all kinds manned the workshops that produced the myriad cult objects and the necessities of everyday life for the entire temple community. There were doorkeepers and guards, butchers and bakers, and the artists, sculptors, and stone masons who kept the temple precinct in repair. Each temple department such as the granary or the treasury had its own cadre of caretakers, scribes, and workers. Like any large noble estate, the temple was self-supporting and employed whatever staff was necessary to supply and care for all its needs.

The continuous ritual and ceremony carried on throughout the year was the domain of the priests. It is

difficult to establish a strict religious hierarchy since clerical offices varied in importance and function in different temples. There were basically two priestly classes: the "God's Servants," divided into five grades, and the "Purified Ones," the innumerable ordinary priests, also divided into several grades which cannot yet be clearly defined.

It was from the higher ranks of the God's Servants that the leaders of the clergy were drawn. High priests held the title "First God's Servant." Such men were among the most important in the land, especially the high priests of the gods Amon-Re at Thebes, Ptah at Memphis, and Re at Heliopolis. From about 1500 B.C. on, the single most-powerful cleric in Egypt was the high priest of Amon-Re who belonged to the inner circle of royal advisors. Controlling vast wealth and the allegiance of the people, this priesthood was a significant political competitor to the royal family. Akhenaton's failed reformation in the later 14th century B.C. was an attempt to curb the influence of this priesthood which ultimately assumed the rule of Upper Egypt around 1075 B.C. The temple and state, theoretically expected to work in tandem under the divine kingship, were often in opposition as to who was in control.

There were many classes of priests who specialized in only one aspect of temple service. Among these were the lector priest, responsible for learning and reciting the vast ritual literature; the stolist, who cared for the clothing and other paraphernalia of divine statues; astronomers who kept track of time by observing the heavens and using water clocks and other time-keeping devices; priestly scholars and scribes in the temple's "House of Life" (the scriptorium/library) who accumulated and interpreted the sacred writings; singers and musicians who played a significant role in temple ceremonies; and, in later times, astrologers who read the fate of the nation and the individual in the stars.

The role of women in the priesthoods was minor for much of Egyptian history. Generally, they served as priestesses of the goddess Hathor or some local female deity. It was not until the later Empire period, when Amon-Re came into such preeminence, that women took on important positions in that cult. Women were also prominent in ceremonial singing and dancing. However, the place of women in the priesthoods seems always to have been subordinate to that of men, even with the Hellenistic Isis priestesses.

C. Economic Functions of the Temple

The most significant secular function of the temple was in the economic sphere. Janssen (1975, 1979) suggests that the Egyptian economic system was based on a local subsistence economy in which the necessities of life were produced in all sectors of society without particular concern for the open marketplace. Any surplus was collected by state institutions and redistributed among the host of government employees not directly involved in production, from high officials to ordinary workmen.

The temples were involved at both levels. Like any other sector of society, the temples produced the food, clothing, and other necessities required by their personnel. When the state collected the nation's surplus products, the temples were used as storage depots and centers for the redistribution of this surplus. In the early centuries of Egyptian history, temples were small and without great wealth. From the Old Kingdom on, royal grants and private donations gradually expanded temple property which meant a commensurate increase in agricultural laborers, craftsmen, and other workmen needed to maintain the temple's subsistence economy.

The real growth of temple wealth came during the Empire period (ca. 1540–1100 B.C.) when foreign conquests created an enormous surplus of manufactured goods in the form of booty and tribute as well as new agricultural land. It has been convincingly argued (Janssen 1979) that the cult temples formed one of many branches of government and were not institutionally or economically independent of the state. The extraordinary wealth of the larger temples must thus be seen in a new perspective. The royal "gifts" to temples were not outright grants of land, produce, objects of precious metals, and the like. This was rather the placing of state property in the hands of one of several government institutions (like the state treasury) to be recalled and used when the government wished to do so. State employees such as the royal workmen in the Valley of the Kings were paid in kind by the state out of temple treasuries. The temples thus acted as a kind of banking system for the state and paymaster for government workers.

Offerings to the gods also played a role in the redistribution of surplus goods. The food, clothing, and a host of other items presented to the gods in sometimes massive quantities were reused by the living once the service to the gods had been satisfied. Such offerings were a major source of income for the temples and were used, for example, to support the families attached to temple service in one way or another.

D. Other Non-cultic Functions

One important aspect of temple activity lay in the area of formal education which was directed by the priests within the temple precinct. It is safe to say that all educated males working in any capacity were trained in the temple schools. (The rare literate women probably received private tutoring outside the temple.) Temple education may partially account for the fact that, with few exceptions, Egyptian officials at all levels bore priestly titles of some kind or other. Many professions such as medicine and astronomy were almost totally the domain of the priests. The temple of Neith at Saïs in the Delta was especially noted as a center for medical education.

Temple libraries housed archives of substantial proportions though, being of papyrus rolls, most have long since disappeared. The list of documents once filed in temple libraries embraces the entire spectrum of human knowledge: political, religious, scientific, economic, and legal (Redford 1986: 215–24). For example, a summary of every trial, even those held in village courts, was preserved in the temple archives. Papyri recording property ownership were kept there and, in one famous case, the litigants were able to obtain copies of the pertinent documents stretching back over two and a half centuries. The temples were thus the repositories of all the accumulated knowledge of Egyptian civilization. It was in such a temple library that Manetho, an Egyptian scholar of the 3d century B.C., studied

and wrote his history of Egypt, excerpts of which were quoted by other historians for centuries.

The vast expanses of temple walls provided a public library cataloging the exploits of Egyptian kings. Here were carved in stone the records of foreign wars and other important events, the so-called "annals" of the empire and later, where succeeding Pharaohs recorded what they had accomplished on behalf of the gods. The campaigns of Thutmose III (1490–1436 B.C.), detailed accounts of the Battle of Kadesh under Ramesses II (1268 B.C.), the wars of Ramesses III (1184–1153 B.C.), and the last successful Egyptian campaign into Palestine under Sheshonk I (945–924 B.C.), are among the many exploits recorded on temple walls. The temples were chosen as the medium to record these events since kings were boasting to the gods; temples were made of stone so the boasting would last forever.

In Ptolemaic times, certain temples—notably those at Dendera, Saqqara, Deir el-Bahri, and Abydos—included sanatoria where the sick went to find cures under the aegis of deities of healing such as Hathor, Serapis, and Bes. Two deified commoners were also associated with healing in late times: Imhotep at Memphis and Amenhotep, Son of Hapu, at Thebes (Wildung 1977). Both had been royal architects who came to be venerated as patrons of the intellectual arts, and ultimately, as popular gods of healing. While actual sanatoria are known only from the late period, deities of healing are mentioned in earlier texts which suggests that centers of healing probably had an earlier history.

Oracles, divine answers to specific questions, also lay within the scope of temple activity (Černý 1962). Recorded oracles range from queries about vital state concerns such as the royal succession, to personal problems like the theft of a sheep from a farmer's barnyard. Oracles were sought in the great temples as well as at village shrines. By the 20th Dynasty (1190–1075 B.C.), divine justice via oracles had become a popular substitute for human justice in the regular law courts. Dream omina, a common type of oracle, were obtained through the temple priests under controlled conditions since dreams were considered to be messages from the gods.

Egyptian temples thus had many functions and existed to serve several purposes. They were the houses of the gods, the points of communication between gods and men, keepers of education and libraries, important economic institutions, and eternal recorders of the deeds of Egyptian kings. In the later years of the empire, during the 20th Dynasty, some, like the funerary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, took on another function. Incursions of Libyan tribes from the desert into the Nile Valley and rebellious mercenaries made life dangerous in Thebes and the villages around the city. The temples became fortresses in which the local population could find safety from rampaging foreigners. It was fitting that the temples which protected men's souls should offer them physical protection in time of temporal need. See also *LÄ* 6: 365–76.

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MESOPOTAMIA

Beginning with the pioneering excavations of the late 19th century, archaeologists have recovered the remains of monumental structures more or less conclusively identifiable as temples at many sites in both S Mesopotamia (ancient Sumer and Akkad, later Babylonia) and N Mesopotamia (Assyria and the Jazirah). The remains of temples and, in some instances, the associated staged towers known as ziggurats have been discovered in Babylonia at such important cities as Eridu, Uruk, Ur, Nippur, and Babylon; and in Assyria and the N at Assur, Mari, Calah, Tell Rimah (possibly ancient Karana), Tell Brak, and in the last several years, Tell Leilan (ancient Shubat-Enlil) (see Weiss 1983). These remains date from as early as the early 5th millennium B.C.E. (at early Ubaid-period Eridu) to the mid-1st millennium B.C.E. at Babylon.

A. Archaeological and Textual Evidence
B. Origins and Evolution of the Temple
C. Social Role of the Temple

A. Archaeological and Textual Evidence

The ancient Sumerians, Babylonians, and Assyrians built their temples (as well as other "public" buildings and "private" houses) principally with sun-dried mud brick (although beginning in the late 3d millennium B.C.E. kiln-fired brick, frequently set in bitumen, was increasingly used, especially in constructing facades). This choice of material was forced upon them by the lack of proximity to more durable materials such as stone and large timber, especially in the Tigris-Euphrates floodplain of S Mesopotamia. Consequently, then, while the gigantic stone temples of Egypt have stood majestically for millennia, the great temples and ziggurats of Mesopotamia have crumbled into massive, amorphous mounds of decayed mud-

brick. Even during their heyday, these structures required frequent replastering and other maintenance. Moreover, they were frequently demolished and reconstructed because (as is amply attested by numerous royal dedicatory inscriptions, year names, and self-laudatory royal hymns) it was considered the pious act of the dutiful ruler, acting as the god's steward, to undertake such reconstruction, and to do so on the same sanctified spot. This process usually entailed the demolition of the temple's existing walls, leaving only wall stubs often only a few inches high, that were then filled in with wall rubble (and, in at least one instance, old clay tablets) to create a platform upon which the new temple was erected. As a consequence, archaeologists excavating the remains of great urban sites that were inhabited more or less continuously for centuries (sites such as Ur, Uruk, and Babylon) have been confronted with long and complicated sequences of wall stubs superimposed upon and sometimes intersecting each other. Relatively little is known about how these structures were roofed (although some important evidence in this regard has been recovered from the Old Babylonian (OB) period temple at Tell al-Rimah; see Oates 1979: 80–82; Lloyd 1978: 167–69); indeed, for some types of temples uncertainty continues as to whether certain areas were roofed or unroofed.

Finally, especially for the late 4th and 3d millennia B.C.E., additional evidence concerning the construction and appearance of temples is provided by cylinder seals and the remains of their impressions, by representations on stone vases and troughs, by actual models of temples and houses, by house plans incised on clay tablets, and by painted decoration on pottery (note especially Crawford 1977: 65–76).

The textual evidence regarding Mesopotamian temples tends to be much more tractable, although its interpretation is fraught with its own peculiar difficulties. Various temples and their attributes were celebrated in "temple hymns" (e.g., Kramer 1957; *TCS* 3), and the destruction or desecration of famous temples at the hands of invaders or sacrilegious rulers was mourned in lamentations (see Kramer 1988). More pious rulers boasted of their reconstruction or embellishment of temples, or of donating cultic paraphernalia such as statues, chariots, or weapons to them, in commemorative and dedicatory inscriptions (see, for example, Sollberger and Kupper 1971 and Klein 1989), year formulae, and royal hymns. Undoubtedly the most celebrated inscription of this type (and one of the masterpieces of classical Sumerian literature) is that of Gudea, ruler of the Sumerian state of Lagash, who ca. 2000 B.C.E. caused two large cylinders to be inscribed with the account of his rebuilding of the Eninnu, the temple of the god Ningirsu, a warrior god who was the patron deity of Girsu (modern Tello, formerly thought to be the site of the ancient city of Lagash, now to be identified as Tell el-Hiba) (see Falkenstein 1966 and Kramer 1988). In sheer volume of material, however, the overwhelming majority of the textual evidence relating to temples consists of thousands of inscribed clay tablets that constitute the remains of the formerly vast archives of various temple households of S Mesopotamia. These administrative records consist chiefly of accounts of transactions and expenditures. They are inscribed in an often-cryptic bureaucratic argot that includes designations of rank or profession and terms for commodities that, in some instances, have yet to be adequately translated. Nonetheless, these records indisputably have yielded the most important evidence for assessing the wealth and socioeconomic power of the temples and the scope of their economic affairs, and for elucidating the bureaucratic processes and the hierarchy of personnel that administered the gods' estates and households. Among the more noteworthy archival remains recovered to date are the account texts from the Late Uruk period (late 4th millennium B.C.E.) levels of the Eanna temple precinct at Uruk. Written in a pictographic script that is a direct precursor of cuneiform writing, these clay tablets contain the earliest known evidence of writing, which evolved from the need to maintain accurate records of the increasingly complex and sophisticated Uruk temple household(s). Other major archival collections that have survived include the Early Dynastic (ED) III period (mid-3d millennium B.C.E.) archives of the temple of the goddess Bau at Girsu; the Ur III period (i.e., Third Dynasty of Ur, late 3d millennium B.C.E.) records of the temple of Inanna at Nippur; the Isin-Larsa period (early 2d millennium B.C.E.) archives of the Eshumesha, the temple of the god Ninurta at Nippur; and the Neo-Babylonian (NB) period (mid-1st millennium B.C.E.) archives of the Ebabbar (the temple of the sun god, Shamash) at Sippar and of the Eanna temple at Uruk. Unfortunately, none of these archives is complete. The extant records from each of them represent the activities of only certain parts of the temple household and document those activities for only limited periods. Of course, the archives of many of the great temples of Babylonia and Assyria—not to mention the temples themselves—await discovery.

B. Origins and Evolution of the Temple

The earliest sacred shrines of ancient Mesopotamia have never been found, and undoubtedly never will be discovered, for they were most likely constructed of reeds or some other similarly ephemeral material. Exactly why the earliest shrines were built probably can never be satisfactorily answered, although some current hypotheses would link their origins to the emergence of "tribal" ceremonial centers or treasuries among the pre-urban groups of S Mesopotamia (Wheatley 1971: 226–29; Jacobsen *EncRel* 9: 447; but see Oates 1979: 24). With regard to N Mesopotamia, some experts have attempted to identify a structure of "unusual" ground plan at the site of Hassuna or the so-called "tholoi" at village sites of the Halafian period (early to middle 6th millennium B.C.E.) as sanctuaries, but the evidence is extremely inconclusive.

In the eyes of most scholars, the earliest structures that can be identified with some probability as temples date to the early Ubaid period (early 5th millennium B.C.E.) and are to be found at Eridu in S Mesopotamia and at Tepe Gawra in the N, although at least one scholar (Aurenche 1981: 51) has cautioned that one might just as validly identify these structures as community houses. The structure at Eridu was built of mudbrick and is commonly regarded as the earliest example of "monumental" architecture in Mesopotamia. Beginning as a small rectangular structure, the Eridu Ubaid temple evolved to comprise a central rectangular sanctuary with wall niche (presumably

for the god's statue or symbol) and central "offering table," with lateral wings projecting from the central sanctuary to form a T-shape. The exterior facade was ornamented with alternating buttresses and recesses, and the entire structure stood on a platform or terrace. These attributes mark the Eridu Ubaid temple as a probable prototype of subsequent Mesopotamian religious architecture. The continuity of tradition that eventually characterized this architecture is likewise well exemplified at Eridu: the Ubaid temple lay under the great ziggurat built for the Sumerian god Enki, the patron deity of Eridu, almost 2,000 years later by the kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur.

The explosion of urban development in S Mesopotamia during the 4th millennium B.C.E. was paralleled by the construction of more elaborate temples that in some instances were set on even higher platforms. In the Eanna temple precinct the city of Uruk (biblical Erech, modern Warka) in particular were built structures as large as 275 by 175 feet, including one structure (the "Hall of Pillars") the exterior of which bore the remains of colorful "cone mosaic" decoration. Although even these buildings perhaps cannot yet be identified unequivocally as temples (see Nissen 1988: 96–97), the discovery of hundreds of account tablets dating to this period (ca. 3000 B.C.E.) surely indicates that the temples must have been located in this area. Incised with an early pictographic script, the direct ancestor of cuneiform writing, these tablets also reveal that at the dawn of literacy the temple households of Uruk already commanded abundant resources in livestock and agricultural commodities and supplied grain rations and other support to numerous dependants.

Between the end of the 4th millennium and the end of the 3d millennium B.C.E., both textual and architectural data reveal that the temples became the foremost centers of the cities of ancient Sumer. The vast majority of the temple archival remains for this period come from the city of Girsu. They attest to the great economic resources (for example, the estates of the goddess Bau alone comprised 11,000 acres) and complex bureaucracies of the temple households. The Girsu temple estates in general produced commodities such as wheat and barley, dates, vegetables, cheese and other milk products, oil, dried fish, wool, hides, and reeds; and they employed men and women (and children, as well) of many different crafts and professions, including bricklayers and carpenters, smiths and masons, spinners and weavers, butchers and bakers, farmers and fishermen, shepherds and swineherds. These records and other "historical" documents of this period, however, also reflect the ongoing encroachment by local and then "imperial" political/secular authorities (in particular, the Akkade Dynasty and the Third Dynasty of Ur) on the wealth and prerogatives of the temple households. By the 18th century B.C.E., this trend culminated in an increasing "secularization" of the temple as Hammurabi and his successors exerted more and more control over temple property. Throughout the remainder of ancient Mesopotamian history, the temples remained vital components of the socioeconomic fabric of Mesopotamian urban society, but their economic autonomy tended to be compromised by various rulers' needs for revenues. At the same time, however, the Mesopotamian ideology of kingship required that a king's rule be sanctioned by divine authority. This need gave kings good reason to curry the favor of temple priesthoods and administrators (many of whom came from the ranks of influential local families) and to assist them in maintaining the temples' prestige. Thus, the temples continued to benefit from royal endowments, and the citizens of cities with especially ancient and prestigious temples (such as Nippur and Babylon) were frequently granted royal privileges that might include exemption from conscription and taxes (see Kraus 1954: 535–36). To fend off later kings' attempts at encroachment, the temples could resort to claims of ancient privilege and protected status and, undoubtedly, to the political savvy of temple officials.

From an architectural standpoint, the period after 3000 B.C.E. witnessed the appearance of several different types of temple ground plans. Excluding temples known only from textual evidence (such as the Tummal shrine of the goddess Ninlil, which most scholars have located in Nippur, although now see Yoshikawa 1989) or temples for which an earlier ground plan was destroyed by rebuilding (such as at the Ekur, the much-celebrated temple of the god Enlil, also at Nippur), at least five different types of temple ground plan can be discerned before 2000 B.C.E. in S Mesopotamia (Crawford 1977: 22–26). The evident lack of standardization of ground plans has led at least one scholar to speculate that different temple plans were appropriate to different gods. Thus, of the four oval temple enclosures known for this period, two of them (at al-Ubaid and al-Hiba) are known to have been dedicated to female deities (Ninhursag and Inanna, respectively); on the other hand, of the five known temples of the "house plan" type, three were dedicated to female deities and two to males (Crawford 1977: 25, 84–86). Using a criterion based on verticality as opposed to horizontal ground plan, however, the temples of S Mesopotamia during this period can be grouped into two basic categories: "high" temples on a platform or ziggurat (for the planning and appearance of which the evidence is quite meager) and "ground-level" temples. Whatever the peculiarities of their ground plans, the ground-level temples share, for the most part, certain basic elements, in that the main sanctuary (the cella) was rectangular, with a door in one of the long sides and a brick altar at one end (thus producing the so-called "bent-axis approach"). Behind the altar was a wall niche in which would have stood the cult statue. The sanctuary was also furnished with small brick pedestals (presumed to have been offering tables) and, along the walls, brick benches upon which the votive statues of pious donors would have stood (see Lloyd 1978: 118–20). Many of these features, including the bent-axis approach, are to be found in temples of N Mesopotamia during this period (including the "Archaic Ishtar Temple" at Ashur and the Ishtar Temple at Mari).

By about 2000 B.C.E., however, two new features that were to endure for centuries became established in Mesopotamian religious architecture. The bent-axis configuration was now, for the most part, replaced in Babylonia by the "direct-axis" approach, a more symmetrical layout that resulted in an aligned vista from a paved courtyard, through perhaps an antecella, that terminated with the cult statue itself, which now could be viewed sitting in a niche in the middle of the far, long side-wall of a wide, shallow room (the so-called *breitraum* cella). From this pe-

riod on, the direct-axis ground plan and *breitraum* cella remained the standard for Babylonian temples. In Assyria, however, some elements of the bent-axis approach were retained in the rectangular *langraum* cella, which one entered through a door on one of the long sides, then turning 90 degrees to face the cult statue on a dais at the narrow end of the room.

Also, from the end of the 3d millennium B.C.E. on, the staged towers known as ziggurats became an essential feature of Mesopotamian temple complexes in both Babylonia and Assyria. The earliest ziggurats in Babylonia probably date to the mid-3d millennium B.C.E. (the ED period); indeed, the origins of these towers are almost certainly to be linked to the temple platforms of preliterate times. The intended function of these multi-staged towers (a ziggurat might have as few as three or as many as seven stages) remains uncertain, although of several hypotheses that have been advanced to explain their purpose (Were they thrones of the gods—cosmic mountains that served as tombs of a dying/resurgent god?), the hypothesis that identifies them as stairways connecting heaven and earth, thereby allowing the deity to descend from heaven, has become widely accepted. Normally, a "high" temple stood atop the ziggurat, a "low" temple near (not necessarily adjoining) its base.

Indisputably the best preserved ziggurat is that built for the moon god Nanna-Su'en at Ur by Ur-Nammu and his successor, Shulgi, who ruled over Sumer and Akkad during the early 21st century B.C.E. (this structure quite likely conceals within it, however, an earlier ziggurat dating to ED times). This structure originally had three stages, atop the highest of which presumably stood a "high" temple or shrine (the structure itself has not survived). The tower was constructed of a solid mudbrick core that was faced with a 2.4-meter-thick layer of baked brick set in bitumen. The lowest stage measured about 61 by 46 meters and was about 15 meters high; a triple stairway converged at its top. With the construction of this ziggurat was ushered in, moreover, yet another new concept in Mesopotamian religious architecture: a walled precinct enclosing a large, open space, with a monumental structure set in the middle and with one or more planned courtyards within the precinct. Also within the walls were a storehouse and two official residences, as well as a temple kitchen where, presumably, the gods' meals were prepared (see Oates 1979: 46–47; Lloyd 1978: 151–52). Other well-known ziggurats in Babylonia include a well-preserved Kassite-period (mid-2d millennium B.C.E.) example at ancient Dur-Kurigalzu (modern Aqar Quf, W of Baghdad) and, of course, the Etemenanki ("the house that is the foundation of heaven and earth"), the mighty ziggurat that stood within the temple precinct of the great god Marduk at Babylon during the 6th century B.C.E. It is this structure that possibly inspired the Tower of Babel story in the OT book of Genesis. Although the structure itself has long since been demolished by the depredations of brick scavengers, the awe that it once must have inspired can easily be sensed in the famous (albeit rather skeptical) description of it by the 5th-century B.C.E. Greek historian Herodotus (*The Histories*, Book I).

The ziggurat came to be a characteristic feature of religious architecture in Assyria as well by the early 2d millennium B.C.E. Three (including a twin-ziggurat complex) were discovered at the traditional capital of Assyria, Ashur, the earliest of them having been built by the late 19th-century B.C.E. ruler Shamshi-Adad. Later ziggurats were built at Nimrud (ancient Kalhu) and Khorsabad (ancient Dur-Sharrukin). The physical relationship of tower to sanctuary in Assyria tended to differ, sometimes quite markedly, from that in Babylonia. In particular, in some instances in Assyria the god's sanctuary extended into the core of the tower itself, so that the niche containing the god's statue was actually situated within the tower's base. No similar configuration is known from Babylonia.

C. Social Role of the Temple

Throughout antiquity, no institution played a more significant or enduring role in ancient Mesopotamian society than the temples of the great urban centers of Babylonia and Assyria.

E. Sollberger (1975: 34) has succinctly defined the Babylonian temple as "the house in which a god lives, manages his worldly business, is served by his household and by his people, and, through his own success, ensures the happiness and prosperity of his city and her inhabitants." This definition incorporates very well the two principal translations of the Sumerian and Akkadian words for "temple" (respectively, *é* and *bītum*): "house" and "household." Quite simply, the essential function of an ancient Mesopotamian temple was to serve as the house of the city's patron god or goddess. Yet the identity of the patron deity with his or her temple was so complete that the temple can be regarded, not simply as the god's abode, but as the god's "embodiment" (Jacobsen 1976: 16–17). Looming high above the city's skyline, dominating the horizon, the temple provided the inhabitants of a Mesopotamian city "visible assurance that the god was present among them" (Jacobsen 1961: 276). Furthermore, as the city's patron and protector, the deity was fittingly regarded as its true landlord. It is hardly surprising, then, that, from the advent of written records, the temple households appear as the owners and administrators of vast estates, often comprising thousands of acres, as well as enormous herds of livestock and various storehouses, granaries, and workshops where the produce of the temple estates was sheltered and processed. Just as the temple dominated the city architecturally, then, the temple's household dominated—or, at the very least, played a vital role in—the city's economic life.

Because of the patron deity's central role in the life of the city, and from the great wealth produced by his/her estates, there accrued to the temple a number of significant social roles within the surrounding community. Perhaps most important, its fields and orchards produced surpluses of barley and wheat, dates, and other foodstuffs that might sustain the community in hard times. From that same produce came the funds to supply wages and rations to, in some instances, thousands of full-time and part-time employees and dependants whose status might range from chief temple administrator (Sum SANGA) or palace official to semi-free textile worker or agricultural laborer. The temple also protected the economically disadvantaged by sheltering and employing widows, orphans, and war captives; by standardizing weights, measures, and interest

rates; or even by granting small interest-free loans of grain (although, in other circumstances, temple administrators might exact interest rates as high as one-third of a loan's principal). On a more ostensibly "cultic" level (and it is prudent, in discussing the social role of the Mesopotamian temple, not to insist on too strict a separation of "cultic" from "economic" or, for that matter, "spiritual" from "secular"), the temple might perform services such as administering oaths and ordeals in judicial proceedings.

Few scholars would dispute, however, that, in the minds of ancient Mesopotamians themselves, the temple's most crucial function was to provide for the city's patron deity a secure, permanent residence of appropriate spaciousness and luxury. Here, the deity's servants could attend to his or her "care and feeding" (Oppenheim 1977: 183) by bathing and clothing the deity's statue in its private chambers and by preparing and ceremonially presenting regular food offerings according to a suitably elaborate, long-established ritual. In the unstinting performance of these duties lay the community's only hope, if not assurance, for its continued safety and prosperity.

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JOHN F. ROBERTSON

SYRIA-PALESTINE

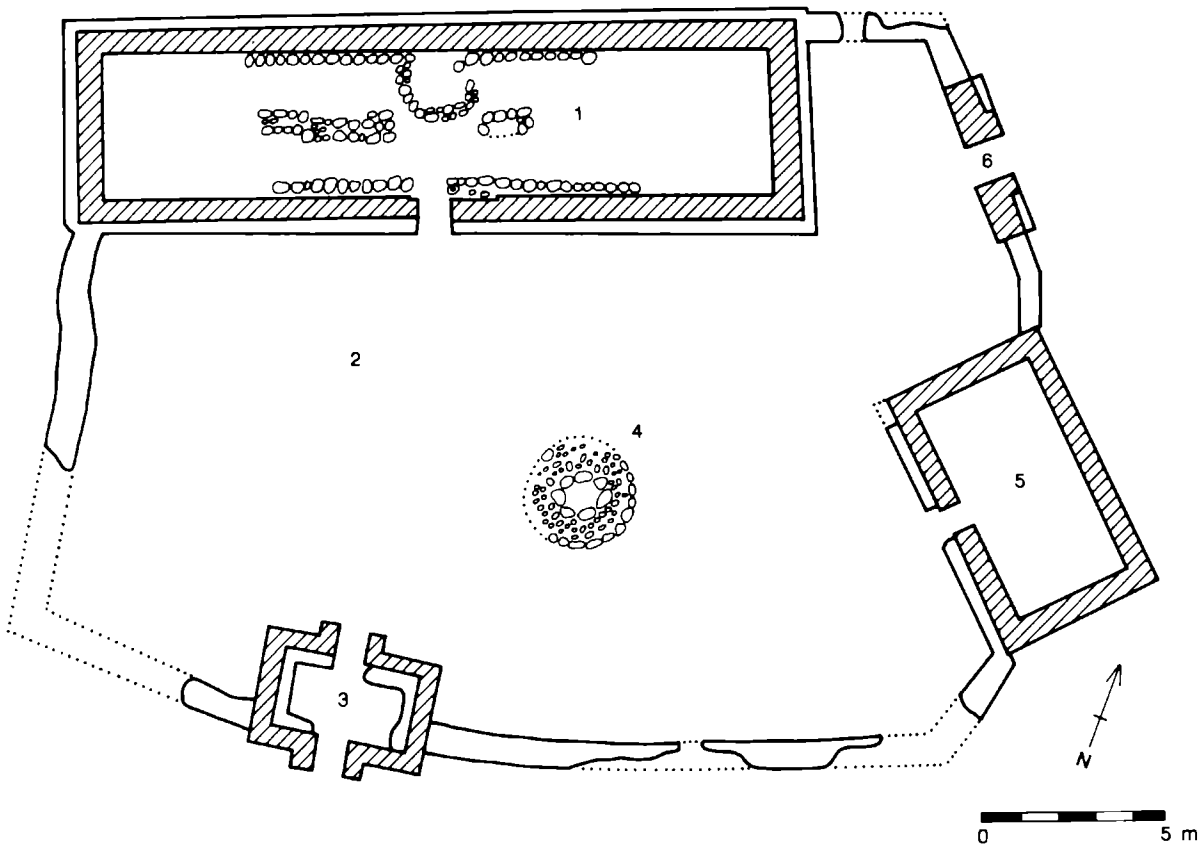
There is no technical word in the Hebrew Bible for *temple* or *sanctuary.* Hebrew *bêt,* "house," is regularly used in connection with the name of a particular deity, such as the "House of Yahweh" for the Solomonic temple, the "House of Dagon" at Ashdod, etc. Similarly the Hebrew *bāmāh* means "high place," but clearly denotes a shrine or sanctuary, usually Canaanite, yet it also refers to the royal sanctuary at Dan in N Israel. Beyond that, Hebrew *miqdaš* "shrine" (literally "place set apart") is sometimes used to describe a holy place, but the distinction, if any, is not clear. Occasionally, the terms are grouped together in ways that seem confusing, as "houses of the high places" (1 Kgs 13:32), or "shrines of the high places," (2 Kgs 17:29, 32; 23:19). A partial solution to the ambiguities inherent in the biblical terminology may lie in the fact that for the final redactors of the Hebrew Bible (i.e., the Deuteronomic historians) there *was* only one temple-sanctuary—that in Jerusalem. However, the Bible's lack of familiarity with other cultic installations is rectified in part by the discoveries of modern archaeology, which have brought to light a number of Canaanite, Philistine, Israelite, and other temples and sanctuaries. This review will summarize the main such installations known from the Chalcolithic, Bronze, and Iron Ages (for details, see entries on individual sites; and see also TEMPLE, JERUSALEM).

A. Chalcolithic (ca. 4500–3400 B.C.)

The earliest real temple in Palestine, in the sense of being a monumental public structure dedicated exclusively to cult practice, is the splendid hilltop structure above the spring at En-gedi which overlooks the Dead Sea. See Fig. TEM.05. It is a large *Breithaus* (broadroom) building, surrounded by a temenos wall with a gatehouse. Many scholars believe that the fabulous hoard of copper and ivory cultic implements, found hidden in a cave in the Naḥal Mishmar nearby, was part of the original paraphernalia of this temple. A smaller temple, perhaps a household shrine, was found at Tuleilat al-Ghassul at the N end of the Dead Sea, with a bichrome wall painting depicting elaborate geometric motifs, priests' masks, and the like. Other small sanctuaries, such as the one at Gilat, have produced zoomorphic and anthropomorphic terra-cotta figurines; and on the Golan Heights, household shrines are characterized by small basalt altars with both human and animal motifs.

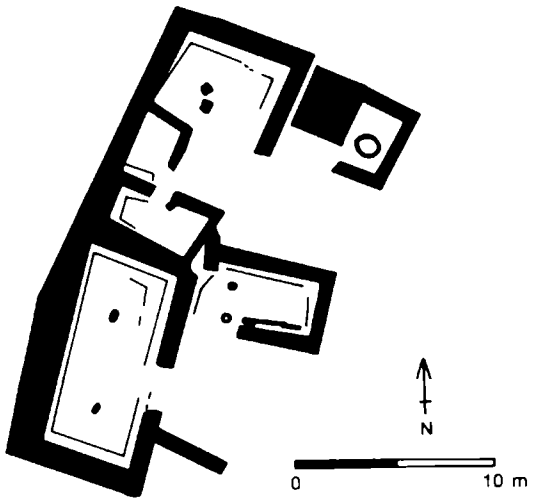
B. The Early Bronze Age (ca. 3400–2000 B.C.)

The first great urban era in Palestine understandably exhibits more monumental temples. Belonging to EB II



TEM.05. Ghassulian Temple at En-gedi—Chalcolithic Period. *1, Breithaus* temple; *2,* courtyard; *3,* gatehouse; *4,* circular basin structure; *5,* lateral chamber; *6,* postern gate. *(Redrawn from D. Ussishkin, "The Ghassulian Shrine at En-Gedi," TA 7 [1980]: 5, fig. 3)*

are several *Breithaus* temples, based simply upon larger versions of the typical broadroom domestic dwelling. The Megiddo XIX temple, built just above bedrock, is typical—a single-room building with centrally aligned column bases. At ʿAi, two temples are known: the "sanctuary" adjacent to the city wall, with several phases belonging to EB I–II; and the so-called "Palace" on the summit, an Egyptian-style structure converted in EB III to a massive temple with splendid masonry construction, probably the finest 3d millennium structure in Palestine. Also belonging to EB III is the "White Building" at Tel Yarmut C.V–IV, again a fine masonry structure somewhat more rectangular than most, with thick plastered walls, column bases, and a low podium on one wall. The Arad EB II "Twin Temple" of strata III–II is unique only because of its plan that features two *Breithaus* structures side-by-side; an outer, partially walled courtyard has a stone altar and an adjacent stone-lined sunken *favissa.* See Fig. TEM.06. Smaller EB II–III sanctuaries, more like shrines, are those at Jericho and at Bâb edh-Dhrâ. No EB IV temples or sanctuaries are presently known, this being a final, post-urban phase. All the above temples and sanctuaries were looted in antiquity and thus have yielded few if any arti-

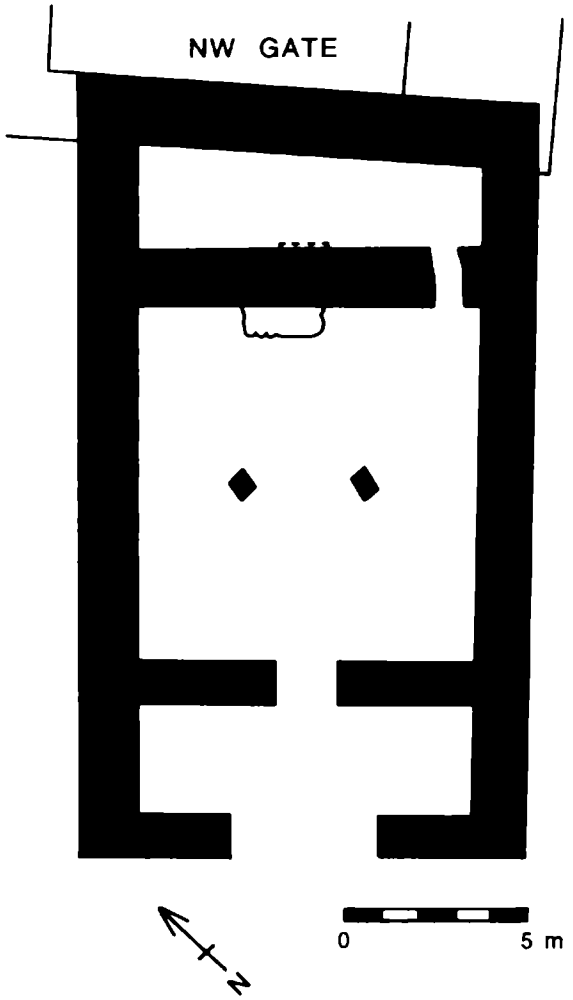


TEM.06. "Twin Temple" at Arad—EB II. *(Redrawn from R. Amiran, "Some Observations on Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age Sanctuaries and Religion," in Biran [ed.] 1981: 41, fig. 1e)*

facts, the Egyptian alabaster vessels from ʿAi being a notable exception. The buildings themselves are simple, one-room structures, with no particular orientation, and only occasionally an altar as an item of furnishing.

C. The Middle Bronze Age (ca. 2000–1500 B.C.)

The urban revival of the first half of the 2d millennium B.C., has produced a larger number of temples and sanctuaries representing several prototypes. Nearly identical single-room *migdal* or "fortress" temples are known from the MB III phases at Megiddo (str. X) and Shechem ("Fortress Temple 1"); and a similar, less massive such temple is known from area A at Hazor (the str. XVI "Long Temple"). Hazor area H (str. XVI; MB III) has also yielded the earliest bipartite temple in Palestine. Finally, an MB III tripartite temple at Shechem ("Temple 7300") was built into a palace adjoining the city wall and NW gate. See Fig. TEM.07. More recently, very small single-room temples have been found at Tel Kittan and Kfar Ruppin; and the tiny village of Tell el-Hayyat in the Jordan Valley has produced a series of five such superimposed temples, dating from MB I–III, with terra-cotta and bronze votive offerings. The bipartite and tripartite versions of these longroom temples continue into the LB and Iron Ages.



TEM.07. Tripartite temple (7300) at Shechem—MB III.

The Nahariyah MB I–III temple is a broadroom structure with several phases, featuring a large outdoor circular altar or "high place." Isolated from any known settlement, it is located on the seashore, probably dedicated to Asherah, whose name at Ugarit means "She who treads the sea." This identification is strengthened by the discovery of several terra-cotta and metal Mother Goddess figurines, as well as a mold for casting them. Another unique MB III cultic installation is the famous Gezer "High Place," an outdoor shrine that features ten enormous standing stones in a N–S alignment with a large stone basin or laver adjacent to them, all of which are surrounded by a plastered pavement with a large stone basin or laver. Quantities of burned sheep and goat remains indicate that animal sacrifices were offered there, but it is more likely a covenant-renewal site than a mortuary installation, as formerly thought.

Most of the MB temples and sanctuaries were looted in antiquity, or were rebuilt in later times and thus had their original features altered beyond recognition.

D. The Late Bronze Age (ca. 1500–1200 B.C.)

The last phase of the Canaanite Bronze Age witnessed the proliferation of earlier style temples, as well as the introduction of newer, local and Egyptian style temples. The Megiddo and Shechem *migdal* temples were rebuilt (str. VIII–VII and "Fortress Temple 2a" respectively). The Hazor area H temple was rebuilt as another bipartite building (str. XV) and it was probably in this phase that the Syrian style basalt orthostats were added all along the lower walls. In the outer court were stone offering tables and basins, as well as a potter's workshop with many small, votive bowls. In its reuse in LB II (str. XIV), this building was expanded into a tripartite temple with the orthostats reused. The temple continued in use in the following stratum (XIII) until its final destruction and in its debris were Cypro-Minoan style stone vases, as well as a wide variety of ceramic votive vessels. Smaller examples of this basic Canaanite style temple were also found at Tel Kittan (Temple III).

Variants on the single-room local style of temple, often with offering benches around the side walls and an altar on the back wall, are well-illustrated in the series of three successive temples at Lachish, "Fosse Temples" I–III. These temples tend to have a side room, as well as pits or *favissae* surrounding them. The Lachish pits produced a rich series of ceramic votive vessels, including the well-known Lachish ewer (Hestrin 1985), whose inscription in Proto-Canaanite mentions a sheep offering for Elat. More recently, a "Summit Temple" on the upper city has been found, much more monumental in character, which yielded among other items a splendid gold relief depiction at a nude Asherah-Qudshu goddess astride a warhorse. The Tel Mevorakh (str. XVI–VIII) temple is another example of the local style, also exhibiting a rich collection of votives: ceramic and bronze vessels, jewelry, cylinder seals, and other items.

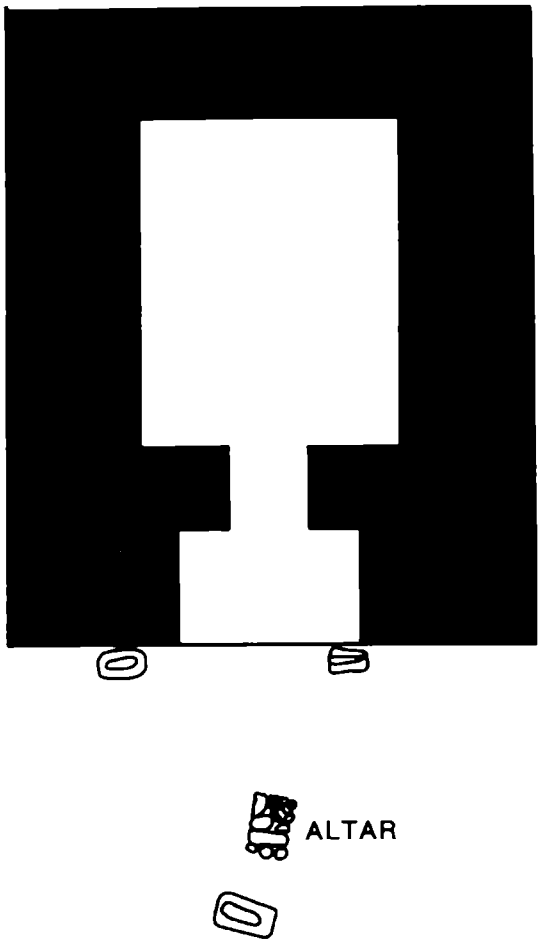
The series of temples at Beth-shan seems to be more Egyptianizing in style. Although designated by the excavators "Thutmoses III," "Pre-Amenhotep," and "Amenhotep III," the connections and dates are fanciful. All three temples are relatively elaborate mudbrick structures with offset entrances; although badly dug and published, it is clear that rich votives were associated with these temples.

In addition to these more standard temples, a number of other types of cultic installations existed in the LB. An example of a curious rectangular "maze-like" shrine with a central column or altar is known in area F at Hazor; similar to this are the isolated, off-site examples of the Mt. Gerizim (Shechem) and Amman Airport temples, the latter with rich collections of votives and (apparently) burned human bones.

A unique "Stelae Temple" at Hazor (area C) had a semicircular alignment of 10 small basalt stela accompanied by a seated basalt figure with outstretched arms. Nearby were found a terra-cotta mask, several fine cylinder seals, a bas-relief silver plaque, and evidence of a potter's workshop. Finally, smaller shrines are known are Shiloh, including several votive vessels; and, from the final phase of LB II, the "Sanctuary" at Deir ʿAllā in the Jordan Valley.

The only actual Egyptian temple thus far discovered in Palestine in this period is the small structure located just at the base of "Solomon's Pillars" in the Wadi Timna, just N of Eilat. It evidently served an Egyptian garrison stationed there to oversee copper mining operations, and has yielded hundreds of items, many of them Egyptian.

Despite an almost bewildering variety and number of LB temples (multiple contemporary examples of some sites), there is apparently a homogeneity of cult practice reflected. This is no doubt typical of fully developed Canaanite religion, as is best documented by the Ugaritic texts. There is a multiplicity of male and female deities, most of them connected with the fertility cults of Greater Canaan. The principal offerings in these "houses of the gods" were apparently gifts of food and drink (including animal sacrifices), and various votives—common objects (such as pottery) and more costly items.



TEM.08. *Migdal* temple 2b at Shechem—Iron I. *(Redrawn from G. E. Wright, Shechem [New York, 1964], fig. 56)*

E. The Iron I Period (ca. 1200–900 B.C.)

With the end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age in Palestine, evidence of a multi-ethnic society appears which is no doubt reflected in cult and temple installations, as well as in other aspects of material culture.

Among temples continuing in the Canaanite LB style are the Beth-shan VI ("Seti I") temple, and probably also the small Tell Abu-Hawam IVa temple. The final phase of the Shechem *migdal* Temple ("Fortress Temple" 2b) also belongs to the early 12th century B.C. (str. XI), although many would regard this as an Israelite reuse of the old sanctuary (i.e., the "house of El-berith" of Judg 9:46). See Fig. TEM.08.

Several Philistine temples have recently come to light, the most elaborate and well-preserved being that at Tell Qasile, at the mouth of the Yarkon River, with several 12th–11th century B.C. phases (str. XII–X). The temple features an outer courtyard, an inner cella with benches and an altar, and a *favissa* that produced dozens of discarded cult objects. Many of the latter have Cypriot and Aegean connections, underlining the relations of the Philistines with the "Sea Peoples." A smaller shrine at nearby Jaffa yielded the skull of a lion, perhaps to be identified with Asherah, the "Lion Lady." More recently, a small shrine at Tel Miqne (biblical Ekron) has come to light, with inscribed bovine scapulae similar to those found in 12th century B.C. temples at Enkomi and Kition in Cyprus.

No early Iron I temples constructed *de novo* as "Israelite" have yet come to light, but several possible Israelite shrines are now known. At Hazor, a stratum XI "squatter occupation" above the ruins of the destroyed LB Canaanite city yielded a small shrine, with several incense stands and a jar that contained a group of bronzes, probably votives, including a fine seated male deity of familiar LB type. A bronze bull figurine, also of Canaanite style, is the principal find at an isolated 12th century B.C. hilltop shrine found recently near Dothan, in the tribal territory of

Manasseh (Mazar 1982). Finally, a large early Iron I altar-like construction atop Mt. Ebal, flanking the Shechem pass, has been interpreted as an Israelite shrine (cf. Josh 8:30, 31). Storejars with burned animal bones are reported, but the possibility remains that the whole installation is either domestic, or simply a watchtower.

By the 10th century B.C., however, a number of clearly Israelite cultic installations appear. A small courtyard shrine of str. VA/IVB at Megiddo includes offering stands and a limestone "horned" altar. At nearby Taanach (str. IIB), a larger shrine features an oil-pressing installation, a collection of astragali, a mold for making "Astarte" plaques, and in particular two large terra-cotta stands with a fantastic array of sun discs, sacred trees, cherubs, lions, and other familiar Canaanite iconographic motifs. Tell el-Farʿah N. (str. VIIb; Israelite Tirzah) produced a "gate shrine" near the city entrance with a large stela and possibly another oil-press; and from another location came a *naos* or temple model, which at one time undoubtedly contained a representation of a male or female deity (elsewhere usually Asherah-Tanit). The monumental shrine at Dan may date to the late 10th, or more likely the 9th century B.C. It features a massive ashlar masonry podium approached by a flight of steps, possibly a Canaanite-style *bāmāh* or "high place" (cf. 1 Kgs 12:31). Nearby was a small long-room temple with rich cultic finds, probably a later addition. In the S kingdom was "cult Room 49" at Lachish (str. V, 10th–9th century B.C.), a small room with benches that yielded incense stands, "horned" altars, and ceramic votive vessels. Finally, the temple at Arad, with its several phases (str. XI–VIII) may have originated in the late 10th century B.C. See Fig. ARA.02.

In Iron II, the period of the divided monarchy, some of the above cultic installations continued, in particular those at Dan and Arad. The Dan temple featured an altar associated with burned animal bones and several bronze shovels; and nearby were found "horned" altars, both male and female figurines, and other cultic paraphernalia. The Arad temple, built roughly along the lines of the Solomonic temple, with an outer courtyard and altar, a central room, and a small inner chamber with a stela and two stone incense altars, was rebuilt well into the 7th century B.C. Among the finds of the later phases were a bronze crouching lion, and two shallow offering bowls inscribed *q–k*, probably an abbreviation for "set apart for the priests." At Beer-sheba, in stratum IV, another temple of the 8th–7th centuries B.C. has been reconstructed, albeit largely from negative evidence. A radically altered building in the center of the mound was interpreted by Aharoni as a demolished temple, which he believed had once featured the large "horned" altar the stones of which were found in rubble construction of a later building. A krater from this area bore the inscription *qôdeš*, "sacred." The most astonishing Israelite shrine ever found is at Kuntillet Ajrûd in the E Sinai desert. This 8th-century-B.C. structure is built into the entrance of the fortress, with low plastered benches and storerooms on each side, and plastered walls that produced several fragmentary and intact Hebrew dedicatory and blessing inscriptions, invoking El, Yahweh, and Baʿal. Inside the fortress, large storejars featured scenes of Bes, sacred trees, lions, processions, and especially a half-nude female seated in a throne, near an inscription mentioning blessings "by Yahweh of Samaria and his asherah."

Finally, E of Beer-sheba at the site of Qitmit an apparently cultic site from the late Iron Age has been discovered which seems to be non-Israelite. The excavator suggests from the nature of the finds that it was probably Edomite. Several small rooms with benches and altars were found, in connection with a number of unique terra-cotta figurines of worshipers and deities, including a three-horned goddess.

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WILLIAM G. DEVER

GRECO-ROMAN TEMPLES

A. Greek Temples

Shifts in Greek religious practice in the early 1st millennium B.C.E. are reflected in the archaeological record. During the Mycenaean period sacred space had been integrated into domestic space, and religious activity had been organized around the palace of the king. After the decline of the palace system, the developing Greek *polis* segregated religious activity and began to divide sacred space from areas of habitation. One of the Greek words for sanctuary was *temenos,* meaning "an area cut off." A *temenos* was a piece of land marked off by a wall or boundary stones, reserved for sacrifices and dedications to a god. A *temenos* could be located in the center of the city, at the edge of town, or in the countryside. Caves, groves, and areas around springs or streams were often set aside for a god. A *temenos* usually contained at least an altar, but need not have contained a building.

By the 8th century B.C.E. the Greeks had begun to build temples to their gods. The typical Archaic *temenos* was an enclosed area containing a rectangular building facing a high, raised, rectangular altar *(bomos).* The Greek temple, *naos,* was considered the dwelling place of the divinity, and the main chamber of the *naos,* the *cella,* was used for the

display of the cult statue of the god. Sometimes temples also included a separate chamber, *adyton,* whose use was restricted to priests or priestesses. The major religious ceremonies, however, did not take place in the temple, but at the altar outside. By the 8th century there were temple buildings at the pan-Hellenic sites of Olympia, Delphi, and Delos, and early in the 7th century there were buildings for local cults at Argos, Sparta, and Samos.

With the evolution of the Greek *polis,* public cult became more complex; sanctuaries were expanded and adorned by cities competing to display their growing wealth. Marble was introduced as a building material at Delphia in the 6th century B.C.E. and had become standard by the middle of the 5th century at Olympia and Athens.

The architecture of the Greek sanctuary was determined by the needs of the cult. Because the area of the sanctuary was thought to be sacred, certain standards of purity were required of worshippers. Inscriptions at the entrance to sanctuaries often prohibited from entry those who had recently participated in a funeral, assisted at a childbirth, or engaged in recent sexual intercourse. Basins of water were placed at the entrance of the sanctuary so that those about to worship could perform a ritual purification by sprinkling water before entering the sacred area. Because formal sacrifice was followed by public banquets, many sanctuaries had kitchens and dining rooms to serve officials and visiting worshippers. Votive dedications required places for storage, and many sanctuaries included special buildings for the display and storage of votive gifts. Wealthy cities made it a point to advertise their success by dedicating spoils from war in the great pan-Hellenic sanctuaries like Delphi and Olympia, and city treasuries were a regular feature of these public sites.

Greek sanctuaries served a variety of needs. Usually the important gods of the city were worshipped in the center of town. At Athens, Athena, as protector of the city, had her temples on the acropolis. Other temples and shrines were located in the *agora,* or commercial and political center of the city. Demeter, as goddess of agriculture, however, often had her sanctuary outside the city walls. Grand temples for Dionysos were rare; in some Greek cities Dionysos had a small temple near the theater.

Special facilities for festivals and ritual were incorporated into Greek sanctuaries. Athletic contests were part of the festivals at Nemea, Olympia, Delphi, and Isthmia; at these sites grand stadiums were located adjacent to the sacred area, near the temple and altar of the god. Incubation, or sleeping overnight in the sanctuary, was a requirement in healing cults of Asklepios; his sanctuaries at Epidauros and Corinth were therefore equipped with special stoas for the entertainment and relaxation of visitors seeking to be cured. Oracular gods often had their sanctuaries near a natural source of water. At Delphi, in the early period, water from the spring Kassotis, located in the center of the *temenos,* flowed into the *adyton* of the temple of Apollo where the Pythia gave prophetic pronouncements.

Sanctuaries for the mysteries differed from other types of Greek sanctuaries. Because mysteries were secret ceremonies, the rituals were sometimes performed inside the temple. The Telesterion of Demeter at Eleusis, for instance, was a large, square building with a roof supported by interior columns. Tiered stone steps around the inner side of the outer walls could accommodate hundreds of worshippers standing in rows at the annual celebration of the mysteries. At Samothrace the sanctuary of the Theoi Megaloi had two buildings for the two separate stages of initiation, *myesis* and *epopteia.* Both buildings had seats for spectators at the ceremonies.

Greek sanctuaries became more complex and elaborate during the Hellenistic period, enriched and decorated by the donations of the great Hellenistic kings and wealthy private individuals. Grand stoas at Delos and Samothrace accommodated increased numbers of visitors to the annual festivals. The growing popularity of the cult of Asklepios in this period is reflected in the development of great sanctuaries in his honor throughout the Aegean and Asia Minor. Greek sanctuaries continued to flourish during the Roman period, often patronized and adorned by important Roman rulers and political leaders.

B. Roman Temples

The Latin word *templum* is related to the Greek word *temenos* and referred originally to an open space marked off for observation of the sky and the taking of auspices and divination. Eventually the word *templum* referred to the piece of land dedicated to a god and used for religious ritual. A *templum* could include a building, *aedes,* an altar, and votive dedications. The *aedes* functioned like the Greek *naos* and housed the statue of the god. The architecture of Roman temple buildings, in fact was influenced by Greek models. Some temples were open to all, others were subject to restrictions based on gender or social status. Some temples belonged to private religious associations or *collegia;* many of these included cooking and dining facilities for the banquets of the members.

Roman temples served many functions and were closely tied to the needs of the state. They provided a place for the performance of public sacrifices and for the official taking of the auspices, for storing treasures, holding meetings of the Senate and other official bodies, for trials of the law courts, and for private rituals and dedications. The Roman *consuls* had their offices in the temple of Castor and Pollux.

During the period of the Republic the building of new public temples in Rome was controlled by the Senate and the tribunes. The oldest public buildings were built in the Forum and on the Capitoline hill; later temples were scattered throughout the city as it expanded and grew. Vitruvius says that temples were located in areas appropriate to the function of the gods being worshipped (1.7.1–2). New temples could be built to honor victories in war, to accommodate a new divinity introduced at Rome (e.g., Cybele, the Syrian gods, the Egyptian gods, and Mithras), or in the Imperial period, to honor the emperor. Location of new temples seems sometimes to have been determined by political requirements. During the reign of Augustus, as part of his program of religious reform, many older temples were restored and new ones built. The reign of Hadrian was the second great period of temple building and restoration, both at Rome and throughout the empire.

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SUSAN GUETTEL COLE

TEMPTATION OF JESUS. Within the NT a narrative account of the temptation of Jesus is given in all three Synoptic Gospels (Matt 4:1–11; Mark 1:12–13; Luke 4:1–13). Reference is made to Jesus' temptation in the letter to the Hebrews (Heb 2:18; 4:15), but it is otherwise passed over in silence by the NT literature.

In each of the Synoptics, the temptation narrative is an integral part of the introduction to the Gospels' story about Jesus' ministry. The three accounts agree among themselves as to the place of the temptation ("the wilderness," Gk *erēmon*), the role of the Spirit in leading Jesus to this place, and a 40-day duration of time, but they otherwise differ among themselves as to the details of the narrative. The three accounts even identify the tempter in different fashions: "the tempter" *(ho peirazōn)* in Matt; "the Satan" *(ho Satan)* in Mark; and "the devil" *(ho diabolos)* in Luke.

A. The Synoptic Problem

Discussion as to the literary relationship among the three accounts is an integral part of the Synoptic problem. Proponents of the two-source theory generally hold that the Markan account enjoys literary priority vis-à-vis the other accounts, that Matthew's account largely stems from the Q source, and that Luke's account is a conflation of Markan and Q material. Other scholars would take issue with each of these three positions. Wilhelm Wilkens (1982), for example, has argued that the Matthean account is a creation of Matthew, who was then followed by Luke.

Scholars who admit the dependence of the Matthean and Lukan accounts upon Q disagree as to whether Matthew or Luke more faithfully reproduces the Q sequence of three temptations. The majority believe that the Matthean order (bread-temple-kingdoms) better reflects Q than does the Lukan order (bread-kingdoms-temple). That Matthew's order is more logical, leading to the issue of sovereignty as its climax (Matt 4:8–10), and that he juxtaposes the two similarly structured temptations (bread-temple) are among the principal reasons in favor of the Matthean sequence. On the other hand it is noted that Luke's sequence has a topographical schema and brings the series of temptations to their conclusion in Jerusalem, features of the narrative which are consistent with Lukan interests and his redactional techniques.

B. Mark 1:12–13

The relatively simple Markan account (Mark 1:12–13) bears the imprint of Mark's editorial work and is characterized by its christological context. In it, the Spirit of God appears as an overpowering force who drives Jesus into the wilderness, the place of temptation. Mention of the Spirit highlights the action of God (Jesus himself is not named in Mark's account) and links the temptation to the account of Jesus' baptism (1:9–11). Jesus is God's agent in the confrontation with Satan.

Mark's account is devoid of specific mention of fasting, which some infer from the final mention of angels who "minister" (*diakoneō*, a word whose primary meaning is "to serve at table"). Also, Mark does not identify any specific temptations. Rather, Jesus is described as being tempted during a period of "forty days and forty nights," a span of time during which he is in the presence of wild beasts. These traits have led some scholars to see an allusion to Moses (Exod 24:18; 34:28) and/or the Exodus (Exod 16:35; Num 14:33–34; Deut 8:2; Acts 7:42) or, alternatively, to an Adam christology and/or a paradise motif (Gen 2:19; see Mahnke 1978: 28–38). Since the account forms an integral part of Mark's initial portrayal of Jesus, and "40" is a stylized number, some scholars take the account as a symbol of the struggle with Satan and the forces of evil which is characteristic of Jesus' entire ministry.

C. Matthew 4:1–11

In Matthew's account, the temptation comes after a 40-day fast from food. An infinitive of purpose (*peirasthēnai*, "to be tempted," 4:1) emphasizes that the temptation is part of the divine plan for Jesus. A conditional clause ("if [= "since"] you are the Son of God," 4:3, 6) links the temptations to Jesus' baptism (3:13–17). The *three* temptations form a single unit. Their form is that of a rabbinic scriptural disputation: various passages of the Scriptures are passed in review. The substance of the debate ultimately focuses on the meaning of Jesus' sonship.

In their original context, the three scriptural passages cited by Jesus (Deut 8:3; 6:13; 6:16) referred to the trials of Israel during the Exodus and are presented according to the sequence of these trials according to the book of Exodus. Thus, Matthew seems to present a contrast between the faithful response of Jesus as Son and the infidelity of Israel as Son (cf. Hos 2:11 in Matt 2:15). By respectively refusing the role of the wonder-worker, tempting God, and the assumption of political power, Jesus is presented as faithful to God's word and faithfully responsive to his baptismal call. Each of the temptation episodes probably reflects Jewish-Christian debate within Matthew's community and discussions between Jews and Christians relating to the role of Jesus.

D. Luke 4:1–13

The Lukan sequence of the three temptations represents a more natural geographic movement, from the wilderness to the temple. The final episode is set in Jeru-

salem, a center of Lukan interest. The three temptations are bracketed by the "Son of God" motif (4:3, 9), which links the temptation narrative not only to the baptismal scene (3:21–22) but also with the genealogy (3:23–28). The temptations highlight the true identity and function of Jesus.

For Luke, the 40-day period is one of temptation and of fasting. Luke's redactional interests are apparent in his reworking of the Markan material. The additional reference to the Spirit (4:1) is in keeping with an emphasis throughout Luke–Acts. The fasting sets the scene for the first of the three specific temptations. The devil's departure "until an opportune time" (Luke 4:13) may anticipate the role of Satan in the Passion (Luke 22:3) and may suggest that the period of Jesus' earthly ministry was free from Satan (Conzelmann 1960: 28).

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TEN COMMANDMENTS. The Ten Commandments are a collection of biblical laws contained in Exod 20:1–17 and Deut 5:6–21. The title originates from Exod 34:8 (cf. Deut 4:13; 10:4), where it is stated that Moses "wrote upon the tables the words of the covenant, the ten commandments." In the Hebrew and Greek texts, the "ten commandments" are, literally, the "ten words." Although "ten" has achieved a firm place in the tradition as the distinctive characteristic of the collection, the terminology itself was apparently a secondary description of the collection. From the Greek *deka logoi* ("ten words") derives the term "decalogue" as an equivalent designation for this set of biblical laws. However, the exact enumeration of the Ten Commandments is not obvious, as later ecclesiastical usage clearly shows. Moreover, there are also obvious differences between the biblical text as to the wording of the individual commandments.

A. Survey of Scholarship
   1. History of the Decalogue
   2. Important Contributions
B. The Individual Commandments
   1. The First Commandment
   2. The Second Commandment
   3. The Third Commandment
   4. The Fourth Commandment
   5. The Fifth Commandment
   6. The Sixth Commandment
   7. The Seventh Commandment
   8. The Eighth Commandment
   9. The Ninth Commandment
   10. The Tenth Commandment
C. Later Tradition
   1. New Testament
   2. Jewish Tradition
   3. Christian Tradition

A. Survey of Scholarship

Some scholars find in this terminology, "the ten words," an argument in support of the view that the original form of the Ten Commandments consisted of a negative particle and a verb, each commandment thus presumed to have been expressed as a single word. Their argument is otherwise based on a distinction among biblical laws originally developed by A. Alt (1966) in 1934. Alt distinguished between casuistic law, characterized by a conditional style ("if . . . , then . . ."), and apodictic law, a simple prescription or proscription without specific mention of a corresponding sanction. He considered that the biblical tradition had taken over much of its casuistic law from the Canaanite culture, but that apodictic law was indigenous to Israel and represented true Israelite law.

1. History of the Decalogue. The Bible places the origin of the Ten Commandments within the time of Moses. According to Exodus, God gave the commandments to the Israelites when they were encamped on Mount Sinai after the Exodus from Egypt. Deuteronomy expresses the view that the covenant established on Horeb-Sinai is based on the revelation of the Ten Commandments. The biblical tradition stresses the divine origin, the completeness of the collection, and its finality (Deut 5:22). Unlike other collections of biblical laws where the role of Moses as a mediator is stressed (cf. Exodus 19; Exod 20:22; 34:32; Lev 17:1; Deut 6:1), the Ten Commandments are attributed directly to God (Exod 20:1). In Exodus 20, the first person is used in vv 2, 3, 5, 6 (cf. Deut 5:6, 7, 9, 10).

Contemporary critical scholarship is reluctant to ascribe the Ten Commandments, in their present form, to the Mosaic era. There is a wide consensus that the present form of the Ten Commandments is the result of a long historical development, whose individual steps cannot be identified with certainty. The complex process of development was related to the institutional life of Israel, its sense of identity, its social structures, its teaching, and its worship. Given the complexity of the process, it is virtually impossible to reconstruct any original form of the decalogue. Some scholars have, however, attempted to reconstitute a presumed original form of the collection.

The individual commandments have their own history. During a period of oral transmission various commandments were expanded by the addition of motivating factors, theological reflections, promises, and explanatory detail. At some stages in the transmission, the formulation of individual commandments may have been shortened.

According to some scholars, primitive collections preceded the tenfold collection (see Nielsen 1968; Gerstenber-

ger 1965; Hossfeld 1982; Lang 1984). Even after the decalogue had come into existence as a collection of ten laws, there was still further development, as a comparison between Exodus 20 and Deuteronomy 5 clearly demonstrates. Some scholars postulate a literary dependence of one biblical text upon the other.

Each of the biblical versions of the Ten Commandments is postexilic in its present form. Most scholars agree that Exod 20:1–17 interrupts the Exodus narrative (Exod 20:18 relates to the theophany at Sinai and continues Exod 19:25). Thus the present relationship of the Ten Commandments to Sinai is considered to result from relatively late redactional work upon the Exodus narrative.

2. Important Contributions. Many of the early critical studies of the decalogue took issue with the tradition of its Mosaic origins on the basis of a history-of-religions approach to the content of the Ten Commandments. It was argued, for example, that the social ethic expressed in the decalogue is under the influence of the 8th-century prophets (Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah) and that the First Commandment was unthinkable before Hosea. The Mosaic origins of the Ten Commandments were therefore questioned on the basis of a developmental theory with regard to Israel's religion and ethics. In his 1982 monograph, F. L. Hossfeld argued that the social prohibitions of Deut 5:16–21 were freely composed along the lines of Hos 4:2 and Jer 7:9. More specifically, in a 1985 essay, Christoph Levin pointed to Jer 7:9 as the source of the decalogue.

Many scholars were convinced that the religious and social ethos expressed in the decalogue was similar to that expressed in the so-called Elohist document (8th cent.). Consequently, the decalogue was frequently interpreted according to the canons of source-critical and pentateuchal documentary theory. André Lemaire (1981) distinguished four literary redactions of the decalogue: an Elohistic (from the time of Amos and Hosea), a Yahwistic (from the time of Hezekiah), a Deuteronomistic (found in Deuteronomy 5), and a Priestly redaction (responsible for the expansion of the Sabbath commandment in both Exod 20:8–11 and Deut 5:12–15).

The major thrust of most of the recent historical-critical studies of the Ten Commandments has sought to identify their literary form, their relationship with the institutional life of Israel, and the theological and literary significance of their presence in Exodus and Deuteronomy.

A significant precursor of Alt's form-critical analysis of Israelite law was the work of Sigmund Mowinckel (1927). Mowinckel held that although the present versions of the decalogue are relatively late, its origins are quite ancient and are to be associated with Israel's worship. Form-critical analysis of Psalms 15 and 24 led to their being considered entrance liturgies. Similarly, the decalogue was judged to have originated in a liturgical rite. Mowinckel postulated the existence of an annual New Year's covenant renewal ceremony in which the Law was proclaimed, the decalogue serving as the focal point of the proclamation of the Law. Mowinckel pointed to the allusions to the decalogue in Pss 50:16–20 and 81:9–10 as an indication of the cultic use of the decalogue. While recent scholars might take issue with the thesis of a cultic origin of the decalogue, most have adopted the notion that the decalogue enjoyed a cultic function in Israel's tradition.

A further step in the study of the decalogue was undertaken by G. E. Mendenhall (1954a), who compared biblical covenant texts and a group of Hittite suzerainty treaties. Among the common features which he identified were their preambles, the historical prologues, the covenant stipulations, provisions for the preservation and reading of the treaties, and the curses and blessings cited as sanctions relative to the observance of the treaties (cf. Deuteronomy 27–28). While various scholars take issue with Mendenhall's contention that the origins of the biblical covenant pattern owe specifically to the Hittite model, many agree that the decalogue, as a summary of covenant stipulations, has many formal similarities with the suzerainty pacts. A comparison highlights the importance of the preamble and the historical prologue as providing keys to understanding the decalogue in its present literary form. The suzerainty model may also provide a clue as to the significance of the tradition of the two tables (Exod 31:18; 34:29; Deut 4:13; 9:10–11, etc.). Originally each table may have contained the entirety of the decalogue. According to the model of a treaty, two copies would be made of the text, one for each of the parties to the agreement.

E. Gerstenberger's 1965 dissertation introduced a new phase in the discussion of the Ten Commandments. He successfully demonstrated that Alt's division between apodictic and casuistic law was far too simple, since the category of apodictic law was not as unified as Alt had supposed. Gerstenberger rejected the view that the decalogue had its origin in the cult and/or was based on treaty stipulations. Rather, he argued that the more basic form of Israelite law was "the prohibitive form" whose roots lie in a clan ethic and that at most, cultic use and treaty models represent secondary developments. While one might legitimately take issue with Gerstenberger's notion of the clan ethic, he clearly demonstrated that the content of the second group of commandments is not unique to Israel and that it has much in common with other ancient expressions of family ethics.

Subsequently, Anthony Phillips (1970) argued that the Ten Commandments functioned as a summary of Israel's criminal law. Although the precepts of the decalogue are not sanctioned within the decalogue itself, the Bible elsewhere indicates sanctions, often death, for violations of precepts similar to those contained in the decalogue. According to Phillips, criminal law regulates conduct that is detrimental to the whole community. Given Israel's covenant status with Yahweh, any offense against the covenant was against the community. Therefore, the community was subject to Yahweh's wrath in the event that his covenant was violated. Through a somewhat different approach, then, Phillips underscored the covenantal nature of the extant versions of the Ten Commandments.

While these various studies illustrate the complexity of the issues involved in any attempt to understand how the present decalogue came into being, they also point to the central position of the Ten Commandments within the biblical tradition. They are presented as the direct address of God, identified as a complete entity, given a special name, are reflected in the prophets (Hos 4:1; Jer 7:9) and the psalms (Psalms 50; 81), and provide a framework for

the revision of law found in Deuteronomy 12–26. This attests to their influence upon Israel's faith and ethos.

B. The Individual Commandments

In Exod 20:2 and Deut 5:6, the Ten Commandments are introduced by a preamble, which Zimmerli (1953) identified as a "self-introductory" formula. The revelation of God's name (cf. Exod 3:14; 6:2) had been linked with the promise of Israel's deliverance from Egypt. Its citation in the preamble to the decalogue is a further sign of Israel's election. That God speaks directly to his people indicates that the commandments are an integral element within the election of the nation. The commandments are a gift from God, but they also place a claim upon Israel insofar as they are an expression of God's will for his people.

1. The First Commandment. The style of the precept itself, "you shall have no other gods before me" (Exod 20:3; Deut 5:7), is terse and negative. The commandment has been expanded by an explanation and a sanction (Exod 20:5–6; Deut 5:9–10; cf. Exod 34:14; 18:10).

Various translations have been proposed for the phrase "before me" *(ʿal-pānāy),* many of them with a negative connotation ("over against me," "in opposition to me"), but the traditional rendering appears as useful as any. The commandment defines the relationship between Yahweh and Israel by categorically eliminating any other deities from Israel's allegiance. It bans the worship of foreign gods.

The exclusivity of the relationship between Yahweh and Israel is an important element in Israel's oldest religious tradition. However, it is not necessary to ascribe the present formulation of the commandment to a very early stage of the tradition, nor is it advantageous to interpret the commandment as if it inculcated monotheism. The commandment technically enjoins monolatry, but it can be understood within a henotheistic religious system.

2. The Second Commandment. The wording, "you shall not make for yourself a graven image . . ." (Exod 20:4; Deut 5:8), has been incorporated into the framework of the First Commandment. Originally, the commandment appears to have banned any image of the deity carved from wood or stone, but its scope was later expanded to include metal figures as well. The additional explanation ("any likeness") banned every representation of God.

Whereas virtually all other contemporary cultures used cultic representations as a means of entering into contact with the deity, Israelites were not to do so. At issue was the fact that God cannot be controlled by humans. The Israelites were forbidden even to attempt to control Yahweh. Deut 4:9–12 is a helpful attempt to interpret the ban.

3. The Third Commandment. "You shall not take the name of the Lord your God in vain . . ." (Exod 20:7; Deut 5:9) prohibits the abuse of the name of God, the sacred tetragrammaton. The ancients considered the name as expressing the nature or function, almost the very being, of a person or thing. Within Israel the name of God had an important role from the earliest times. God's name was called upon (Gen 4:26) and blessed (Ps 72:19). It was not to be blasphemed (Lev 24:16) or cursed (2 Kgs 2:24).

Although this commandment may have originally enjoyed a fairly wide scope, it seems to have been primarily cited as a prohibition of false oaths or the use of God's name in a curse from a very early period. Israelites ought not to try to manipulate God by an abusive use of his name.

4. The Fourth Commandment. Among the precepts of the decalogue, "remember the Sabbath day . . ." (Exod 20:8–11; Deut 5:10–12) is the one which has attracted the greatest amount of scholarly interest. Questions have been raised as to its origins and the etymology of the term "Sabbath," as well as the significance of the different explanatory interpretations offered by the Exodus and Deuteronomy accounts.

Many scholars observe that the Sabbath observance is unique to Israel and that it originally had no association with cultic practices. The Sabbath observance does not owe its origins to the Fourth Commandment, since the practice is apparently very ancient, having existed in Mosaic times (cf. Exod 16:22–30). The Fourth Commandment merely recalled and reinforced the traditional observance.

The theological explanation offered in Exod 20:11 recalls the Genesis 1 account of creation, but that account itself presupposes the Sabbath observance. Deut 5:10–12 offers a different theological explanation. Hossfeld (1982) considers this formulation of the Sabbath precept as the center of the Deuteronomic redaction of the decalogue. The explanation of the commandment in Deut 5:10–12 is in keeping not only with Deuteronomy's humanitarian concerns but also with the original social purpose of the precept. Rabbinic tradition emphasized that the commandment also required six days of work (Exod 20:9; Deut 5:13).

5. The Fifth Commandment. Like all of the other commandments in the decalogue, the Fifth Commandment, "honor your father and your mother . . ." (Exod 20:12; Deut 5:16), was addressed to adults. It was a prescription requiring the able-bodied to provide care and support for the elderly and is to be understood within the context of the extended, rather than the nuclear, family. A variety of legal prescriptions concerning the elderly form the background of this commandment. Casuistic statements such as those found in the Book of the Covenant (e.g., Exod 21:15, 17) are similar to those found in the laws of neighboring cultures. See LAW (BIBLICAL AND ANE). The positive formulation of the commandment summarizes a whole body of legal prescriptions concerning the physical and material support of the elderly.

The promise of life, the effective opposite of a curse, pertains to all of the precepts of the decalogue. It was attached to the Fifth Commandment to emphasize this particular precept. This results in an affirmation of reciprocal justice. During the postexilic period the commandment was particularly significant because of the importance of society's seniors in passing along the traditions of the people. Various wisdom traditions (e.g., Proverbs 1–9; Sir 3:1–16) elaborate on the implications of the commandment. During the Hellenistic period the commandment was used to provide a scriptural warrant for the obedience owed by children to their parents (e.g., Philo *Dec* 165–67; Eph 6:2).

6. The Sixth Commandment. "You shall not kill" (Exod 20:13; Deut 5:17) is a commandment whose Hebrew text is difficult to translate into English. The Hebrew verb *rāṣaḥ*

has a meaning more restrictive than the generic English verb "to kill."

The commandment is addressed to free, landholding Israelites and affords protection for the life of the Israelite. The commandment forbids the illegal and willful killing of the innocent, but does not ban capital punishment nor forbid the killing of Israel's enemies during war. The commandment appears also to forbid "indirect" killing. Texts such as Ps 94:6, Job 24:14, and Deut 22:26 probably refer to social situations which effectively deprived the poor, widows, orphans, and so forth of life.

7. The Seventh Commandment. "You shall not commit adultery" (Exod 20:16; Deut 5:18) is different from the Tenth Commandment and must be understood within contemporary social structures. It was pertinent to a society that was not strictly monogamous, but was clearly patriarchal: women were considered to be virtually the chattel of their husbands.

The commandment forbade male Israelites to have sexual intercourse with the wife of another Israelite, a fellow member of the covenanted community. According to Deut 22:24 and Lev 20:10 both members of an adulterous pair were to be put to death by stoning.

Israelite men were not forbidden to have sexual intercourse with the slaves of their own household. Sexual intercourse between an Israelite man, albeit married, and an unmarried or unbetrothed woman was not considered to be the crime of adultery. The seduction of an unbetrothed daughter of an Israelite was, however, considered to be an offense violating a neighbor's property rights (Exod 22:15–16). See also ADULTERY.

8. The Eighth Commandment. In the popular view, "you shall not steal" (Exod 20:15; Deut 5:19) is generally understood as forbidding robbery, the unlawful private appropriation of another's goods. In 1953, A. Alt argued from a variety of considerations, including the placement of this commandment in the decalogue and the necessity to distinguish between it and the Tenth Commandment, that the commandment forbade the kidnapping of the free Israelite—to enslave or to sell him—rather than the stealing of material possessions. That the Heb verb *gānab* frequently supposes a human object (cf. Gen 40:15) supports this view. The situation would have been common enough (cf. Genesis 37) to warrant a particular precept. Although Alt's views have been generally accepted by scholars, some scholars (Jackson 1975; Klein 1976; Crüsemann 1983; Hossfeld 1982) have rejected them and espoused the older interpretation of the commandment, which interpret it as a forbidding of robbery.

9. The Ninth Commandment. Although many English-language translations of the Ninth Commandment, "you shall not bear false witness against your neighbor," offer the same wording for both the Exodus and Deuteronomic versions of the commandment, following the LXX (Exod 20:16; Deut 5:20), different Hebrew words are to be found in the MT. Exod 20:16 reads Heb *šeqer*, "lie," while Deut 5:20 reads Heb *šāw'*, "meaningless, incorrect speech." The change of wording was apparently intended to tighten rather than to change the meaning of the commandment.

The commandment forbids false witness in a legal proceeding. Protection is extended not only to the Israelite but to the "neighbor," that is, the coinhabitants of the same land.

10. The Tenth Commandment. The Deuteronomic version of the commandment, "you shall not covet . . ." (Deut 5:21), is different from that of Exod 20:17. Rather than considering the wife among the household properties of an Israelite, Deut 5:21 separates her from among a man's other possessions. Deuteronomy also specifically forbids the illegal appropriation of a neighbor's field.

The purview of this commandment is different from that of the Seventh and Eighth Commandments. The Tenth Commandment forbids the protracted appropriation of another's wife rather than individual acts of adultery. With regard to goods, the commandment forbids not only robbery but all illegal acquisition of another's property. See WANTING AND DESIRING.

C. Later Tradition

Apart from Exodus 20 and Deuteronomy 5, the precepts of the decalogue are rarely cited in the Hebrew Bible (Hos 4:1; Jer 7:9).

1. New Testament. The NT does not give the entire list of the Ten Commandments. Nor does it refer to the Ten Commandments in a global fashion (but cf. Mark 10:19; Luke 18:20). However, the individual precepts of the decalogue are more frequently cited in the NT than they are in the OT. They are featured in the antitheses of Matthew's Sermon on the Mount (Matt 5:21–37) and highlighted in the call of the rich young man (Matt 19:16–30; Mark 10:17–31; Luke 18:18–30). A story of controversy between Jesus and the Jews confirms the traditional Jewish interpretation of the Fifth Commandment (Matt 15:1–9; Mark 7:1–13). Individual commandments are also cited in the epistolary literature (Rom 8:7–13; 13:8–10; Eph 6:1–4; Jas 2:8–13). This situation reflects a Jewish catechetical tradition and the importance of traditional Jewish Halakah in early Christian paraenesis.

2. Jewish Tradition. The Nash papyrus and the tefillin found at Qumran suggest that the commandments had a liturgical significance within Judaism. It would appear that the recitation of the decalogue was originally part of the daily temple service (*m. Tamid* 5:1).

Within Judaism the commandments are clearly divided into a group of five positive and five negative commandments. Jewish tradition stresses that the commandments were spoken by God (*b. Ber.* 12a). In Judaism the sequence of the commandments sometimes differs from that given in the Pentateuch (cf. Mark 10:19).

Although Christians have tended to make use of the Ten Commandments somewhat independently of their biblical context, the rabbinic tradition has refused to isolate the decalogue from the larger body of biblical law. This posture has been adopted to combat the idea that only the Ten Commandments of the decalogue were given by God. The precepts of the decalogue are scattered among the 613 commandments as enumerated by Maimonides. Nonetheless some Jewish sources (e.g., Philo, or *Num. Rab.* 13:15–16) have classified the 613 commandments under the ten headings of the precepts of the decalogue.

3. Christian Tradition. Christians do not generally adopt the Jewish division of the Ten Commandments into five positive and five negative commandments. Nonethe-

less, they differ among themselves in the enumeration of the commandments and their consequent distribution in "two tables." The Roman Catholic, Anglican, and Lutheran traditions generally consider that three commandments relate to one's relationship to God (Exod 20:3–11; Deut 5:7–15) and seven to one's neighbor (Exod 20:12–17; Deut 5:16–21), thus treating Exod 20:4–6 as a single commandment and Deut 5:21 as two commandments. The Reformed tradition divides the commandments into a group of four and a group of six, separating the First from the Second Commandment (see above) and treating Exod 5:17 (= Deut 5:21) as a single precept.

From medieval times, many Roman Catholic authors have interpreted the Ten Commandments as a summary of "natural law." In recent years Christian scholars have tended to associate the decalogue with freedom, as both a gift from God and a task for humans, and with fundamental human rights.

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RAYMOND F. COLLINS

TEN LOST TRIBES. See LOST TRIBES, THE.

TENONS [Heb *yādôt*]. Projections at the end of the boards *(qĕrāsîm)* that formed the two side walls and the back wall of the tabernacle. These projections, made of silver, were inserted into two sockets as described in the tabernacle texts of Exodus (Exod 26:17, 19; 36:22, 24). See also TABERNACLE.

CAROL MEYERS

TENT OF MEETING. See TABERNACLE.

TENTH PART (OF AN EPHAH). See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

TEPHON (PLACE) [Gk *Tephōn*]. Listed in 1 Macc 9:50 as one of the cities of Judea fortified by Bacchides in his battle with Jonathan. Goldstein (*1 Maccabees* AB, 386), following Abel (1925: 206–7), argues that *Tephō,* found in Vg and supported by Lat mss as well as a number of minuscules, is the more likely reading (note also Grimm 1853: 141). This name designates the Heb *tappûaḥ* rather than *tĕqôaʿ* (Tekoa, M.R. 170115), suggested by the text of Josephus (*Ant* 13.1.3 §15). There is, however, more than one TAPPUAH listed in Joshua. Since the other cities fortified by Bacchides are located in the hill country N of Jerusalem, the area from which the Maccabean resistance originated, "Tephon" must refer to the Tappuah listed in Josh 17:7–8 and elsewhere located on the border between the territory of Ephraim and Manasseh, presumably at the modern location of Tel Sheikh abu Zarad (M.R. 172168).

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JOHN KAMPEN

TERAH (PERSON) [Heb *teraḥ*]. Son of Nahor, and father of Abram, Nahor, and Haran. Terah lived 205 years and died in Haran after migrating with his family from Ur of the Chaldees (Gen 11:24–32). It was in Ur that Terah, with his father Nahor, worshiped other gods (Josh 24:2). The designation of Gen 11:27–25:11 as the *tôldôt* of Terah suggests the importance assigned to this figure as the father of Abram and reflects the 135 years Terah lived after Abram's birth, enough time to experience many of the events in these chapters (Wenham *Genesis 1–15* WBC, 252).

Terah's name has been studied both in terms of its etymology and in terms of its association with other geographic and personal names. In respect to the former, initial attempts to find a divine name *trḥ* in the Ugaritic myth of Keret have been rejected as without foundation (Albright 1938; Gordon 1938; Jouon 1938: 280–81). The *trḥ* root in Hebrew may mean "ibex, mountain goat." This root appears in Amorite names of the early 2d millennium B.C. (Gelb 1980: 34, 200). Also of interest is the attempted

association with *Têr* the moon god in the region of Harran in the Neo-Assyrian period, whose name has been understood as present in personal names (Landsberger and Bauer 1926–27: 92; Lewy 1945–46: 425–26; Zadok 1977: 42). For the possible association of Terah and his father with the lunar cult at Ur and Haran, see NAHOR (PERSON). However, the association of the name Terah with the moon god is now doubtful, as *Têr* is a form of *Šer*, related to West Semitic *Sahr* and thus phonologically different.

Many scholars have associated "Terah" with a place name *Til ša turāḫi*, found in Neo-Assyrian texts as early as those of Shalmaneser II in the mid–9th century B.C. and situated near Harran on the Balikh river (Kraeling 1922–23; Parpola 1970: 355–56). See HARAN (PLACE). Schneider (1952: 521) observes a Sumerian personal name *te-ra* in a cuneiform text from the Ur III period (CT 10: pl. 46 no. 18964). He compares the rendering of "Terah" in the Vulgate *(thare)* and in the Septuagint *(thara)*, neither of which preserve evidence of the final laryngeal.

As with other personal names in Abram's ancestry of Genesis 11, "Terah" may have associations with a place name in northern Mesopotamia (Westermann 1984: 564–65). Albright (1924: 386–87) finds in *Til ša turāḫi*, "mound of the ibex," evidence of Aramean settlements in the 2d millennium B.C.

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RICHARD S. HESS

TERAH (PLACE) [Heb *tāraḥ*]. A site in the wilderness itinerary of Numbers 33 (vv 27–28), between Tahath and Mithkah, on the way from Sinai to Ezion-Geber. It is one of twelve sites in vv 18–30 which are otherwise unattested and whose location is unknown (Budd *Numbers* WBC, 355).

RICHARD S. HESS

TEREBINTH. See FLORA.

TERESH (PERSON) [Heb *tereš*]. Guardian of the entrance to King Ahasuerus' private chambers (Esth 2:21; 6:2). With his associate Bigthan he plotted to assassinate Ahasuerus but was exposed by Mordecai (Esth 2:22–23). The etymology of "Teresh" remains unclear. For conjectured Old Iranian etymologies see Paton (*Esther* ICC, 69).

PETER BEDFORD

TERQUMIYEH. See IPHTAH (PLACE).

TERROR ON EVERY SIDE [Heb *māgôr missābîb*]. The phrase *māgôr missābîb* occurs in Jer 6:25; 20:3, 10; 46:5; 49:29; Ps 31:14; Lam 2:22. In Jer 6:25, 46:5, and 49:29 the phrase is a metaphorical expression for an invading army and is commonly translated "terror on every side." In Lam 2:22 the phrase also refers to an invading army. The use of the phrase in Jer 20:10 and Ps 31:14—Eng 31:13—both laments—refers to enemies of the prophet and psalmist whose whispering and plots are "terror on every side" for the prophet and the psalmist.

However, the occurrence of the phrase in Jer 20:3 has by far generated the most interest and debate. Holladay (*Jeremiah 1* Hermeneia, 543) proposes that all other uses (with the possible exception of Psalm 31) are dependent upon the Jer 20:3 text. In Jer 20:3, the phrase *māgôr missābîb* is the new name Jeremiah gives to Pashhur as part of an oracle of judgment against the priest who had beaten and imprisoned the prophet.

The two most significant problems in interpreting the phrase *māgôr missābîb* in Jer 20:3 have been first, to determine the meaning of the phrase itself, and second, to understand how, if at all, the phrase might be a play on Pashhur's name.

Regarding the meaning of the phrase, the problem is made difficult by the variety of lexical possibilities for *mgwr*. These possibilities are evident in the way other ancient versions translate Jer 20:3: LXX translates *mgwr* as *metoikos* ("alien") and Syriac as *tawaba* ("foreigner"), thus associating the word with *gwr* in the sense "to sojourn." Vg uses *pavor* and seemingly associates *mgwr* with the verb *gwr* meaning "dread." However, the Targum appears to relate the word to yet another meaning of *gwr*, namely "to show enmity, attack" (McKane *Jeremiah I–XXV*, ICC, 461–62; Holladay *Jeremiah 1* Hermeneia, 543–44). While *māgôr missābîb* in Jeremiah 20 has typically been translated as "terror on every side," Holladay (p. 544) has proposed that the phrase is given multiple meanings in its context in vv 4–6: Pashhur will be a *māgôr*, i.e., a terror to his friends; Pashhur's friends will be an accuser of *māgôr*, i.e., attack by falling to the sword of the enemy; Pashhur and his cohorts will be an occasion of *māgôr*, i.e., sojourn or exile in Babylon. When *māgôr* is understood with multiple meanings, Holladay suggests (p. 544) that *missābîb* not only has spatial ("every side") but "notional" connotations: " 'from every point of view'—*mgwr* with every nuance.' "

Regarding the relationship of *māgôr missābîb* to the name Pashhur, there have been a number of proposals which

have begun by attempting to discover the meaning of the name Pashhur—often assuming an Aramaic root. McKane (pp. 462–63) succinctly summarizes these efforts. Among the most recent is that of Holladay, who suggests the Aramaic sense of Pashhur's name is "prosperity" or "fruitfulness." The new name given by Jeremiah—*māgôr missābîb*—is according to Holladay (see above) a triple negation of the positive sense of Pashhur's original name (Holladay *Jeremiah*, 544; cf. Holladay 1972: 305–20). In contrast to these efforts to relate *māgôr missābîb* to Pashhur's name, Bright does not believe there is an obvious play on Pashhur's name (*Jeremiah* AB, 132; cf. McKane, 464).

The phrase *māgôr missābîb* remains enigmatic. While "terror on every side" is the usual translation, even this sense is not certain in the key text, Jer 20:3.

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JOHN M. BRACKE

TERTIUS (PERSON) [Gk *Tertios*]. The scribe to whom Paul dictated Romans in Corinth ca. 58 C.E. (Rom 16:22). To the recipients of the letter Tertius wrote: "I, Tertius, the writer [*grapsas*] of this letter, greet [*aspazomai*] you in the Lord [*en kyriǭ*]" (16:22). It is debatable whether Tertius intended *en kyriǭ* to be linked with *grapsas* or with *aspazomai*. The former, i.e., "written in the Lord," would indicate that Tertius viewed the production of this letter as part of his Christian service; the latter, "greet in the Lord," would convey the solidarity he felt in Christ with the Roman believers. The latter is the more commonly given interpretation, support for which is the implication in Tertius' greeting that he was known by some of the Romans (Cranfield *Romans* ICC, 806).

Tertius is the only one of Paul's amanuenses mentioned by name in his letters. That it was not unusual for Paul to use such services can be inferred from various statements that he wrote parts of letters in his own hand (1 Cor 16:21; Gal 6:11; cf. Col 4:18; 2 Thess 3:17).

Tertius' collaboration with Paul raises questions about the methods of dictation and shorthand used in the process and the extent to which a scribe may have left his own imprint on the thought, style, and text of Paul's letters. In describing himself as the "writer" of the letter Tertius could have meant: (1) that he took down the letter in longhand from Paul's dictation, (2) that he wrote in shorthand as Paul dictated, or (3) that he more independently composed the letter following directions from Paul. Interpreters have variously defended each method (see the detailed discussion in Cranfield, 2–5).

FLORENCE MORGAN GILLMAN

TERTULLIAN. Tertullian (*floruit* A.D. 197–post 213) (cf. Braun 1977: 567–77) was the first great Latin Christian writer of the West. Critical editions since the Renaissance give his name as Quintas Septimius Florens Tertullianus, but this is because the 15th-century humanists J. Trithemius and Politanus gathered these names from the later manuscript tradition (Labriolle 1947: 95, n. 2). Tertullian referred to himself only as Septimius Tertullianus (*De virginibus velandis* 17.5) (Barnes 1971: 242), as the 4th-century fellow North African, Lactantius, testified (*Divine Institutes* 5.1.23). He has been identified with the Tertullian of the juridical codices (Steinwenter PW 5: 845), but this identification has been disproved (Groh 1970: 104, n. 52; Barnes 1985: 325).

The best ancient witness to Tertullian's biography, Jerome (ca. A.D. 392), tells us that Tertullian was a citizen of Carthage who was the son of a proconsular centurion (*Chronicon; de viris illustribus* 53). Recent challenges to this (Barnes 1971: 11–12) have not been accepted (Schöllgen 1984: 102). Jerome's notice that Tertullian was a priest, however, is surely wrong (Barnes 1985: 323), as are many hypothesized incidents of his biography inferred from his treatises (Barnes 1971: 243–47).

Tertullian was born into what may have been a family of equestrian rank (Groh 1970: 11–14; Schöllgen 1984: 189), one of whose members, a cousin, had published a literary work titled *The Tables of Cebes* (*De praescripto haereticorum* 39.4; Groh 1970: 12). He appears to have been married (cf. *Ad uxorem*). He was bilingual, having written some of his treatises in Greek, and was extremely well educated in rhetoric (Sider 1971). Tertullian was the most learned Christian writer of his day, having read most of the 2d-century Christian writers before him (Harnack 1914), as well as the Silver Age pagan writers (Barnes 1971: 203). He was known and read by most subsequent North African and Western writers, but his reputation in the East was confined to his authorship of the *Apologeticum*, rendered into a Greek translation by someone else (Harnack 1892: 36), from which Eusebius of Caesarea (ca. 290) quoted (*Hist. Eccl.* 5.5.5–7).

Tertullian's writings sound the rigorist strains which will become the themes of North African Christianity throughout its entire subsequent history in antiquity (cf. Frend 1965; 1985): Christianity as the *nova lex;* the centrality of God as lawgiver and judge; fear of God as the foundation of salvation; the "gathered" or "pure" notion of the Church separated from all idolatry of the secular world. His writings are especially important for Western theology because they contain so many of the first Latin appearances of key theological terms—*trinitas, persona, substantia, status, dispositio, dispensatio* (cf. Otto 1960; Braun 1977). Once thought to be the inventor of such a Latin theological vocabulary (Morgan 1928: 39, 41–45), then the voice of an ecclesiastical Latin carried in the Christian community (Schrijnen 1934: 110–11; Teeuwen 1926: XIV–XV, 54; Pétré 1948), Tertullian (see the positions of Becker 1954: 341–43 and Braun 1977: 17–26) is now seen as a linguist of extraordinary sensitivity, capable of creating neologisms in line with current usages of his day (cf., e.g., Braun 1977: 151) but also careful to reflect both contemporary pagan or Christian usage and biblical meanings in his theological terminology (Braun 1977: 17–26; O'Malley 1967: 26–27, 41, 62–63; Stirnimann 1949: 93, 96).

In his writings to A.D. 209, Tertullian acts as the spokesperson for a Latin Christian community centered in the capital and confined to the proconsular province (cf. Barnes 1971: 280–82). The *Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs* (A.D. 180) and the *Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas* (A.D. 203)

are our only sources for knowledge of early North African Christianity besides Tertullian. Tertullian's writings give us a picture of a solidly middle-class Christian community (Groh 1970; 1976) with distinctive liturgical and theological traditions, though the origins of this community are not certain; both Roman and Asia Minor roots and connections are indicated. However, Tertullian's audience indicates a highly literate Latin-speaking group, capable of enjoying satire, irony, and, above all, great style as expressed by Tertullian's use of North African rhetoric of the forensic, epideictic, and deliberative genres (Sider 1971) and by his frequent imitation of the great 2d-century writer Lucius Apuleius (Waszink and van Winden 1987: 277). The appellation "Christian Sophist" applied to Tertullian is both apt and nonpejorative (Barnes 1971: 211–32; 1985: 333). Portrayed in earlier scholarship as a writer concerned to vanquish and silence all opponents (Lortz 1927–1928; Nister 1950: 49–51, 68; Steinmann 1967: 70), he has emerged in more recent scholarship as a nuanced interpreter, seeking to bring clarity and unanimity to widely diverse ideas and traditions (Braun 1977; O'Malley 1967: 2, 14, 36).

At the heart of Tertullian's theological method was the drive for *truth* (his most frequent word) and clarity in theological and exegetical matters, perhaps best expressed in his concern for simplicity of meaning (O'Malley 1967: 28, 122, 169). This means that the literal meaning of Scripture, as revealed by the rule of context (both historical and stylistic) is his preferred method of scriptural interpretation (O'Malley 1967: 130–31). Although he will defend allegorical exegesis of Scripture against the heretic Marcion, it is the plain truth of Scripture, represented by the Rule of Faith with its certainties, which binds and contains the conclusions of the theologian or the exegete (cf. *On the Prescription against Heretics* 13–14).

Tertullian's general systematic principle that inner reality (of a person or text) must correspond with outer reality (Groh 1971: 13–14; 1985: 88–90) results both in an increasing moral rigor in his writings and in his late adoption of the philosopher's *pallium* instead of the Roman toga (cf. *De pallio*).

After A.D. 208 (Barnes 1985: 328) Tertullian turned to Montanism and to Montanist prophets to resolve the uncertainties of points of Church discipline which neither theology nor Scripture could settle normatively, such as the proper length of fasts or veils for virgins. His community of Montanist prophets seems to have practiced charismatic exegesis and the production of spiritual psalms and visions (Groh 1985: 92–95). The vision of a Montanist sister confirmed his immanent sense of eschatology when a vision of the heavenly Jerusalem was seen hovering over the earthly Jerusalem (*Adv. marc.* 3.24.4; cf. Groh 1985: 81). By his later treatises, Tertullian and his group seem to have split from the Catholics of Carthage (Braun 1977: 721), but Augustine's witness to an independent group in his day known as the Tertullianists (*De haeresibus* 86) is not solid (Groh 1970: 18–19; Barnes 1985: 334).

Tertullian's Latin quotations of the Scriptures have been isolated (Roensch 1871), but it is extremely difficult to tell exactly what versions he is using. His habit of glossing a text (O'Malley 1967: 36, 63) and his facility in translating directly from Greek occlude his text traditions. He also quotes with frequent inaccuracy (Waszink and van Winden 1987: 119). Studies indicate that he knew and cited all books of our present NT except 1 Peter, 3 John, and James (Campenhausen 1972: 276, n. 44), that he had at his disposal at least customary readings of certain texts and Latin translations of portions of biblical books (O'Malley 1967: 7, 45, 63; Barnes 1971: 276–78), but no precise text type has emerged (Aland and Aland 1987: 182–83). The problem is complicated by the high degree of theological self-consciousness of Tertullian. For example, his treatise *De oratione* preserves our earliest Latin commentary on the Lord's Prayer with a curious reversal of clauses. While the other clauses follow the Greek and Vulgate traditions, he reads: *"Fiat uolentas tua in caelis et in terra"* ("Thy will be done in heaven and on earth"; *Or.* 4.1) and then (*Or.* 5.1) *"Veniat . . . regnum tuum"* ("Thy kingdom . . . come"; cf. also *Or.* 9). It is impossible to tell whether the North African Church's version of the prayer contained this reversal, or whether Tertullian's theological belief (that obedience to the will of God was the heart and substance of the kingdom) caused that reversal (cf. Evans 1953: XIV–XV).

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DENNIS E. GROH

TERTULLUS (PERSON) [Gk *Tertyllos*]. The attorney representing the Jews who brought charges against Paul before Felix the Roman governor of Judea (Acts 24:1–2).

Non-Romans bringing charges before provincial magistrates and unfamiliar with the forms of Roman law used in these courts needed the services of professional advocates. The identification of Tertullus as a *rhētor* (RSV, "spokesman") portrays him as such a professional. It is not certain whether Tertullus was Roman, Greek, or Jewish. In his speech he identifies himself with his clients but this may be his professional stance as their advocate. He appears to be familiar with both Jewish and Roman law, but the main evidence for his familiarity with Jewish law is in the textually questionable vv 6c–8a (RSV margin). The evidence indicates that these phrases are not original, in spite of the manner in which they logically round out the speech. Without their reference to "judging him by *our* law" and "Lysias taking him out of *our* hands" (which accuses Lysias of interference with "due process" in the Jewish right to judge those who profaned the Temple) Tertullus' knowledge of Jewish law is reduced to one general phrase in v 6, "he tried to profane the Temple." On the whole there is little in the speech that would identify him as a Jew.

Luke has composed Tertullus' speech to reflect professional rhetorical style. He begins with a *captatio benevolentiae,* "currying of favor." The excuse to end the praise and proceed with the charges also has rhetorical flair (Conzelmann *Acts* Hermeneia, 198). Tertullus' statement of the charges shifts their originally religious nature (Acts 21:28; 23:29) to one of sedition. Paul is a public troublemaker, a threat to the peace of the empire. Tertullus' prosecution plays on one of the governor's fears in troubled Judea. This touches on a Lukan theme in Acts. Christians are brought before Roman magistrates on various charges and found innocent. This has been seen by some to reflect a pro-Roman apologetic on Luke's part. Romans should grant Christians legal status based on the precedence of earlier decisions. Or it may be that these stories encourage the Christians of Luke's day, faced with difficult decisions in relation to the state, to remain loyal citizens.

Another aspect of Tertullus' prosecution is important to the theology of Acts. It is implied that he represents the Jewish people as a whole and against Paul and thus against the Gospel. He charges Paul with sedition against all Jews everywhere (24:5) and thanks Felix on "behalf of this nation" (24:2). Some scholars have found in these verses additional evidence in support of the idea that Luke "writes off" the Jews in the scheme of salvation in favor of the gentiles. But Luke portrays Tertullus' charges as false (see Paul's defenses). Since this claim to speak for the Jewish people against Paul appears on the lips of a lawyer pressing false charges, that claim also appears as false.

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THOMAS W. MARTIN

TESTIMONIA (4QTestim). This leather fragment from Qumran Cave 4 was discovered in 1952 and purchased for the Palestine Archaeology (Rockefeller) Museum. A preliminary edition was published by J. M. Allegro (1956: 182–87) before it was fully presented by him labeled as 4Q*175* in DJD 5 (Allegro and Anderson 1968: 57–60; pl. xxi); that edition was thoroughly reviewed by J. Strugnell (1970: 225–29).

4QTestim is a single column in a mid-Hasmonean hand, well preserved apart from the bottom right-hand corner. Its script is very like that of 1QS and can be dated to the early 1st century B.C.E. 4QTestim is important for the form of its biblical texts, its genre, and its implied eschatology and messianism.

4QTestim contains four texts: three biblical texts, Exod 20:21 (Sam. Pent.; = MT Deut 5:28–29 + 18:18–19), Num 24:15–17, and Deut 33:8–11, and one quotation from the fragmentary *Psalms of Joshua* (4Q*379* frag. 22, col. 2, lines 7–14; being edited for DJD by C. Newsom) whose text enables some restorations to be made in corresponding places in 4QTestim and is based in part on Josh 6:26.

Allegro entitled the document *Testimonia,* as it seems to contain a set of proof texts. The form of the document and the quotation of the same texts in other Qumran mss (Exod 20:21 [Sam. Pent.; = MT Deut 5:29 + 18:18–20] in 4QBibParaph; Num 24:17 in 1QM 11:6, CD 7:18–20 and 1QSb 5:27; Deut 33:8–11 in 4QFlor frags. 6–7) support this idea. 4QTestim's genre is used to corroborate theories that early Christians had collections of proof texts which they used apologetically, as shown by the sequence of Isa 28:16, Ps 117, 118:22, and Isa 8:14 repeated in Matt 21:42, Rom 9:33, and 1 Pet 2:6–8 (cf. *Ep. Barn.* 6:2–4; see Fitzmyer 1957: 534; Prigent 1959: 421–22).

4QTestim is constructed in a very organized manner (Brooke 1985: 311–17). There are no introductory phrases, but the texts are linked through catchword *(gēzērâ šāwâ)* to each other and may mirror the order of the

biblical books (Exodus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua). Although the text type of these quotations differs slightly from the MT and from all known versions, the opening quotation is closest to Exod 20:21 in the nonsectarian proto-Samaritan tradition (see Skehan 1957: 435; Sanderson 1986: 224–37).

It is generally agreed that the whole document is eschatological. Lübbe (1986: 193–96) has shown how all four texts describe the self-understanding of the Qumran community as under threat. Most other scholars see that viewpoint expressed messianically in 4QTestim 1–20, the three biblical texts describing in turn the prophetlike Moses, the Davidic messiah, and the levitical messiah of Aaron (cf. 1QS 9:11; see Fitzmyer 1957: 84). In fact, Num 24:15–17 by itself (4QTestim 9–13) speaks of three figures: man, star, and scepter. Exod 20:21 (4QTestim 1–8) is placed before Numbers 24 to identify the man (*geber;* cf. 1QS 4:20, 1QH 3:7–10) as the Mosaic prophet, who may also be the Teacher of Righteousness. Deut 33:8–11 (4QTestim 14–20) follows Numbers 24 to identify the star with the levitical messiah of Aaron (as is implied for the Interpreter of the Law in CD 7:18–20). The scepter stands for the Davidic messiah. In addition to their messianic use in other Qumran documents, these texts may have influenced NT traditions: Exod 20:21 (Sam. Pent.) may lie behind Luke 9:35, John 6:14, Acts 3:22–23, and 7:37; Num 24:17 may lie behind Matt 2:2–10, Rev 2:28, and 22:16; Deut 33:8–11 may have influenced the portrayal of Jesus as priest in such texts as John 19:23, Heb 4:14–5:10, and the several traditions that speak of the denial of family (Amusin 1971: 359–61).

Not enough text remains to determine whether 4QTestim 21–30 speaks of two or three people. If the texts in 4QTestim 1–20 speak of three figures, then 4QTestim 21–30 may present their three antitypes, an accursed man who belongs to Belial and his two sons, as the context of Judges 6 suggests. Several scholars have attempted to identify these three figures with Hasmonean enemies of the Qumran community (see Brooke 1985: 309–11); the two possibilities that fit best are Simon (ruled 143–135 B.C.E.) and his two sons Judas and Mattathias, all of whom died at Doq in 135 B.C.E., or John Hyrcanus I (135–105 B.C.E.) and his two sons, Aristobulus I (104 B.C.E.) and Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 B.C.E.). If the extract from the *Psalms of Joshua* mentions only two opponents, then the possibilities for identification are numerous. The identification of the city of 4QTestim 22 and 26 also remains open; Jericho, as in Josh 6:26, and Jerusalem, as in 4QTestim 29–30, are the favorite candidates.

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TESTIMONY OF TRUTH.

See TRUTH, TESTIMONY OF (NHC IX,3).

TET

[Heb *ṭet*]. The ninth letter of the Hebrew alphabet.

TETRAGRAMMATON IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

There is some evidence that the Tetragrammaton, the Divine Name, Yahweh, appeared in some or all of the OT quotations in the NT when the NT documents were first penned. See also NAMES OF GOD IN THE OT; YAHWEH (DEITY). The evidence for this is twofold.

A. Jewish Scribal Evidence

The extant pre-Christian copies of the Greek OT that include passages which in Hebrew incorporate the Divine Name also preserve the Hebrew Divine Name in the Greek text. These copies are (1) P. Faud 266 (= Rahifs 848), 50 B.C.E., containing the Tetragrammaton in Aramaic letters; (2) a fragmentary scroll of the Twelve Prophets in Greek from Wâdī Khabra (= W.Khabra XII *Kaige*), 50 B.C.E.–50 C.E., containing the Tetragrammaton in Paleo-Hebrew letters; and (3) 4QLXX^{Levb} (= Rahifs 802), 1st century B.C.E., containing the Tetragrammaton written in Greek letters in the form of *IAO.* The well-known Jewish-Greek versions of the OT that emerged in the 2d century C.E., i.e., those of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, continued the Jewish practice of writing the Hebrew Tetragrammaton into the Greek text. The evidence, therefore, suggests that the practice of writing the Hebrew Divine Name into the text of the Greek OT continued throughout the NT period. From this it may be concluded (1) that the NT writers had access to copies of the Greek OT that contained the Hebrew Divine Name, and (2) that the NT writers who quoted from the Greek OT had reason to preserve the Tetragrammaton in their quotations.

B. Christian Scribal Evidence

By the time of the earliest extant Christian copies of the LXX (2d or early 3d century C.E.), a clear break with the Jewish practice outlined above is to be observed. The Christian copies of the Greek OT employ the words *Kyrios* ("Lord") and *Theos* ("God") as substitutes or surrogates for

the Hebrew Tetragrammaton. The evidence suggests that this had become the practice of Christian scribes perhaps as early as the beginning of the 2d century. Curiously, the surrogates for the Tetragrammaton have been abbreviated by the writing of their first and last letters only and are marked as abbreviations by a horizontal stroke above the word. Thus, for example, the word for "Lord" is written $\overline{KS}$ and for God $\overline{THS}$. These two so-called *nomina sacra,* later to be joined by thirteen other sacred words, appear also in the earliest copies of the NT, including its quotations from the Greek OT. The practice, therefore, in very early times was consistently followed throughout the Greek Bible.

A conjecture is that the forms $\overline{KS}$ and $\overline{THS}$ were first created by non-Jewish Christian scribes who in their copying the LXX text found no traditional reason to preserve the Tetragrammaton. In all probability it was problematic for gentile scribes to write the Tetragrammaton since they did not know Hebrew. If this is correct, the contracted surrogates $\overline{KS}$ and $\overline{THS}$ were perhaps considered analogous to the vowelless Hebrew Divine Name, and were certainly much easier to write.

Once the practice of writing the Tetragrammaton into copies of the Greek OT was abandoned and replaced by the practice of writing $\overline{KS}$ and $\overline{THS}$, a similar development no doubt took place in regard to the quotations of the Greek OT found in the NT. There too the Tetragrammaton was replaced by the surrogates $\overline{KS}$ and $\overline{THS}$. In the passing of time, the original significance of the surrogates was lost to the gentile Church. Other contracted words which had no connection with the Tetragrammaton were added to the list of *nomina sacra,* and eventually even $\overline{KS}$ and $\overline{THS}$ came to be used in passages where the Tetragrammaton had never stood.

It is possible that some confusion ensued from the abandonment of the Tetragrammaton in the NT, although the significance of this confusion can only be conjectured. In all probability it became difficult to know whether $\overline{KS}$ referred to the Lord God or the Lord Jesus Christ. That this issue played a role in the later Trinitarian debates, however, is unknown.

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TETRARCH [Gk *tetrarcheō; tetrarchēs*]. See PALESTINE, ADMINISTRATION OF (ROMAN).

TETTER. See LEPROSY.

TEXTS. Articles on texts, other than the biblical texts, may be found under EBLA TEXTS; HITTITE TEXTS AND LITERATURE; MARI (TEXTS); NAG HAMMADI CODICES; UGARIT (TEXTS AND LITERATURE); and WADI MURABBAT (TEXTS). See also LETTERS; and EPIGRAPHY, TRANSJORDANIAN.

TEXTUAL CRITICISM. The name given to the critical study of ancient manuscripts and versions of texts, for the purpose of ascertaining a correct reading of the text. Textual criticism has been applied to both the Hebrew Bible and the Christian New Testament.

OLD TESTAMENT

The goal of OT textual criticism is to analyze and evaluate the data representing the text of the Hebrew Bible and to trace in broad outline the history of this text. For that purpose it collects the relevant data from the Hebrew sources and reconstructs them from the ancient translations (versions). At the same time it examines these data critically by comparing them with parallel material in the MT (see E.3 below). For general summaries and descriptions of OT textual criticism, see Deist 1978; Klein 1974; McCarter 1986; Roberts 1951; Weingreen 1982; and Würthwein 1979).

A. Introduction
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   2. Need for and Importance of Textual Criticism
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1. Introduction
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E. The Procedure of Textual Criticism
1. Introduction
2. Collation and Conjectural Reconstruction of Hebrew Variants
3. Evaluation of Readings
4. Conjectures
F. Textual and Literary Criticism

A. Introduction

1. Nature and Goals of Textual Criticism. At some point scholars have to form an opinion on the question of whether or not there once existed an (one) original textual form ("Ur-text") or several pristine forms of the biblical books; if either of these questions is answered in the positive, one then has to express an opinion regarding the nature of that (or those) original text(s). To determine one's position with regard to that text is important not only for abstract scholarly purposes, but also for obtaining clarity regarding the very nature of the textual procedure (described in section E below).

The majority opinion holds that there once existed an Ur-text, although often the implications of such an assumption have not been thoroughly considered. Given the present state of knowledge, the assumption of an Ur-text is the most logicial one, especially because the alternative (multiple "original" text forms) cannot be substantiated. The existence of synonymous readings or cases in which the original reading cannot be determined does not undermine the correctness of this supposition as much as it reflects our own inability to reconstruct the original text. The reconstruction of elements in the assumed Ur-text thus remains one of the aims of the textual critic, even if it is virtually impossible to determine what stage in the development of a given biblical book should be called the Ur-text.

Since literary (or "higher") criticism deals, inter alia, with the literary growth of the books, and since textual (often wrongly called "lower") criticism deals with the transmission of that finished text, we may consider the Ur-text broadly to be the finished literary product which stood at the beginning of the stage of textual transmission; textual criticism thus aims for the reconstruction of that text. (For complications deriving from this definition, see section F.) Several scholars, for example Greenberg (1978) and Talmon (*CHB* 1: 162), do not accept the assumption of an Ur-text, but rather think in terms of several parallel pristine texts.

The nature of OT textual criticism is best seen by comparing it with that of other works of literature. Such a comparison shows that the textual criticism of the OT has its own character in the following respects:

(a) In contrast to the textual criticism applied to many other works of literature, that pertaining to the OT does not seek to reconstruct the original form of the *complete* text of the biblical books, much less to determine the *ipsissima verba* of the authors of these books (the same holds true for the criticism of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, works which supposedly went through a similar literary history). The most that could be achieved would be to reconstruct *elements* of the Ur-text. Some scholars define the aim of textual criticism in a seemingly more modest way, referring to the OT text current in a particular period (usually the 4th or 3d century B.C.). The recovery of that stage of the text would represent a more realistic goal than recovering the end product of the literary growth. However, this definition in fact is not more modest, since at that period the biblical text was current in different forms which cannot be reconstructed. Adherents of the "oral tradition" theory are compelled to work with a broader definition of the goals of OT textual criticism, because in their view the books of the OT never existed in one original text but only in various oral formulations (see Nyberg 1935; van der Ploeg 1947).

(b) It is often thought that textual criticism aims to produce "eclectic" editions of the texts studied, that is, editions that attempt to reconstruct the original text of the composition through a selection of readings from various sources. For theoretical as well as practical reasons this cannot be the task of OT textual criticism, because not all scholars agree that at one time there existed an original text of a biblical book; and even if such had existed, practical problems make its reconstruction difficult (see further B.5.a below).

Because of these problems, most of the existing critical editions of the OT are not eclectic but "diplomatic"; that is, they reproduce a particular form of the *textus receptus* ("received text") of the OT as the base text, while recording divergent readings (or "variants") from Hebrew and non-Hebrew sources in an accompanying critical apparatus. In contrast, most modern translations of the OT are by nature eclectic: while adhering basically to the MT, they often replace some MT readings with parallel ones from the versions (mainly the LXX) and the Qumran scrolls.

2. Need for and Importance of Textual Criticism. The realization that the OT must be examined text-critically is relatively new. It has come about slowly through the discovery of new sources and through an increase in critical awareness. Meanwhile the necessity of a text-critical analysis of the OT should be justified not only on the basis of historical considerations but also in view of the internal differences between the various sources of the OT text.

a. Internal Differences between Editions and MSS. Except in the case of photographic reproductions of the same text, no two printed editions of the Hebrew Bible are identical. The differences among them generally have to do with minimal, even minute, details of the text (single consonants, vowel signs, accents, text arrangement, numbering of verses, division into chapters and verses, Masoretic notes). In a few cases, however, they concern entire words (e.g., some editions of Prov 8:16 read *ṣedeq*, "righteousness," but others *ʾāreṣ*, "earth"). Older printed editions contain several misprints, and this is even true of many modern editions. Thus, some printings of the much-used 1852 Letteris edition read *mošet* (a nonexistent word)

instead of *mošeh* (Moses) in Num 11:30, and *šālaḥtā* (wrong spelling of "you sent") instead of *šālaḥtā* ("you sent") in Jer 29:25. Even the most "accurate" edition, the 1984 printing of *BHS*, contains several misprints and inaccuracies.

Disregarding these printing errors, most variations between the printed editions go back to differences in the mss on which they are based. With the exception of the chapter and verse divisions, which are not found in them, these mss differ from each other in the same manner as the printed editions referred to above. To be exact, the differences between the Masoretic mss (see B.1 below) are small, while older sources such as the Qumran scrolls often display major variations among themselves (see D.4 below).

b. Differences between Inner-Masoretic Parallel Texts. In parallel versions of one biblical source—such as 2 Samuel 22 and Psalm 18, Psalms 14 and 53, and in large sections of the books of Samuel–Kings and 1–2 Chronicles (see Vannutelli 1931–34; Bendavid 1972)—it is possible to notice many textual differences representing variants that originated in an early stage of the history of the text. These textual variations, distinct from redactional, linguistic, and stylistic changes, give a good idea of the relationship between the texts in a very early stage of the transmission (for examples, see section D below). It is exactly these parallel biblical passages that have prompted the development of OT textual criticism precisely because they necessitated the comparison of texts.

3. History of Investigation. Not only the comparison of parallel texts in the OT but also the differences among the Masoretic mss and the independent analytical examination of the MT led very early to the conclusion that the biblical text is corrupt in a number of places. This conclusion provoked many theological and philological discussions in the 17th and 18th centuries about the authority of MT as well as that of the LXX and the Samaritan Pentateuch (Sam. Pent.).

The first rather complete analyses of the OT text are those of J. Morinus, *Exercitationes biblicae de hebraei graecique textus sinceritate* (1633, 1660), and L. Cappellus, *Critica sacra* (1650, 1675–78). After the middle of the 17th century there appeared a great many treatises on the OT text, though it should be noted that in this and the following century the borderline between textual criticism and theology is often vague. Scholars at that time involved in the critical study of the OT text included Buxtorf, Hottinger, Morinus, Cappellus, Spinoza, Richard Simon, Houbigant, Kennicott, and de Rossi. The works of these scholars have been described in detail by Rosenmüller (1797), Keil (1859), and Barthélemy (1982: 1–63). Of the many names that could be mentioned from the 19th century, de Lagarde, Perles, Cornill, and Wellhausen are noteworthy because of their remarkable insights into textual criticism.

In many areas of OT textual criticism it is often best to start with older works, since in textual criticism (called an art by some and a science by others) an intuitive grasp of the issues underlying divergent texts is just as important as recently discovered data: Wellhausen (in his 1871 commentary on Samuel), König (1893), and Steuernagel (1912: 19–85) in particular all exhibited that kind of intuition. At the same time, the modern description of OT textual criticism will differ significantly from earlier discussions because of the relevance of the newly discovered Qumran scrolls to almost every aspect of textual criticism.

B. Textual Witnesses

There are many witnesses to the biblical text, both in Hebrew and in other languages. Of these, the Hebrew sources are the easiest to analyze, while those in the other ancient languages must first be retranslated into Hebrew. (The relation between these witnesses is discussed below in C.2.) For obvious reasons the analysis proceeds from the Hebrew sources (especially the MT) since, as the "received text" within Judaism and Christianity, it is the primary object of scholarly attention. Even though our discussion begins with this "received" text, it is important to remember that the MT is not intrinsically "better" than the other texts.

Until the middle of the 20th century the earliest witness to the Hebrew text was the so-called Nash papyrus from the 1st or 2d century A.D. (actually a liturgical text), containing a combined version of the Exodus and Deuteronomy texts of the Decalog. But textual research underwent very significant changes with the discovery of the Qumran scrolls. This new material now must occupy the center of modern descriptions of the biblical text.

1. The Proto-Masoretic Texts and the MT. The MT of the Hebrew Bible, so named because of the subsequent addition of the Masorah to the consonantal framework, does not in fact exist in any one source and may never have existed as one textual unit. Rather, different manifestations of that textual form are known, so that it would be more correct to speak of a group of "Masoretic Texts." Like most of the witnesses to be discussed below, the content of the MT cannot be characterized in general terms, so that one must be content with describing the MT as a "text." This text was perpetuated by influential circles in Judaism (the Pharisees?); some scholars believed they also partly created this text, although there is little evidence in favor of this. Socioreligious reasons thus made the MT the most significant of the biblical texts. See MASORETIC TEXT.

The MT resulted from a combination of five elements: (1) the consonantal text; (2) certain para-textual elements; (3) the Masorah itself; (4) a vocalization scheme; and (5) cantillation signs (each is discussed below). The word "Masorah" generally refers to the latter four elements; however, in the technical sense of the word "Masorah" refers only to one of the elements, a specific type of apparatus written around the text (B.1.d below).

a. The Masoretes. The Masorah was prepared in the period between A.D. 500 and 1000 by succeeding generations of scribes who occupied themselves with the transmission of the biblical text. Little is known of the background of these Masoretes. In their composition of the Masorah, they built on the work of earlier generations of *sôpĕrim*, which literally means "scribes," but has also been reinterpreted as "men who occupied themselves with counting *[spr]*" the letters and words of the consonantal text of Scripture (*b. Qidd.* 30a). According to tradition, the copying of the Pentateuch started with Ezra, who is called a *sôpēr māhîr* ("fast writer") in Ezra 7:6 and is considered the *sôpēr* par excellence in rabbinic tradition.

The Masoretes not only transmitted the consonantal

text, but also devised vocalization and accent systems for it. Their labor had both technical and creative aspects; technical insofar as it concerned the mechanics of copying and counting letters, words, and verses; creative insofar as it concerned the invention of a scheme for recording vocalization and accents. While doing this, the Masoretes also formed mechanisms to assure that special care would be exercised in the transmission of the text; the word "Masorah" in its technical sense refers only to these latter mechanisms. See MASORETES.

b. The Consonantal Text. The received consonantal text preceded the one that includes the vocalization and accents. Both of these circulated in many slighly deviating forms, and were finally stabilized only with the advent of the printed Rabbinic Bible toward the end of the 15th century (see B.1.g below). However, earlier forms of the MT come close to such a stabilization. The earliest attestations of the consonantal framework of the MT—found in many, but not all, Qumran texts—date to around 250 B.C. Their resemblance (especially 1QIsa^b) to the medieval form of the MT is striking, showing how accurate the transmission of the MT was through the ages. These earliest attestations are called "proto-Masoretic" since their consonantal framework formed the basis for the later Masoretic mss.

Although most of the preserved biblical texts reflect the MT, we also know of several sources current before A.D. 70 that reflect substantial deviations from the MT: these include the LXX, the proto-Samaritan sources, the Sam. Pent., and various Qumran scrolls. Afterward, the MT became virtually the sole witness to the biblical text, challenged only by the continual use of the Sam. Pent. and the LXX. Furthermore, the biblical quotations preserved in Talmudic literature and in the *piyyûṭîm* (liturgical hymns) generally reflect the MT, although sometimes they deviate from it in details. These differences were examined in great detail by Aptowitzer (1906–15), and especially due to the influence of Kahle (see C.3 below) their significance and number have generally been exaggerated (since the majority of the quotations actually agree with MT).

The ensemble of the Masoretic mss constitutes a distinct group, even though no single extant mss is entirely identical with any other. The work of copying, certainly in earlier times, always created variations between the basic text and the copy. Furthermore, though the consonantal text was already consolidated in the 1st and 2d centuries A.D., all the mss from that period onward differ from each other in numerous details, more so in the early centuries than in the medieval period.

In the description of the development of the consonantal text underlying the MT, three periods can be distinguished, although they cannot be clearly demarcated due to insufficient information. The first period ended with the destruction of the Second Temple. The proto-Masoretic mss of this period, mainly from Qumran (150 B.C.–68 A.D.) and Masada (until 73 A.D.), comprise a tightly closed group, almost identical in content with the medieval sources. At this early period one may still find differences between the various sources in words and phrases, discernible, for example, from a comparison of 1QIsa^b and other Qumran texts or medieval sources. Talmudic and later rabbinic literature have preserved other early variants. Still other early variants are found in the Masoretic *madinha'ē* and *ma'arba'ē* readings (see B.1.d below) and in the Masoretic handbook *Minḥat Shay.*

The second period begins with the destruction of the Second Temple and ends in the 8th century, most of the evidence coming from the beginning and toward the end of the period. The scrolls from Wâdī Murabba'at and Naḥal Ḥever in the Judean desert (antedating 132–35 A.D.) are the best witnesses for the beginning of the period. Most of these sources (such as the Minor Prophets scroll from Wâdī Murabba'at) are virtually identical with the medieval ones, although there are differences in small details. Non-Hebrew sources from this period include the Greek translations by Kaige-Theodotion, Aquila, and Symmachus, the Aramaic Targums, and the Vulgate (on all these, see B.5 below). From the end of this period come the earliest documents from the Cairo Genizah.

The third period begins in the 8th century and continues until the 12th century. The earliest dated Masoretic mss proper are from the 9th century, and are characterized by the introduction of vocalization, cantillation signs, and the Masorah. The consonantal texts of the individual codices are virtually identical.

At the end of the first stage of the development of the MT a conscious attempt was made not to insert any more changes in the text and to transmit the text as precisely as possible. However, since a variety of texts already existed within the proto-Masoretic group, the presence of textual variants could not be avoided, so the idea of textual uniformity remained an abstract ideal. The variants current in this first period as well as in the second one are mainly from earlier textual traditions and often can still be found in non-Masoretic sources such as the LXX and Qumran texts.

In contrast, the vocalized "Masoretic" mss of the third period preserved only a few variants deriving from earlier periods. Almost all variants from this period resulted from errors stemming from the frequent copying of mss in the Middle Ages. A good description of the typical characteristics of medieval mss is given by Goshen-Gottstein (1975). For the text-critical study of these mss it is important to remember that they are not to be regarded as one single source, as is often assumed in scholarship. Every individual ms must be compared separately with non-Masoretic sources, and in that way some mss (those denoted as 30, 93, 96, 150 by Kennicott) will be recognized as containing more substantial variants than others. Furthermore, it can be demonstrated that the medieval mss are to be subdivided into independent geographical groups (Italy, Germany, France, Spain), of which the group from Spain contains more ancient variants than others (Cohen 1973). Nevertheless, the consonantal text of no single ms is significantly of greater importance than that of any other one. The variants in the medieval (12th century and later) mss were collected by B. Kennicott, *Vetus Testamentum hebraicum cum variis lectionibus I-II* (Oxford, 1776–80), and J. B. de Rossi, *Variae lectiones Veteris Testamenti I–IV* (Parma, 1784–88; repr. Amsterdam, 1969). A summary edition that includes the variants of these two collections was published in 1818 by J. C. Döderlein and J. H. Meisner. The more recent editions of C. D. Ginsburg (*The Twenty-four Sacred Books* . . . [London, 1896]), the *BHS*, and *The Hebrew*

University Bible (see E.2 below) also quote from older medieval mss.

c. Para-textual Elements. Once it became unacceptable to make any more changes to the biblical text, the earliest generations of the *sôpĕrîm* directed their activities toward accurately recording all the peculiarities in their mss. These peculiarities attested early scribal practices also reflected in the Qumran scrolls and in Hellenistic scribal traditions. (For a detailed description of these elements, see Ginsburg 1897.) The most important practices were associated with the following six phenomena:

(1) Paragraphs. With painstaking care the Masoretes transmitted the division of the text into paragraphs (Heb *pārāšâ*, pl. *pārāšiyyôt*), which resembled the system now also attested in most Qumran texts. They distinguished between small textual units separated from each other by open spaces between verses within the line (*pārāšâ sĕtûmâ*, "closed section," indicated with the letter *samek*), and larger textual units separated from each other by spaces that leave the whole remaining line blank (*pārāšâ pĕtûḥâ*, "open section," indicated with the letter *pe*). The Masoretes also indirectly indicated versification (with the *silluq* accent), following an ancient tradition indicated (by spaces) in a few Qumran texts (1QLev, 4QDan a,c) and in several Greek texts such as 8ḤevXII. (The actual *numbering* of the verses was accomplished only in the 13th century.)

(2) Inverted *Nuns*. The original purpose of these signs (found mainly before and after Num 10:35–36) was to indicate that the passage does not belong in the present context (cf. *Sipre* 84 on Num 10:35). In the Masoretic tradition these signs developed into that of inverted *nuns*, but originally they had the form of a sigma [(] and an antisigma [)], also found in 11QpaleoLev, 1QS, 1QM, and in the writings of the Alexandrian textual critics indicating elements that did not belong to the text. These are the forerunners of our modern parentheses.

(3) Puncta Extraordinaria. Supralinear (occasionally in combination with infralinear) points are found in fifteen places in the OT (e.g., Gen 33:4; Ps 27:13). While these points originated from scribal notations indicating that the elements thus highlighted should be deleted (a convention used in many Qumran texts), within the Masoretic corpus these symbols were reappropriated to indicate doubtful letters (cf. Butin 1906 and Talmon [in the 1969 reprint of Butin 1906] *apud* Butin and the explanation in *ʾAbot R. Nat.*, version A, 34). Similar signs are found in Hellenistic texts (cf. Lieberman 1962: 43–46).

(4) Suspended Letters (Litterae Suspensae). In the mss some letters are intentionally placed higher than those around them (i.e., "superscripted" between surrounding letters). A good example is the suspended *nun* in Judg 18:30, where the text with the *nun* is read *mnšh* (Manasseh) or without the *nun* as *mšh* (Moses). As in the Qumran texts, the suspended letters indicate later additions, which nevertheless were transmitted as such in the MT.

(5) Special Letters. The special form of some letters directs the reader's attention to details that were important for the Masoretes, such as the middle letter or word in a book. For a *littera minuscula* see Gen 2:4; for a *littera majuscula*, see Lev 13:33. In other instances imperfectly written letters are indicated especially.

(6) *Tiqqûnê sôpĕrîm* (Emendations of the Scribes). This phenomenon is not a para-textual element per se but rather is part of the *Masorah parva*. The term refers to words (18 or 11 depending on the sources; the oldest source is the *Mekilta* on Exod 15:7) that tradition says were changed by the *sôpĕrîm;* e.g., "my wickedness" (Num 11:15 MT) replaced an original reading "your wickedness." All supposed emendations concern minor changes in words that the *sôpĕrîm* deemed inappropriate for God or (in one instance) Moses (Num 12:12). In some sources these corrections are called *kinnûyê sôpĕrîm* ("euphemisms of the scribes"), implying that the *sôpĕrîm* had a different understanding of these words without, however, changing the text itself. See also SCRIBAL EMENDATIONS; BIBLE, EUPHEMISM AND DYSPHEMISM IN THE. Many details in the list of *tiqqûnîm* are dubious. Nevertheless, it is considered likely that theological alterations have been made in the text (see D.4 below), even though the specific *tiqqûnê sôpĕrîm* which have been transmitted may not give the best examples of this process (see McCarthy 1981).

d. The Masorah. The desire of the Masoretes to transmit the text as precisely as possible is manifested in a corpus of literature which was especially designed for this purpose (see Leiman 1974). These mechanisms actually developed far beyond the original intent into collections of notes written not only alongside the text but also in separate volumes of detailed observations on the biblical text (especially observations about orthography, since the scribes were most likely to err in these details).

The Masorah (literally, "transmission" or "tradition") in the narrow sense of the word is an apparatus of references and remarks written around the text about (especially orthographic) details in the biblical text. It was composed to facilitate the accurate transmission of the text. The best-known and most influential Masorah is the Tiberian (see Yeivin 1980). See also MASORAH.

The *Masorah parva* (or "smaller Masorah"), written in the margins between columns, contains observations about the number of times a word (or phrase) occurs in a given spelling in a biblical book or in the OT as a whole. The remarks pertain only to the orthography of words whose spelling deviates from the rules devised by the Masoretes themselves. The notes constituting the *Masorah parva* are often inconsistent or inaccurate. This results from the fact that it was initially transmitted alongside of its companion biblical manuscript, and consequently several forms of the Masorah circulated, each accompanying its own manuscript (subsequently, Masorah could be transcribed onto the margins of mss to which they originally did not apply).

Three groups of notations associated with the *Masorah parva* are especially important. The first group of notations designates words that should be read *(qĕrê)* instead of the ones written *(kĕtîb)* in the text; for example, in Jer 2:24, *napšô* (K) should be read *napšâ* (Q). Earlier mss indicated the presence of a Qere by a sign in the margin (a vertical line resembling a final *nun*); in later mss the Qere was indicated by the letter *qop* (for Qere). In most mss and printed editions the consonantal text of the Kethib is pointed with the vowels of the Qere, while the marginal Qere itself remains unvocalized. In some cases whole words were "written but not read" *(kĕtîb wĕlāʾ qĕrê)* and others "read but not written" *(qĕrê wĕlāʾ kĕtîb)*. See KETHIB AND QERE.

The Qere words can be subdivided in different ways, but it should be remembered that most Qere words differ only in one letter from the corresponding Kethib. The classification and analysis of Gordis (1971) is the best modern introduction to the problem of the Kethib and Qere. Opinions vary about whether the Qere represents a Masoretic "correction," a textual variant, or something else. The Masoretes themselves seem to have regarded the Qere as a correction of the Kethib, and therefore in their reading the Kethib was to be ignored. In line with this tradition, some modern scholars maintain that all Qere words were indeed intended as a correction of the Kethib. For the following reasons, however, this seems doubtful: (1) some (types of) words that constitute the Qere word in one verse are the Kethib word in other verses; (2) every category of Qere words contains instances that are not "corrected" elsewhere; and (3) in some passages the Qere words are grammatically impossible or contextually awkward, and therefore hardly constitute "improvements." Gordis' statistics show that as a rule, the Qere and Kethib are equal in value and that the Kethib sometimes offers a better reading than the Qere. For that reason, other scholars believe that all the Qere words were originally textual variants—differing in one or two consonants—that subsequently came to be regarded as corrections since they had been written in the margin. Gordis offers a middle course between these two views by suggesting two stages in the development of the Qere. Initially, the Qere was intended as a correction, particularly to discourage blasphemy, such as the *Qere perpetuum* (the constant Qere) of the written Tetragrammaton (YHWH) to be read as *ʾădōnāy*. Subsequently, the already existing system of incorporating corrections as marginal notes was also used to preserve for posterity deviant/variant readings. Still later, all these marginal notes came to be (mis)understood as corrections. Recently, Barr (1981) suggested that the Qere words originated in the "reading tradition" because there is never more than one Qere word.

The second group of notations associated with the *Masorah parva* is indicated by the notation *sēbîrîn*, followed by an almost identical word (e.g., *mmnw/mmnh* in Judg 11:34). The *sēbîrîn* notations closely resemble those of the Qere; indeed, various words indicated as Qere in some mss are indicated as *sēbîrîn* in others. The term is an abbreviation of *sēbîrîn wĕmaʿṭîn*, i.e., "one might think" *(sbr)* that x should be read instead of y, but that is a "wrong assumption" *(maʿṭîn)*.

Third, the *Masorah parva* mentions some 250 consonantal variants between Palestinian (*maʿarbāʾê*, or "western") and Babylonian (*mādînḥāʾê*, or "eastern") readings.

The *Masorah magna* (or "larger Masorah"), written in the spaces above and beneath columns (and sometimes in the margins), mentions the exact verses the *Masorah parva* refers to.

e. Vocalization. Vocalization and accents were added to the consonantal text of MT at a relatively late stage. This additional layer of information is known only from the MT, but is similar to the tradition of reading the Sam. Pent. During the Middle Ages the Samaritans developed a system of vocalization, but the mss of the Sam. Pent. remain without systematic vocalization. The problems which in the MT were addressed by the added vocalization were solved 1,000 years earlier in a different way in the scrolls written in the "Qumran system" of spelling, where an extremely full spelling facilitated the vocalized reading.

The purpose of vocalization was to solidify the reading of the text in a fixed written form on the basis of the oral tradition which had been stable in antiquity (note the large amount of agreement between the content of the Masoretic vocalization and the text presupposed by the LXX). As with all other forms of reading (vocalization), the Masoretic system reflects the exegesis of the Masoretes, although the greater part of it is based on earlier traditions.

The modern editions reproduce (with internal differences) the textus receptus both of the consonants and of the vocalization. This is also true of most mss, but recent findings and studies have shown that this textus receptus is only one of many systems. (For the history of vocalization and the different systems, see MASORETIC ACCENTS.)

(1) The Tiberian Vocalization. Of the various vocalization systems, the Tiberian has become the most widely accepted. More and more details of the other systems (Palestinian, Babylonian) are becoming known through the discovery of such mss, especially from the Cairo Geniza (a storeroom for sacred writings) discovered at the end of the last century, and from Yemenite mss preserved through the ages by the Yemenite community. The differences between these systems pertain to pronunciation, the graphic form of the vowel markers, and the conception of basic linguistic entities such as the *matres lectionis* and the *šĕwâ*. The Tiberian vocalization found in mss dating from A.D. 850 to 1100 is of greater importance for the reconstruction of the vocalization systems than those of the later mss, since the earlier sources (the Aleppo codex; codex Leningrad B 19a; the Cairo manuscript of the Prophets; British Museum Or. 4445; Sassoon 507, 1053; and various mss from the collection of Firkowitch in Leningrad) indicate the original systems of the Masoretes (sometimes inserted by them), while the later sources have been contaminated in the course of the transmission.

In the circles that occupied themselves with the vocalization of the biblical text from the 8th to the 10th century A.D. in Tiberias, the most prominent families were those of Ben-Asher and Ben-Naphtali. The Ben-Asher system was later accepted universally, while that of Ben-Naphtali came into disuse. It is not known whether any of the transmitted mss offer a purely Ben-Naphtali tradition; hence not all details about this system of vocalization are known, even though one learns much from the "variants" between it and Ben-Asher (see Lipschütz 1965).

In the Ben-Asher family, the most developed system is that devised by the last grammarian of that family, Aharon ben-Moshe ben-Asher (ca. 925). It was once assumed that the Second Rabbinic Bible contained the text of Ben-Asher, although now it seems that this edition contained an eclectic text from various mss (see Penkower 1982) and that in the preparation of this text the editor was often guided by his own grammatical rules (e.g., with respect to the *metheg*, the sign for secondary emphasis). Most scholars today believe that codex Leningrad B 19a (A.D. 1009) is the best complete representative of the Ben-Asher text; hence the *Biblia Hebraica (BHK)* and *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia (BHS)* are based on this codex. Many, however, have recognized that the Aleppo codex is the most authentic rep-

resentative of the Ben-Asher tradition, because this codex was vocalized and supplied with Masorah by Aharon ben-Moshe himself. The fame of this manuscript must be attributed largely to Maimonides, who declared it to be the authoritative text of the Bible. Kept for centuries by the Jewish congregation of Aleppo (Syria), this ms was thought to have been lost in a fire in 1948; in fact, only the pentateuchal portion was lost while the other books were saved. A facsimile edition of the surviving part of the Aleppo codex was published by Goshen-Gottstein in 1976; its vocalization is described in detail by Yeivin (1968). This codex is the basis for the edition of the *Hebrew University Bible Project (HUBP).*

(2) The Character of the Masoretic Vocalization. Transcriptions of biblical texts in the second column of the Hexapla and in Jerome's Bible commentaries often present traditions that differ from the Masoretic vocalization devised much later. Because of these data, several scholars (esp. Kahle 1959: 149–88) have contended that the Masoretic vocalization reflects a late artificial system created by the Masoretes themselves, who rejected earlier systems. Kahle based his view especially on the double pronunciation of the letters *b, g, d, k, p, t,* and the form of the suffix of the second-person masculine singular personal pronoun (in the Masoretic tradition this is *-ĕkā,* but in the earlier sources it is *-āk*). However, the Qumran texts have confirmed the antiquity of the Masoretic pronunciation, not only with respect to this pronominal suffix but also in other details (see esp. Ben-Hayyim 1954).

f. Cantillation Signs (Accents). See MASORETIC ACCENTS.

g. Printed Editions. Many scholars believe that the most ideal edition would be one based on a single manuscript, since it would consequently be a faithful representation of one existing system. Such editions have appeared only recently, however (see below). In the past, editors composed their respective texts from a variety of mss that they deemed suitable, rarely mentioning their sources for the individual elements of the text. Moreover, they allowed their own grammatical ideas to influence the text. Even though the differences between the printed editions are minor, these small variations are important for the grammatical analysis of the text.

The first printed edition of the complete text appeared in 1488 in Soncino, a small city in the vicinity of Milan. Particularly important for the advance in biblical research have been the so-called polyglots, multilingual editions that give the text of the Bible in parallel columns in Hebrew (MT and Sam. Pent.), Greek, Aramaic, Syriac, Latin, and Arabic, accompanied by Latin translations and introduced by grammars and lexicons. The first is the Complutensian Polyglot (1514–17), prepared by Cardinal Ximenes in Alcala (Latin: Complutum). The second was published in Antwerp (1569–72), the third in Paris (1629–45), and the fourth, the most extensive, in London (1654–57), edited by B. Walton and E. Castell.

The so-called Rabbinic Bibles have proved to be of great importance for the history of the printed text. These editions contain in parallel columns the MT and Aramaic Targums, along with various rabbinic commentaries. The earliest editions of the Rabbinic Bible were printed in Venice by Daniel Bomberg, the first (1516–17) edited by Felix Pratensis and the second (1524–25) by Jacob Ben-Hayyim, based on various Spanish mss (see Penkower 1982). The latter edition differs from the former in the addition of the *Masorah parva* and *Masorah magna.* Probably because of this Masoretic apparatus, subsequent generations regarded this edition as the textus receptus of the Hebrew Bible. For that reason by far the majority of the editions of the Bible (with the exception of some modern editions) derive from the text of Ben-Hayyim. They differ only as to where they remove errors, where they introduce new ones, or where they add details from other mss that the editor deemed important.

In the course of the centuries, hundreds of editions of the Hebrew Bible have appeared, of which the most important are those of J. Buxtorf (1611), Athias (1661), Leusden (1667), Jablonski (1699), Van der Hooght (1705), Michaelis (1720), Hahn (1831), Rosenmüller (1834), Letteris (1852), and Koren (1965–66).

Since the end of the 19th century, scholars have been aware of the need for more accurate editions based on critical principles. Baer and Delitzsch tried to reconstruct the Ben-Asher text on the basis of (among others) Ben-Asher's grammatical treatise *Diqdûqqê haṭṭĕʿāmîm* (published by Baer and Strack in 1879). Ginsburg hoped to reconstruct the Ben-Asher tradition on the basis of his thorough knowledge of the Masorah. His analysis of the Masorah prompted him to make the Second Rabbinic Bible the basis of his 1894 edition, to which he added a critical apparatus containing variants from various mss and printed editions. A few modern editions are based on single sources: Snaith's 1958 edition is based on BM Or. 2375, 2626–28; Dothan's 1975–76 edition and the *BHS* are based on the codex Leningrad; and the *HUBP* edition is based on the Aleppo codex. (For these latter two editions, see E.2 below.)

In recent years the complete text has been made available in machine-readable (computer) form. Several computer texts, based primarily on the *BHS* and/or the codex Leningrad B19A, contain all components of the biblical text as well as a detailed morphological analysis. (For bibliographical details, see *Centre: Informatique et Bible. Bible Data Bank, List of Data and Services* [Maredsous, Belgium: 1981].)

2. Proto-Samaritan Texts and the Samaritan Pentateuch. Among the early attestations of the biblical text, the so-called proto-Samaritan sources hold an important place. These sources contain early nonsectarian texts (see B.2.c below), on one of which was based the Samaritan Pentateuch (Sam. Pent.). In its present form, the Sam. Pent. contains a clearly sectarian text. However, when its thin sectarian layer is removed, together with that of the Samaritan phonetic features, the resulting text probably did not differ much from the texts we now label "proto-Samaritan." Because of this relationship, the proto-Samaritan sources should be discussed first; however, the fragmentary state of their preservation in contrast to the full evidence relating to the Sam. Pent. leads us first to consider the latter. (For a more complete survey of editions and translations of the Sam. Pent., as well as the history of scholarly study on it, see SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH.)

a. Origin and Background of the Samaritan Pentateuch. The Sam. Pent. contains the sacred writings of the

Samaritans, presently a community of a few hundred members living mainly on Mount Gerizim (near Shechem, modern Nablus) and in Holon (near Tel Aviv). These sacred writings contain only the Pentateuch, while a Samaritan version of Joshua (see Gaster 1908) is also known.

Opinions vary about the origin of the community (see Purvis 1968). The Samaritans themselves believe that the origin of their community goes back to the time of Eli (11th century B.C.), when the "Jews" withdrew from Shechem to establish a new cult in Shiloh, which was later brought to Jerusalem. According to this conception, the Jews split off from the Samaritans, not the other way around. A different view is reflected in 2 Kgs 17:24–34, according to which the Samaritans were not originally Jews, but pagans brought to Samaria by the Assyrians after the fall of Samaria in the 8th century B.C. In accordance with this tradition, in the Talmud the Samaritans were indeed named Kythians (cf. 2 Kgs 17:24).

b. The Character of the Sam. Pent. The textual character of the Sam. Pent. is usually studied by comparing its readings with the MT (Waltke 1970), and since the list by Castellus in the London polyglot (vol. 6, 1657) a figure of 6,000 such differences is usually cited. This detail has to be reexamined now on the basis of modern critical editions.

Study of the proto-Samaritan texts has facilitated the separation of early elements in the Sam. Pent. from elements subsequently added by the Samaritans. The details of this distinction are subject to further research, but the distinction itself is probably correct. It had been surmised by recent generations of scholars that the Sam. Pent. consists of two different layers, but the exact nature of these layers could be studied only with the aid of the new finds. It has now been clarified that the second layer is thin and that if this layer is "peeled off" the proto-Samaritan base text becomes visible.

(1) Early (proto-Samaritan) Elements in the Sam. Pent. (a) Harmonizing Alterations. The Sam. Pent. contains various kinds of harmonizing alterations, especially additions (to one passage on the basis of another one) that, by definition, are secondary. These alterations appear inconsistently (i.e., features which have been harmonized in one place have been left in others). The Sam. Pent. was not sensitive to differences between parallel laws within the Pentateuch, which, as a rule, have remained intact, while differences between parallel narrative accounts, especially in the speeches in the first chapters of Deuteronomy and their "sources," were closely scrutinized.

The most frequent type of harmonizing alterations happens when one of two differing parallel verses in the Sam. Pent. is adapted to the other (for the editorial principles, see Tigay 1985: 53–96; Tov 1985). Thus, in the MT the Fourth Commandment in Exod 20:8 begins with *zākôr* ("remember") and in Deut 5:12 with *šāmôr* ("observe"), but the Sam. Pent. reads *šāmôr* in both verses. As a rule, however, the Sam. Pent. puts both parallel verses (or parallel details) after each other in the earlier of the two texts. Thus the parallel verses from Deut 1:9–18 are added in Exodus (after 18:24 and within v 25), resulting in a double account of the story of Moses' appointing of the judges. For similar additions, see Num 10:10 (= Deut 1:6–7) and 12:16 (= Deut 1:20–23). In this way the nature of the book of Deuteronomy as a "repetition of the law" (*mišnēh tôrāh* in Jewish sources) has been reinforced, since on a strictly formal level Deuteronomy can only "repeat" something if it is also found verbatim in an earlier book.

Another kind of harmonizing change concerns the addition of details in the Sam. Pent. with which the reader should actually be familiar, even though they are not explicitly mentioned in the Bible. In Exod 14:12, for example, the Israelites murmur against Moses after he has led them through the Red Sea: "Is not this what we said to you in Egypt, 'Let us alone and let us serve the Egyptians'?" This complaint is not mentioned earlier in the MT; but the Sam. Pent. inserts this quote in an earlier verse (Exod 6:9). Another illustration is Gen 31:11–13, where Jacob relates a dream not mentioned in any earlier verses in the MT; in the Sam. Pent., however, the account of this dream is added after 30:36.

The characteristic style of biblical narrative is to relate commands in great detail but their execution only briefly. In the Sam. Pent., however, the execution of such commands is often elaborately narrated by repeating the details of the command. For example, in the first chapters of Exodus God gives Moses and Aaron commands whose execution is briefly mentioned in the MT; the Sam. Pent., however, describes their execution in detail after Exod 7:18, 29; 8:19; 9:5, 19.

(b) Linguistic Corrections. Probably most of the linguistic corrections of the Sam. Pent. were already found in the proto-Samaritan sources (see, e.g., 4QpaleoExm). These corrections pertain to the removal of "unusual" forms (such as *naḥnû*, corrected in Gen 42:11 to *ʾănaḥnû; wĕḥayyat hāʾāreṣ* in Gen 1:24 instead of *wĕḥayĕtô ʾereṣ*), and to the correction of syntactical incongruities such as singular/plural, masculine/feminine (Gen 9:29; 13:6).

(c) Content. It cannot be determined how many of the content variants of the Sam. Pent. were already found in the early sources. Probably most of these variants (which cannot be characterized in any way) were archaic. Among other things, they contain a remarkable number of synonymous variants.

(2) New Elements. (a) Sectarian Changes. The views of the Samaritans differed from those of the Jews in a number of important details, only one of which is known to have been inserted in their biblical text. This concerns the most important doctrinal difference between the Jews and the Samaritans: the central place of worship (Jerusalem for the Jews, Mount Gerizim for the Samaritans). To reinforce this belief the Samaritans added a commandment to the Decalog (after Exod 20:14 and Deut 5:18) that secured the centrality of Mount Gerizim in the cult. This commandment is composed of a series of biblical pericopes that mention such a central cult in Shechem (Deut 11:29a; 27:2b, 3a, 4–7; 11:30 [in this sequence]). The addition of this material as the Tenth Commandment was made possible by changing the First Commandment into an introductory clause.

Closely connected with this addition are various alterations in Deuteronomy where the characteristic expression "the place which the Lord your God *will* choose" is changed to "the place which the Lord your God *has* chosen" (e.g., Deut 12:10, 11). From the Samaritan perspective, Shechem was already the chosen place in the time of

Abraham, whereas from the historical perspective of Deuteronomy, the choice of God's place (Jerusalem) yet lay in the future, after the conquest of the land and the election of David.

(b) Phonological Changes. Some of the phonological features of the Sam. Pent. have been inserted by the Samaritans themselves, as is visible from their agreement with those of the known Samaritan literature. This is true especially of the gutturals, which differ distinctly from those of the MT (see esp. Ben-Hayyim 1956–79; Macuch 1969). Thus in Gen 49:7 the Sam. Pent. reads *wehebratam* instead of MT's *wēʿebrātām*.

(3) Orthography. The use of *matres lectionis* (see D.3 below) in the Sam. Pent. differs in several respects from their use in MT. Macuch (1969: 3–9) and Cohen (1976) have shown that it is an oversimplification to say that the orthography of the Sam. Pent. is "fuller" than that of MT: in some word categories MT is fuller than the Sam. Pent., while in other ones the reverse is true. It cannot be determined with certainty how many of these orthographic peculiarities were introduced by the Samaritans, since the proto-Samaritan texts are not consistent in this matter either.

c. Proto-Samaritan Texts. An important group of early texts unearthed at Qumran have been classified as "proto-Samaritan." That name may be somewhat misleading since these particular Qumran mss are neither Samaritan (*pace* Baillet 1971) nor sectarian in any way. This term is used, like in other cases (cf. "proto-Theodotion," "proto-Lucian"), to designate a group of texts, on one of which the Sam. Pent. seems to have been based.

The prominent characteristic which these texts have in common is the occurrence of major harmonizing elements such as evidenced in the Sam. Pent. (see above). There are large harmonizing additions from Deuteronomy in Exodus and Numbers (and in one case, vice versa), well attested in 4QpaleoExm (Sanderson 1986), 4Q158, 4Q364* (both biblical "paraphrases"), 4QNumb* (see Cross 1961: 186), 4QDeutn*, and 4Q175 (Test) [*denotes texts still unpublished].

All these texts form a typologically similar group, related in character yet sometimes different in content. As for differences, the texts (except for 4QpaleoExm) are written in square Hebrew characters. Also, they lack the distinctive phonetic features of the Sam. Pent. As for similarities, they share the Sam. Pent.'s linguistic simplifications, its harmonizations in minor matters, as well as its noncharacteristic readings, although differing in many details in these areas. The spelling of 4QpaleoExm is fuller than that of the Sam. Pent., while that of the other texts is not. They are not sectarian in any way. Moreover, they contain various readings not known from other sources. At the same time, these proto-Samaritan texts share a sufficient amount of significant details with the Sam. Pent. to demonstrate the close relationship with that text. In the same way as the proto-Samaritan texts relate to each other, the Sam. Pent. is akin to all of them, although that text is a bit remote from them because of its subsequent ideological and phonetic developments.

3. The Qumran Texts. In contrast to the two aforementioned groups of witnesses of the biblical text—the (proto-) Masoretic and the (proto-) Samaritan—the texts found at Qumran do not present any one homogeneous group of texts, but a collection of different texts, including proto-Masoretic and proto-Samaritan texts. The texts found at Qumran give an insight into the textual situation in Palestine as a whole from the mid-3d century B.C. until 68 A.D., although it is not known whether the selection and nature of the texts found at Qumran is in any way representative of that period. For overviews of the scrolls and their bearings on OT textual criticism, see Skehan 1971; 1975a; 1975b; Vermes 1977).

a. Background. Many of the Qumran texts discovered in the middle of the 20th century constitute a major source of information for the history of the biblical text, with regard to the history of transmission of the text (see D below), the relation between the biblical witnesses (see C.2 below), and the specific content of the mss themselves. The latter issue is discussed here. (For background information on the Qumran texts, see DEAD SEA SCROLLS.) Many of the texts so far remain unpublished, but all of them have been described and the most important ones have been published either entirely or partially. This makes it possible to obtain a good idea of the importance and relevance of the new sources. (See Fitzmyer 1977 for bibliography, and Skehan (*DBSup* 9: 805–28) and Tov 1988 for full surveys.)

The scope of the documents differs from text to text. The large Isaiah Scroll from Cave 1 (1QIsa) contains all 66 chapters of the book, but only small fragments of other books have usually been preserved. Separate scrolls are usually identified on the basis of perceived different scripts, but this may be misleading since large scrolls were often written by more than one scribe, so that the total number of scrolls represented by the fragments is smaller than generally assumed.

With the exception of Esther and Nehemiah (but Ezra-Nehemiah form one book), fragments or complete scrolls have been found of all the books of the OT. In addition, fragments of some apocryphal and pseudepigraphal books (in Heb or Aram), which thus far were known only in Gk or other translations, have been unearthed. This situation may be indicative of an open-ended canonical conception, but since the background of the finds of the documents in Qumran has not been clarified, reliable information on the canonical conceptions of the Qumran community can be obtained only from their various sectarian writings.

Based on archaeological considerations, the period of settlement of the Qumran community is from approximately 150 B.C. (or somewhat later) to A.D. 68. However, paleographic analysis suggests that the oldest Qumran texts were written before that time. Presumably the settlers of the Qumran community brought with them some earlier scrolls; furthermore, if scrolls were indeed copied at Qumran, they had to be copied from texts imported from outside. The oldest scrolls are ascribed to the middle and end of the 3d century B.C.: Freedman (1962: 93) attributes 4QExodf to 250 B.C. and Cross (1955) ascribes 4QSam to the second half of the 3d century B.C. and 4QJer^{a} to 200 B.C.

b. Textual Character. The Qumran texts come from 11 caves. Presently it cannot be determined whether the scrolls differ textually from cave to cave. Most of the scrolls whose contents differ from MT (and which thus are im-

portant for the reconstruction of the textual history) were found in Caves 4 and 11. This may or may not be coincidental. The biblical text from Qumran is best described in relation to the MT and other sources known before the discoveries in Qumran. The Qumran texts reflect a textual variety, the background of which is not clear (see below).

(1) Most texts from Caves 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, and 8 (and many of Cave 4) are virtually identical with the consonantal framework of the MT, barring occasional variants, especially minor orthographic differences. This group also contains all the paleo-Hebrew texts (except for 1QpaleoLev and 4QpaleoExm). In view of the early date of these scrolls, their text tradition is usually called "proto-Masoretic."

(2) Other texts, though representing the basic tradition of the MT, display a different approach to the text. These scrolls are written in a very special orthography and language, and contain a relatively large number of secondary readings (i.e., readings that eliminate grammatical and contextual difficulties). This orthography and language has not been attested in sources outside the Qumran community (although a few agreements with pronunciations in the Samaritan tradition have been recognized), but this absence of documentation may be due to the paucity of our sources. In the meantime this system of language, orthography, and scribal habits should thus be called the "Qumran system," but the imprecision of this term should be noted. Some of the special features of this "Qumran system" are the spellings *ky'*, *zwt/zw't/z'wt*, *lw'*, *kwh*, *mwšh*, and forms such as *m'wdh/mw'dh/mwdh;* lengthened independent pronouns such as *hw'h*, *hy'h*, *'tmh;* words serving in the MT as "pausal" verbal forms such as *(w)yqtwlw;* lengthened future forms such as *'qtwlh;* and lengthened pronominal suffixes for second and third persons plural (e.g., *mlkmh*, *mlkkmh*, etc.). (For a description of the linguistic background, see Kutscher 1974 and Qimron 1986, and for the distribution of these features in the Qumran scrolls, see Tov 1986; 1988.) These texts also reflect various scribal phenomena not found in other Qumran scrolls, and according to Tov (1986; 1988) they were produced by a Qumran scribal school.

(3) Some texts exhibit great similarity with two non-Masoretic witnesses: the LXX and the Sam. Pent. The sources that are akin to the Sam. Pent. (the so-called "proto-Samaritan" texts) have been described above. Furthermore, 4QJer^{b,d} are closely akin to the LXX, which in Jeremiah reflects a Hebrew text that is one-seventh shorter than the MT and with different arrangement of verses, pericopes, and chapters; in both these respects the LXX resembles the Qumran text. Several other texts, especially 4QSam^{a}, likewise contain some or many readings also reflected in the LXX, but none of them is as close to the LXX as 4QJer^{b,d}.

(4) Several scrolls are "independent" in relation to the MT, LXX, and Sam. Pent. A large scroll such as 11QpaleoLev (see Tov 1979) often agrees with the MT over against other textual witnesses, but it also disagrees with the MT. Likewise, it also agrees often with the LXX, with which it also disagrees (the same also applies to its relation with the Sam. Pent.). At the same time, it contains many independent readings, that is, readings not found in other sources (see D.4 below).

c. The Origin of the Qumran Scrolls. For the evaluation of the textual variety at Qumran and of some of the individual scrolls, one would like to know more about the origin of the Qumran scrolls. In the past most scholars have regarded the Qumran scrolls (both biblical and non-biblical) as the scrolls of the Qumran sect, implying that these scrolls have been written at Qumran by the scribes of the Qumran community. In these descriptions the collection of scrolls has frequently been portrayed as the "library of Qumran," without the nature of this library ever being appropriately described. Likewise, the discovery in Qumran of what has been called the "scriptorium" has reassured many scholars that the Qumran scrolls were indeed written there. On the other hand, scholars have known that at least the most ancient texts could not have been written at Qumran, since they precede the time of the sect's settlement. This fact, however, has not significantly influenced the account of the scrolls' origin. In any case, the fact that most scholars attributed the Qumran scrolls to the Qumran sect aroused opposition among a few scholars, who, referring mostly to the archaeological finds, denied this claim altogether. These scholars claimed that all of the scrolls found at Qumran were brought there from somewhere else, perhaps from the Temple library (see Rengstorf 1960; Kutscher 1974: 89–95; and Golb 1980). Del Medico (1957) thought that the Qumran caves contained an ancient *genizah* (depository of books) brought from outside.

The aforementioned views were mostly based on the archaeological evidence, while a different view has been proposed by Tov (1986; 1988), based on the distribution of orthography and language in the Qumran scrolls. He noted that the sectarian compositions are written almost exclusively in the Qumran system and that furthermore, no sectarian writings are written in anything but this orthography. These findings led to the conclusion that the Qumran community wrote their own sectarian writings in this special orthography and language, probably at Qumran. Furthermore, all the scrolls written in this system reflect a distinct (Qumran) scribal school recognizable by several scribal habits (the use of scribal marks and of initial-medial letters in final position, and the writing of the divine name in paleo-Hebrew characters). These characteristics are not found in the other scrolls. On the basis of this evidence he suggested that the scrolls written in the "Qumran system" were written by the Qumran community, while the other ones were brought from outside.

4. Additional Hebrew Sources. Mere fragments of passages found in the Bible (some dating as early as the First Temple period) have been preserved. Two small silver scrolls (amulets?) from Keteph Hinnom in Jerusalem, dating from the 7th century B.C., contain (with differences) the priestly blessing (Num 6:24–26). The Nash papyrus from the 1st or 2d century A.D. contains the Decalog according to the text of both Exodus and Deuteronomy. There is also the Severus scroll of the Pentateuch which, according to rabbinic tradition, was brought by the Romans to "the synagogue of Severus" in Rome after the fall of Jerusalem (70 A.D.) and which contains orthographic differences from MT, and the "Pentateuch of Rabbi Meir," quoted by Talmudic traditions as having been copied from the Severus scroll. There were also various texts now lost

and mentioned in Talmudic literature, such as Codex Hilleli, Codex Zambuki, and Codex Yerushalmi (see Ginsburg 1897: 410–37).

5. Ancient Versions. a. Text-Critical Use of Versions. The textual criticism of the OT aims at tracing all early attestations of the biblical text. It is not enough to search for such readings in Hebrew sources because non-Hebrew sources, particularly ancient translations (the Versions), also contain many data. These data are used in the text-critical analysis of the OT, but by definition they cannot be used in the language of the translations, since the aim is to discover deviating Hebrew text traditions. The textual critic must thus analyze those portions where the ancient translations deviate from the MT in order to determine whether or not they might reflect original Hebrew variants. Such elements are then retranslated (retroverted) into the assumed Hebrew-Aramaic original, in order that these retranslated elements, together with extant Hebrew sources, can be used in the text-critical analysis.

Until recently, OT textual criticism has paid much attention to the Versions. This interest was justified because the oldest Heb mss were dated to the Middle Ages while some of the mss of the LXX, Peshitta, and Vulgate date from the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. (some fragmentary papyruses of the LXX go back as far as the 2d century B.C.). This situation has now changed because the Hebrew scrolls from the Judean desert/Dead Sea are not only considerably older than these but often also more important. Therefore text-critical interest will in the future be focused more on Hebrew sources than on the Versions, even though text-critically the LXX will always remain of great importance. The importance of the other Versions for textual criticism is diminishing, although occasionally they contain significant readings. At the same time, these Versions remain important as witnesses to ancient *exegesis*.

Text-critical analysis here reconstructs elements in the Hebrew text—the *Vorlage*—on which the translation may have been based. Scholars are divided about the possibilities and methodology of this procedure. There are no firm, systematic criteria for such a reconstruction of the text, but important aspects of the procedure followed have been described, mainly in reference to the LXX, by Margolis (1907), Goshen-Gottstein (1963), Barr (1968; 1979) and Tov (1978a). These methodological analyses can also be applied to the other Versions.

This analysis is based on the recognized differences between the MT and the various ancient translations. When such a detail differs from the MT one need not immediately assume that its *Vorlage* differed from MT. Such differences are also caused, even in larger measure, by other factors, such as exegesis, translation technique, and corruptions in the transmission of the text of the Versions. Intimate knowledge of these areas is a *conditio sine qua non* for the text-critical use of the Versions. If analysis leads to the conclusion that a particular deviation from MT is not caused by one of the above-mentioned factors, one may assume that the translation is based on a Hebrew consonantal text that differed from the MT.

Often such a text can be reconstructed on the basis of our knowledge of the translation technique and vocabulary, accessible through modern concordances and other tools. The following is a good illustration. The LXX of Deut 31:1 reads, "and Moses finished speaking" *(kai synetelesen Mōusēs lalōn)* instead of MT "and Moses went and spoke" *(wayyēlek mōšeh wayyĕdabbēr)*. The deviating translation in the LXX must have been caused by the presence of a variant since no exegesis can be detected in this detail. According to the information presented by the concordances, the Gk verb *synteleō* ("finish") usually represents Heb *klh* ("finish"); thus it may be assumed that here the Heb *Vorlage* of the LXX read *wayyĕkal* instead of *wayyēlek* (i.e., metathesis of the last two consonants). The reconstruction of this variant is supported by an identical variant in a Heb Qumran scroll (1Q5, frag. 13,2) and the similar expression in the MT of Deut 32:45.

Very few elements in the Versions can be retranslated with absolute certainty to specific Heb variants. In general, it is uncertain whether a deviation in a translation is due to a Heb variant or, for example, is the result of a free translation or of exegesis (in choosing from the various possibilities, familiarity with the nature of the translation of the individual books is very important).

But even if it is certain that a detail in the version can be translated back to a particular Heb variant, this does not mean that such a variant reading actually existed in a Heb source; it is possible that the translator misread a detail in his *Vorlage*, so that the variant existed only in his mind. Thus the LXX of 1 Sam 21:8 wrongly calls Doeg *ho Syros*, words that can be retranslated to *haʾărammî*, "the Aramean," instead of *hāʾădōmî*, "the Edomite" in MT (and in other OT references to Doeg). It is impossible to say whether the *Vorlage* of the Gk translation actually read *hʾrmy* or if the translator wrongly read *hʾdmy* as *hʾrmy*. In either case it is customary to say that the LXX reflects a "variant" *hʾrmy*, even though this reading may never have existed in a Hebrew text.

Because of the different approaches in the reconstruction of the *Vorlagen* of the Versions, many divergences in the Versions are retranslated as Heb variants by some, while others regard them as stemming from translation technique, exegesis, etc. Furthermore, in the retranslation of the divergences into Heb, the possible reconstructions can be numerous.

b. The Septuagint (LXX). The quality of the Greek translation contained in the LXX varies from book to book, ranging from slavishly literal (e.g., Psalms and some early revisions now included in the LXX canon such as the "LXX" of 2 Kings [4 Kingdoms in the LXX] and Ecclesiastes) to loose paraphrases (Isaiah, Proverbs, Esther, Job, Daniel). The analysis of this quality is crucial for the text-critical analysis of the LXX, for it helps us to ascertain whether an individual variation between the MT and the LXX is due to free translation (i.e., an idiosyncrasy of the translator) or to a Heb variant (i.e., an idiosyncrasy of the *Vorlage*).

The LXX reflects a large number of Heb variants in all the books of the OT; in fact, among the Versions, the LXX is by far the most important source for textual criticism. Together with the Qumran scrolls and the Sam. Pent., it constitutes the most important non-Masoretic witness, especially for Exodus, Numbers, Joshua, Samuel, Kings, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel. Particularly important are those sections in which the LXX reflects a text which is *recensionally* different from MT. In such sections the LXX usually

represents a stage in the development of a biblical book that preceded the stage reflected in the MT. This holds especially for the LXX of Jeremiah, the shorter LXX version of 1 Samuel 17–18, and the chronological framework of the LXX in 1–2 Kings. (The text-critical use of the LXX in biblical research is discussed in Tov 1981b. For bibliography, see Brock 1973.) See also SEPTUAGINT.

c. Peshitta. The quality of the Peshitta (Syriac translation) varies from book to book, ranging from fairly accurate to paraphrastic. The Heb *Vorlage* of the Peshitta was more or less identical with MT. The Peshitta offers fewer variants than the LXX, but more than the Targums and the Vulgate. (On the text-critical use of the Peshitta, see especially Goshen-Gottstein 1960; Weitzman 1985). See VERSIONS, ANCIENT (SYRIAC VERSIONS).

d. The Targums. The quality of the translation of the Aramaic Targums varies from Targum to Targum and from book to book (see especially Komlosh 1973). As a rule, the Targums from Palestine are more paraphrastic in character than the Babylonian ones. The more literal translations of 11QtgJob and 4QtgLev, though found in Palestine, are an exception to this rule. The relation between the various Targums as well as their origins are elaborately discussed in modern research (Grossfeld 1972–77). See TARGUM, TARGUMIM.

The Targums usually reflect the MT; deviations from it are based mainly on exegetical traditions, not on deviating texts. An exception must be made for 11QtgJob, which contains interesting variants and which possibly lacks some verses of the MT (42:12–17), a fact which would be significant for the literary criticism of the book. It may perhaps be assumed that other Targums in an earlier stage of their development also contained more variants than in their present form. *Targum Onqelos* as a rule contains more variants than the Palestinian Targums. (For a discussion and reconstruction of these variants, see Sperber 1973; Komlosh 1973.)

e. The Vulgate. Though occasionally reflecting variants (see Marks 1956; Nowack 1875; Kedar-Kopfstein 1968; 1969), this Latin translation almost always reproduces MT. See VULGATE.

C. Textual History

1. Introduction. The history of the text (referring mainly to MT) since the 2d century A.D. onward is known in broad lines. But the history of the text before that time is in a sense prehistory about which we can only guess, even though many texts are now known. Theories about the history of the text were current already before the discovery of the Qumran texts, in other words, before one could have an idea of what ancient biblical scrolls looked like and before one knew about the textual multiplicity reflected in the Qumran finds. In many respects these theories are now outdated. Nevertheless, they are discussed here because of their influence on the development of the research and in particular on the terminology used.

2. Relationship between Textual Witnesses. The most important textual witnesses to the OT are MT, with Heb *Vorlage* of the LXX (here simply designated as LXX), "independent" Qumran texts and those written in the "Qumran" orthography and language, the proto-Samaritan sources, and the Sam. Pent. All other sources (such as the Peshitta, Vulgate, Targums, the Heb texts from Naḥal Ḥever, Wâdī Murabbaʿat, Masada, and many Qumran texts) are less significant for the history of the OT text since they are virtually identical with MT.

During the last three centuries the idea has arisen that the MT, the Sam. Pent., and the LXX represent the three main text types for the Pentateuch (the term comes from Kahle 1915: 436, who speaks of *"drei Haupttypen des Pentateuchtextes"*). This view has been greatly influenced by the coincidence that the MT, Sam. Pent., and LXX have been preserved for posterity respectively as the sacred writings of the Jewish, Samaritan, and Christian communities. Another influence was the analogy with the tripartite division of NT and LXX mss. This viewpoint developed gradually (before Kahle, the term "recension" was mainly used; after Kahle, "text type"), but the question was never raised whether these three sources indeed represented different recensions or text types, that is, texts that typologically differ from each other. Only the recent research done in America has tried to define the typological differences among these texts.

The problem with this approach has been expounded by Talmon (*CHB* 1: 159–99) and Tov (1978b; 1982a). According to Tov, the MT, Sam. Pent., and LXX should be regarded as three ancient texts, not as recensions or text types. The complex of relationships among these texts is no different from the relationships among all early textual witnesses. The relationship between the LXX and MT is similar to that of any early source to another one (including recensional differences), but the relationship between the Sam. Pent. and the other two is somewhat more complicated since it (and proto-Samaritan texts) does reflect a number of typologically characteristic peculiarities.

3. Research Before 1947. Various aspects of the history of the text have been discussed by scholars. However, all of these descriptions illustrate only certain aspects of the textual history, and none provides an overall description. In 1915 Kahle gave the first comprehensive description of the textual history of the Hebrew Bible. Prior to that there were only summary remarks and descriptions of the history of the text, of which the two most significant are those of Rosenmüller (1797) and de Lagarde (1863). In 1797 Rosenmüller had maintained that all the MT mss belong to "one recension," which differs from the "recension" of the LXX (at that time the term "recension" was often used in the neutral meaning of "text").

In contrast, the brief theoretical remarks of de Lagarde (1863: 3–4) have until now been of great importance for the reconstruction of the textual history. He believed that all Masoretic mss had certain characteristics in common (especially the *puncta extraordinaria*), so specific that all mss would go back to "a single copy" *(ein einziges Exemplar)*. This one copy he also regarded as "one recension" (the "Palestinian recension") that differed from the "Egyptian recension" (LXX), so that terminological confusion was unavoidable. According to de Lagarde, the text from which both recensions derive (the Ur-text) can be reconstructed by way of an eclectic procedure. De Lagarde himself was unable to translate his theoretical arguments into practical applications, but subsequent generations have carried forward this line of argumentation in what became known as the "Ur-text theory." It should be men-

tioned that in general more has been ascribed to de Lagarde than he himself had postulated. Another source of inaccuracy is the confusion in modern literature between the views of Rosenmüller specifically on the MT and de Lagarde generally on the text of the OT.

Kahle's views were especially influenced by the text traditions differing from the MT that were known in his time: divergent biblical quotations in rabbinic literature, the fragments from the Cairo Geniza, and the various Gk and Aramaic traditions. Guided by these multiple text traditions, Kahle sketched the history of the text as follows. Originally there was not one text of the Hebrew Bible (thus de Lagarde), but a plurality of what Kahle called *Vulgärtexte* ("vulgar" texts). His model for this description was the development of the Aramaic Targums, which, having come into existence as independent translations, were circulated in various forms. This multiplicity of text traditions disappeared during the first two centuries A.D., after the MT (ca. A.D. 100) had been "created" out of the recension of one of the *Vulgärtexte* into an accurate, official text which dislodged all other traditions. In this respect Kahle's description is directly opposed to that of de Lagarde: according to de Lagarde, the history of the text began with one text which split into various texts, whereas for Kahle the history of the text began with a plurality of text types out of which later one text subsequently emerged.

Kahle was correct in his assessment of some aspects of the textual history of the Hebrew Bible, but on several significant points his views need revision. First, the textual variants on which Kahle's theories are based, like the variants in the rabbinic sources, are of much less significance than Kahle thought they were. Kahle was often impressed by lists of variants, whereas an accurate description of their nature should have led him to other conclusions. Second, the MT was not created in the 1st or 2d century A.D., but it existed already before that time as one of many texts (cf. the proto-Masoretic Qumran scrolls). Third, Kahle's description of the contrast between *Vulgärtexte* and an official text is inaccurate and insufficiently elaborated. (Also, for criticism of Kahle's description of the MT, LXX, and Sam. Pent. as the three "main types" of the text of the Pentateuch, see below.)

Less well known than Kahle's theories are the following analyses, which further developed certain of his insights. A. Sperber (1940) further elaborated the difference between one official biblical text and many *Vulgärtexte*. He described especially the nature of these vulgar texts, in which group he also included the Sam. Pent. and the MT of Chronicles. On the analogy of the development of the Homeric writings, S. Lieberman (1962: 20–27) introduced a qualitative distinction between three kinds of mss: *phaulōtera*, "poor copies," in the possesion of unschooled villagers; *koinōtera*, or *vulgata*, the "generally accepted text," in the possession of city people, used especially for study purposes (e.g., in schools); and *ēkribōmena*, "accurate copies," in the possession of people connected with the temple. Building on Lieberman, Greenberg (1956) suggested that at the time of the Hasmoneans two text types were in circulation: the fuller, unofficial type (such as the Sam. Pent.) and the shorter, official type (the MT).

Beginning with the 1950s, a new approach to the history of the text became current in American biblical scholarship. A theory of "local recensions/text types/families" was set forth in broad lines by Albright (1955) and worked out by Cross (1975a; 1975b). This theory reduces the multiplicity of textual witnesses to three text types: one current in Palestine (inter alia, the Sam. Pent., the MT of Chronicles, several Qumran scrolls), one in Babylonia (the MT), and one in Egypt (the LXX). These text types can be described in general terms; for instance, "the Palestinian family is characterized by conflation, glosses, synoptic additions, and other evidences of intense scribal activity, and can be defined as 'expansionistic' " (Cross 1975a: 283). The characteristics of the Babylonian and Egyptian text types are described in the same general way.

This theory has its critics (Talmon, *CHB* 1: 193–98; Tov 1982a). One of its weaknesses is the lack of evidence supporting the description of the characteristics. Moreover, the terminology needs closer definition (see Gooding 1976). The Qumran scrolls show that the boundaries between the three groups are not always clear. For example, how can one explain the close relationship between 4QJer^{b,d} (found in Palestine) and the *Vorlage* of the LXX (Egypt)? How can it be determined that MT is Babylonian and that (not only the translation but also) the *Vorlage* of the LXX is Egyptian? Serious questions are also raised by the fact that scrolls of all three supposed text types were found side by side at Qumran. Notwithstanding these objections, a central feature of the theory of local text traditions can be evaluated positively—there were undoubtedly geographical and social differences among the various text traditions. Only such an assumption can explain how altogether different forms of the text, in particular recensional differences (see F below), have been preserved, even after the MT had become the only text to be used by the central group in Judaism. At the same time, it is not possible to make precise statements about the nature of these local traditions.

4. More Recent Research. The description of the textual history is necessarily brief, because our knowledge on this subject is very limited. Each of the descriptions and theories described in the previous paragraphs refers to merely one aspect, and all of them are usually very dogmatic. There is no single "textual theory" which explains all aspects of the textual development, so that we will have to content ourselves with partial descriptions of limited phenomena.

The first question arising is the chronological framework for the description. It is relatively easy to recognize the end of the 1st century A.D. as the limit of the period of textual development, since the biblical text did not change much after that period. At that time the texts were well fixed in their respective socioreligious environments, and they did not continue to develop anymore. On the other hand, the beginning of the period of textual development is not well demarcated. It would have been natural to assume that the textual development started upon the completion of the literary compositions, since from that time onward they were frequently copied. However, as noted below (see F), limited copying began even before that time.

In the OT itself there is some evidence that portions of books were written prior to the completion of the full literary unit. Also, editing and revisional activity, as evi-

denced in most of the biblical books, took place on the basis of previously written compositions. The editors-revisers of the biblical books thus served as both authors and copyists. This applies also to the author of the book of Chronicles.

At a certain point the literary unit was completed, but this process could be repeated several times: sometimes a certain readership accepted a form of the book which at the time was considered final, and it was distributed as such on a limited scale. However, at a later point someone else could prepare a "revised" edition intended to replace the previous one. That edition was also accepted by some in due course, but it could not totally replace its forerunner, which remained in use in places that were remote either sociologically or geographically. In this way the earlier editions were available to the LXX translators in Egypt as well as to those who deposited 4QJer^{b,d} in the Qumran caves.

Independent of the procedure of copying, each of the biblical books at a given moment received an authoritative (canonical) status. This process had much impact on the copying and transmission procedures of the biblical text.

The finalized literary product which incorporated the last recognizable literary editing of the book should be considered the "Ur-text" (archetypal copy) of the biblical books, elements of which textual criticism attempts to reconstruct. This formulation, which necessarily remains conjectural, thus agrees with the views of de Lagarde, though not in all details.

The period of textual unity reflected in the copies which we named the "Ur-text" was short, and possibly never existed, since at the same time there also circulated additional copies of the biblical books incorporating remnants of previous literary stages. This relative textual unity was disturbed in the next generations, when copyists inserted changes in the text in different quantities. This textual diversity was also created by the changes pertaining to the biblical text in spelling, the writing of final letters, and probably also the dissolution of the *scriptio continua*. An abundance of textual errors likewise disturbed the initial textual unity.

Many copyists took liberty to insert changes in the text, and in this way they continued the approach of the last layer of composing and editing the biblical books. Some scholars even speak of a transitional stage of composition-copying. Even though many of these changes pertain to matters of content, a qualitative and quantitative distinction should be made between the intervention of the authors-editors prior to the authoritative status of the biblical books and that of the later copyists, who allowed themselves less freedom than their predecessors.

From the outset all copyists may have approached the text freely, but possibly already then there were copyists who consciously refrained from inserting changes in the text. In any event, the earliest available textual evidence, the proto-Masoretic texts from Qumran dating from the 3d century B.C., already displays such an approach. It is hard to know whether these texts represent an approach of earlier generations or a secondary stage; in any event, even these texts at times reflect scribal intervention of some kind.

The available textual evidence does not enable any precision in dating, but the Qumran finds allow for some statements on the last three centuries B.C. until 68 A.D. In that period we note different textual developments in the various biblical books—if the evidence does not distort the picture—and the various groups in Judaism approached the biblical text differently. The Qumran finds show that this period is characterized by textual variety. The views of Kahle (see C.3 above) referred to a situation like this, with one major difference: in his description the textual variety existed in the initial stage of the textual development, while according to our analysis it was created at a second stage.

Textual variety was characteristic of Palestine as a whole, but apparently in temple circles only one text or group of texts was used, namely the proto-Masoretic texts. The Qumran finds show the different texts which were current in Palestine in the Second Temple period: the texts written in the "Qumran" orthography, proto-Masoretic and proto-Samaritan texts, scrolls closely related to the LXX (4QJer^{b,d}), and texts that are not related to any of the above. Because of the latter group of texts, the number of the texts current in Palestine was virtually unlimited.

This textual variety has been described in the past in terms of closeness to sources known before the Qumran finds. This way of describing the scrolls reflects a custom that resulted from the accidental situation that for centuries scholars were aware of the LXX and the medieval mss of the MT and the Sam. Pent., but not of earlier texts. Because of this unusual situation, scholars were accustomed to describing the data in a reverse order. This irregularity can now be corrected, enabling one to understand how the medieval MT developed from the earlier proto-Masoretic texts and how the Sam. Pent. was based on one of the so-called proto-Masoretic texts.

The textual variety characterizing the biblical books as a whole did not exist for all of them to the same extent. This resulted from the accidental nature of the textual transmission: scribes inserted their changes (expansions, omissions, orthography, etc.)—inconsistently—in some of the biblical books only, so that a certain textual development known from one biblical book should not necessarily have existed in all of the books.

Within this textual variety we note two different approaches to the biblical text, which gave rise to both "vulgar" texts (in use by the public at large) and all the other, "nonvulgar" texts. The latter were conservative in nature, and they were created and used by specific groups. The present evidence does not allow for a distinction between three groups, as suggested by Lieberman (1962), even though the assumption itself is logical. It is hard to know in which circles the different texts were created and used. Probably the vulgar texts were never used for liturgical purposes, but this cannot be ascertained for the Qumran sect. Between the nonvulgar texts, the proto-Masoretic texts stand out since they had a special, possibly exclusive, status in the central group of Judaism.

Vulgar texts are known from different places in Palestine. Their copyists took liberty to insert in them all kinds of changes and corrections as well as to innovate the spelling, often drastically, as witnessed in many of the Qumran scrolls. Typical representatives of this group are the texts produced by the Qumran school of scribes. These

texts are usually written carelessly, and they contain many corrections and erasures. From a textual point of view their secondary nature is visible in the changes in orthography and language as well as in contextual changes. Apparently also the Severus scroll and the "Pentateuch of Rabbi Meir" contained a similar crop of secondary readings, especially in phonetic details. To this group belong also the proto-Samaritan texts and the Sam. Pent. The latter texts are not written carelessly, and their spelling does not resemble that of the Qumran school of scribes, but their scribes allowed themselves much freedom in editorial interventions. The harmonizing additions as well as the linguistic and contextual corrections are clearly secondary, a feature which characterizes the vulgar texts as well.

The so-called vulgar texts contain many secondary readings in comparison with the nonvulgar texts, but at the same time they also contain some readings which are preferable to the ones in the MT and other nonvulgar texts. Such readings simply happened to be preserved in vulgar sources.

The nonvulgar texts can also be named "precise" or "conservative," but these terms may be misleading since these texts differ from each other. These internal differences reflect the textual diversity in the Second Temple period, and all of them reflect elements of the so-called original text which have been changed in the other texts. It is hard to say which text is closer to the so-called Ur-text; if a personal impression may be allowed here, it seems that often the LXX is closer to that text than the MT.

Of the nonvulgar texts one is best acquainted with the proto-Masoretic texts, from which the MT developed in the Middle Ages. However, in spite of the great care taken in the copying of these texts, they too were corrected (see the emendations of the scribes and other corrections mentioned in D.4.b below) and they too were corrupted from time to time; see especially the text of Samuel. Another such text is the LXX. In one case the *Vorlage* of one of its books has been preserved coincidentally in a Qumran scroll (4QJer^{b}).

The vulgar and nonvulgar texts described here were current in Palestine in the last three centuries B.C. and in the first two centuries A.D. The coincidental nature of the preserved textual sources does not enable us to know which sort of text was more frequent. However, if the Qumran scrolls display a trustworthy picture, it appears that from the 3d century B.C. onward, proto-Masoretic texts were more frequent than the other ones. This situation derives from the strength and influence of the central stream of Judaism, through whose influence these texts were copied and distributed. It is not clear whether beyond the mere copying there was a conscious effort of unifying the texts which would have reduced the number of internal differences. Such a presumed procedure could have been learned from the story about the three scrolls found in the Azarah (see *j. Taʿan.* 4:2, 68a [cf. Talmon 1962]).

After several centuries of textual diversity we note a period of textual unity at the end of the first century A.D. caused not by intrinsic factors related to the textual transmission, but by political and socioreligious events and developments. By the end of the 1st century A.D. the LXX had been accepted by Christianity and abandoned by the Jews. Copies of Sam. Pent. were available, but in the meantime that sect had become an independent religion, so that their texts were considered Samaritan, not Jewish anymore. The Qumran sect, which had preserved a multitude of texts, did not exist after the destruction of the temple. Therefore the sole texts that existed in this period were the ones that were copied and distributed by the central group in Judaism. For example, the texts from the Bar-Kokhba period found at Naḥal Ḥever and Wâdī Murabbaʿat contain solely the MT. This situation gave rise to the wrong conclusion that the MT had "ousted" the other texts, but such a description reminds one of a cultural struggle of modern times and not of the real background, viz. the political and socioreligious factors at work in this period (cf. Albrektson 1978).

It should be remembered that all descriptions such as the preceding depend on the accidental nature of the textual evidence. Even the nature of the books in the MT and LXX has been determined to a great extent by coincidence. The situation that 1–2 Samuel in the MT is relatively corrupt derives from the fact that such a copy has been included in the archetype of the MT, and not from the approach of the scribes to that book or from its textual vicissitudes. Likewise, the discovery of textually important data in some of the books of the LXX and scrolls such as 4QJer^{b} may be coincidental, so that similar developments may have taken place in other books as well.

D. Copying and Transmission of the Text

Many external facts are now known about the copying and transmission of the text from one generation to the next. These data are interesting in their own right, but they also help us to understand the background of certain textual mishaps.

1. Sources of Information. The texts from the Judean desert (mid-3d century B.C. to beginning 2d century A.D.) provide an excellent picture of a cross-section of the biblical texts on the basis of which the copying and transmission of the texts through the centuries can now be portrayed. Since some of these texts were written in Qumran and others in different places in Palestine, the copying conventions evident in the Qumran scrolls are generally accepted as representative of what was customary at that time.

The post-Talmudic tractate *Sopherim* (ed. M. Higger [New York 1937; repr. Jerusalem 1970]), which gives detailed instructions for writing biblical scrolls according to the Halakah, provides further information on this process. Many of the instructions in this tractate represent old traditions, so that the material can be used in spite of its 9th-century date. In the following some of the central details in that copying and transmission are recorded.

2. Outward Form. For many centuries the biblical books were written on scrolls (Hebrew *měgillâ*, pl. *měgillôt*), composed of individual sheets of leather (vellum) and at an earlier, undocumented stage, of papyrus. This is amply illustrated by the documents from the Judean desert (for the later periods, see the documents collected by Sirat 1985). Only in the post-Talmudic period did the codex, introduced by the Christians for their holy writings, also come to be used for the Hebrew Scriptures. Even today

scrolls are still used in the synagogue for the reading of parts of the Bible.

Each scroll contained one biblical book, but a few Qumran scrolls contained more than one pentateuchal book and the Minor Prophets scroll from Wâdī Murabba'at encompassed all the Minor Prophets. Some scrolls contained mere selections: 4QDeutq probably contained only Deuteronomy 32, and likewise some of the psalm scrolls contained a mere choice of psalms.

The text in the scrolls was written in columns, whose size varied from one scroll to the next. Some texts were more consistent regarding the column size than others, but within each individual sheet usually a consistent pattern was followed (for details see Tov 1988). These columns were usually lined and the letters were written beneath the lines. Most scrolls contained columns of approximately 20 lines, with exceptions on either side. For example, most of the scrolls containing one of the Five Scrolls had very small columns (7–13 lines). The script in which the Bible was originally written (the [paleo-] Hebrew script) was developed from the Canaanite script. Even when this script was no longer used, and new texts were written in the so-called Aramaic or square script, some of the pentateuchal scrolls could still be written in the old script. This is also the case with one Qumran scroll of Job and some as-yet-unidentified texts from Qumran and Masada. The transition from the Hebrew script to the square script took place in the 5th century B.C. (tradition ascribes this change to Ezra).

Two formal features of scrolls, attested in the Qumran scrolls, are also reflected in some way or another in the later MT: (1) The text is divided into sense units (paragraphs, sections). Not only is the system used in most Qumran scrolls similar to that of the MT, but the two also agree to a great extent with regard to the position of the paragraphs. (2) Scribal marks are used to indicate letters to be erased, corrections made, and other matters which are not always clear (see 1QIsa).

Certain formal features of the printed MT were not part of the older scribal practices: (1) In the ancient biblical scrolls the words presumably were not separated by spaces—they were written in the so-called *scriptio continua,* as can still be seen in the later tefillin and mezuzahs from Qumran and Masada. However, no such biblical texts have been preserved, and the main argument for the assumption of *scriptio continua* is that later texts often resolve word divisions wrongly. All Qumran texts use spaces between the words, and in a few exceptional cases dot dividers are used. (2) The scrolls from the desert of Judea contain neither vocalization nor accents. (3) The division into verses and chapters in the Hebrew mss was not made until the Middle Ages. (4) The letters *m, n, s, p,* and *k* have two forms in the Aramaic script, one of which is used at the end of a word. Several Qumran scrolls represent a transitional stage in which both forms of the letter are often used interchangeably (initial-medial forms of the letters sometimes are used in the final position).

The Qumran scrolls clarify various aspects of the procedure of copying (see especially Martin 1958) which also explains various types of errors: (1) The graphic similarity between several single letters or combinations of letters—ligatures—explains mistakes made with consonants. (2) The correction habits (adding elements between the lines or in the margin, crossing out, erasing, placing dots above or under the letters) created cramped and crowded texts which facilitated misunderstandings and misreadings. (3) The published scrolls contain extremely few examples of glosses, so often appealed to in biblical scholarship. If these were ever used, they must have been created at an earlier stage of the textual transmission.

3. *Matres Lectionis.* *Matres lectionis* (literally, "mothers of reading") are the letters *'alep, he, waw,* and *yod* added to the basic forms of Hebrew words to facilitate their reading. In principle the *matres lectionis* thus serve a function that in the MT was later taken over by the vocalization.

The textual witnesses differ considerably in their use of *matres lectionis,* and individual witnesses are not always internally consistent. This situation is the result of the development of Hebrew orthography. At first Hebrew did not use *matres lectionis,* but later these were added in several places to the basic form of the words: *yod* for "i" and "e," *waw* for "u" and "o," and *'alep* for "a," "i," "e," and "o" (see Cross and Freedman 1952). The increasing use of *matres lectionis* is reflected in the various kinds of biblical texts; older texts make less use of them than more recent ones.

Spellings without a *mater lectionis* are called "defective"; those with a *mater* are called "full" *(plene).* The orthography of the MT to a certain degree exhibits defective spelling, therefore the last copying stage represented in the MT reflects a relatively early stage of the evolution of the biblical text (between the 4th and 2d centuries B.C., according to Freedman 1962). However, it is wrong to generalize about the books of the MT, since every book is different (see especially Andersen and Forbes 1986). The later biblical books (Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles) reflect a fuller orthography than the earlier ones (e.g., the spelling of the name David as *dwd* in Samuel and Kings, but *dwyd* in Chronicles). Among the earlier books, the Pentateuch (esp. Exodus and Leviticus) and Kings present the most conservative system of spelling. Within individual books different spellings are found side by side (e.g., Ezek 32:23 *kbrtyh,* v 25 *kbrth,* v 26 *kbrwtyh*). (For examples of the inconsistencies in the Masoretic spelling, see especially Sperber 1966: 556–74; Barr 1989.) On the other hand, beyond the characteristics of each book, certain words consistently reflect an established spelling *(n'm, yb', 'bwt).*

4. The Background of Textual Variations. There are literally thousands of differences regarding spelling, vocalization, verse division, etc., between parallel texts within the MT, within the early biblical texts (proto-MT compared with the Qumran scrolls and the proto-Samaritan texts), and within the later mss of the MT. Usually all these different readings are compared with the MT and deviations from the MT are called "variants," without any pejorative implication that they are intrinsically inferior. A distinction is made between unintentional variants created in the course of the copying of the text and other variants, some of which reflect intentional alterations (while still others reflect a shifting linguistic reality).

a. Unintentional Variants. Unintentional variants (for the most part mistakes) crept into the text for various reasons connected with the copying of texts: the transition from the Hebrew to the Aramaic script, the interpretation of the *scriptio continua* when the words were finally sepa-

rated, the misunderstanding and interchange of letters and words by the copyists, and finally various types of oversight by the copyists. In simple terms, all variants are either different words (sometimes resulting merely from one different consonant), omissions or additions of details, or transpositions of elements. Among these, the following phenomena should be mentioned separately:

The confusion of consonants. Errors result from the fact that some consonants closely resemble others, especially *t*/*ʾ* and *y*/*ṣ* in the Hebrew script, *y*/*w*, *b*/*m*/*k* in the square (Aramaic) script, and *d*/*r* in both. Also, ligatures such as *nw* could be confused with final *m*, and *ʿy* or *ʿw* could be confused with *š*. This confusion is recognizable not only between different mss of the same text, but even within parallel texts in the MT itself (e.g., Gen 10:4 Dodanim = 1 Chr 1:7 Rodanim; Gen 10:3 Riphat = 1 Chr 1:3 Diphat).

Dittography. Errors could result from the erroneous repetition of letters or words (e.g., Jer 51:3 *ydrk ydrk;* cf. the Qere, *ydrk*).

Haplography. Errors could also stem from the skipping of one or two (almost) identical letters or words (e.g., the erroneous omission of *bṭwḥ* in Isa 26:3 in 1QIs^a before *bṭḥw* in v 4; the correct reading is found in the MT).

Homoeoteleuton. Similarly, errors crept in due to the erroneous omission of a group of words with the same ending, caused when the eye of the copyist jumped directly from one word (or group of words) to another, identical word (or group) later in the text (e.g., the omission of Isa 40:7b–8a in 1QIs^a; in this case the omitted text was subsequently reinserted at the end of the line, above the line and in the margin).

Metathesis. Errors could also result from the transposition of letters (e.g., 2 Sam 23:31 *hbrḥmy*, the Barhumite = 1 Chr 11:33 *hbḥrwmy*, the Baharumite). On the basis of parallel texts, the latter reading can be established as the correct name of the city (Bahurim).

Doublet (conflate reading). The mistaken juxtaposition of two or more parallel readings in the text itself, with or without grammatical connection, could lead to erroneous readings (see the textual witnesses in Isa 37:9; 41:20; Jer 52:34 = 2 Kgs 25:30). See Talmon 1960.

Different word division. Some differences between two textual traditions derive from the time when the words were resolved from the *scriptio continua* (cf. the Kethib and Qere forms in 2 Sam 5:2; Ezek 42:9; Job 38:12).

Many examples of these scribal phenomena have been collected by Sperber (1966: 476–90) and Delitzsch (1920) from different mss of one text, from the MT compared with the Sam. Pent., from the Kethib words compared with the Qere forms, and from inner-Masoretic parallel texts.

b. Other Variants. While many of the variants in biblical mss were created by unconscious scribal procedures such as described above, other readings were intentionally inserted into the text. Of these, there is a large group of linguistically different forms indicating that the linguistic reality of the copyist was different from that of the original text and that the text was changed accordingly. This is visible especially in the Sam. Pent. and the Qumran scribal school, as well as in the text of Chronicles when compared with the earlier books. In this latter case, the author of Chronicles allowed himself the linguistic changes which were also made by copyists. Relevant examples for 1QIs^a are the change of the rare *yhlw* to *yʾyrw* in 13:10 and of the hapax *šwbl* to *šwlyḥ* in 47:2.

More penetrating changes concerned the content of the text, especially in the realm of theology. The Sam. Pent. and the LXX (possibly independently) record in Gen 2:2 that God stopped his work on the *sixth* day (and not on the *seventh* day as in the MT), thus removing a theological problem from the text. The "corrections of the scribes" (see above) show that this procedure must have continued until relatively late periods. Changes of this kind have often been recognized within the MT itself (see Ginsburg 1897: 399–404) in the tendency of Samuel to alter the component "Baal" in personal names. Thus Gideon's second name, Jerubbaal, occurs 14 times in Judges and in 1 Sam 12:11, but was changed to "Jerubbosheth" in the MT of 2 Sam 11:21, where the LXX still has the old form "Jerubbaal." The name of Saul's fourth son was twice written "Eshbaal" in 1 Chronicles, but in 2 Samuel it was changed 12 times to "Ishbosheth."

E. The Procedure of Textual Criticism

1. Introduction. OT textual criticism covers two areas. The first, the analysis of the biblical text as found in Hebrew mss and as reflected in the ancient versions, may be called textual criticism proper, while the second area, conjectural criticism, is to be regarded as an appendix to textual criticism (see E.4 below). The task of textual criticism proper is further subdivided into two stages, the first involving the collation (collection) of existing Hebrew variants and the reconstruction of other variants from the ancient translations, and the second dealing with the evaluation of these variants.

2. Collation and Conjectural Reconstruction of Hebrew Variants. The evaluation of the textual witnesses can begin only after all the relevant data have been collected. For this purpose, variants have been collected and described in various kinds of monographs. Most of the information on these variants is found in monographs which are devoted solely to this issue, but much information can also be found in special apparatuses in ICC and BKAT.

In addition, one often turns to a modern critical edition of the Hebrew Bible that contains a selection of these variants. The modern editions are *BHK*, *BHS*, and the still incomplete *HUB* (see M. H. Goshen-Gottstein, *The Hebrew University Bible: The Book of Isaiah I–II*, Jerusalem, 1975–81). These critical editions reflect a mixture of objective and subjective factors, the latter manifested in the idiosyncratic process of selecting which data to incorporate and how to present them. Thus, *BHK* and *BHS* merely provide a selection of textual data and are often inaccurate. Much important data is excluded and much that is insignificant has been included; especially the treatment of the Versions leaves much to be desired (*BHS* is often more careful in its judgments than *BHK*, but on the other hand the selection of *BHK* often provides a better basis for further study than *BHS*). (For a critical evaluation of *BHK*, see especially Orlinsky 1961.)

The *HUB* avoids conjectures (emendations) and its selection of data is much more complete than *BHK* or *BHS*. In four different apparatuses this (still incomplete) edition simply includes variants (a) from the Versions; (b) from the rabbinic literature and the scrolls from the Judean

desert; (c) of consonants from medieval mss; and (d) of vocalization and accentuation from those mss.

3. Evaluation of Readings. After all the variants are collected from the Heb sources and reconstructed from the Versions, they must be evaluated. This evaluation is performed through comparison with the textus receptus (MT), without implying that the MT is the best text. In fact, all Heb readings in principle are of equal value and this applies also to reconstructed variants, provided the reconstruction is trustworthy.

The purpose of this comparison is to determine whether one of the transmitted readings can make a better claim of representing the "original" text (as defined in the introduction above) than the others. Because of the lack of convincing arguments, such a determination is often impossible. In some cases two variant readings are regarded as "synonymous" (see Talmon 1961), and in yet other cases the evidence for deciding the "original reading" is insufficient. However, the inability to decide in such instances does not undermine the correctness of the procedure itself.

The readings are compared on the basis of their intrinsic value. This analysis is based on subjective considerations that are used as a guide to evaluate the reading "in its context" when that "context" is taken in the broadest sense of the word. Thus, a discussion of the "context" of a given Heb word leads to a complete exegesis of the passage as well as to an analysis of the language and style of the OT as a whole and the specific scriptural unit under investigation. Ideally one tries to determine the one reading from which all the other(s) would have derived, or the reading which best explains the direction in which the other readings developed. That reading is considered the "best" or "original" reading.

In view of the subjectivity of the evaluation of the readings, some have tried to draw up rules, external (relating to the textual witnesses) and internal (relating to the intrinsic value of the reading) that would seemingly make this evaluation more objective (see, e.g., Klein 1974: 69–84; Payne 1974; Thompson, *IDBSup*, 886–91; Barthélemy et al. 1979; for an analysis of the earlier discussions see Tov 1982b). *Internal rules* pertain to such issues as preferring the shorter reading *(lectio brevior)* to a longer one, and a "more difficult" reading *(lectio difficilior)* to easier ones. But these internal rules are abstractly formulated, they apply only to a small number of instances, and their use is so subjectively determined that the evaluation still remains a subjective procedure (see Albrektson 1981; Tov 1982b). *External rules* refer to such matters as the relative and absolute date of the textual witnesses, their geographical backgrounds, the weight given to the testimony of the majority, and the preference of MT, but all these criteria are fraught with assumptions and do little to eliminate the subjective aspect of the enterprise. Common sense coupled with the occasional use of an internal rule remains our main guide.

4. Conjectures. Conjectural criticism (emendation) concerns itself with the correction of the biblical text, utilized when neither the Hebrew mss nor the ancient translations offer a "satisfactory" reading of the "original" text in a given instance. The coincidental nature of the textual data preserved justifies judicious emendation: since only a (small?) fraction of the textual witnesses have been preserved, it is possible to appeal to the unpreserved remainder by way of conjecture, basing this on known textual procedures such as interchanges of similar letters. Conjectural criticism is one of the most subjective parts of biblical study because there are no objective criteria for determining the incorrectness of the transmitted readings or for suggesting conjectures. Conjectural criticism actually stems mainly from exegesis and is only secondarily linked to text-critical criteria, for conjectures are initially proposed on the basis of what the critic feels the text "ought" to say, and only subsequently must they be acceptable on the text-critical level. Most conjectures derive from a certain understanding of the context, but some are based on linguistic presuppositions concerning biblical Hebrew, cognate languages (especially Ugaritic), and on metrical considerations. Most of these linguistic conjectures are questionable (for criticisms on grammatical conjectures, see Sperber 1966: 49–104).

A well-known example of a contextual conjecture is in Amos 6:12 where, instead of MT *ʾim yaḥărôš babbĕqārîm* ("does one plow in the mornings" [?]), Michaelis in 1772 emended it to read *ʾim yeḥārēš bebāqār yām* ("does one plow the sea with oxen" [lit. "is the sea plowed by oxen"]). The MT is unintelligible without the conjecture (accepted by RSV), which makes perfect sense and creates better parallelism than the MT, even though it is not supported by a single manuscript.

Various editions (especially *BHK* and *BHS*) and commentaries include conjectures, and given the inherent subjectivity involved it is not surprising that these have generated much criticism.

F. Textual and Literary Criticism

The biblical books each developed to the stage at which they were considered finished literary products, and textual criticism concerns itself with charting developments from that point on. The reconstruction of all developments prior to that point is the concern of literary criticism. However, since some form of written transmission must have occurred during the stage of the literary growth, sharp distinctions between the two cannot always be drawn. Much can be inferred from the way in which late biblical revisions were based on earlier texts; also the story in Jeremiah 36 suggests that *portions* of what would later be incorporated in a biblical book were written and circulated prior to the completion of the complete literary product we now possess.

Scholars have pointed out that some of these earlier (partial) formulations of the biblical books have been preserved in the textual witnesses. These remnants of earlier literary stages (preceding the one reflected in MT) are thus relevant to *literary* rather than to *textual* criticism since they pertain to the literary growth and not to the textual transmission of the book in question. Most of the evidence relates to data preserved in the LXX and in two of the Qumran scrolls, in both cases textual witnesses which because of their physical and/or religious remoteness from mainstream Judaism were used at a time when the MT prevailed elsewhere. The examples have been collected by Tov (1981b: 293–311). For example, the MT of Isa 38:21–22 witnesses to a later stage in the development of the

story of Hezekiah's sickness, as is evident from 1QIs[a] and the parallel in 2 Kings 20, which attest to an earlier stage (see Zakovitch 1985). The LXX of Jeremiah and 4QJer[b] attest to an earlier editorial stage of the book, differing from the later edition (attested by MT) both in length and in sequence of verses and chapters (see Tov 1981a). The short text of the LXX of Josh 20:1–6 reflects an earlier and shorter stage of the law on the cities of refuge than the MT, which witnesses to a subsequent editorial stage wherein the law was reformulated with respect to Deuteronomy 19 (see Rofé 1983). Likewise, the much shorter text of the story of David and Goliath in the LXX reflects an earlier stage of that story than does the MT (see Lust and Tov in Barthélemy et al. 1986). According to Tov (1981b: 307–11), this sort of textual evidence should not be evaluated with the usual text-critical procedures.

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EMANUEL TOV

NEW TESTAMENT

NT textual criticism is the study of the transmission of the NT texts from their presumed autographs through all of their ms representations. Though its primary objective is to reconstruct the original or earliest form of the text of the NT books, it is concerned also with intermediate and larger forms of the text and, indeed, with all aspects of textual transmission and its history, including localized or geographically limited forms of the text, and ideologically or theologically biased textual formulation. While NT textual criticism has its "scientific" or empirical and objective aspects, including statistical analyses and quantitative measures, it is also very much an "art," requiring subjective judgments and qualitative decisions based on expert knowledge of the general textual transmission process and

on experience with textual variation and scribal habits in particular. NT textual criticism, then, is the science and art that assesses the transmission of the NT text and identifies its alterations and distortions.

Textual criticism is "lower criticism," the establishment of the text of a document as closely as possible to the autograph or the author's original writing. This is distinguished from "higher criticism," the assessment of a document's philological, historical, literary, cultural, and ideological characteristics, as well as its interpretation and meaning.

A. Definitions
1. Textual Reading/Textual Variant
2. Variation Unit
B. Occasion and Necessity
1. The Basic Transmission Process
2. General Nature of the Manuscript Evidence
3. Scribal Alterations
C. Major Source Materials for the NT Text
1. Greek Manuscripts
2. Versions
D. History of the NT Text and Critical Editions
E. Contemporary Theory in NT Textual Criticism
1. Text-Types
2. Canons/Criteria of Criticism
3. Basic Text-Critical Methods
F. Conclusion

A. Definitions

1. Textual Reading/Textual Variant. The textual variant or, in more recent years, the variation unit (see below) provides the focal point for NT textual criticism. Yet not every textual "reading" that varies from any other reading in the same unit of text is a textual "variant." Only variant readings that are "significant" variants are considered "textual variants." Each of these terms requires careful definition (see Epp 1976b).

a. Reading. The term "reading" is the broadest and most general term, referring to any textual difference or any varying text formulation in a ms found by comparison with the same passage in any other ms. Any such textual divergence is always a "reading" before it is anything else. It may, in fact, remain a "reading" permanently or, depending on its nature, may be designated a "variant."

b. Significant/insignificant Readings. A reading is either a significant reading or an insignificant reading. "Significant" means meaningful or useful for the major tasks of NT textual criticism, including the determination of ms relationships, the location of a ms within the textual history of the NT, and the establishment of the most likely original text. Naturally, an "insignificant" reading is one that is inappropriate, inadequate, or inconclusive for these goals of textual criticism, though no reading can automatically, finally, or absolutely be described as insignificant. For example, readings not useful in establishing a ms's relationship to other mss may nonetheless aid in understanding its own nature and the characteristics of its scribe(s). Hence, the edition of any ms should display and analyze all of its readings prior to separating the significant ones from the insignificant. In addition, readings may become significant readings when new mss are discovered or upon the availability of collations of mss previously unexamined. This complicates the task of collecting and recording data and makes imperative, e.g., the *full* collation of every NT ms so that all of its readings can be examined as the need arises.

An *insignificant reading* may be classified in one of four ways and should not be called a "variant": (1) A *nonsense reading* is one that fails to make sense because it cannot be construed grammatically or because it lacks a recognizable meaning in some other way. Authors and scribes do not produce nonsense intentionally, so it is assumed (a) that nonsense readings resulted from errors in transmission; (b) that they, therefore, cannot represent either the original text or the intended text of any ms or alert scribe; and (c) that they do not aid in the process of determining ms relationships.

(2) A *clearly demonstrable scribal error* (other than a nonsense reading) is a reading that can be construed grammatically and makes sense but can be demonstrated with reasonable certainty to be a scribal error. Unintentional scribal errors are described below, but notable are certain instances of haplography and dittography; harmonization with similar contexts; errors of hearing that produce a similar-sounding word; and metathesis. Naturally, it is difficult to determine in many cases whether a variant is a "clearly demonstrable" error or an intended reading, and any reading that makes sense should not lightly be placed in the "insignificant" category. Yet, in the case of many readings a reasonable argument can be made that the result has arisen, for example, from harmonization or from haplography due to homoeoteleuton—a common error both in antiquity and in our own everyday experience that eliminates several letters or words or a lengthy passage as the eye jumps from a certain word ending or line ending to a similar ending farther along in the ms.

(3) With one notable exception, mere *orthographic differences* between readings render those readings insignificant for text-critical purposes. The most common orthographic differences involve itacisms (the accidental confusion of seven vowels or diphthongs which had a similar pronunciation) and the *nu*-movable (presence/absence of the letter *nu* at the end of certain Greek forms), as well as varying formulations of abbreviations. None of these phenomena contributes decisively to the establishment of ms relationships, and "correct" spelling is not a material issue in reconstructing the original text as long as no ambiguity in meaning attends the alternative spelling formulations. The exception to the insignificance of orthographic changes comes in the spelling of proper names; these need to be retained in the critical apparatus among the "significant" data for textual criticism because some classic text-critical and historical problems turn on the forms of names for persons or places.

(4) Finally, a *singular reading*—a reading found in one NT ms but in no other as far as our knowledge extends—is not genetically or genealogically significant, nor are original readings to be expected among them, so they are considered insignificant. Singular readings, however, are useful in assessing the nature and characteristics of an individual ms and its scribal habits, so they need to be identified and preserved for those purposes—and also in the event that new ms evidence renders such a reading no

longer singular! Singular readings fall into two groups: those that produce sense and those that do not. Nonsense singular readings are treated as nonsense readings in general, for they contribute virtually nothing to text-critical study except perhaps to convey some general impressions as to the carefulness/carelessness of a particular scribe. Singular readings that make sense—whether they present an alternative historical, descriptive, ideological, theological, or editorial perspective, or involve orthographic differences, harmonizations, or scribal corrections—do not contribute to the major tasks of textual criticism and are therefore "insignificant" readings, though—again—they may aid in understanding a particular ms in terms of the habits of its scribe and in terms of any stylistic or ideological distinctives of that ms.

A nagging question regarding singular readings is whether a similar reading in a versional ms or patristic quotation nullifies the singular status of such a reading in a Greek ms, for currently a singular reading is defined as a singular textual divergence within the Greek ms tradition, but perhaps a singular reading should be so designated only if truly unique—that is, without support in the entire (known) NT textual tradition. As an example, numerous readings found in the Greek ms tradition only in Codex Bezae do find support in early versions or patristic sources. Readings so supported can assist in establishing textual groups and in seeking the original text.

c. Textual Variant. The term "variant" (or "textual variant") is reserved for those readings that are "significant" or meaningful in the major tasks of NT textual criticism, as specified above: determining ms relationships, locating mss within NT textual history and transmission, and in establishing the original or earliest possible NT text. Stated negatively, a "variant" is a reading that is not a nonsense reading, not a demonstrable scribal error, not a mere orthographic difference, and not a singular reading. Stated positively, a variant is a significant reading by virtue of its fitness for genetic and genealogical tracking and by virtue of its appropriateness as a possibly original reading. Thus, not all "readings" are "variants," though all "significant readings" are "variants" because of their intrinsic value for pursuing the most important goals of the discipline. The only reservation or ambiguity in these definitions (as already noted) is that "insignificant" readings can be of value (and therefore significant!) in assessing a particular ms's own textual, stylistic, or ideological characteristics and the habits of its scribe or scribes.

A first step in the text-critical process, then, is to distill from the mass of readings those that are genuine variants, for this distillate will form the body of data from which judgments can be made both about the history of the NT text and about the most likely original NT text.

2. Variation Unit. A reading and a variant by definition exist only over against another and divergent reading; therefore, a variant to be a variant must be a member of a variation unit, which constitutes the indispensable basis of comparison in textual criticism. A "variation unit" is that determinate quantity or segment of text, constituting a normal and proper grammatical combination, where our mss present at least two variant readings and where (after insignificant readings have been excluded) each of these variant readings has the support of at least two mss. Utilizing the technical definition of "variant" above, a variation unit can be defined more succinctly as that segment of text, constituting a normal and proper grammatical combination, where our mss present at least two "variants." In every case where a variation unit is being delineated, however, the shortest or smallest possible grammatical unit should be selected, that is, the shortest grammatically related segment of text that encompasses all the variants from across the ms tradition that present themselves at that point. Text-critical practitioners quickly discover the utility of establishing variation units, for they permit the data to be displayed in a convenient fashion. But more importantly they allow for more precision and accuracy in analyzing the genuine variants in any given segment of text, for they encompass all variations *in a coherent unit of text* that are relevant to textual decisions, rather than treating individual words in isolation from their most immediate context. It will be apparent that the use of variation units also has the advantage of reducing the number of variants, for in many cases the proper variation unit is not a word, but often two or more words, or a phrase, or even entire sentences and occasionally paragraphs (as mss of the so-called Western text illustrate).

(In practice some readings are included in an apparatus that normally would be excluded by these definitions of "variant" and "variation unit." Examples would be readings in versions that differ somewhat from the Greek variants but support most or major elements of the text displayed in the variation unit, or "noteworthy" readings, that is, interesting or striking readings of mss, versions, or fathers that technically are singular readings or even nonsense readings or represent mere orthographic changes. These are included when, in the admittedly subjective judgment of an editor, they inform the text-critical process in some potentially significant fashion.)

A second step in the text-critical process, then, is the isolation of variation units in the NT text to facilitate the evaluation of the data relevant to the major text-critical tasks.

B. Occasion and Necessity

1. The Basic Transmission Process. The discipline of textual criticism is necessitated by the nature of the process by which the NT text has been transmitted to us—through mss, that is, through copies of copies of copies made by hand down through the years. Since—like virtually all ancient literature—no autographs are extant for the NT, its most likely original text must be reconstructed from these imperfect, often widely divergent, later copies. To understand this complex transmission process requires knowledge of ancient writing materials, of paleography, of scribes and scribal habits, of scribal errors and transcriptional probabilities, of scriptoria and their procedures, and of the availability and mobility of literary texts in the early Christian world. In a broader context, it also requires knowledge of the nature, development, and spread of early Christianity, including details of the relevant geographical areas, the cultural and ecclesiastical milieu of Christianity in those various areas, and the theological and personal influences that shaped Christian faith. For the earliest times and even for some later periods, our understanding of the NT text is inhibited by a lack of detailed

knowledge; just as often, perhaps, the neglect of data provided by Church history has prevented advances in the discipline. (Birdsall is an example of the proper historical approach.)

Within this context, what NT textual materials have come down to us? As early as 1707, John Mill claimed that the (relatively few) NT mss examined by him contained about 30,000 variant readings (Vincent 1903: 6); 200 years later B. B. Warfield (1907: 13) indicated that some 180,000 or 200,000 various readings had been "counted" in the then existing NT mss, and in more recent times M. M. Parvis reported that examination of only 150 Greek mss of Luke revealed about 30,000 readings there alone, and he suggested that the actual quantity of variant readings among all NT manuscripts was likely to be much higher than the 150,000 to 250,000 that had been estimated in modern times (Parvis *IDB* 4: 594–95). Perhaps 300,000 differing readings is a fair figure for the 20th century (K. W. Clark 1962: 669). The textual critic must devise methods by which to sort through these myriad readings and to analyze the many mss that contain them.

It is not difficult to imagine how the NT writings were employed in the early decades of Christianity and how they were circulated in that initial period and in the succeeding decades. For instance, an apostolic letter or a portion of a gospel would be read in a worship service; visiting Christians now and again would make or secure copies to take to their own congregations, or the church possessing it might send a copy to another congregation at its own initiative or even at the request of the writer (cf. Col 4:16); and quite rapidly numerous early Christian writings—predominantly those that eventually formed the NT—were to be found in church after church throughout the Roman world. Naturally, the quality of each copy depended very much on the circumstances of its production; some copies must have been made in a rather casual manner under far less than ideal scribal conditions, while others, presumably, were made with a measure of ecclesiastical sanction and official solicitude, especially as time passed. Great Church centers, such as Antioch, Alexandria, Ephesus, Rome, Lyon, and Carthage, must have issued copies of the Scriptures, or parts thereof, for their constituent churches, and when the Christian Church gained the official favor of the Roman Empire under Constantine, the emperor himself commissioned 50 copies of the Scripture "on fine parchment . . . by professional scribes" for new churches in Constantinople (Eusebius, *Vita C.* 4.36). This occurred about A.D. 331, some 280 years after Paul penned the first of his letters and about 260 years after the first gospel, Mark, was written. Codices Sinaiticus and Vaticanus, the two oldest parchment manuscripts of the NT (except for fragments), are elegant copies of the kind that Constantine must have had in mind, and they come from precisely this period—the mid–4th century.

As the study of papyri in Egypt demonstrates with considerable specificity, the Roman Empire facilitated the fairly swift and widespread movement of letters and literature, and there is no reason why Christian writings would not have enjoyed the same mobility. This is evidenced, e.g., by the fact that early NT papyri contain at least remnants of all the major kinds of texts identified as existing in the first centuries of Christianity, and yet there is no compelling reason to think that all of these kinds of texts originated in Egypt; rather, many texts now survive in early Egyptian papyri that were brought there from other areas of the Christian world (Epp 1989c).

Our four gospels gradually emerged as the Church's choice from among a larger group of gospel writings; this occurred through a process only vaguely understood but culminating sometime between A.D. 150 and 180. These four gospels most often circulated in a single codex, though sometimes with the addition of Acts or other portions of the NT. The Pauline letters also frequently circulated together, though sometimes with Acts and/or the General Epistles, and the Acts and the General Epistles are another common combination. Actually, almost every conceivable grouping of NT writings is to be found among extant mss, including about 60 codices containing the entire NT (Aland and Aland 1987: 78–79). As these mss circulated and were used and reused in churches, they were copied and recopied, and the survivors among them have left to us a legacy rapidly approaching some 5,400 Greek mss, plus thousands of versional mss and patristic quotations. These constitute the data for NT textual criticism, from which the history of the NT text must be deduced and the most likely original text reconstructed.

2. General Nature of the Manuscript Evidence. The need for textual criticism exists, of course, whether there are 5,000 or only 5 mss. The extant mss for many classical authors reach only into the hundreds (e.g., fewer than 700 for Homer's *Iliad*) and can be as few as several mss or even one (as for books 1–6 of the Latin *Annals* of Tacitus). This comparative paucity of mss, on the average, for classical authors has occasioned a correspondingly frequent use of conjectural emendation in the construction of critical editions of classical texts. In the case of the NT, however, the thousands of mss and the hundreds of thousands of readings present a genuine embarrassment of riches, and NT textual critics have only rarely employed emendations, preferring rather to assume that the original reading in virtually every case is somewhere present in this vast store of material. The difficult questions, of course, are, where have they been preserved and how do we locate them among so many witnesses?

But it is not only in quantity of mss that NT textual criticism excels in riches; their quality also exceeds those in other areas of ancient literature. For one thing, the interval between author and earliest extant mss for most classical writings is customarily hundreds—sometimes many hundreds—of years, and an interval of 1,000 years is not uncommon. For example, the single ms of Tacitus referred to earlier (of a work written about A.D. 115) dates from the 9th century, and most of the mss of Euripides (ca. 485–406 B.C.) come from the Byzantine period. The majority of the NT mss are also of late date, but the distinctive differences are that so many others are early and that the interval between the time that the NT books were written and their earliest ms representation is only a century or so. In one striking instance, a papyrus fragment of John (P^{52}) may date as early as 25 years after the gospel's composition, and several other mss with extensive portions of text are dated to around A.D. 200—for books written between A.D. 55 and 90. Even the two elegant codices

mentioned earlier, Vaticanus and Sinaiticus, were produced around 350. So both the quantity and quality of ms sources place the NT text in a category virtually by itself.

Riches such as these constitute both the complex problem that the NT text presents—for the materials are so vast and variegated—and at the same time the rare opportunity and exciting challenge facing the discipline—the advantage of a depth and breadth of material unavailable for similar bodies of ancient writings. NT textual critics, by and large, are confident that the original reading in virtually every case is preserved among the array of some 300,000 variant readings. Yet both the preservation and the discovery of NT mss are random events, and while this randomness of history has been particularly generous to NT studies, it has not furnished scholars with a systematic presentation of textual evidence, nor does it offer a complete or even necessarily representative array of ms material for each or any writing or for the various geographic areas of early Christianity. Textual criticism, however, must utilize the materials it has and devise methods that will assess them appropriately. That challenge has a history reaching back almost as far as our earliest extant mss themselves—when rudimentary methods emerged—and it remains in some measure unresolved even today.

3. Scribal Alterations. Textual criticism has been occasioned by the divergent nature of the texts in our ms remains, and it is necessitated by the quantity of ms evidence. But necessity also arises from scribal errors and alterations in the transmission process. Among our earliest extensive mss, some show signs of being copied with workmanlike care (e.g., P^{75}, P^{45}), while others appear to have been copied by rather careless scribes (e.g., P^{66}). Scribal habits, including errors and alterations, need to be analyzed carefully. Commonly they are divided into two categories: unintentional and intentional alterations. (Examples can be found in standard handbooks, e.g., Scrivener 1894: 1.7–17; Nestle 1901: 234–39; Warfield 1907: 93–107; Robertson 1925: 150–60; Vogels 1955: 162–82; Greenlee 1964: 63–68; Metzger 1968: 186–206; Vaganay 1986: 87–98.)

a. Unintentional Scribal Errors. Accidental alterations are often characterized as errors of the eye, of the ear, or of memory and (unthinking) judgment. First, those involving oversight include (1) confusion of letters that have similar appearance (uncial *alpha, delta,* and *lamda* look alike, as do *epsilon* and *sigma, omicron* and *theta, eta* and *nu, pi* and *gamma-iota* or *tau-iota/iota-tau,* etc.); (2) mistaken division of words (since uncial letters were run together in mss, without word division or punctuation); (3) misreading of abbreviations or contractions; (4) metathesis, or interchanging the order of letters or words; (5) mistaking a less familiar word for one more familiar to the scribe; (6) haplography ("single/simple writing"), the omission of one word when it occurred twice, or of two or several words (even a sentence or more—cf. Luke 14:27) that are dropped as the scribe's eye jumps from one group of letters to a similar group of letters farther down the leaf, thereby resulting in the failure to copy what lies between the two words that have a similar ending (homoeoteleuton); (7) dittography ("double writing"), repetition of a letter, word, or passage because the scribe's eye went back to what had already been copied; and (8) simple misspellings due to carelessness and failure to notice the error.

It has been a long-standing convention in textual criticism that scribes tend to lengthen the text they copy rather than shorten it (except when haplography has clearly resulted from homoeoteleuton); hence, the common acceptance of the rule, "the shorter reading is to be preferred" (see below). Recent study of scribal habits as revealed in the early NT papyri, notably by E. C. Colwell, has, however, cast some doubt on this principle (Royse 1979: 143, 150–55).

Abbreviations also require an added comment. They were frequent for divine names, for other terms, and at the ends of lines. Sometimes they were mistaken for ordinary words (or vice versa), permitting varying ways of reading the text. A special class of abbreviations, apparently created by Christians within the first two generations, concerned divine names and sacred terms and was employed in a rigidly consistent fashion. These abbreviations appropriately are called *nomina sacra* and, whether by design or not, they differentiated Christian books from both Jewish and secular books. They may have been theologically motivated, for the most prominent among them would represent—in an almost creedlike fashion—the common beliefs of all Christians. These "sacred names" were God, Lord, Jesus, Christ, Son, Father, Spirit, cross, savior, man *(anthropos),* mother, heaven, David, Israel, and Jerusalem. (On the whole matter, see Roberts and Skeat 1983: 57–61; Roberts 1979: 46–47.) The abbreviations (really contractions) used for each were formed from two or three letters or two syllables in the word, with a horizontal line drawn above the resulting contraction. At 1 Tim 3:16, e.g., the likely original *hos* (*omicron-sigma,* "he who") may have been misunderstood as the abbreviation for "God," which was written *theta-sigma* and would look very much like the relative pronoun *omicron-sigma.*

Second, unintentional errors of the ear, occurring when scribes produced copies from dictation, include (1) itacism (relating to the vowel *iota,* though itacism involves other vowels as well), which is an interchange of various vowels and diphthongs that were similarly pronounced (such as *ai* and *e; ou* and *y; o, ō,* and *ǭ; i, y, ē, ē, ei, oi,* and *ui*), and the *nu*-movable (presence/absence of the letter *nu* at the end of certain Greek forms); (2) interchange of certain similar-sounding consonants or combinations of letters (as in Matt 2:6: *ek sou* for *eks hou*), or of single consonants for double, or vice versa; and (3) failure to emphasize or hear a rough breathing mark.

Finally, unintentional errors resulting from a momentary lapse of memory include (1) the use of a synonym for the word in the exemplar (when the scribe remembers the meaning but not the exact word); (2) a change of word order; (3) an unconscious assimilation to the similar wording of another biblical passage or liturgical formulation that is better remembered than the wording the scribe has just seen in the exemplar (though this assimilation could as well be intentional harmonization [see below]); and (4) unconscious harmonization with a word, phrase, or grammatical formulation in the immediate context of the passage then being copied. In addition, errors due to poor judgment may be included here, though—like certain cases of harmonization—some may deem them inten-

tional. The most common one involves material placed in the margins by earlier scribes or by readers of the ms being copied. These marginal notations could be corrections to the text, glosses (interpretations of or comments on the text), or even material not directly related to the text. The error of unthinking judgment comes when a scribe incorporates one or more of these marginal notes from the exemplar into the text of the ms being produced.

b. Intentional Scribal Alterations. Changes made intentionally by scribes as they copied texts were motivated, in virtually all cases, by a desire to improve the text or to correct it in accordance with what they believed to be its true reading. Purposefully destructive change, at least as perceived by the scribe, is unknown. Moreover, it is customary to say that a slavish scribe—and better still, one of only modest intelligence—is to be preferred to one who thinks for himself. It is the thinking scribe who is more likely to make intentional alterations in the text, inevitably in good faith and out of worthy motivations, including occasional changes made to introduce or promote a viewpoint not in the text being copied. As a class, intentional alterations are far fewer than accidental ones, yet they can exercise far more influence in the transmission process.

The categories of intentional scribal changes include (1) alterations in grammar, spelling, and style, including the spelling of proper names; (2) intentional harmonizations to bring the passage being copied into conformity with one similar or parallel (such as a parallel in the Synoptic Gospels), or with an OT quotation (sometimes expanding it to include more of the source or conforming it to the LXX), or with a liturgical passage in the Church lectionaries, or even to bring a passage into conformity with a translation known to the scribe or found in a bilingual ms; (3) clarification of perceived geographical or historical discrepancies, such as references to time or place, or to authors of OT quotations; (4) conflation of varying readings present in two or more mss accessible to the scribe, yielding a full text; (5) addition of logically appropriate material, such as expanding "Jesus" or "Lord" to "the Lord Jesus Christ"; and (6) theological or ideological alterations, usually involving minor changes in the interest of the Virgin Birth, the omniscience of Jesus, the trinity, or asceticism, to mention a few examples, as well as extensive additions of material, as found, e.g., in mss of the so-called Western text.

C. Major Source Materials for the NT Text

The NT text has been preserved in Greek mss; in numerous ancient (and, of course, modern) translations or versions; in liturgical documents, primarily lectionaries, surviving in Greek and other languages; and in NT quotations by Church Fathers in various languages. All of these become sources for readings and for textual variants in the process of restoring the NT text.

1. Greek Manuscripts. Greek mss of the NT, now numbering more than 5,300, customarily have been characterized in three differing ways: (1) by the material upon which they are written (papyrus, parchment, or paper); (2) by their calligraphic type (uncial or minuscule handwriting); and (3) by the function of the document containing the text (continuous-text ms, lectionary, or patristic quotation). The traditional way of listing them, however, cuts across these categories (utilizing one or two from each!) and follows the scheme of papyri, uncials, minuscules, lectionaries, and patristic quotations.

a. Writing Materials and Calligraphy. The NT was first written on papyrus—undoubtedly both the autographs and the earliest copies—as are the oldest extant NT mss, virtually all of which consist of or have come from mss in codex form. Papyrus was used as a writing material as early as 3000 B.C. and was still manufactured in Egypt as late as the 11th century A.D.; Greek writing on papyrus goes back to the 4th century B.C. and extends to the 8th century A.D.

As is well known, the freshly cut lower stems of papyrus plants were peeled off in long strips, were placed side by side, slightly overlapping, and then covered by another set of strips laid crosswise, and finally were struck with several blows from a broad mallet or a flat stone to fuse the two layers together into a sheet, which—when dried and polished with pumice—produced a strong, flexible, light-colored, and durable writing material. Contrary to popular opinion of long standing, papyrus was not a particularly fragile substance that was far inferior in durability to parchment. Papyrus does become brittle and subject to instant disintegration, however, when it has been repeatedly wet and dry. It survives, therefore, only when protected from moisture in buildings, caves, jars, or even in the soil of the virtually rain-free areas of Egypt, Palestine, and Mesopotamia, provided that the papyrus was neither too near the surface nor so deeply buried as to be affected by a rising water table. It has also been assumed that papyrus was expensive, but the fact that vast quantities were used, often with wide margins and large unwritten spaces, and that reuse (though quite feasible) was infrequent, indicates that at times, at least, papyrus as a writing material was quite inexpensive (evidence summarized in Epp 1989b).

For Greek literary works, papyrus sheets were glued together to form a roll or scroll; in Christian circles, papyrus sheets were turned into a codex, that is, into our form of the book, constructed of folded sheets bound at one edge. For reasons still not entirely clear, all of the Christian mss that survive from the 2d century (six OT texts made for Christian use and five NT texts) are on papyrus and are in codex form, which has led to the theory that Christians invented the codex and that the earliest codices were made of papyrus, or—if Christians did not invent the codex—that they immediately adopted it as the only suitable form for their writings (Roberts and Skeat 1983: 40–42).

Papyrus mss, in codex form, were used by Christians from the earliest times into the 8th century. They constitute only 3% of NT continuous-text mss and less than 2% of all NT mss, though, of course, far less than that in the amount of extant Greek NT text, since most of the papyri are highly fragmentary. Qualitatively, however, they enjoy an importance inversely proportionate to the small amount of text they presently preserve.

Meanwhile, around the turn of the 2d/3d century (A.D. 200), NT mss began to be copied on parchment or vellum. Though the terms are now used as synonyms, vellum technically is calfskin prepared as a writing material, while parchment technically is writing material processed from

other animal skins. Among all the sources for parchment, skins of sheep and goats were preferred. Preparation of skins for use as writing material (i.e., leather, which was tanned) may reach as far back as 2500 B.C., but the invention and extensive manufacture of parchment is associated by tradition with the city of Pergamum in the 2d century B.C., and the term "parchment" is related etymologically to "Pergamum."

In these Hellenistic times, skins were soaked (with little or no tanning agents) for cleaning and removal of hair and, while wet, were stretched, and then were allowed to dry, a process in which the adhesive pelt fluid dried to give the material a firm consistency and to set the fibers in the stretched condition: "Having become trapped in their own adhesive the fibres cannot revert to their former relaxed state and the result is a highly stressed sheet which is smooth, strong, relatively inelastic, light in colour, yet opaque" (Reed 1975: 44). Leathers were not stretched; parchment was, and the extremely durable material that resulted took inks and colors well and could be written on both sides. The stability of parchment also permitted its reuse, after scraping and washing the existing writing off the surface; such a ms is called a *palimpsest* (i.e., "scraped again"). Some 50 NT mss prior to the 11th century are palimpsests, among which the most famous is Codex Ephraemi Syri Rescriptus (C), whose NT text dates to the 5th century. It was first deciphered by C. Tischendorf through application of a (destructive) chemical reagent, but today it and other palimpsests can be read by use of ultraviolet photography, which recently has been further aided by computer enhancement techniques.

Parchment codices were standard for copies of the NT text until the very late Middle Ages when paper finally replaced parchment (14th–15th centuries) and when printing replaced hand copying (15th century). Roughly 75% of all Greek NT mss are on parchment (ca. 4,000, including some 2,400 continuous-text mss and some 1,600 lectionaries). Paper mss, therefore, are more common than might be supposed, numbering roughly 1,200 (somewhat evenly divided between the minuscules and lectionaries) and ranging in date from the 12th to the 19th centuries, with most originating in the latter part of this period.

As for *calligraphy*, until the 9th century Greek ms of the NT (both papyrus and parchment) were written exclusively in uncial script (using large-sized, unconnected capital letters), and uncials continued to be employed in the following century. Minuscule script (using lowercase, cursive or "running"—connected—letters) was used from the 9th century on. The earliest dated NT minuscule (no. 461) was copied in 835. Minuscule script, as its name implies, was smaller, requiring less space, and its connected style permitted more rapid writing. Minuscules, therefore, were easier and quicker to produce and less expensive than uncials, and the legacy of NT textual materials is likely to be larger than might have been the case had the uncial hand persisted. About 12% of NT mss are in uncial script (some 650) and 88% in minuscule (some 4,650). NT uncial mss are found on papyrus and parchment, minuscules on parchment and paper.

b. Function and Form of NT Mss. NT mss assumed certain forms in accordance with their functions. The predominant form in which the NT text has been preserved is the *continuous-text ms*, i.e., a ms recording the text of at least one NT book (even if no longer fully preserved) in a continuous fashion without additional context (though occasionally an interlinear or separate commentary to the text may be part of the ms). These mss may be written on papyrus, parchment, or paper and may be either in uncial or minuscule hand. Continuous-text NT mss number about 3,125, including about 94 different papyri in uncial script, about 270 different uncial mss on parchment, and around 2,750 minuscules on parchment or paper (of which more than 2,100 are on parchment).

A second form is the *lectionary*. Lectionaries are mss containing portions of biblical text for reading in church services. NT "lessons" from the Gospels and Epistles are arranged not in the order of the NT canon, but in accordance either with the Church year (called the synaxarion), which runs from Easter to the next Easter and which contains readings for specified Saturdays, Sundays, and weekdays of the ecclesiastical year, or with the calendar year (called the menologion), which begins with September 1 and contains readings for feast days, saints' days, and other days of the Church year and for special Church occasions. Lections vary in length from a few verses to a few chapters, with a customary length of about ten verses. Since these segments of text have been extracted (originally) from the NT writings, that is, from continuous-text mss, an introductory formula (called an *incipit*) often had to be added to accommodate the text to liturgical usage, including such standardized phrases as "The Lord said . . . ," "At that time . . . ," or "In those days . . . ." At times minor changes had to be made in the text itself, such as altering a pronoun (e.g., "he") to a noun (e.g., "Jesus"), to insure a meaningfully independent and self-explanatory portion of text (Colwell and Riddle 1933: 1–5; Metzger 1972: 479–84).

By their very nature, these liturgical texts are likely to have been transmitted rather carefully and preserved with a considerable measure of conservatism. They are likely, however, to have been copied almost exclusively from exemplar lectionaries, rather than scribes freshly extracting the relevant portions from continuous-text mss—that would be too tedious. This conservatism in the copying process suggests that Greek lectionaries, which range in date from a few 4th-, 5th-, and 6th-century uncial fragments to paper mss of the 18th century and later, are certainly more important than these relatively late dates suggest, for—more so than other mss—they are likely to preserve texts substantially earlier than their own dates. Yet this is a relative statement, for the origin of the Greek lectionary system is debated, with suggestions ranging from the 4th century to much later—perhaps the 7th or 8th century (Aland and Aland 1987: 163–66; Metzger 1972: 495–96). Basically, and overwhelmingly, the lectionaries carry a Byzantine text (see below), and they have significance for studying the development of the NT text, but little importance in establishing the original text. Their role in the latter is chiefly to aid in identifying readings introduced into continuous-text mss from the lectionary system, especially the *incipit*, which monks who are scribes would be prone—out of familiarity with lections—to transfer from their memories to the texts they are copying (Metzger 1972: 495; Aland and Aland 1987: 166).

NT lectionary mss in Greek number around 2,200, of which nearly 90% (more than 1,900) are minuscules and the rest uncials (about 270). Two uncial lectionaries date as early as the 4th and 5th centuries, about seven more in the 6th and 7th, with large numbers originating in the 9th and 10th, and with vast numbers of minuscule lectionaries stemming from the 11th and 12th centuries and thereafter (Aland and Aland 1987: 81). Over all, 75% are on parchment, with the rest on paper (dating from the 12th century on), and the majority of lectionaries consist of gospel readings. Needless to say, lectionaries occur also in other languages, but they are classified with the appropriate versional mss.

c. Aids to Readers of Manuscripts. Ancient mss, including those of the NT, contained relatively few helps for the reader. Words and sentences usually were not separated from one another, occasionally leading the reader to divide words in alternate ways with differing meanings; virtually no punctuation occurred until the 6th or 7th centuries (see examples in Scrivener 1894: 48–49); similarly, breathing marks and accents are rare prior to the 7th century, though after this time they occasionally were added by a later hand to earlier mss (as, e.g., in Vaticanus; see other examples ibid.: 45–48); and only rudimentary and differing systems of chapter division were employed. Already Vaticanus, Sinaiticus, and Alexandrinus, e.g., had marginal capitular systems, though they were not the same ones.

To assist in locating parallel passages in the gospels, Eusebius (ca. 263–339) devised a system of ten "canons" or tables (known as the Eusebian Canons) that divided the gospel material into sections and identified those that were found in all four gospels (canon I), those in each combination of three gospels (canons II–IV); those in each combination of two gospels (canons V–IX), and finally those sections in only one of the gospels (canon X). Thus, all the possible combinations were exhausted. Each section in each gospel was then numbered consecutively, and these section numbers, along with their appropriate canons, were placed—in colored ink—in the margin of a ms. The reader, by looking up the section number in the designated canon, could find the numbers of any parallel sections in other gospels (the canons are reproduced in Nestle-Aland[26]: 73*–78*; cf. Metzger 1968: 24–25).

d. Traditional Classifications of Greek NT Manuscripts. Greek NT mss customarily are placed into one of four groups, *papyri, uncials, minuscules,* or *lectionaries,* to which is added a fifth class, *patristic quotations.* Of course, patristic quotations, as used in textual criticism, are not directly mss, for they must be quoted from critical editions; yet there is no reason to depart from the usual classifications.

A system of symbols had to be developed for easy reference to the various mss, for it was too cumbersome to refer constantly to Codex Alexandrinus or Codex Ephraemi Syri Rescriptus or Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis, especially in a critical apparatus. J. J. Wettstein, in his critical edition (1751–52), developed the first such system of ms designations when he used capital letters for uncials and small letters for minuscules. He started the alphabet afresh for each segment of the ms tradition, that is, assigning letters A, B, C, etc. to the uncial gospel mss, then A, B, C, etc. again to mss of the Acts, then to those of Paul, and finally to those of the Apocalypse; then in similar fashion assigning lowercase letters to each group of minuscules.

Late in the 19th century this system was expanded and refined by C. R. Gregory, and the numbers he assigned in his 1908 list constitute the basis for the system still in use today. Naturally, the Latin alphabet was not adequate as more mss were discovered, so the Greek alphabet was also used and—for a while—a few letters of the Hebrew alphabet (of which only *alep* remains in common use, for Sinaiticus). These additional symbols were also inadequate, however, and the present system (referred to as Gregory numbers) employs Arabic numbers for all ms groups, though in differing ways. Numbers of papyri are preceded by P, as in P^{75}, those assigned to uncials by a zero, as in 0171, but the familiar capital letters earlier assigned to many uncials remain in common use (such as A, B, C, D, W), though each of these also has a number (e.g., A = 02, B = 03, C = 04; D of the gospels and Acts = 05; D of Paul = 06). Minuscules are designated simply by successive numbers (such as 1, 69, 1739), and lectionaries are consecutively numbered but preceded by a cursive letter *l* (ℓ).

Others attempted to assign symbols that would be more rigidly consistent as well as more descriptive of the mss involved. The most elaborate such effort was that of H. von Soden (1911–13), who divided all witnesses into three groups, using the Greek letter *delta* for manuscripts preserving the entire NT (including those lacking the Apocalypse), *epsilon* for mss of the gospels, and *alpha* for those of the Acts and Epistles. Then an Arabic number was assigned to each in such a way that it indicated the ms's date—1 to 49 for a *delta* ms through the 9th century, etc. Thus, each ms designation would convey both its content and its age. For example, *delta* 1 would indicate a ms of the whole NT dating in the first nine centuries; but this happens to be Vaticanus, and the age indication is much too broad to be useful, for it is of highest importance to know that Vaticanus dates in the mid-4th century rather than merely somewhere before the 10th. Von Soden's system is much more complicated than these few remarks suggest, and something of its complexity can be gauged from the fact that several concordances of ms references, or "keys," were produced to permit translation of von Soden's symbols into those of Gregory, and vice versa (the latest occupies 38 pages in Aland 1963: 334–71). In addition, von Soden's system was neither sufficiently precise (in terms of mss of early date) nor sufficiently flexible to accommodate the many additional mss that came to light after 1913. Accordingly, it has fallen into disuse, though it must be understood so that text-critical discussions by scholars who employed it can in turn be understood.

What follows is necessarily a summary of some of the most important witnesses to the Greek NT text. The standard handbooks provide similar summaries for their times, and catalogs of mss provide the appropriate detail for this primary material. In the final analysis, of course, the original publication of a particular ms inevitably provides the fullest array of data and analysis. The latest full list of the papyri and uncials, as well as a select list of about 150 minuscules and a list of Greek Church Fathers, with brief descriptions, can be found in Aland and Aland 1987: 96–155 (cf. Aland 1963, with update, 1969; also 1976, a

descriptive catalog of NT papyri). More convenient for most will be the list of mss in *UBSGNT*[3] (905–7), supplemented in *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (= Metzger 1971: 771–75), but especially that in Nestle-Aland[26] (684–711), which provides a handy chapter-and-verse indication of the exact contents of each papyrus and uncial, or—in the case of very extensive manuscripts—their lacunae. Lacunae are also noted for minuscules cited individually in Nestle-Aland, but not for the vast number cited under the symbol "M" (= Majority text). Notable among other handbooks with brief descriptions of selected mss are Metzger 1968: 36–67; Vogels 1955: 7–73; Lagrange 1935: 41–181, 389–420, 465–87, 529–38, 579–97; Kenyon 1912: 41–144; 1949: 66–110; Gregory 1907: 299–393; Nestle 1901: 28–93; Scrivener 1894: 1.90–377. For more extensive treatments of mss known at the time, see Gregory 1908; 1909; von Soden 1911–13: 1.102–248; for mss in America, K. W. Clark 1937.

(1) Papyri. Presently 96 NT papyri have been identified, though two of these are portions of others (P^{33} = P^{58}; P^{64} = P^{67}), leaving a total of 94 different papyri. They range in date from the 2d century to the 8th, and all but four are from codices (the four, P^{12}, P^{13}, P^{18}, P^{22}, are from scrolls, though all are exceptional in that they are either written on both sides or are on reused papyrus [Aland and Aland 1987: 102]). These 94 papyri range in extent of coverage from tiny fragments (like P^{52} of John) to extensive portions (in papyri like P^{66}, P^{75}, and P^{72}).

The first NT papyrus came to light in 1868, when C. Tischendorf published a fragment containing 62 verses of 1 Corinthians (now designated P^{11}); but the first major flow of NT papyri came from the Oxyrhynchus excavations in 1897ff. by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, which eventually produced 28. More remarkable is the fact that 20 of these (plus one uncial fragment found there, 0162) date to the turn of the 3d/4th century or earlier. By 1930, 42 papyri had been published, though all were highly fragmentary.

A significant change came when the Chester Beatty papyri were made available in 1930–31, for the three most prominent (P^{45}, P^{46}, P^{47}) were the first NT papyri to preserve extensive portions of text. Equally important—if not more so—were the early dates of these three mss: P^{46} from about A.D. 200 and P^{45} and P^{47} from the 3d century.

P^{45} contains 30 leaves of an original codex containing the four gospels and Acts in perhaps 220 leaves. Now surviving are 61 verses of Matthew (20:24–30; 21:13–19; 25:41–26:39); about 6 chapters of Mark (4:36–9:31; 11:27–12:28); more than 5 chapters of Luke (6:31–7:7; 9:26–14:33); most of John 10 and 11; and 13 chapters of Acts (4:27–17:17).

P^{46} contains 86 leaves of an original 104, which held 10 epistles of Paul (but apparently not the Pastorals), plus Hebrews, though the usual order of Galatians and Ephesians has been reversed and Hebrews stands between Romans and 1 Corinthians. Extant are eight chapters of Romans; all of Hebrews; virtually all of 1–2 Corinthians; all of Ephesians, Galatians, Philippians, Colossians; and two chapters of 1 Thessalonians (but none of 2 Thessalonians)—all leaves suffering some loss of lines at the bottom.

P^{47} preserves 10 leaves of an estimated 32 originally, and it held the Apocalypse, of which 8 middle chapters are extant (9:10–17:2).

Important as these discoveries were, more significant ones were to follow, when around 1955–56 four codices came into the possession of M. M. Bodmer of Geneva, the priceless P^{66}, P^{72}, and P^{75}, and the 7th-century P^{74}, as well as a fifth containing three verses of Matthew (P^{73}). Three of these codices are of very early date: P^{66} (like P^{46}) from about A.D. 200, and P^{72} and P^{75} from the 3d century; moreover, as noted earlier, they preserve extensive portions of text.

P^{66} has 104 pages of John's gospel (1:1–6:11; 6:35–14:15), plus fragments of 46 other pages (14:26–21:9, with lacunae).

P^{72} is the earliest known copy of 1–2 Peter and Jude and contains the entire text of these epistles.

P^{75} retains 102 of its original 144 pages and preserves chaps. 6–17 and 22–24 of Luke, as well as portions of chaps. 3–5 and 18; in addition, it has virtually all of John 1–12 and portions of 13–15. P^{75} is the oldest known copy of Luke, and its text (of both Luke and John) is extraordinary for its close similarity to that of Vaticanus.

P^{74} contains, with numerous lacunae, Acts 1:2–28:31, and portions of James, 1–2 Peter, 1–3 John, and Jude.

Further papyri have been published since, but none that in any way matches the combination of early date and extensive text found in the Chester Beatty and Bodmer mss. There are, however, 43 other very early papyri that, by virtue of dating prior to the early 4th century, rightfully deserve mention, though they are all highly fragmentary: P^{52} (early 2d century); P^{32}, P^{46}, $P^{64/67}$, P^{66} (about A.D. 200); P^{90} (2d century); P^{77} (2d/3d century); P^{1}, P^{4}, P^{5}, P^{9}, P^{12}, P^{15}, P^{20}, P^{22}, P^{23}, P^{27}, P^{28}, P^{29}, P^{30}, P^{39}, P^{40}, P^{45}, P^{47}, P^{48}, P^{49}, P^{53}, P^{65}, P^{69}, P^{70}, P^{75}, P^{80}, P^{87} (3d century); and P^{13}, P^{16}, P^{18}, P^{37}, P^{38}, P^{72}, P^{78}, P^{92} (3d/4th century). To this list of our earliest mss should be added the four earliest uncials known to us: 0189 (2d/3d century); 0220 (3d century), and 0162 and 0171 (3d/4th century), for they fall into the same earliest period. (See Aland and Aland 1987: 56–64, 96–102.) These mss, because of their extraordinarily early dates, occupy a position of supreme importance in all aspects of NT textual criticism, especially its history and theory.

(2) Uncials. As a classification of NT mss, "uncials" is not used to refer to all NT mss written in uncial characters (about 650), but only to continuous-text mss so written on parchment (about 270). Thus, the papyri and the more than 270 lectionary mss written in uncials are classified under papyri and lectionaries, respectively, and not here.

Continuous-text uncials total about 290, but the number of different uncials is closer to 270, due to the continuing process of uniting separated fragments with their original mss (Aland and Aland 1987: 105; see 106–25 for a full list of uncials). Uncials date from the 2d/3d century through the 10th century. Only 4 predate the early 4th century (0189, 0220, 0162, 0171); 14 stem from the 4th century—including the two most famous uncials, Codices Sinaiticus and Vaticanus; but 54 survive from around A.D. 400 to 500; and uncials increase as one moves into the later 6th and through the 9th centuries, with the last 19 originating in the 10th century. It should not be assumed, however, that uncials inevitably preserve large segments of NT text;

the oft-mentioned, famous codices like Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, and Alexandrinus have extensive text, as do many others, but in reality only 35 percent of all uncials survive in more than two leaves. To be more precise, only 59 uncials (about 22 percent) contain more than 30 leaves and only 44 uncials (about 16 percent) have more than 100 leaves. Of this latter group, 17 contain 100 to 199 leaves; 16 have 200 to 299; 9 have 300 to 399; and only 2 have more than 400 (Bezae [05] with 415 and Claromontanus [06] with 533 leaves).

Among the uncials, perhaps five mss stand out from all the rest; all are of early date (4th or 5th century) and of crucial importance in NT textual transmission and for the discipline generally.

Codex Sinaiticus (ℵ) is the only uncial presently containing the entire NT (though Alexandrinus still contains portions of every NT book). Sinaiticus also has virtually all of the OT, as well as the *Epistle of Barnabas* and the *Shepherd of Hermas*. It dates from the 4th century and its large pages contain four columns each—the only NT ms written in this fashion.

Codex Alexandrinus (A) is of somewhat later date—in the 5th century—and lacks only portions of Matthew (up to 25:6), John (6:50–8:52), and 2 Corinthians (4:13–12:6) from its NT, and it contains the OT, as well as *1–2 Clement*. It is written in two columns and its text appears to have been copied from different exemplars, for its gospel text is akin to the Byzantine type, while the remainder of the NT has a text like that in Sinaiticus and Vaticanus.

Codex Vaticanus (B), 4th century, is written in three columns and contains all of the NT except an extensive portion from Heb 9:14 through Revelation; it also has the OT, though it begins with Gen 46:28 and lacks Ps 105:27–137:6. Vaticanus would be regarded by all as the most valuable uncial ms of the NT, and by many as the most important of all NT mss, due to the combination of its early date, its broad coverage of the NT, and the excellent quality of its text, which—for the overlapping portions—is strikingly similar to that in P^{75}.

Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis (D) contains, on Greek and Latin facing pages, the four gospels (in the order Matthew, John, Luke, Mark), Acts nearly complete, and a small portion of 3 John. Its date is 5th century, or possibly late 4th. It is written in one column, but in sense lines rather than in the usual fashion of simply filling the lines. Bezae, with many striking additions to the text (and some omissions), is the major Greek representative of the so-called Western type of text, which some have considered the earliest form of the NT text, but which others have viewed as a later, derivative development.

Codex Washingtonianus (W), also known as the Freer Gospels (for C. L. Freer of Detroit, who acquired it in 1906), has the four gospels virtually complete (though in the order of Matthew, John, Luke, and Mark) and dates from the early 5th century. Its text is of mixed character, with various sections of varying length representing rather different textual types: Byzantine in Matthew and most of Luke; Alexandrian in the rest of Luke and most of John; and so-called Western in Mark 1:1–5:30, but like the text of P^{45} in 5:31–16:20. It may be best known for the material it inserts into the already longer ending to Mark (16:9–20) that it shares with other witnesses: it adds at 16:14 a paragraph that includes an excuse by the disciples in response to the risen Christ's chiding of them for unbelief.

Other uncials of special significance should be noted briefly.

Codex Ephraemi Syri Rescriptus (C) is a 5th-century ms of the whole Bible that was erased in the 12th century and reused for writings of Ephraem of Syria, though now it has many lacunae in the roughly 60% of the NT that remains. Yet extensive segments are extant of all NT books except 2 Thessalonians and 2 John, of which nothing is preserved.

Codex Claromontanus (D^P) is a 6th-century ms of the Pauline letters and Hebrews, which —like Codex Bezae— is a Greek-Latin bilingual codex written in sense lines, which was at one time in Theodore Beza's possession. And for the last century its text has been considered to be similar in character to that of Codex Bezae; that is, D^P has been recognized as the leading Greek witness to a so-called Western text of the Epistles, just as Bezae has long been considered the chief Greek witness to a Western text of the Gospels and Acts. (Aland and Aland 1987: 108, however, disagree with this assessment of Claromontanus.)

Codex Laudianus (E^a) contains the Acts (except for 26:29–28:26) and dates from the 6th century. It is bilingual, but with the Latin in the place of honor on the left or verso and the Greek on the right; the Latin follows the Greek in a slavish manner. Its text is best described as "mixed," that is, showing agreements with Codex Bezae but also with the Byzantine text.

Codex Coislinianus (H^P), from the 6th century, contains portions of 1–2 Corinthians, Galatians, Colossians, 1 Thessalonians, Hebrews, 1–2 Timothy, and Titus in an Alexandrian kind of text. Its present 41 leaves—used in the Middle Ages for binding other books—are now in six widely spread libraries.

Codex Freerianus (I), or the Washington Codex of the Pauline Epistles, dates from the 5th century and contains 1 Corinthians through Hebrews with numerous lacunae. About 40% of its original leaves survive, and its text is Alexandrian.

Codex Regius (L) is a gospel codex from the 6th century with very few lacunae, but with two endings to Mark, the common 14:9–20, but also the so-called shorter ending. It is poorly written, but with an Alexandrian kind of text.

Codex Borgianus (T) is a 5th-century Greek-Sahidic ms with portions of six chapters of Luke and seven of John. Three other uncials (0113, 0125, 0139) have been identified as parts of the same ms, which together total about nine leaves. Its text is Alexandrian in complexion.

Codex Dublinensis (Z), a 6th-century palimpsest ms of Matthew (with lacunae), carries an Alexandrian form of text.

Codex Koridethi (theta) is an interesting 9th-century ms of the Gospels (lacking only Matt 1:1–9; 1:21–4:4; 4:17–5:4), not only because it is written in a rude hand by a scribe who did not know Greek, but, more so, for the nature of its text. In Matthew, Luke, and John it is Byzantine, but its text of Mark cast it, formerly, in the role of the leading member of the later phase of the so-called Caesarean text (see below).

048 is a double palimpsest whose earliest text (5th century) contains small portions of Acts, the Catholic Epistles,

and the Pauline Epistles (though not Galatians or 2 Thessalonians).

There are other uncials, all fragmentary, that should be listed briefly as important by virtue of their early dates. First, there are the several uncial fragments that predate the 4th century and are properly classified with the earliest papyri, namely, 0189 (Acts 5:3–21) and 0220 (Rom 4:23–5:3, 8–13), both of the 3d century, and 0162 (John 2:11–22) and 0171 (Matt 10:17–23, 25–32; Luke 22:44–56, 61–64) of the 3d/4th century. Next are 058 (Matt 18:18–29); 0169 (Rev 3:19–4:3); 0185 (1 Cor 2:5–6, 9, 13; 3:2–3); 0188 (Mark 11:11–17); 0206 (1 Pet 5:5–13); 0207 (Rev 9:2–15); 0221 (most of Rom 5:16–6:3); 0228 (Hebrews 19–21, 23–25); 0231 (Matt 26:75–27:1–3, 4); and 0242 (Matt 8:25–9:2; 13:32–38, 40–46), all of the 4th century, which places them in the same period as Codices Sinaiticus and Vaticanus. Others, 057 (Acts 3:5–6, 10–11); 059 (Mark 15:29–38); 0160 (Matt 26:25–26, 34–36); 0176 (Gal 3:16–25); 0181 (Luke 9:59–10:14); 0214 (Mark 8:33–37); 0219 (Rom 2:21–23; 3:8–9, 23–25, 27–30); and 0270 (1 Cor 15:10–15, 19–25), date to the 4th/5th century, just prior to the period of Codices A, C, W, D, and others of the 5th century.

These early uncials, both the great codices of the 4th century and the fragmentary ones up to the turn of the 4th/5th century, provide some perspective on the textual situation at this time.

(3) Minuscules. Some 80 percent of the minuscules are solid representatives of the Majority text and to that extent at least they will contribute little to the establishment of the original text, for the Byzantine or Koine text (to use two other terms for the Majority text) is a text type that developed from the early 4th century on and became the well-established and official ecclesiastical text of the Byzantine Church. Yet among the minuscules are some (nearly 10%, according to Aland and Aland 1987: 128) that may have much to contribute to recovery of the original NT text. Some of these, as well as several minuscules noteworthy for other reasons, are noted below. For a list of about 150, see Aland and Aland 1987: 128–35; for descriptive comments on about 20 prominent minuscules, see Metzger 1968: 61–67; cf. Vogels 1955: 65–69; for older descriptive lists, see Gregory 1909: 124–326; von Soden 1911–1913: vol. 1; Scrivener 1894: 1.189–326.

Minuscule 1 (12th century) is distinguished for its use by Erasmus—as a supplement to his main source, Minuscule 2—for the first published Greek NT (1516). In 20th-century textual criticism, Codex 1 was identified as the head of a group of similar mss known as Family 1 (1, 118, 131, 209, 1582), whose text has affinities with the text in Codex *theta;* together, these and other mss were considered part of the so-called Caesarean text. Codex 1 contains the entire NT except the Apocalypse.

Minuscule 13 (13th century) contains the gospels (with lacunae) and heads a group of a dozen mss named Family 13, which, again, was identified earlier as a major component of the so-called Caesarean text.

Minuscule 33 (9th century) contains the whole NT except the Apocalypse, with a few chapters missing in each gospel, and has long been called the "queen of the cursives" because its text is akin to the Alexandrian kind of text found in the great uncials.

Minuscule 69 (15th century) includes the entire NT (with lacunae) and is written partly on parchment and partly on paper. It is a prominent member of Family 13.

Minuscule 81 (a dated ms from 1044), which contains Acts (except 4:8–7:17 and 17:28–23:9) and the Epistles, is significant because its text is of the Alexandrian type.

Minuscule 383 (13th century) has the Acts and Epistles, with so-called Western readings in Acts 13–22, which are largely shared by 614.

Minuscule 565 (9th century) is a magnificent copy of the gospels (lacking only John 11:26–48; 13:2–23), written with gold ink on purple parchment and containing the "Jerusalem colophon"—a statement that it was copied "from the ancient mss of Jerusalem"—which appears also in some 13 other mss.

Minuscule 579 (13th century) appears to be a copy of a much older ms of the gospels with an Alexandrian kind of text, especially in Mark, Luke, and John. It not only has the "longer ending" of Mark (16:9–20), but also the added "shorter ending."

Minuscule 614 (13th century) contains the Acts and Epistles in a text with numerous affinities with the so-called Western kind of text (cf. 383).

Minuscule 700 (11th century) is a gospel codex with upward of 300 singular readings and noteworthy for its reading, in the so-called Lord's Prayer (Luke 11:2), of "Let your holy spirit come upon us and cleanse us" in place of the usual "Let your kingdom come"—a reading shared in Greek only by minuscule 162.

Minuscule 892 (9th century) has the gospels, though only half of its original text of John remains. It is important because of its early date, but more so because it preserves the early, Alexandrian kind of text.

Minuscule 1241 (12th century) contains the NT, with lacunae and later supplements, though not the Apocalypse. It has numerous noteworthy readings.

Minuscule 1243 (11th century) is important for its text of the Catholic Epistles, though it contains the entire NT except the Apocalypse.

Minuscule 1424 (9th/10th century) heads a large family of manuscripts. It has the whole NT (except Matt 1:23–2:16) with a marginal commentary (though not on the Apocalypse) taken from various Church Fathers, and its text of Mark appears to be of special interest.

Minuscule 1739 (10th century) preserves the Acts and Epistles (except Acts 1:1–2:6, which have been supplied by a later hand) in a generally Alexandrian text form. It may have been copied from a 4th-century exemplar, because its valuable marginal notes taken from early Church Fathers end with Basil (330–79).

Minuscule 2053 (13th century) contains the text of the Apocalypse with the commentary of Oecumenius. Its quality of text is rated by some above the early uncials and even papyri (Metzger 1968: 65–66; Aland and Aland 1987: 134).

Minuscule 2062 (13th century) has the text of the Apocalypse, except for 2:1–14:20, and a commentary. Its text is similar in quality to 2053.

Minuscule 2344 (11th century) contains the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse (with lacunae). Its text of the Apocalypse often agrees with 2053, and it is important in the other sections as well, particularly in the Catholic Epistles.

Minuscule 2427 (14th century) survives in 44 leaves of the gospel of Mark and may contain an early form of text.

Minuscule 2464 (10th century) is a relatively early minuscule ms of Acts and the Epistles, though it lacks about five chapters of Romans and all of 1–2 Timothy, Titus, Philemon, and Hebrews.

(4) Lectionaries. Though the lectionary mss of the NT number 2,200 or more, they are not often cited in the critical apparatus of Greek NT texts because they overwhelmingly preserve a Byzantine text and are not critical in establishing the original NT text. Greek lectionaries do not include the Apocalypse, for there were no readings from this book in the Church year; the same applies to some passages of Acts and the Epistles. The Nestle-Aland[26] cites only 5 lectionary mss (numbers 32, 44, 185, 1575, and 1602); the *UBSGNT*[3] cites 52 systematically and 97 from other critical editions of the Greek NT. The American and British Committees' apparatus of Luke (1984–87) cites 10 lectionary mss that were scientifically selected as representatives of the "dominant" lectionary text (numbers 69, 333, 513, 852, 853, 867, 991, 995, 1084, 1750—dating from the 10th to the 13th centuries) and also 31 others that represent a "divergent" text.

The current list of lectionary mss can be found in Aland 1963; 1969; older descriptive lists appear in Gregory 1909: 327–478; Scrivener 1894: 1.327–76.

(5) Patristic Quotations. Passages of the NT quoted by writers in the early Church constitute an important body of data for textual criticism, for they provide narrowly dated and geographically located textual readings. That is, from them we have an indication of the form that a text took at certain places at certain times—at least the *terminus ad quem* for such a reading, though not normally, of course, the *terminus a quo*. By comparing these patristic readings with similar variants in continuous-text mss, we have some sense as to the age and, though less clearly, the possible provenance of the mss containing them. In general, the more striking or distinctive the readings, the more definite are the conclusions about their date and place of use and perhaps origin. Patristic quotations, therefore, assume very great significance in the effort to establish text types.

Unfortunately, however, the matter is not as simple as this schema suggests. Which manuscripts of the Church Father represent what that author wrote? Indeed, the whole process of textual criticism must be applied to each patristic writing in an effort to establish its original text as closely as possible. Though this has been done for most relevant writings, critical editions still have not been prepared for some; more frequently, though, new critical editions are required that take account of new discoveries and of refinements in method. There is a further difficulty when a canonical text (even if not yet fully defined) is a prominent subject of the early Church writings. The biblical text was well known to the Christian monks (or others) who copied and recopied the mss of the patristic writings, and we can never be certain that what the patristic author wrote has been copied as that author wrote it or whether biblical quotations have been conformed—in the copying process—to the copyist's knowledge or memory of how that text ran in the NT known and used by the scribe and the local community. Of course, this same situation confronts us in the continuous-text mss, but it is heightened in the fathers—where a copyist's main task is the transmission of not the NT text, but the text of the patristic writing. The patristic problem becomes more complex and vexing when passages from the gospels, but particularly the Synoptic Gospels, are involved, for often the author does not indicate which gospel is being cited, leaving open the possibility that the copyist has conformed the citation to a more familiar Synoptic form of that passage. This can happen also when the source of the quotation is given. Naturally, if the patristic writing is a commentary on one of the gospels, some of these difficulties are eased. To take a different example, sometimes an author will cite only the first words of a NT quotation—assuming that the reader will know the rest—but a scribe may fill in the text according to the formulation used locally; or vice versa, the scribe may leave out all but the first words of a familiar passage. As a rudimentary rule, if a quotation differs from the usual forms of the NT—and is not an obvious error—it might gain credence as representing what the author wrote, though such a principle would neither apply to many cases nor by any means be an adequate criterion.

Even more serious problems emerge, for it is not always clear whether an early Christian writer is (a) quoting a NT book directly and exactly as it occurs in the NT text being referenced or, as an alternative, is attempting consciously to quote such a text from memory (a *citation*); (b) is paraphrasing the text, i.e., adapting a NT text to the writer's own discussion or syntax while retaining clear verbal correspondence to the Greek NT passage (an *adaptation*); or (c) is merely alluding to a passage by reference to its content but without substantial verbal correspondence (an *allusion*). These questions must be answered in each instance before a patristic quotation can be listed in a critical apparatus of the NT. In the process, each writing must be evaluated further to discover, e.g., its author's citing habits, and a close comparison must be made of varying citations of the same text in the same author. As a rudimentary rule, long quotations are more likely to have been copied from a ms than to have been cited from memory, though the usual transmission hazards indicated above must also be taken into account; at the same time, short or incomplete citations cannot be taken as indicating that the writer's NT text left out the remaining portion of a passage—unless an evaluation of that writer's views makes it highly unlikely that he would have omitted such words were they known to him. An additional complication arises when a writer conflates two or more NT quotations into one.

Ideally, for use in textual criticism, the father's NT text should be reconstructed. In the case of a writer with extensive quotations (like Origen), a running text of that writer's NT (or sometimes NTs), or portions thereof, can be presented, with an apparatus that shows the citations as well as the adaptations and allusions. Then, the resultant father's NT text is compared directly with all major mss and text types to identify the relationship of that father's text to the NT textual tradition as a whole. In the case of writings with few NT quotations and where a running NT text cannot be reconstructed, the individual citations, adaptations, and allusions can merely be listed, showing their agreements/disagreements with the NT ms tradition. (On

the terminology and method, see Fee 1971a; 1971b). The Society of Biblical Literature, in a new series, is publishing these kinds of analyses of patristic NT quotations (the first volume is by Ehrman).

Though the process must operate case by case, adaptations and even allusions can at times be more informative about a father's NT text than the citations. Normally, however, only what can reasonably be established as a writer's quotation from a ms lying before him has the fullest weight as a textual reading that can be placed into a variation unit and then employed, with other mss and versional variants, to establish the NT text. Yet apart from their crucial significance in the dating and localizing of certain kinds of variants and textual formulations, patristic quotations do not loom as large as one might expect in the overall establishment of the original text.

Of obvious significance are Greek patristic writers and writings such as the following (dates are often approximate): *Apostolic Constitutions* (380); Apostolic Fathers (Clement of Rome [95], *Didache* [early 2d century], *Epistle to Diognetus* [late 2d century], Ignatius [d. 110], Papias [2d century], Polycarp [d. 156]); Athanasius of Alexandria (295–373); Basil the Great of Caesarea (330–79); Chrysostom (344–407); Clement of Alexandria (d. 212); Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444); Cyril of Jerusalem (315–86); Didymus of Alexandria, "the Blind" (313–98); Dionysius of Alexandria (late 2d century); Epiphanius of Salamis (315–403); Eusebius of Caesarea (263–339); Gregory of Nazianzus (329–90); Gregory of Nyssa (335–94); Hesychius of Jerusalem (1st half of 5th century); Hippolytus of Rome (d. 235); Irenaeus of Lyon (2d century); Justin Martyr (d. 165); Marcion (2d century); Nonnus of Panopolis (5th century); Origen of Alexandria/Caesarea (185–254); Tatian (2d century); Theodore of Mopsuestia (352–428); and Titus of Bostra (d. by 378).

Lists of these and other Church Fathers quoting the NT can be found in Nestle-Aland[26] (62*) and *UBSGNT*[3] (xxxvii–xl), a relevent quotations are utilized in the critical apparatus of each; a full, annotated list appears in Aland and Aland 1987: 170–80. An index of biblical citations and allusions has been prepared by the Centre d'analyse et de documentation patristique (Allenbach et al. 1975–87), providing an almost exhaustive list for the first three centuries (with a separate volume on Origen), as well as for Eusebius, Cyril of Jerusalem, and Epiphanius. The apparatus of the American and British Committees' *Gospel according to St. Luke* (1984–87) includes all citations and adaptations in Greek fathers up to A.D. 500, but does not normally record allusions.

2. Versions. If the NT were preserved only in Greek mss and Greek patristic citations of NT passages, textual criticism would be much simpler but also much poorer. Actually, the rich Greek tradition was expanded during the early centuries of Christianity, not only through the patristic quotations but through the translation of the text into other languages—which in turn was quoted by Church Fathers who wrote in those languages.

The earliest history and actual origins of these translations are obscure. It is clear, however, that the earliest and also the most important were the Latin, Syriac, and Coptic Versions—though not necessarily in that order. During the early centuries of Christianity, the NT circulated and was used in its original Greek dress in Greece, Asia Minor, southern Italy, and in the coastal regions of the Mediterranean Sea in Syria and Egypt—and also rather deeply into Upper Egypt, as recent studies show. Surrounding these geographical districts, however, were areas using different languages: Latin in much of Europe and North Africa; Syriac throughout Syria, including centers like Edessa and Arbela (though Greek was the language of Antioch); and Coptic (in various dialects) in Egypt, and it was inevitable that the spread of Christianity, at an early date, would entail also the translation of the NT into these and other languages.

It cannot be said with certainty whether Latin or Syriac translations were the first to be made; both seem to have originated in the latter part of the 2d century. The gospels were the first to be translated, perhaps into Syriac for Tatian's Diatessaron (a weaving together of the four gospels into a single account about A.D. 170, though its original language has been a matter of debate also), perhaps followed later in the century by Syriac translations of the separate gospels—though these could have preceded the Diatessaron. Or perhaps the gospels were first translated into Latin by missionaries in the late 2d century for use in Latin-speaking sections of the Roman Empire. In any event, versions of the gospels and of other portions of the NT in Syriac, Latin, and Coptic were widely circulated in the 3d century, though the earliest extant manuscripts in these languages are from the 4th century, and the late 4th century at that for the Latin and Syriac versions. (On the versions generally, see Metzger 1977; Aland 1972; Vööbus 1954.)

The use of versional evidence in textual criticism, however, is anything but mechanical; often no one-for-one relationship exists between a reading in Greek and its counterpart in Syriac or Coptic or even in Latin. Differences between Greek and the NT versional languages can be of several kinds, as indicated in the following examples: Syriac, unlike Greek, has no case endings, differs in tense systems, and has no comparative or superlative (Brock 1977). Coptic has no case endings and relies on strict word order to show subject, object, indirect object, and adverb; uses definite/indefinite articles differently; and cannot represent the distinctions between various Greek prepositions (Plumley 1977) (see LANGUAGES [COPTIC]). Armenian presents relatively fewer problems; Greek word order, e.g., can often be preserved precisely, but Armenian lacks the vocative case and grammatical gender; nouns and relative pronouns in some case constructions do not show a distinction between singular and plural; and there is no aorist infinitive or present participle, nor a future tense (Rhodes 1977). In Georgian, Greek prepositions often are not expressed but understood, some prepositions are postpositive, prepositions and postpositives may have several meanings, and there is no definite article as such (Brière 1977; Molitor 1972: 318–25). Ethiopic has no neuter gender and no definite or indefinite article; its verb cannot adequately express time, modal nuances, or the active, passive, or middle voice (Hofmann 1977). Gothic has no future form, prefers a singular demonstrative pronoun even if the Greek has a plural, and a Gothic verbal form may represent two Greek moods or tenses (Fried-

richsen 1977). Old Church Slavonic, though it coincides with Greek in most major aspects and allows for a decent translation even on a word-for-word basis, does not have an explicit definite article, has no future tense, and cannot always clearly express the nuances in Greek subordinate clauses (Lunt 1977). Even Latin, which generally provides a fine vehicle for translating Greek, does not differentiate between the aorist and perfect tenses, and has no definite article and no middle voice, among a number of other relatively minor differences (Fischer 1977).

Grammatical and idiomatic factors such as these affect the textual critic's ability to determine what Greek text lies behind particular renderings in these various Versions. Only detailed knowledge of such factors, however, will permit the critic to understand the possibilities in each case or perhaps to realize that no clear determination of the underlying Greek is possible at all.

a. The Syriac Versions. The textual tradition of the Syriac version is complex, though the number of extant mss is very much smaller than, e.g., the Latin version. For the gospels, Acts, and Pauline letters (the extent of the NT canon in the early Syriac Church), there was an early or Old Syriac form of the tradition, and it survives in continuous-text mss for the gospels but is preserved almost exclusively in patristic quotations by Syriac-speaking fathers for the Acts and the Pauline letters (though these patristic sources have not always been preserved in Syriac itself).

The Old Syriac gospels survive in two forms, each in one ms. The first is the Curetonian Syriac version, named for William Cureton, editor in 1858 of the 5th-century ms in which it is found; its symbol is sy^c. The gospels occur in the order of Matthew, Mark, John, and Luke, and about half the text originally in the ms now survives. The second is the Sinaitic Syriac, preserved in a late-4th-century palimpsest ms found in a monastery on Mt. Sinai in 1892 by Agnes Smith Lewis and Margaret Dunlap Gibson. About 85% is extant—though difficult to read—and its symbol is sy^s. Whether these two forms of the Old Syriac gospels stem from a common original and represent different developmental stages of that text or are independent translations from Greek into Syriac remains a matter of debate—though the former view is dominant (Metzger 1977: 39).

The commentaries (in Armenian) of Ephraem of Syria (d. 373) are the chief source for the Old Syriac texts of Acts and the Pauline Epistles, complemented by the writings of Aphraates (d. 367) and by such works as the *Liber Graduum* (A.D. 320).

Tatian's Diatessaron of around A.D. 170 could, and quite logically would, have been constructed by using the four separate gospels (or *tetraevangelium*), and that is the view of some; more numerous and more recent scholars, however, contend that the Diatessaron was the first form in which the gospel narratives appeared in Syria. Among the evidence for this latter view are the significant textual differences between the wording of the diatessaron and the Old Syriac gospels—making it difficult to understand how Tatian could have drawn his text from these fourfold or separate gospels. Of course, it is perhaps more difficult still to picture compilers of the separate gospels extracting their materials from the Diatessaron, and yet there are diatessaric elements in the Old Syriac gospels, suggesting that in some way the Diatessaron, developmentally, lies behind the Old Syriac gospels—even if they may have expanded it in accordance with current Greek texts. This is currently the dominant view, though a third option is to argue that the Diatessaron and the Old Syriac gospels were translated from the Greek as independent efforts, based perhaps on differing localized texts from the mid-2d century.

A further debate, relevant to these other questions, concerns the time when the Old Syriac text originated. Since only two mss have survived, it has been difficult to argue that the Old Syriac text was ever an official and canonical gospel text in Syria—would there not, in that case, be more numerous remains? It could, though, be argued that the Old Syriac mss were suppressed once the Peshitta version took over, just as copies of the Diatessron disappeared when the four separate gospels became dominant (early 5th century)—for the Diatessaron has hardly survived in Syriac and our knowledge of it is overwhelmingly from preservation in other languages. If, as seems more likely, the Old Syriac was not an official text in Syria, then perhaps the separate gospels were individual translations made on an ad hoc basis. Such translations—plausibly including the archetype of sy^s and sy^c—could have appeared in the 3d century, though there is no proof.

Some recent opinion places the origin of the Old Syriac around the mid-4th century—built on the view that the text was based on the Diatessaron and that the Diatessaron held its canonical position as the gospel text in Syria until the time of Rabbula (early 5th century)—this latter view in turn being buttressed by the fact that only two mss of the separate gospels in Syriac have survived. Yet not all scholars have given up the earlier view that the Old Syriac text stems from the end of the 2d century.

So various questions—highly complex and intractable—remain regarding the diatessaron and the Old Syriac gospel text (see Metzger 1977: 3–48; Black 1972; Vööbus 1951; 1954).

Early in the 5th century, someone prepared a Syriac vulgate version, known as the Peshitta ("simple"), whose symbol is sy^P, and this revision displaced the Diatessaron in favor of the separate gospels and also replaced the Old Syriac. Whether Bishop Rabbula of Edessa (411–31) made the revision or produced merely a transitional Syriac version along the way toward the Peshitta is not clear, but the Peshitta is preserved in a tight textual tradition in some 350 mss, some as early as the 5th and 6th centuries.

Another Syriac version, the Palestinian (= Aramaic), whose symbol is sy^{pal}, stems from about the 5th century and apparently was translated from Greek independently of the other Syriac versions. Three 11th- and 12th-century lectionary mss survive, as well as a fair number of fragments from continuous-text mss, including small portions of the gospels, Acts, the Pauline Epistles, Hebrews, James, and 2 Peter. The most recently uncovered fragments come from Khirbet Mird, the most extensive of which is a parchment fragment containing Acts 10:28–29, 32–41.

Finally, the complex Syriac textual tradition continued to develop through an early-6th-century version made for Bishop Philoxenus by his chorepiscopus Polycarp in 507/8, which was either reissued by Thomas of Harkel in 616

with marginal notes or was revised by Thomas, again with marginal notes. On the former view, there is only one version involved (the Philoxenian); on the latter view, there are two separate versions, the Philoxenian (sy^{ph}) and the Harclean (sy^{h}). Present evidence indicates that the latter view is correct and that Thomas of Harkel rather considerably revised the Philoxenian version—primarily to bring it into slavishly close conformity with Greek idiom—and also added marginal readings and a critical apparatus that marked off certain readings with obeli and asterisks. This apparatus and the marginalia are by no means fully understood, but at least some of the readings highlighted in these ways represent Greek variants known to Thomas. Whether any Philoxenian mss survive is uncertain; the only ones plausibly defended as Philoxenian contain the Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse, but these books were not part of the Syriac NT canon and therefore were never quoted by Philoxenus. The only certain remnants of the Philoxenian version would appear to be NT quotations in Philoxenus's *Commentary on the Prologue of John*, recently published. (On the Philoxenian/Harklean problem, see Metzger 1977: 63–75; Brock 1981; VERSIONS, ANCIENT [SYRIAC]).

b. The Latin Versions. The translation of the NT into Latin developed into the most extensive tradition of any NT version, for it existed both in North Africa and in Europe in an "Old Latin" form from the earliest period and then expanded in its "Vulgate" form into a widespread, long-standing, and highly influential ecclesiastical textual tradition.

When and where the Latin version originated are difficult questions. Rome is not the likely place of origin, for Greek was the dominant language there for Christian writings until perhaps the mid-3d century, though Latin began to be used at the end of the 2d century. The earliest extant Christian writing in Latin from Rome, however, comes from the mid-3d century (Novatian). The only plausible evidence favoring Rome as the Latin version's place of origin is the existence there of Christian technical terms in Latin in the first half of the 2d century (e.g., in *Shep. Herm.*). Actually, Tertullian of Carthage in North Africa (ca. 160–220) provides the earliest NT texts in Latin, and Cyprian (ca. 200–58), also of Carthage, evidences the first use of Latin NT mss, though the earliest extant Latin NT mss found anywhere stem from the 4th century. The best judgment, therefore, is that the NT took its first Latin form in North Africa, perhaps in the late 2d century. (See Metzger 1977: 285–90; Fischer 1977: 5–6).

Old Latin mss, exceeding 50 in number, are designated by lowercase Latin letters in italic (*a, b, c,* etc), which are used for the gospels, then reused for each subsequent section of the NT: Acts, Pauline Epistles, Catholic Epistles, and the Apocalypse. More recently—since the alphabet cannot furnish enough letters—the Vetus Latina Institute at Beuron has assigned an Arabic numeral to each ms. Old Latin mss date from the 4th century until the 13th, indicating the version's longevity and persistence. Vulgate mss exceed 8,000 in number and as many as 10,000 may exist—approaching twice the number of all Greek mss of the NT—and the most important among them are designated by uppercase Latin and Greek letters. They date from the 5th century on.

The Old Latin *(Vetus Latina)* version, with its roughness and diversity of language, was neither a single nor a unitary textual form, but there were several forms or versions, differing according to location. In part, at least, the Old Latin must have originated as a slavish interlinear version of the Greek. The *African Old Latin* form is attested primarily by three relatively old mss (Codex Palatinus [*e* or 2] of the gospels, 5th century; Codex Bobbiensis [*k* or 1] from A.D. 400 with about half of Matthew and Mark; and the fragmentary Fleury palimpsest [*h* or 55] of Acts, 5th century), as well as quotations in Tertullian and Cyprian. It shows greater differences from the Greek tradition than do the European forms, which differ among themselves as one moves from Italy to Gaul and to Spain. The *European Old Latin* is preserved in far more mss than the African, including several of the 4th and 5th centuries. Currently three groups are differentiated, the term "European" being applied to the first, which includes, for the gospels, Codex Vercellensis (*a* or 3; 4th century); Codex Veronensis (*b* or 4; 5th century); Codex Colbertinus (*c* or 6; 12th/13th century); and Codex Corbeiensis II (ff^2 or 8; 5th century), among others, as well as Irenaeus. The Italian group includes several mss (e.g., gospels: *f* or 10, *q* or 13; Paul: *r*, r^2, r^3 or 64), as well as the great bilinguals (e.g., *d* or 5, the Latin side of Bezae, and *e* or 50, the Latin side of Laudianus). Finally, a Spanish group has been identified. (See Metzger 1977: 293–330.)

Critical editions of the Old Latin are, for the gospels, *Itala* (Jülicher, Matzkow, and Aland 1954–72) and, for the rest of the NT, *Vetus Latina* (Frede 1962–69; 1975; Thiele 1956–69).

These Old Latin mss, and others like them up through the 13th century, were the NT Scriptures for many Latin-speaking churches over a wide area. The diversity of mss and the generally chaotic state of the early Latin textual tradition were recognized, however, by prominent Church figures in Rome and elsewhere already by the latter part of the 4th century, as evidenced, e.g., by the statement of Jerome (347–420) that every Latin codex seemed to represent a different version and by Augustine's reference to the "infinite variety" among Latin translators. Pope Damasus (366 to 384) took action to correct this situation by asking Jerome to prepare an offical revision of these diverse Latin texts. He himself may only have done the OT, but he or others completed a revision of the gospels in 383, based apparently on European Old Latin mss and a comparison with several Greek manuscripts. From this beginning, the *Vulgate* ("common") text (symbol: vg) developed and assumed its dominant position in the Roman Catholic Church, becoming by decree of the Council of Trent in 1546 the standard text for liturgical purposes.

Some Old Latin mss continued to be copied and used for some centuries after Jerome's time (as noted above), and the Vulgate revision was itself corrupted in its own transmission process by conflation with such Old Latin manuscripts, as well as through the normal scribal alterations, with the result that the Vulgate textual tradition—the more than 8,000 mss and many thousands of patristic quotations—became quite thoroughly mixed and confused. Attempts were made to cut through this confusion by issuing authorized editions of the Vulgate, like those of Pope Sixtus V (1590, the Sixtine edition; symbol: vg^{s}) and

Pope Clement VIII (1592; the Clementine edition; symbol: vg^{cl}). In 1899, J. Wordsworth and H. J. White published the first of a three-volume modern critical edition of the Vulgate, whose aim was to recover the revision as Jerome (and his successors) prepared it, and this edition, carried on by others, was completed for the NT in 1954 (Wordsworth and White 1889–1954).

Vulgate mss are too numerous to report here, and their importance for the primary goal of textual criticism consists mainly in the degree to which they preserve Old Latin portions or readings. For Latin Church Fathers, see Aland and Aland 1987: 211–16.

c. The Coptic Versions. The NT in several Coptic dialects is found in various geographical areas of Egypt. Sahidic was the language of Upper (southern) Egypt from Thebes to the south, and the NT in Sahidic (cop^{sa}) dates from the early 3d century. Bohairic was used in the delta region of Lower (northern) Egypt, and NT portions (cop^{bo}) were translated perhaps later in the 3d century. Between these areas, lesser dialects and accompanying translations were to be found, mainly the Achmimic (cop^{ach}), sub-Achmimic (cop^{ach2}), Middle Egyptian (cop^{mae}), and Fayyumic (cop^{fay}).

The Sahidic was known mainly from fragments until the 20th century, when a number of more extensive mss came to light, some as early as the late 3d and early 4th centuries. Its text of the gospels and Acts may be described as possessing both Alexandrian and Western elements, with the former predominating. Bohairic is preserved in many late mss, but early ones are few, though there is an extensive 4th-century copy of John. The Bohairic version generally has greater affinity with the Alexandrian than does the Sahidic in the gospels, and even more so in the Acts.

The Achmimic, sub-Achmimic, Middle Egyptian, and Fayyumic versions are preserved in relatively few documents. There is, however, one extensive sub-Achmimic ms of the Fourth Gospel dating to the early 4th century; there are two extensive 4th- or 5th-century Middle Egyptian mss, one of Matthew (largely Alexandrian in textual type) and one with half of Acts (with distinctive Western elements); and an early-4th-century Fayyumic ms is extant with a fair portion of the Fourth Gospel. (On the Coptic versions, see Metzger 1977: 99–141.)

d. The Armenian Version. Whether the Armenian version (symbol: arm) was made from Greek or Syriac—the latter is the more recent judgment—is debated, but it seems to have originated in the early 5th century, with a revision some centuries later on the basis of a Greek text. Also debated is whether the Armenian gospels were first in a diatessaron form or were separate gospels. As to its preservation, more Armenian NT mss exist than for any other version except Latin, though none dates prior to the 9th century. The version's textual character is most like the Old Syriac in the gospels, though some have identified it as Caesarean; in Acts and Paul it shows that "midway" character between the Alexandrian and Western. See Metzger 1977: 153–71; VERSIONS, ANCIENT (ARMENIAN VERSIONS).

e. The Georgian Version. Opinion is varied as to the basis for the Georgian version—whether Greek, Syriac, or Armenian, or a joint Armenian-Syriac basis—with Syriac and Armenian the two most likely possibilities. Again, some think the Georgian gospels first appeared in a diatessaron form, though perhaps in a non-Tatian form of harmony. There is little doubt, however, about the close affinity of the Armenian and Georgian versions: they are twins whatever their respective origins. Furthermore, two streams have been identified in the gospel texts, an earlier stage (geo^{1}), found in the Adysh ms, and a later (geo^{2}), found in the Opiza and Tbet' mss. The latter shows signs of revision on the basis of Greek texts, and its textual character has been called Caesarean. In the Acts, it has been argued that an Old Georgian version existed that was translated from a no longer extant Old Armenian, and that both share a textual complexion like that of the Old Syriac. (See Metzger 1977: 182–98.)

f. The Ethiopic Version. Far more obscure is the origin of the Ethiopic version (eth), but perhaps it came into being in the late 5th or early 6th century. The gospels were translated either from Syriac or Greek, but the Acts, Catholic Epistles—and perhaps also the Apocalypse—doubtless from Greek. The oldest mss predate, at best, the 13th century, and the Ethiopic text is characterized by heterogeneity in the gospels.

g. Other Versions. A number of versions less important for NT textual criticism but cited occasionally in the critical apparatus are the *Arabic* (arab), *Nubian* (nub), *Persian* (pers), and *Sogdian* (a Middle Iranian language) in the East; and the *Gothic* (goth), *Old Church Slavonic* (slav), *Anglo-Saxon,* and *Old High German* in the West. (See Metzger 1977: 257–81; 375–459.)

D. History of the NT Text and Critical Editions

This vast store of sources—Greek mss, patristic quotations, versions—must be evaluated, sorted, and somehow marshaled in the reconstruction of the earliest attainable form of the Greek NT text. That process began, presumably, with the first copyist of a NT text who—out of a conscious interest in improving it—pondered a change in the text being copied, for at that point an alternative reading was being assessed. It is Origen of Alexandria/Caesarea (185–254), however, who marks the first documented use of text-critical principles when, in his commentaries, he refers to NT readings that are supported by "few," "many," or "most" mss accessible to him. He is followed by Jerome (347–420), who took note of variant readings, considered an older ms to carry more weight than a recent one, and preferred readings that best suited a passage's grammar or context. In the Renaissance, Lorenzo Valla (1407–57) collated some Greek NT mss and pointed out involuntary and voluntary scribal alterations, and Erasmus (1466–1536) observed thousands of textual variations in preparation for his edition, which became the first published Greek NT (1516). It was based on several minuscule mss, primarily Minuscule 2, supplemented by no. 1. This was the beginning of the printed editions, and it was quickly followed by the Complutensian Polyglot in 1522 (whose Greek NT portion had already been printed in 1514, though not published). Numerous editions succeeded these earliest two, including notable ones by Robert Estienne, also known as Stephanus (four editions, 1546–51); Theodore Beza (nine editions, 1565–1604); and the Elzevir brothers (seven editions, 1624–78), whose second edition of 1633 contains the famous phrase *textus receptus*

in their statement in the preface, "You have the text now received by all."

A new, lengthy, and productive period began when Brian Walton placed variant readings from Codex Alexandrinus at the bottom of the pages of the Greek text in his Polyglot Bible (1655–57) and additional readings in an appended critical apparatus. Alexandrinus, which had come to light in 1627, was assigned the symbol "A" by Walton and was a major factor in the now increasing activity of collecting variant readings and displaying them in critical editions of the textus receptus. John Fell's 1675 edition presented variants from mss and versions exceeding (so was his claim) 100 in number. A giant step was taken by John Mill's 1707 folio Greek NT (which printed the 1550 Stephanus text), for its extensive apparatus encompassed more than 31,000 readings for more than 21,000 variation units. The sheer size of this body of variants raised disturbing questions about the validity of the textus receptus; beyond that, in his prolegomena and textual notes Mill enunciated several important text-critical principles, including the judgment that the more obscure a reading, the more authentic, and he implied that genealogical relationships may exist between mss. For his achievements, Mill appropriately may be called the founder of modern NT textual criticism.

These collections and displays of variant readings met their share of severe criticism, but there was now no way to stop the increasingly sophisticated movement to explore the available textual evidence for the Greek NT. Indeed, plans to supplant the textus receptus now became deliberate, most notably in Richard Bentley's preparations for an edition that would present the text of Origen's time ("the true exemplar of Origen"); his 1720 *Proposals for Printing* this Greek/Latin NT explained that he intended to employ the oldest uncials and the patristic and versional evidence of the first five centuries. Unfortunately, he never carried out his ambitious plan, though its influence—through the principles enunciated—was significant nonetheless. Others accelerated the process that slowly but surely was undermining the textus receptus, and they did so in two ways: by forming new critical texts through choices among the myriad readings and—more important—by developing rules or "canons" for selecting those readings. Notable are two such proposals for new editions that appeared in the decade following Bentley's 1720 statement. In 1725, J. A. Bengel published a "Prodromus" ("forerunner") to his edition and in 1730 J. J. Wettstein's *Prolegomena* appeared. Bengel's critical edition did not appear until 1734 and Wettstein's two large volumes not until 1751–52, and when they did, surprisingly the resultant text of neither scholar followed the noble canons of criticism they proclaimed in their proposals—for they both largely stayed with the textus receptus. Yet their canons were to have far-reaching influence. Bengel asserted that "the harder reading is to be preferred" (usually expressed as *difficilior lectio potior*) and that ancient witnesses are to be preferred; in 1742 he listed 27 canons in his famous *Gnomon*. Wettstein asserted 19 canons, among them that the reading in clearer Greek is not necessarily preferable; the fuller, more ample reading is not preferable to the shorter; a reading conformable to the style of the author is preferable; the more ancient reading is preferable; but the more orthodox reading is not necessarily preferable.

Though the principles of Bentley, Bengel, and Wettstein were not consistently carried through by any one of them, they were to bear fruit in the landmark Greek NT of J. J. Griesbach in 1775–77. He enunciated 15 canons, including many of those championed by Bengel and Wettstein. Griesbach gave most weight to his first canon, which in brief states that "the shorter reading . . . is preferable to the more verbose," though he carefully qualifies and elaborates it by specifying, e.g., that the reading in question must be supported by the "old and weighty witnesses," must suit the author's style, and must not show influence from a parallel passage, etc. He also prefers the more difficult reading, the harsher reading, the less orthodox reading, etc. What is more important, however, is that—unlike his three predecessors—Griesbach put his critical principles into practice, though still with considerable restraint. The result was that Griesbach's edition made the first significant break with the textus receptus. Yet this was only a cautious and measured departure from the received text of long standing, for, while Griesbach's text departed from it at many points, the textus receptus was still there as the textual base being manipulated.

Actually, it took some 50 years more to reach a clean, clear, and decisive break with the textus receptus—in the sense that the NT text would now be formed entirely from the most ancient witnesses available rather than from previous printed editions. It was Karl Lachmann who achieved this in his edition of 1831. His aim was to formulate the text as it had existed just prior to A.D. 400, and his bold method was to lay aside the entire established traditional text and to draw his own text from the oldest Greek uncials, the Old Latin and Vulgate, and some early fathers such as Origen, Irenaeus, and Cyprian.

The succeeding period produced our modern editions of the Greek NT, based on the general principles exemplified by Lachmann, and also brought an increasing flow of new mss. Constantine Tischendorf was prominent in both endeavors, for he produced eight editions of the NT (1841–72) and nearly two dozen volumes publishing new mss. The rationale for his editions was that the text "should be sought solely from ancient witnesses" and must "arise from the witnesses themselves . . . , not from the edition of Elzevir, which is called 'received' " (2d ed. of 1849). He goes on to say that the mss "that excel in antiquity prevail in authority" and that the foundation of all canons is this: "More probable than others is the reading that appears to have occasioned the other readings." His eighth major edition of 1869–72, with the indispensable "Prolegomena" by C. R. Gregory (1894), was the last large-scale critical edition of the entire NT to be produced (except for that of H. von Soden [see below]), and it is still in use for its vast treasury of textual readings, though in many serious ways it is thoroughly out-of-date (e.g., he cites, about six times, only one papyrus, P^{11}). Tischendorf's text, though important both for utilizing all of the newly found materials and for furthering the triumph over the textus receptus, was not long in use, for the Westcott and Hort text of 1881 and the Nestle text of 1898 (and its successive editions) were much more widely used in parish and in scholarship.

Tischendorf's other monumental contribution was his discovery and publication of significant NT mss. Not only did he find and rescue Codex Sinaiticus—the dramatic story is well known—but he discovered 18 uncials and 6 minuscules and edited or redited some 36 other mss.

S. P. Tregelles in 1854 published canons of criticism along the same lines as Lachmann and Tischendorf, producing a Greek NT between 1857 and 1872. Meanwhile, over a 20-year period, B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort had been preparing a new critical text with an extensive introduction, which appeared in 1881–82. The very title of their work, *The New Testament in the Original Greek,* shows that their goal was far more ambitious than those of Bentley or Lachmann—who wanted to establish the 3d- and 4th-century texts, respectively—for Westcott and Hort sought and claimed to be reproducing the original text itself. How they formed their text, however, is more important than their audacious claim. In short, Westcott and Hort (though Hort actually wrote the introduction) argued that four types of text existed or developed in the first centuries of Christianity, which they called "Neutral," "Alexandrian," "Western," and "Syrian." The so-called Neutral, they argued, is represented by the great 4th-century uncials, Vaticanus and Sinaiticus, but can be traced back to the mid-2d century. The Alexandrian represents the refinement of an essentially Neutral kind of text—a polished version—and is found in codices C, L, 33, the Coptic versions, and Alexandrian fathers such as Clement and Origen. The so-called Western kind of text, they argued, reaches back as far—perhaps further—than the Neutral and is represented in Bezae and Claromontanus and can be documented in early fathers (e.g., Marcion, Tatian, Justin, Irenaeus, Cyprian) and early versions (especially the Old Latin and Curetonian Syriac). Finally, the Syrian (which we now call Byzantine) is a later text that has developed from the conflation of readings found in the earlier text types. Westcott and Hort rather dramatically documented such conflation in test passages and argued, further, that the Greek and Latin fathers up to the mid–3d century support one or another of the pre-Syrian texts but do not support the conflate readings or other distinctively Syrian readings. A major conclusion was that the Syrian text had not yet been formed by the mid-3d century and that of the other three that lay behind it, the two oldest were competing texts in the earliest traceable period: the Western and the Neutral. (The Alexandrian text, since Westcott and Hort, has generally been classified with the Neutral, though the term "Alexandrian" has been retained to describe the combined entity.)

The question that remained for Westcott and Hort concerned which of these earliest pre-Syrian text types (Neutral or Western) represented the original, since both—according to them—had 2d-century claims. There was no way by which Westcott and Hort could bring their historical reconstruction to reveal—on historical grounds—which of the two was closer to the original NT text. That is to say, they admitted that genealogical method—which, in the rather loose fashion that they applied it, had shown the Syrian text to be later—could not break the impasse. How was it to be broken? Actually, seeds of the solution were already evident in the way that the Western text had been described by Hort—a text given to paraphrase and corrupt in other respects. Hence, when seeking an escape from the historical reconstruction that found two very early texts in competition with one another, the Neutral and the Western, Hort relied on subjective evaluations and on internal criteria. These internal considerations involve, first, the internal evidence of readings, i.e., consideration of individual readings in terms of (a) intrinsic probability (what the author most likely wrote) and (b) transcriptional probability (what the scribe most likely wrote); when both methods certify the same reading, it may with certainty be accepted as the most probable, but transcriptional probability is decisive when the two approaches are in conflict. Second, the internal evidence of documents considers each individual group of readings that makes up a ms so as to acquire "knowledge of documents," namely, that ms's general quality and reliability. In ths way the weight of a ms's readings can be assessed when the internal evidence of (individual) readings is unclear. Third, the internal evidence of groups considers a single group of mss so as to determine its overall character as a bearer of generally reliable documents—in comparison with other groups.

This strategy pushed to the background the later, smoother, critically edited text with conflated readings, namely, the Syrian, and it pushed aside the early, paraphrastic, nearly always corrupt text that was fond of assimilation, namely, the Western Text. At the same time, however, it brought to the forefront the oldest and "best" (i.e., the purest) mss and the "best" groups of mss, those witnesses which—as Westcott and Hort saw it—had virtually escaped corruption and contamination and which they—understandably—called "Neutral." Vaticanus, Hort asserted, "very far exceeds all other documents in neutrality of text . . . , being in fact always or nearly always netural" (2.171), with Sinaiticus next in purity, and these mss, by virtue of being both close in time and closest in quality to the original text of the Greek NT, were taken by Westcott and Hort as fair representatives of that text.

A major effect of the Westcott and Hort scheme and of the text it produced was the thorough rout of the textus receptus—a general equivalent of their Syrian text. Though Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, and others had displaced the textus receptus by asserting the logical authority of the older witnesses, it was Westcott and Hort who provided an impressive and consistent demonstration of how and why this later, fuller text developed from the older—their loosely genealogical explanation of the patently observable conflation process. In this and other ways, Westcott and Hort set the stage for the 20th-century agenda in NT textual criticism.

Westcott and Hort's claim to have the NT "in the original Greek" amounted, of course, to overkill, and the very strategy that led to this claim was quickly attacked at various vulnerable points—leading the discipline during the first half of the 20th century into a fascinating period of new explorations and of speculative historical reconstructions. For example, Westcott and Hort's negative valuations of the Byzantine (= Syrian) text and the Western text were viewed by many as excessive. Some sought to redeem Byzantine readings—and indeed the entire text—from their now harshly negative status. The most extreme form of this attempted rehabilitation came from J. W. Burgon (1883; 1896), who turned the Westcott and Hort

reconstruction on its head and counterattacked with vehement, acrimonious, and abusive charges against what he saw as their malicious intention to undermine the text of long standing and to replace it with their "scandalously corrupt" mss—Vaticanus and Sinaiticus (1883: 16). A more reasoned defense of Byzantine readings was made by F. H. A. Scrivener (1894), who also published numerous mss and collations.

As for the Western text, Westcott and Hort's harsh judgment about its extensive corruption—while claiming at the same time that its readings were perhaps the earliest documentable NT readings—provided a challenge: Were these early Western readings, rather than the Neutral, really the original ones? As a result, not only were individual Western readings claimed to be original, but some argued that the Western text of Acts in general was original (e.g., A. C. Clark in 1933), and Fr. Blass in 1896 (1898: 96–164) asserted that both the Western and Neutral texts were original in Luke–Acts, claiming that Luke wrote two versions of each book, one represented by the Western, the other by the Neutral. More significant, some of the witnesses assigned by Westcott and Hort to the Western text were soon recognized to be disparate and divergent rather than homogeneous. When new discoveries brought to light such mss as Washingtonianus and Koridethi and the Sinaitic Syriac, a new, separate text type was identified two generations after Westcott and Hort: the Caesarean. This text type, however, was soon divided into two phases, a primitive, pre-Caesarean stage (P^{45}, W [in Mark after 5:30], f^1, f^{13}) and a recensional, Caesarean text proper (Codex *theta*, 565, 700, arm, geo, Origen^{part}, Eusebius, Cyril^{Jer}). This understanding of the Caesarean text enjoyed widespread support for nearly 50 years, but during the past 15 years or so the Caesarean text appears to have been breaking up. While W and P^{45} (in Mark) form a textual group (with other supporting witnesses), that group is not related significantly to the witnesses in the later Caesarean proper group, so the former should no longer be called "pre-Caesarean." In fact, the P^{45}-W group appears to be a separate group that stops with W and leads no further; nor does it have a significant relationship with either the Alexandrian or the so-called Western texts, nor with the Byzantine. As for the Caesarean text proper, recently *theta* has been shown to agree only about 40% with Codex W and, e.g., to agree nearly 50% with Codex D, which would make *theta* more "Western" than "Caesarean." The result has been to question not only the existence of a "pre-Caesarean" text of the gospels, but also of a "Caesarean" text in general (see Hurtado 1981; cf. Epp 1974: 393–96.)

Critical editions continued to appear after Westcott and Hort, including those of R. F. Weymouth (1886), B. Weiss (1894–1900), the British and Foreign Bible Society (1904, with a 2d ed. by G. D. Kilpatrick in 1958), A. Souter (1910, rev. ed., 1947) H. J. Vogels (four eds., 1920–50), A. Merk (nine eds., 1933–64, revised 1965), and J. M. Bover (five eds., 1943–68). H. Greeven produced a new text of the Synoptic Gospels in 1981.

Some large-scale critical editions appeared following Westcott and Hort. From 1911–13, H. von Soden undertook the prodigious task of classifying the massive body of Byzantine mss into manageable groups and assessing their character. Many minuscules were first collated for his edition, which encompassed the entire NT, and his meticulously detailed discussions are still valuable, as is the ms evidence in his critical apparatus. Yet his division of all witnesses into three recensions and his preference for readings supported by two gave prominence to Byzantine readings in his critical text—which therefore moved against the stream of critical opinion from Bentley on. Second, S. C. E. Legg produced a critical apparatus of Mark (1935) and Matthew (1940). In 1948–49, the International Greek NT Project (= American and British Committees), a joint British-North American endeavor to present not a critical text, but a critical apparatus, of the NT, began work on Luke—taking up the task after Legg's publications—and produced an apparatus in two large volumes in 1984–87, which offers the textual evidence from the eight papyruses that have portions of Luke, from 62 uncials (out of 69 containing Luke), from 128 minuscules (methodically selected from nearly 1,700 extant for Luke), and from 41 representative lectionary mss, as well as evidence from all Greek and Latin Church Fathers up to A.D. 500 and from selected Syriac fathers, and from the following Versions: Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, Georgian, Ethiopic, Gothic, and Old Church Slavonic, as well as the Arabic and the Persian versions of the Diatessaron. Since then the project has begun work on the gospel of John.

Meanwhile, Eberhard Nestle produced a hand edition of the Greek NT (12 eds., 1898–1923), and this "Nestle" edition was subsequently edited by his son, Erwin Nestle (13th–20th eds., 1927–50), and by Kurt Aland (21st–25th eds., 1952–63), then coedited with Barbara Aland beginning with the 26th ed. (1979). Hence, this hand edition is popularly known and cited as Nestle-Aland^{26}. The text of the 26th edition is identical with that of the *UBSGNT*^{3} (1975), edited by K. Aland, M. Black, C. M. Martini, B. M. Metzger, and A. Wikgren, whose first edition appeared in 1966 and which has an accompanying *Textual Commentary* prepared by Metzger (1971). The earlier Nestle editions formed the NT text by choosing readings supported by two of the following editions: Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort, and Weymouth (but Weiss after 1901). The more recent procedure has been to construct the text without reference to earlier editions. The Münster Institute for NT Textual Research (founded and directed by Kurt Aland, and since 1984 by Barbara Aland) maintains the official registry of mss and also the most complete files of ms copies, which constitute the main resource for the Nestle-Aland and *UBSGNT* editions, as well as for a new major critical edition under way at the Institute.

E. Contemporary Theory in NT Textual Criticism

The preceding historical sketch of the development of critical texts leads naturally to current theoretical issues in NT textual criticism. First, the long-standing question of text types has not been resolved to everyone's satisfaction and remains a major issue.

1. Text Types. Though there is not complete agreement about the configuration of the NT text in the first few centuries, it can be argued plausibly that three textual clusters or constellations can be identified in reasonably separable groups, and that each finds its earliest represen-

tatives in papyrus mss and then carries on to one or more major uncials (cf. Epp 1989c). (1) First, the clearest cluster can be identified in the P^{75}-Codex B line (with P^{66}, Sinaiticus, and, e.g., the later L, 33, 1739), namely, an Alexandrian kind of text, which might be called the *B text group*. (2) Second, three or four papyruses and one uncial prior to the 4th century (P^{29}, P^{48}, P^{38}, 0171, and perhaps P^{29}) form a cluster that can be related to Codex D (and later with 1739 in Acts, and 614, 383), namely, what has long been called—though incorrectly in the geographical sense—the Western kind of text, which might better be designated the *D text group*. (3) Third, a cluster can be identified in P^{45} and Codex W (with, e.g., f^{13}), which might be called the *C text group* because it stands midway between the B and D text groups (but no longer to be called Caesarean). (4) In addition, though not among the early clusters and therefore with no early papyrus representatives, there is the later Majority or Byzantine text group, whose earliest major witness is Codex A (though only in the Gospels). Therefore, this might be called the *A text group* in recognition of Codex Alexandrinus. This cluster does have supporting witnesses among the papyruses, but only from the 6th (P^{84}), 7th (P^{68}, perhaps P^{74}), and 7th/8th centuries (P^{42}).

Whether all of these clusters can properly be called text types is—and will be—much debated. A text type may be defined as an established textual cluster or constellation with a distinctive character or complexion that differentiates it from other textual constellations. Such differentiations are based not on general impressions or on random samples, but on a full quantitative comparison of agreement/disagreement in variation units (or test readings when large numbers of manuscripts are being considered). "The quantitative definition of a text-type is a group of manuscripts that agree more than 70 per cent of the time and is separated by a gap of about 10 per cent from its neighbors" (Colwell 1969: 59).

No one doubts that the Byzantine (the A text group) is a genuine text type, beginning in the 4th century and carrying on in the ms tradition even beyond the invention of printing. It is also plausible, though not all agree (e.g., Aland and Aland 1987: 50–71), to argue that the other three textual constellations constitute three distinguishable text types as early as the 2d century and following (with the C text group, however, ceasing with Codex W).

Attempts to identify and clarify text types have been prominent since Bengel divided all NT witnesses into three families, and text types were a major preoccupation in the differing reconstructions of Westcott and Hort and von Soden, but especially in the period that followed. It will and must remain a major item in the discipline's agenda. (See below; cf. Epp 1989a: 97–100; 1989c.)

2. Canons/Criteria of Criticism. In the preceding historical sketch, the gradual emergence of critical "canons" or criteria for determining the most likely original readings can be observed, and various examples have been noted along the way. These canons go back at least as far as Gerhard von Mastricht in his Greek NT of 1711. Now they are usually divided into two categories: *external criteria*, those appealing to the nature of mss and to historical factors in the transmission process; and *internal criteria*, those appealing to scribal habits, contexts of passages, and the author's style, language, and thought. They can be summarized as follows (from Epp 1976a: 243), with each criterion phrased in such a way that if it accurately describes a textual variant, there would be a presumption (other things being equal) to regard that variant as the most likely original reading in its variation unit:

A. Criteria related to external evidence
1. A variant's support by the earliest mss, or by mss assuredly preserving the earliest texts
2. A variant's support by the "best quality" mss
3. A variant's support by mss with the widest geographical distribution
4. A variant's support by one or more established groups of mss of recognized antiquity, character, and perhaps location, i.e., of recognized "best quality"

B. Criteria related to internal evidence
1. A variant's status as the shorter or shortest reading in the variation unit
2. A variant's status as the harder or hardest reading in the variation unit
3. A variant's fitness to account for the origin, development, or presence of all other readings in the variation unit
4. A variant's conformity to the author's style and vocabulary
5. A variant's conformity to the author's theology or ideology
6. A variant's conformity to Koine (rather than Attic) Greek
7. A variant's conformity to Semitic forms of expression
8. A variant's lack of conformity to parallel passages or to extraneous items in the context generally
9. A variant's lack of conformity to OT passages
10. A variant's lack of conformity to liturgical forms and usages
11. A variant's lack of conformity to extrinsic doctrinal views

These criteria are employed with various degrees of decisiveness and in varying combinations in all current methodologies in NT textual criticism. For example, while the external criteria are emphasized in the historical-documentary approach, the internal criteria receive almost exclusive emphasis in the rigorous eclectic method. The third basic method, reasoned eclecticism, compromises and uses a combination of the two kinds of critical canons (see below).

Anyone attempting to employ them will recognize, however, that their use is highly complicated and that in the final analysis, determinations are made on the basis of a "balance of probabilities." For example, often the criteria will compete with one another: one or more canons will accredit a reading while other canons discredit the same reading; or different canons at the same time will accredit two or more competing readings in the same variation unit; or external criteria may support one reading, while internal criteria support another, etc. Moreover, as noted earlier, the "shorter reading" canon has been called into

question in recent times, and it is clear that not all carry the same weight. It might be suggested that the canons be rank-ordered and judgments made on the basis of the applicable canon with the highest priority. Discussions of this type generally—though not always—come to the same conclusion that Tischendorf reached: the only criterion that can clearly claim priority is that the reading is to be preferred that best explains the origin of all other readings in the variation unit. Most recently, K. Aland has called this the "local genealogical method" (Nestle-Aland[26]: 43*).

3. Basic Text-Critical Methods. Current approaches to the establishment of the most likely original NT text may be reduced to the three basic methods mentioned above, though a brief summary can hardly do justice to the complexities involved in each.

a. Historical-Documentary Method. In an ideal text-critical world, this method would be largely adequate by itself, for it attempts to reconstruct the history of the NT text by tracing the lines of transmission back through the extant mss to the earliest stages and then selecting the reading that represents the earliest attainable level of the textual tradition. The NT text-critical world, of course, is not ideal, and the matter is not as simple as this schema suggests. Yet in theory we should be able to organize our extant mss into groups or clusters, each of which has a similar kind of text (as sketched earlier). As a result of this process, we should be able to isolate the earliest known groups. Then we should be able to identify other groups that can be arranged in an identifiable chronological succession—that is, later groups. If only one very early group or cluster were to emerge, that would simplify matters a great deal, for it could be claimed with a high measure of legitimacy that this earliest type of text is closest to the original. Or, to view the matter at the level of readings, within each variation unit the reading would be selected that comes from that earliest cluster, again with a plausible claim that it represents the original reading.

This—though much oversimplified—is the traditional method of external or documentary textual criticism, so named because it emphasizes external criteria, including the age and provenance of a document, as well as the general quality of its scribe and its text. This could be called the "historical-genealogical" method, but—unlike textual criticism in the classics—strict genealogical procedures (establishing stemmata of manuscripts) is not feasible in NT textual criticism, for there is too much textual mixture in the complex array of mss (Colwell 1969: 63–83; Birdsall *CHB* 1: 317). So a name that emphasizes history and documents makes "historical-documentary" an appropriate designation for this idealistic method.

The historical-documentary method ascribes a major role to the earliest papyruses and uncials—that group prior to the 4th century—for these mss, many discovered only recently, provide for the first time a genuine opportunity to assess and to reconstruct the history of the NT text in those crucial one and a half to two centuries preceding the great uncial codices. Unfortunately, this earliest group of mss does not reveal one earliest cluster or type of text, but a spectrum of readings that do not easily lend themselves to grouping. Yet the task, though elusive, is not impossible (see "Text Types" above).

Also prominent in this method is the quantitative measurement of ms relationships, in which the total agreement/disagreement between and among a sizeable number of mss can be measured and displayed—largely a development since the 1960s (Duplacy 1975; Colwell 1969: 56–62; Fee 1968a; 1968b; 1971a; Wisse 1982; McReynolds 1979). This controlled and precise quantitative methodology is indispensable in establishing ms relationships and is used also to determine textual affinities of patristic writings and of versions.

b. Rigorous Eclectic Method. Those who employ this method rely largely, primarily, or exclusively on internal criteria for resolving text-critical problems and for establishing the original text. It is also known as "rational criticism" or "thoroughgoing eclecticism" by its proponents, and stems from the work of C. H. Turner (1923–28) and M.-J. Lagrange (1935: 17–40). In practice, the variant is selected that best suits the context of the passage, the author's style and vocabulary, or the author's theology, while taking into account also such factors as scribal habits, including their tendency of conformity either to Koine or to Attic Greek style, to Semitic forms of expression, to parallel passages, to OT passages, or to liturgical forms and usage. Internal canons of these kinds take precedence over the external ones—sometimes to the virtual exclusion of the latter. "The decision rests ultimately with the criteria as distinct from the manuscripts" and "each reading has to be judged on its merits and not on its [documentary] supports" (Kilpatrick 1943: 25–26; 1965: 205–6), for "we are concerned with which reading is likely to represent what our original author wrote. We are not concerned with the age, prestige or popularity of the manuscripts supporting the readings we would adopt as original" (Elliott 1974: 352), and "it seems to be more constructive to discuss as a priority the worth of readings rather than the worth of manuscripts" (Elliott 1978: 115; cf. 1972). It has been characteristic of rigorous eclectics, among whom G. D. Kilpatrick and J. Keith Elliott have been the most consistent, to scrutinize and accredit Byzantine readings that pass the internal criteria tests, and not to attribute any special character, value, or authority to the early papyruses or uncials simply because of their age.

c. Reasoned Eclectic Method. The third method combines these two approaches, drawing from both—that is, relying on the balance of probabilities arising from the application of all relevant canons—external and internal. This is the method adopted and employed day-to-day by the vast majority of NT textual critics, and it was the method used, in general, to form the text common to the Nestle-Aland[26] and the *UBSGNT*[3]. When one is faced with any variation unit, the variant reading would be chosen that appears to be in the earliest chronological group and that makes the best sense when the internal criteria are applied. If no one textual group can be identified unambiguously as the earliest cluster, then the variant would be chosen that is in one of the earliest groups and that best satisfies the relevant internal considerations. This method acknowledges the reality that no single criterion or invariable combination of criteria will bring resolution in all cases of textual variation, so it applies evenly and without prejudice any and all canons—external and internal—that are appropriate to a given instance, and then seeks an answer based on the balance of probabilities among the

applicable criteria. Though it is impossible to generalize, external criteria probably have a slight edge among practitioners of this method, though perhaps the variant that can explain all the others in a variation unit would assume the highest priority in those cases where such a variant can clearly be identified. This generalization seems to be substantiated as one analyzes the rationale for a large number of the decisions made for the *UBSGNT,* as described in Metzger's *Textual Commentary* to that edition.

The nature of this method suggests that the term "reasoned eclecticism" is most appropriate, though it might be called "moderate," for it goes to neither extreme in using the canons, or "genuine" eclecticism, for it employs criteria from both groups and therefore the best available principles from across the methodological spectrum, or it might be called simply the "eclectic" method, though this unmodified term no longer sufficiently discriminates it from the rigorous eclectic method. (On eclectic methods, see Fee 1976; Epp 1976a.)

F. Conclusion

NT textual criticism has a long, fascinating, and distinguished history, revitalized at point after point by new and striking discoveries that have generated fresh theoretical formulations. Its practitioners have not been reluctant to reconsider established conclusions, abandon them, and move in new directions. The present situation is one in which agreement on many important aspects of the NT text's history and on methods for reconstructing the most likely original text is still elusive. Prominent areas of debate are the existence and nature of early text types, the relative weight and appropriate use of the various canons of criticism, and the most effective way to utilize the earliest papyruses and uncials in the two problem areas just mentioned, but also in the general search for the original text of the NT.

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See Duplacy 1957–77; 1975; Elliott 1989; Epp 1989a: 106–26; Metzger 1955; cf. Klijn 1949, 1969.

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ELDON JAY EPP

TEXTUAL GLOSSES. See GLOSSES, TEXTUAL.

TEXTUS RECEPTUS. The name given to the form of biblical text actually used in a community and regarded by the members of that community as authoritative. The term literally means "received text," and it originated with the publisher's claim made for the 1633 Elzevir edition of the Greek NT, *Textum ergo habes nunc ab omnibus receptum* ("Now, then, you have a text received/accepted by all").

The production of a completely uniform text available to all members of a community was made possible by the invention of printing. The most careful copying could not prevent the development of some variation during the process of manuscript transmission. Such variation in the text of the Hebrew Bible was kept to a minimum by the Masoretic control of its transmission, so the textus receptus of the Jewish Bible is, in effect, the first fully satisfactory printed edition of the Hebrew Bible, the Venice edition of 1524–25 printed by Daniel Bomberg. The Greek and Latin texts of the Bible, with their more complex history, took somewhat longer to reach the stage of universal acceptance. This was finally achieved for the Latin text (the Vulgate) with the Clementine edition of 1592. For Western scholars, the Sixtine edition of 1587 became the textus receptus of the Septuagint.

These early editions were simply printed imitations of the best manuscript copies of the day. Thus Jacob ben Hayyim, the editor of the Hebrew textus receptus, produced a typical Masoretic Text, with vowel and accent signs, *masorah magna, masorah parva,* and a form of the *masorah finalis.* See MASORETIC TEXT. In addition, he printed the standard Targum beside the Hebrew text, and grouped the most highly regarded rabbinic commentaries around them. In this format, as well as in its text, his edition set the standard for later editions prepared for Jewish scholars, known generically as *Miqra'ōt gĕdolōt.*

The Venice edition of 1524–25 was generally recognized as the best available text of the Hebrew Bible for all purposes until the beginning of the 20th century. Scholars had by then recognized the importance of the earliest traditions, representing the self-consistent work of a single Masorete, for the study of the history of the text. This resulted in the printing of the text and Masorah of the Leningrad codex, a good representative of such a tradition, in the third edition of Rudolph Kittel's *Biblia hebraica* (1937). Such editions have now superseded the textus receptus in the study of the earlier history of the text of the Hebrew Bible, and in research dependent on the early form of the text.

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THADDEUS (PERSON) [Gk *Thaddaios*]. One of the twelve disciples of Jesus (Matt 10:3; Mark 3:18). In Matt 10:3 variant readings include "Lebbaeus" or "Thaddeus, surnamed Lebbaeus." The name is omitted from the Lukan lists of apostles (Luke 6:14–16; Acts 1:13), where the name "Judas son of James" is inserted instead. If Luke's name is correct, the descriptions "Lebbaeus" and "Thaddeus, surnamed Lebbaeus" may have been added to avoid confusion with Judas Iscariot the traitor. They may be based on *leb* ("heart"), the Hebrew root of "Lebbaeus," and be a term of endearment. The reference to Judas, not Iscariot, in John 14:22 probably refers to Thaddeus. See JUDAS (PERSON). No other person in the NT named James can be identified with any certainty with James the father of Thaddeus.

In extracanonical literature, Thaddeus healed, preached to, and converted persons in Edessa in Mesopotamia. The story is preserved in the Greek and Syriac versions of the *Acts of Thaddeus* and an earlier account by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 1.13; 2.1.6–8). Eusebius also mentions Thaddeus as one of the Seventy (1.13.4, 11; cf. Luke 10:1).

JOANN FORD WATSON

THADDEUS, ACTS OF. See ABGAR, EPISTLE OF CHRIST TO.

THAMUDIC LANGUAGE. See LANGUAGES (INTRODUCTORY SURVEY).

THANKSGIVING. Greek words derived from the root *eucharist-* are used in the NT almost exclusively in the sense of thanksgiving directed to God (in the LXX the verb and substantive do not occur in the Hellenistic sense until the apocryphal writings). The only exceptions are Acts 24:3 and Rom 16:4, although cf. 2 Cor 1:10–11. On Luke 17:16 cf. v 18.

A. Thanksgiving at Meals

It was the custom of the Jews to praise God for each dish (cf. *t. Ber.* 4:1; *b. Ber.* 35a). This expressed their sense of

dependence on God's gifts in creation. Festive meals were opened by the master of the house with a grace said over the loaf of bread before it was distributed. The meal ended with a benediction over the cup of wine. Both actions are expressed by the Hebrew *berak* or the Aramaic *berek*.

1. The Prayer of Thanksgiving at the Last Supper. This is referred to in the Pauline tradition of the Last Supper (1 Cor 11:24) and in Luke (22:19) by the participle *eucharistēsas*, whereas in Mark (14:22) and in Matthew (26:26) it is expressed by *eulogēsas*. Both these verbs are translations of *berak/berek*, but *eulogein* seems more appropriate and is already used in LXX for *berak*. However, it should be noted that Aquila also uses the term *eucharistia* in the sense of "praise"—always for *tôdâ:* Pss 25(MT 26):7; 41(MT 42):5; 49(MT 50):14; 68(MT 69):31, etc. In Rom 14:6 and 1 Cor 10:30 *eucharistein* is used in connection with food (cf. 1 Tim 4:3–4). Thus praise and thanksgiving are inseparable (cf. below). In any case *eucharistein* used absolutely, without object or subordinate clause, obviously comes from a Semitic background.

The act of praise at the end of the meal is referred to in Mark 14:23 and Matt 26:27 (cf. Luke 22:17) by the participle *eucharistēsas*. This is a stylistic variant for the act of praise *(eulogēsas)* mentioned at the beginning of the meal. In Luke 22:20 and 1 Cor 11:25 *eucharistein* is implied by the word *hōsautōs* (cf. Luke 22:19; 1 Cor 11:24).

2. Thanksgiving in Jesus' Miraculous Feedings. It is often supposed that in the narratives of the miraculous feedings the words chosen for the introductory actions of Jesus echo the tradition of the Lord's Supper. But Mark himself shows in 8:14–21 a paraenetic interest in the feeding stories which does *not* appear to be oriented toward the Lord's Supper (cf. also 6:52). Nor in 6:41 does he assimilate the description of the opening actions of Jesus at the meal to the traditions of the Lord's Supper as it appears in 14:22.

On the other hand, Mark 8:6 shows a striking agreement with Luke 22:19 (cf. also 1 Cor 11:23–24). The inescapable conclusion is that the tradition of the Lord's Supper utilized by Paul has influenced the *pre-Markan tradition* of the Feeding of the Four Thousand. Since v 7 interrupts the context, it is possible to reconstruct a pre-Markan version of the story which features only the bread. This would link it with the Lord's Supper, so making the miraculous feeding an allusion to the community celebration. The *Kyrios* acts as host to those who are "afar off" (cf. v 3b) and to those who are near (Eph 2:17). The fish were added later and assimilate the story to the Feeding of the Five Thousand. Thus the eucharistic associations of the original story were suppressed in order to emphasize the miracle.

In the *pre-Markan tradition behind Mark 6:35–44* the fish motif cannot be eliminated (vv 38, 41, 43). The phrases expressing the actions are unlike any known eucharistic tradition. As a result there is no obvious reference to the Lord's Supper.

In Matt 14:15–21 the fish motif recedes into the background to some extent, but it is not completely eliminated (cf. vv 17 and 19). True, the terminology describing Jesus' action (note the word *klasas*, v 19, which deviated from Mark) conforms to some extent to the tradition of the Lord's Supper. But the forms of the verbs and the references to Jesus' looking to heaven are also points which differ from the supper tradition. Thus Matthew does not intend to establish any close connection between the Feeding of the Five Thousand and the Lord's Supper (cf. also 16:5–12). Rather, he was unconsciously influenced by some features of the supper tradition.

In the Feeding of the Four Thousand (Matt 15:36) Matthew follows Mark in his description of the preparatory actions of Jesus (Mark 8:6–7). By including the fish in the opening act of praise (unlike Mark, v 7) Matthew is following his practice, noticeable elsewhere, of shortening Mark's material. The finite verb *elaben* (instead of the participle *labōn* in Mark 8:6b) is determined by the participle at the beginning of v 35 (in v 6a Mark has a finite form of the verb). There are no signs of any influence of the Pauline tradition of the Lord's Supper (1 Cor 11:23–24) on Matthew any more than there is on Mark.

In Luke's version of the Feeding of the Five Thousand (though cf. Luke 9:13, 16) the fish motif is soft-pedaled. This may be explained by the fact that in 9:12–17 Luke combines Mark 6:35–44 and Mark 8:1–9. The Evangelist made no attempt to conform it to his version of the supper tradition. In particular he has not taken over *eucharistēsas* in v 16 (cf. Luke 22:19) from Mark 8:6. Luke's concentration on the bread is not so much the sign of any interest in the community celebration as of his intention to represent the meal, beginning as it does with the breaking of the bread and a special prayer, as generally typical of Jesus (cf. Luke 24:30–31, 35). In any case it is worth noting that only Luke speaks of Jesus' *eucharistein* in connection with his final Passover (22:17, 19), whereas for other meals *eulogein* is used (9:16; 24:30). The difference is intentional. For Luke, *eucharistein* was obviously a term associated with the Lord's Supper.

In the Johannine version of the Feeding of the Five Thousand we find in 6:11 agreements with 1 Cor 11:23–24 (cf. also Luke 22:19). The reference to the breaking of the bread is missing; the writer is content with *eucharistein*. The agreement already noted with the supper tradition in Paul and Luke can be traced back to the Johannine tradition. The Evangelist uses the Feeding of the Five Thousand to introduce the bread discourse, which has obvious links with the Lord's Supper (cf. esp. 6:51–58, but also vv 27, 32–35). This suggests that John himself also understood the feeding narratives in a eucharistic sense, especially if he is responsible for the bread discourse in its present form. The timing in 6:4 (near the time of the Passover) and the mention of Judas in 6:64, 70–71 (cf. 13:2, 21–30 as well as 1 Cor 11:23) are further pointers to the Lord's Supper (13:1ff.). Finally, in 6:51c John shows affinities to 1 Cor 11:24 and Luke 22:19, which suggests that this version of the supper tradition was known in the Johannine community. Even if John 6:51c–58 is assigned to the post-Johannine redactor, the Feeding of the Five Thousand was in any case understood in a eucharistic sense. *Eucharistein* (21:13, however, occurs only in the Western texts) had associations with the Lord's Supper. This may also be suggested by the redactional notice in John 6:23, if textual criticism allows us to take the final genitive absolute as part of the original text.

3. Christian Thanksgiving at Meals. In Rom 14:6 and 1 Cor 10:30 Paul presupposes that grace before meals was said in Christian households. The context of 1 Cor 10:26–

30 makes it clear that the Jewish custom of grace before meals was taken over and practiced in a way which everyone could recognize. Rom 14:6 emphasizes the community-building character of the table prayers addressed to the one Creator God. The Christian who eats everything thanks God for the food, while the vegetarian Christian gives thanks likewise for what he or she receives. It is therefore wrong to despise or judge the other person (v 3).

In contrast to the prayers of heretical asceticism, 1 Tim 4:3–5 emphasizes the way in which the saying of grace before meals acknowledges that food is the gift of God's creation and therefore good. It is thus "consecrated" as though by God's word of creation.

In Acts 27:35 Luke describes how Paul behaved in a way similar to Jesus at the Lord's Supper (Luke 22:19). The word *eucharistein* occurs here. The addition of the indirect object *tō theō* (cf. Luke 17:16; 18:11), as in the phrase "in the presence of them all," underlines the character of this action as a public confession. Luke is not describing a celebration of the Lord's Supper, for Paul starts eating alone, without distributing to the others. These, who take their food after him, are mostly non-Christians (vv 36–37). But the explicit use of eucharistic terminology makes Paul's meal a transparent reminder of the Lord's Supper. It strengthens the believers in the hour of trial and enables them to confess their faith and to help their fellows.

B. The Prayer of Thanksgiving in Worship

1. General Considerations. The grace before meals is addressed to God and is marked by praise and thanksgiving (1 Cor 14:16; 2 Cor 9:12–13; cf. also Rom 1:21; Rev 4:9; 7:12). It had a recognized place in the worship of the early Christian community (cf. 1 Cor 14:16–17; Col 3:15–17). An individual could recite it in the form of glossolalia (1 Cor 14:16–17). Its focus was the saving act of God in Christ (2 Cor 4:14–15; Col 1:12ff, 2:6–7; 3:17; Eph 5:20). The goal of Pauline missionary work is to make this prayer of thanksgiving universal (2 Cor 4:15). Revelation finds the archetype of the Church's praise and thanks addressed to Christ in the worship of heaven (Rev 4:9; 7:12; 11:17). The community's thanksgiving may also focus upon a particular benefit it has received from God (2 Cor 1:11; 9:11–12), and thanksgiving should be a feature of all prayer (Phil 4:6; 1 Thess 5:17–18; Col 3:15–17; 4:2). Thus, according to 1 Tim 2:1, worship features not only a prayer of intercession for the whole world but also a general thanksgiving.

2. At the Celebration of the Lord's Supper. In early Christian communities there were special prayers of thanksgiving in connection with the Lord's Supper. The formulation *to potēron tēs eulogias ho eulogoumen* (1 Cor 10:16a) employs the regular term for the final cup of the meal, *kos shel berakah,* and adapts the verb accordingly. This suggests that there was a specifically Christian prayer of thanksgiving which was recited before the administration of the cup. Since the phrase "the bread which we break" (1 Cor 10:16b) implies the prior recitation of a prayer of praise (cf. Mark 14:22; 1 Cor 11:24), the breaking of bread must have been preceded by a corresponding Christian prayer. 1 Cor 10:16 therefore presumes that thanksgiving has preceded the distribution of bread and wine, thanking God additionally for granting participation in Christ's saving death (cf. *Did.* 9:2–4). This in fact seems to be the way in which the anamnesis command of 1 Cor 11:24–25 and Luke 22:19 was put into effect. Paul must have this in mind when he speaks of "proclaiming the Lord's death" in the Lord's Supper (1 Cor 11:26). These prayers of thanksgiving gave such a powerful imprint to the celebration that it was later called *eucharistia* (*Did.* 9:1, 5; Ignatius, *Phila.* 4:1; *Smyrn.* 7:1; 8:1; Justin, *Apol.* 66:1).

C. Personal Thanksgiving

1. Overview. The basic attitude of everyone vis-à-vis his or her Creator should be one of gratitude and praise (Rom 1:21). This is the Christian alternative to silly talk or levity (Eph 5:4). But it can also be misused as a cloak for self-righteousness (Luke 18:11). When God hears our prayers this too can be an occasion for thanksgiving (John 1:41). There are other occasions for prayer, as when Paul successfully averts a misunderstanding of baptism (1 Cor 1:14–15), or when his converts display a rich variety of spiritual gifts. He is particularly grateful for the existence and growth of Christian congregations (Acts 28:15; 1 Thess 2:13; 3:9; 2 Thess 2:13).

2. Introductory Thanksgivings in the Pauline Letters. Paul often speaks of giving thanks in his prayers for the recipients' growth in faith. This usually comes immediately after the prescript: Rom 1:8; 1 Cor 1:4; Phil 1:3; Col 1:3; 1 Thess 1:2; Philemon 4. Some of the Deutero-Paulines adopt the same practice: Eph 1:16 (following an introductory eulogy); 2 Thess 1:3; 2 Tim 1:3. Exceptions occasioned by the current situation are found in 2 Corinthians and Galatians. In the Deutero-Pauline 1 Timothy and Titus there are no initial thanksgivings (cf., however, 1 Tim 1:12–14).

The mention of thanksgiving for the recipients was not an invariable feature for letters in antiquity or late antiquity, whereas in the Pauline letters their occasional omission is always for good reason. The regularity with which the apostle expresses his thanks and praise in his letters shows his basic gratitude, his consciousness that it is only by God's grace that he is a successful and responsible proclaimer of the gospel. For the purpose of the thanksgiving is usually to bring home to the recipients their close ties with the apostle and make them realize that their growth in faith is a gift from God. Thus Paul encourages them to practice their faith in ever-growing measure until the Parousia. That is also why he introduces in the exordium of his letters themes that will be important later in the letters. The thanksgiving in Rom 1:8ff is rather different; its purpose is to gain favor with his readers.

There are differences in the length and structure of the thanksgivings. These variously reflect the specific situation of each letter. The following points are important to the apostle: (1) His gratitude is constantly integrated into his prayers for the strengthening of his readers' faith (Rom 1:9–10; Phil 1:3–4; Col 1:3; 1 Thess 1:2–3; Philemon 4; further Eph 1:15–16). Also to be seen in this light is 1 Cor 1:4 (cf. further 2 Thess 1:3). (2) Paul's gratitude arises from the faith of the community which the gospel has produced (Rom 1:8–9; 1 Cor 1:4–6; Phil 1:3–5; Col 1:3–6; 1 Thess 1:2–6; 2:13; Philemon 4–7; also Eph 1:15–19; 2 Thess 2:13–14; 2 Tim 1:5). (3) Paul focuses on the

future eschatological orientation of faith (1 Cor 1:7–9; Phil 1:6; 10–11; 1 Thess 1:9–10; 3:13; cf. also 2 Cor 1:9b, 14; further 2 Thess 1:5–10; 2:13–14).

D. Conclusion

In NT usage *eucharistein/eucharistia* expresses the way in which gratitude to God for Christ's saving work and for the life of faith is a characteristic feature of Christian existence. For further discussion see *TWNT* 9: 397.13–405.25 and *EWNT* 2: 219–22; *John* AB, 231; *John* HTKNT, 15; *1 Corinthians* THKNT 7/2: 60–62.

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THANKSGIVING HYMNS (1QH).

Among the Essene writings found by the Ta'amire bedouin in Qumran Cave 1 were two leather packages that were stuck together. At one time they had formed a single leather scroll. Along a circuitous route these materials came into the possession of the Hebrew University, where they were opened and edited under the auspices of E. L. Sukenik (1955). These texts consisted of nonbiblical hymns, which the editor designated as *Hodayot* or songs of praise, because of their frequent use of the formula "I shall praise you, Lord" (siglum: $1QH^a$). Two additional fragments (siglum: $1QH^b$) were published as 1Q*35* frs. 1 + 2 in *DJD* 1: 136–37. The first part of $1QH^a$ to be opened was preserved on three sheets and later reconstructed as cols. 1–12 (sheet I = cols. 1–4; II = cols. 5–8; III = cols. 9–12). Roughly one third of the original 35–40 lines of the three sheets belonging to this first leather package was either damaged or completely destroyed. The second part contained a number of fragments that were difficult to arrange. The reconstruction of cols. 13–18, using this material, excluded 66 fragments. The editing disclosed large gaps, and the sequence of the columns was uncertain. For that reason J. Carmignac offered a new arrangement of the available textual material, including fragments that had not yet been taken into consideration (cf. the precise chart in Carmignac 1961: 281).

Among materials from Cave 4 there were further fragments of at least 6 *Hodayot* mss ($4QH^{a–e}$ and $pap4QH^f$), which testify to a different arrangement of the songs (cf. Strugnell 1956: 49–67). Aided by these parallel texts, H. Stegemann reconstructed a new edition of the text having 24 columns. This reconstruction preserved a partially new arrangement (cols. 17, 13–16 before col. 1; in the editio princeps col. 17 was incorrectly collated) and included most of the fragments that had not yet been integrated into the text (Stegemann 1963; cf. recently Puech 1988: 59–88). A complete and final edition is still not available.

Several scribal hands are evident in the *Hodayot* manuscripts. In the editio princeps the end of the first manuscript appears at col. 11:22 (middle). The so-called second hand continued from 11:26 to the end of col. 18. The lines between 11:22 and 28 reveal a third hand at work (cf. Martin 1958, 1: 59–64). All three hands represent the Herodian script, particularly in its middle and late phases (cf. Cross 1961: 180; Avigad 1965: 76f; Birnbaum 1971, 1: 155).

Linguistic studies have shown that the language of the *Hodayot* is based on biblical Hebrew. Yet there are elements of Palestinian Aramaic and Late Hebrew as well as Samaritan influences. Characteristic of these songs is above all the liberal use of *scriptio plena.* Peculiarities can be seen in the suffix endings on verbs and nouns (e.g., in 2d-person masculine singular verbs: *-tâh;* in nouns indicating the 2d-person masculine singuline: *-kâh*); the loss of laryngeals, chiefly *ʾalep* and *he;* the elision of *he* in the infinitive construct; and even the quiescent *ʾalep.* Compared with the MT, there are several new words and a few syntactic peculiarities (in addition to the introductions in the commentaries, cf. esp. Mowinckel 1956: 265–76; Silberman 1956: 96–106; Goshen-Gottstein 1958: 103–12). Such orthographical, grammatical, and syntactic features link the

Hodayot to the other writings associated with the Qumran community.

Analyses of each songs' *Gattung* quickly revealed that this was a collection of "songs of praise" similar to the psalm tradition in the OT (cf. Carmignac 1961: 130ff.). As was the case with the OT Psalms, different types of songs could be found among the *Hodayot*. Based on their structure, A. Dupont-Sommer observed that a community must have stood behind some of the hymns, while behind others there was evidence of a particularly strong, single personality (1957: 7). In a thorough analysis of their individual elements, G. Morawe divided the songs into "thanksgiving songs of the individual" and "hymnic confessions" (1960, see esp. the chart on p. 166). This classification was frequently criticized and elaborated upon. G. Jeremias (1963: 170) and S. Holm-Nielsen (1968: 124ff.) viewed cols. 1, 9:37b, and 10:1–12 (Holm-Nielsen added to this list 7: 26–33 and col. 13) as an independent literary type, designating them as "hymns." In these hymns the splendor of creation and of God's omnipotence were praised.

The reports concerning distress and deliverance belong to a type called "thanksgiving songs of the individual," which are also preserved in the individual thanksgiving songs of the OT (cf. Gunkel and Begrich 1985: 265–92; for the *Hodayot*, see the summarizing chart in Morawe 1960: 133–35). Unlike the biblical Psalms, however, the theme of deliverance from sickness or distress does not predominate in the Qumran hymns. Rather, the concern is God's salvific action with respect to the mediator of his revelation, who has had to endure persecution because of his message (cf. Jeremias 1963: 170). The "I" of the one praying is individual and personal. Behind this "I" a historical person of significance for the community is discernible. He is usually identified with the "Teacher of Righteousness" (cf. Dupont-Sommer 1950: 86; 1957: 10–12; Jeremias 1963: 174–77; more restrained is Bardtke 1956: 220–33; 1956–57b: 93–104; Morawe 1960: 170–71, n. 2; Holm-Nielsen 1960: esp. 170 and 347; Hempel 1962: 281–374), and the songs are termed "songs of the Teacher."

The "hymnic songs of confession" are characterized especially by hymnic sections, contemplation, soteriological statements, and meditations on human misery. The "I" of the one praying is no longer an individual, but rather a collective that includes every member of the community. Therefore, these songs were also designated as "songs of the community."

Scholars have not given a unanimous answer to the question about the historical context out of which the *Hodayot* arose. Except for statements about their function, which are only very general, the songs themselves preserve no concrete instructions regarding particular cultic occasions. One must also consider the fact that the Qumran community no longer participated in the cult of the Jerusalem temple, but had discovered new oral forms for praising God (cf. Becker 1964: 129ff.; Klinzing 1971: passim, esp. 11–20). Consequently, it is not surprising that the Sitz im Leben was sought in other communal situations. The *Hodayot*'s didactic style and characteristic wisdom speech permit one to imagine a catechetical and meditative usage (Bardtke 1956: 220–33, esp. 230; cf. Maier 1960, 2: 64; Dupont-Sommer 1957: 8. [in partial agreement]). Yet the vague indicators in the songs (1QH 3:23; 11:13; 12:3–11) or even in the other writings (1QS 10:9f.) point positively to a communal use in the worship of God (cf. Holm-Nielsen 1960: 332–48). Relying on Philo's description of the Egyptian Therapeutae (*Vita Cont.* §§27, 29, 80, 83–84), several scholars have argued that the Sitz im Leben is to be found in the common singing and praying of the community's members (Dupont-Sommer 1957: 8; Carmignac 1961: 135; Reicke 1955: 37–44; Delcor 1962: 24–26). In contrast to these views, H.-W. Kuhn has postulated the entrance into the covenant (i.e., the annually recurring covenant festival) as a concrete occasion for the use of these songs. He bases his conclusion on the following elements: soteriological statements, doxologies dealing with the baseness of humankind, and meditations on human misery. It is also possible, Kuhn contends, that the community could have used these songs for their daily periods of prayer, as suggested in 1QS 10:10: "with the coming of the day and the night I shall again enter into God's covenant" (Kuhn 1966: 29–33). The approach taken by Kuhn with respect to the songs of the community commends itself also for nuancing the use of the songs of the Teacher. It should also be asked in which communal situations the distress and deliverance reports could have been spoken, prayed, or sung. The mere presence of the songs of the Teacher in a collection with the songs of the community suggests that the community had adopted, and adapted, the songs which had originally been composed by, and been applicable to, a single individual.

Even if the *Hodayot* are in form prayers and songs, they do preserve implicitly or explicitly some traces of the theology of the Qumran community. That does not mean, however, that these hymns offer the material for a closed and unified systematic theology. Their different forms, different authors, and the probable lengthy span of time during which they were written suggest that one should expect divergent shapes and emphases (cf. the still optimistic view of Licht 1956: 1–13, 89–101). Based on this premise, a few characteristics can now be presented.

(1) One must start with the formula "I shall praise you, Lord," or, less often, "Blessed are you, Lord," which shows these texts to be songs of praise and thanksgiving. In terms of content, they include God's works of creation, his salvific actions, and his judgments. In all of these actions, God's mercy is revealed to the one praying (cf. 10:14), his truth and righteousness (cf. 4:31; 11:7; 14:16). God's uniqueness, omnipotence, and holiness are indisputably certain for the one praying and form the prerequisite foundation for his anthropological, soteriological, and ecclesiological ideas.

(2) In the statements about the baseness of humankind and observations on human misery found in the hymnic songs of confession, which are also discernible in the thanksgiving songs of the individual, a picture of humanity is recognizable that is characterized by the conviction of the absolute nothingness, sinfulness, and thus the forlornness of all human beings. Expressions like "a thing formed of clay" (1:21; 3:23 passim), "a thing shaped out of dust" (18:31; frgs. 3, 5, 14), or "a thing molded out of water" (1:21; 3:24 passim) appropriate OT ideas about creation, but go far beyond the latter by associating such phrases with ethical qualifications, e.g., "quintessence of shame" (1:22), "source of impurity" (1:22; 12:25). These

expressions allow one to recognize an irreconcilable contrast between the nature of God and humankind (cf. Lichtenberger 1980: 77–87). In the reports of distress found in the songs of the Teacher, biographical reports that depict attacks and violent measures directed against the mediator of God's revelation dominate. These reports lead on to a similar complaint about the vanity and hopelessness of the human condition.

(3) The soteriological statements present a response to the hopelessness of human existence as an inescapable predicament. God has placed his spirit within the one praying (12:11; 13:19; 17:26; cf. in the songs of the Teacher 4:31; 7:6), granted him knowledge (13:13; cf. also 11:27) and insight (14:8, 13), taught him (11:9–10), purified him of wickedness, sanctified him from impurity (11:10; cf. also 2:21; 7:30; 11:30), and delivered his soul (3:19–20). God is therefore the sole actor. In contrast, human beings are only capable of receiving and accepting.

(4) The result of crossing over from the sphere of calamity into the realm of salvation is entrance into the congregation of angels and the community of holy ones (cf. 3:21–22; 11:11ff.; 14:18) or membership in "your [God's] covenant" (cf. 4:19, 24; 5:9) for the purpose of common jubilation and praise (3:21; 11:13). Analogous statements announce that the pious believe as much in a present salvation as they do in an eschatological one (3:21; 11:11ff.; cf. also 6:34). In these statements deliverance is interpreted as a new creation with respect to an eternal congregation.

The certainty of already participating in the eschatological salvation is documented in the constant use of the OT—above all the Psalms (cf. Holm-Nielsen 1960: 301–31; Carmignac 1960b; Jeremias 1963: passim). Thus the writings of the OT are not simply understood as linguistic aids, but serve rather to present the claim that the speaker is living in the age of fulfillment and completion (cf. 1QpHab 7:2–4). Accordingly, the perspective of these songs can be stated as follows: they present a new, completely genuine form of speech which represents the language humans will possess in God's new creation (cf. esp. 1:27c–31a). Therefore, these songs of praise represent the community's genuine response to God's creation, his acts of deliverance, and his judgments.

Is this the Qumran community? Individual hymnic sections of other Qumran writings undoubtedly demonstrate shared themes with the *Hodayot*. For example, 1QS 10:9–11:22 preserves comparable theological, anthropological, and soteriological conceptions. Furthermore, the *pesharim*, especially the *pesher* on Habakkuk and the *pesher* on Nahum, with their concrete references to the "Teacher," his community, and his opponent, appear to be a clear commentary on the reports of distress in the songs of the Teacher (cf. Carmignac 1960a).

From this one can conclude that originally at least the core of these songs derived from the Qumran community. The composition of the majority of these songs should be dated at the beginning of the history of the Qumran community, ca. the middle of the 2d century B.C.E. Some hymns or parts of the songs could be older and could have arisen in the circles called "Hasideans" in 1 Macc 2:42 and 7:13. These circles were no doubt the predecessors of the Qumran community.

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Trans. Phillip R. Callaway

THANKSGIVING, THE PRAYER OF (NHC VI,7). The title assigned to what has come to be identified as the seventh tractate in codex VI of the collection of 4th-century Coptic manuscripts discovered in 1945 near Nag Hammadi in Egypt. The text, which is nearly perfectly preserved, extends from line 33 of page 63 to line 7 of page 65 in the codex. The Coptic dialect of NHC VI is Sahidic, with some Akhmimic and Subakhmimic variants.

The title is modern and derives not from the manuscript itself but from the nature and content of the text. Instead of a title, *Pr. Thanks.* is furnished with an incipit (63.33), "This is the prayer that they spoke," which is bracketed by the scribe with the scribal decoration typical of titles in the Nag Hammadi codices. Together with the reference at the close of *Pr. Thanks.* to the participants' ritual embrace and departure to a sacred meal (65.2–7), the incipit provides the narrative framework to the prayer which forms the body of the work. The incipit indicates, moreover, that *Pr. Thanks.* was not here intended to be a completely independent work but rather an appendix to the preceding tractate, the Hermetic *Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth* (NHC VI,6). In this tractate the deifying knowledge of God for which the prayer gives thanks is revealed by Hermes to his disciple, ostensibly the "they" of the incipit to *Pr. Thanks.*, and the subject of hymning God occupies much of the discussion.

Pr. Thanks. is consequently designated Hermetic. This identification is strengthened by the fact that a Latin version of the prayer was previously known from the close (section 41) of the Hermetic dialogue preserved in Latin under the title *Asclepius* (though *The Perfect Discourse* was the title borne by the Greek original), a Coptic version of a portion of which (sections 21–29) follows *Pr. Thanks.* in NHC VI. Before the discovery of *Pr. Thanks.*, a second (Greek) version of the prayer was known from an adaptation in the magical papyrus called Mimaut after its original owner (Louvre, Paris, #2391), column XVIII, lines 591 through at least 609. The original Greek version ultimately underlying all three extant adaptations was probably composed in the 3d century, and probably in a Hermetic context, though not necessarily as part of *The Perfect Discourse.* The Coptic *Pr. Thanks.* is likely to date from the 4th century.

Pr. Thanks. attests to the influence of Greek philosophical concepts on the pagan hymnody of late antiquity and the increasingly transcendent view of God which it encouraged. The same influence was making itself equally felt in Christian settings and accounts for the attraction that *Pr. Thanks.* must have held for its Christian readers, despite its pagan origin.

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Howard Jackson

THARRA (PERSON) [Gk *Tharra*]. The eunuch who, along with Gabatha, conspired against King Ahasuerus (Add Esth 12:1–2). In the MT, the two co-conspirators are named, respectively, Teresh and Bigthan(a) (Esth 2:21; 6:2). When Mordecai overheard their plot, he informed the king (in the MT he used Esther as an intermediary); Tharra and Gabatha were subsequently hanged. In the plot of the Gk version (unlike that of the MT), Mordecai's actions were immediately rewarded by Ahasuerus. The Gk version also uses the occasion to introduce a motif not found in the MT account: Haman hated Mordecai because the latter had informed on the two eunuchs, implying that Haman was secretly sympathetic to the plot to assassinate Ahasuerus.

Gary A. Herion

THASSI. The nickname of Simon, the second son of Mattathias (1 Macc 2:3), and the founder of the Hasmonean dynasty. For the nicknames of Mattathias' sons see GADDI (PERSON). There is no convincing explanation for the meaning of "Thassi," and even the reading is contested by several scholars, on the grounds of various readings such as "Tharsi," "Thatis," or conjectural "Thadsi." The most similar Hebrew root is *tss*, "to boil, to ferment," but it does not help in giving any sense to the

word. We tend to agree with J. Goldstein (*1 Maccabees* AB, 231), "that speculation is futile as to the origin of the nickname."

URIEL RAPPAPORT

THEATER. See ART AND ARCHITECTURE.

THEBES (PLACE) [Heb *nō³ ʾāmôn*]. Greek designation (at least as early as Homer) of the second most populous and important city in Egypt after Memphis, located on the Nile ca. 225 km N of Elephantine and ca. 700 km S of the Mediterranean (25°42′N; 32°37′E). (The precise derivation of the name is in doubt, but it is generally agreed that some Egyptian appellative which sounded like "Thebes" suggested the application of the toponym to the Greeks.) The 4th township of Upper Egypt, in which Thebes was located, was called *Wese,* and this term was also frequently applied to the city; otherwise it went under the names of its various parts or its geographic location, such as *Ipt-swwt,* "Most Select of Places" (modern Karnak); *Ipt-rsit,* "Southern Select [place]" (modern Luxor); *Djēme,* (modern Medinet Habu); and *niwt rsit,* "The Southern City." From the end of the New Kingdom it was also called "the city of Amun" after the city's principal god, whence the Hebrew *Nō³ (Amôn)* (from Egyptian *niwt,* "city"; Nah 3:8; Ezek 30:14–16) and Greek *Diopolis* ("city of Zeus"). Thebes straddles the Nile at a point where the alluvial plain broadens to a width of ca. 9 miles and thus provides the region with moderate productivity in crops. The ruins of the ancient city cover, on both banks, an area of ca. 16–18 square miles, and because of sparse occupation over the last 1,500 years many ancient buildings have survived (in contrast to Memphis or Alexandria).

Paleolithic occupation in the area is attested by flint assemblages in the adjacent western desert, and a settlement from the late predynastic has been revealed by excavation on the W bank of the Nile; from that period occupation has been uninterrupted. By the early Old Kingdom villages dotted the broad alluvial plain on both banks, and the practice had begun of locating the necropolis in the Sahara cliffs bordering the valley of the Nile on the west. Though mentioned as a district capital along with its local god Montu, and in receipt of occasional votives from the Memphite kings, Thebes under the Old Kingdom (ca. 3000–2200 B.C.) never achieved political importance; and it was not until the collapse of the 6th Dynasty (ca. 2200–2180 B.C.) that the city springs to prominence as the seat of an energetic family of nomarchs. Under the Antefs of the 11th Dynasty Thebes welded the seven southernmost townships of Upper Egypt into a rebel kingdom, defied the legitimate 10th Dynasty at Herakleopolis, and provoked a protracted civil war. Montu-hotpe I (ca. 2060–2010 B.C.), victorious in the struggle, turned Thebes into his capital and lent a degree of monumentality to the erstwhile village by erecting his imposing tomb-cum-mortuary-temple on the W bank in a valley called "The Most Holy," modern Deir el-Bahari. The 12th Dynasty (ca. 1991–1776 B.C.), although they ruled from a new capital at Lisht, between Memphis and the Fayum, were Theban by birth and never ceased to adorn the city with memorials. Senwosret I (1971–1926 B.C.) began the nucleus of the present temple at Karnak on the E bank, probably as a royal chapel (largely of mud brick) dedicated to the local deity Amun ("the hidden one"), whose origins are obscure. (Some cultic structure had stood on the spot in the 11th Dynasty, but its nature and plan are unknown.) Under the peaceful rule of the 12th and early 13th dynasties the temple became the repository of steles, votive statuary, vessels, jewelry, and sundry treasures, all dedicated by reigning kings to the great "Amun-re" who, through royal patronage, had been exalted to the status of "King of the Gods, and who is over the Two Lands (i.e., Egypt)." The city of mud-brick houses surrounding the temple grew phenomenally, extending far to the E, N, and S of the present-day temenos. The city may have suffered during the first half of the 17th century B.C., as excavation shows a destruction and abandonment; and inscriptional evidence suggests that it barely survived the depredations of the Hyksos.

The New Kingdom (ca. 1550–1076 B.C.) was a halcyon time for Thebes. The 18th Dynasty, which had expelled the Hyksos, originated in Thebes, and although they preferred a N residence, they maintained close ties with their place of origin. At least once a year they repaired S for festival, and vast quantities of booty from the foreign wars were bestowed on the temple of Amun. Thousands of war prisoners, many from Palestine, were employed in the construction of tombs and temples. Most important, the 18th Dynasty (followed by the 19th and 20th) considered Thebes the family burying ground: from ca. 1540 B.C. a line of mortuary temples celebrating the cult of deceased kings took shape on the W bank, and from Thutmose I's reign (1525–1514 B.C.) royal burials were secreted in shaft tombs in a desert valley known today as the Valley of the Kings. Thutmose I restored the Amun temple at Karnak and his grandson Thutmose III (ca. 1504–1451 B.C.) enlarged it and dug the sacred lake. Amenophis III (1419–1382 B.C.) added the Third Pylon to the front of the temple, and rebuilt the temples at Luxor and Montu. The Amarna pharaohs (1382–ca. 1350 B.C.) added a number of buildings along the axis of the temple, but their work was dismantled and their masonry reused by Horemheb in his enlargement of the Amun complex. Sety I (1321–1304 B.C.) completed the great hypostyle hall and the Second Pylon, and his son Rameses II (1304–1234 B.C.) finished the decoration and enlarged the Luxor temple.

In the process Thebes became a monumental memorial commemorating the empire which Egypt had created in Asia and the Sudan. Among those records germane to biblical studies recovered from the ruins and from excavation one may cite the following: (1) itineraries (ostensibly lists of "conquered places") in Palestine and Syria, the most important being those of Thutmose III or the Sixth and Seventh Pylons (*ANET,* 242–43); (2) the extracts of the royal daybook detailing the Asiatic conquests of Thutmose III (*ANET,* 234–41); (3) the reliefs and inscriptions describing Akhenaten's introduction of monotheism; (4) the war reliefs depicting the campaigns of Sety I and Rameses II in Palestine and S Syria on the external walls of the hypostyle, the Luxor temple, and the Rameseum; (5) Rameses II's treaty with the Hittites (*ANET,* 199–201); (6) the "Israel" stele of Merenptah (ca. 1225 B.C.), on which the

name "Israel" first occurs in hieroglyphs (*ANET,* 376–78); (7) literary and administrative papyri and ostraca; (8) the inscriptions of Rameses III at Medinet Habu describing the invasion of the Sea Peoples (*ANET,* 262–63); and (9) the triumphal inscription of Sheshonk I commemorating his invasion of Judah and Israel.

At its height Thebes comprised several foci of settlement centering upon major temples and connected by broad sphinx-lined avenues. On the E bank the central settlement lay in and around Karnak with its temple to Amun and subsidiary shrines for Khonsu (the moon), Montu (the hawk-headed god of war), Ptah, and Osiris. One km S was the complex of the mother-goddess Mut and Khonsu-the-child, while 3.5 km farther S was the Luxor temple ("southern Ope") with its temple to Amun and the king's spirit. On the W bank the major centers were (from S to N): the great palace and commercial harbor of Amenophis III; the mortuary temple of Rameses III at Medinet Habu; the town of the necropolis workers at Deir el-Medina; the Rameseum of Rameses II; the "valley" with temples of Montuhotpe I and Queen Hatshepsut; and the temple of Sety I at Qurneh. The city was administered by two majors, one for the E bank and one for the W; but the high priest of Amun exercised jurisdiction over both the vizier for Upper Egypt was often in residence.

With the death of Rameses XI (ca. 1070 B.C.) Thebes ceased to enjoy a direct connection with the royal family, who used Tanis both as residence and burying ground. The city shrank in population and became merely the provincial headquarters of the high priest of Amun (who often refused to reside there). An abortive rebellion (ca. 835–825 B.C.) against the Libyan 22d Dynasty ruling in the N brought reprisals and furthered decline. From ca. 711 to 525 B.C. the city experienced a revival and considerable growth, as it was favored by the Amun-worshipping Sudanese kings of the 25th Dynasty; and it became the capital of princesses of the reigning house, who filled the office of "Divine Adoratress" of Amun and ruled from Asyut to Elephantine. Thebes was sacked by the Assyrian army in 663 B.C., and suffered similar raids at the hands of the Persians in 525 and 343 B.C. In the Ptolemaic period Thebes became identified with nationalist interests against Greeks, and mounted three rebellions against the Alexandrian Ptolemies. With the suppression of the last of these in 80 B.C., the temple of Amun was largely abandoned, Karnak lost its preeminence, and the center of occupation shifted S to Luxor where in Roman times stood the agora of the city and the military camp. With the advent of Christianity many of the temples were transformed into churches and monasteries.

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DONALD B. REDFORD

THEBEZ (PLACE) [Heb *tēbēṣ*]. A settlement which Abimelech had captured but was never able to leave, having been mortally wounded by a millstone a woman dropped on his head from a tower (Judg 9:50; 2 Sam 11:21). The site is to be identified with Tūbas (M.R. 185192), in a fertile region some 13 miles NE of Shechem. The settlement would have been strategically important to Abimelech inasmuch as it stood at a point of easy access to both Shechem and Dothan.

ELMER H. DYCK

THEFT. See PUNISHMENTS AND CRIMES (OT AND ANE).

THEKLA, ACTS OF. According to ancient Christian tradition, Thekla of Iconium was a convert, companion, and colleague of the apostle Paul. After she proved herself faithful by enduring persecutions, Paul ordained her to teach. At about the year 200 C.E. Tertullian (*De Bapt.* 1.17) wrote:

> But if they claim writings which are wrongly inscribed with Paul's name—I mean the example of Thecla—in support of women's freedom to teach and baptize, let them know that a presbyter in Asia, who put together that book, heaping up a narrative as it were from his own materials under Paul's name, when after conviction he confessed that he had done it from love of Paul, resigned his position.

The book referred to here almost certainly was the *Acts of Paul,* in which we find the following stories of this Thekla.

When Paul and his two traveling companions, Demas and Hermogenes, arrive in Iconium to preach their gospel and the necessity of sexual continence, a beautiful young woman named Thekla converts and then refuses to marry Thamyris, to whom she had been betrothed. He and Theocleia, her mother, unsuccessfully beg her to abandon this newcomer Paul. Thamyris, however, succeeds in bribing Demas and Hermogenes to desert Paul and they tell him how to bring charges against the apostle before Roman authorities. Thekla visits Paul in jail and she is brought with him to trial. Paul is flogged and released, but Thekla, at her mother's insistence, is condemned to the pyre. A miraculous shower extinguishes the flames and Thekla leaves Iconium in search of Paul.

She finds Paul and Onesiphorus' family in a cave praying for her welfare, narrates her rescue, and asks Paul to

baptize her. He refuses until she is more fully proven. She and Paul then enter Antioch of Pisidia, where an officer of the emperor cult attempts to have his way with her. In defending herself she violates the imperial symbols Alexander wears and thus is accused of the capital offense of sacrilege. A Roman judge condemns her to the beasts. The first beast released is a lioness, which refuses to eat her. Next comes a bear but the lioness kills it. Then a lion fights the lioness and both die. Inasmuch as Paul had refused to baptize her, she baptizes herself safely in a pool of ferocious (?) seals. Other beasts are released, but the women inebriate them by throwing flowers, spices, and perfumes into the arena. In desperation the executioners finally tie her to two bulls and thrust hot pokers onto their genitals. The bulls bolt but fire burns the ropes and Thekla is spared. Queen Tryphaena, her patroness in Antioch, gives her money to care for the poor and sends her off to find Paul. When the apostle hears Thekla's story he tells her "to teach the word of God." Tradition claimed that she established a ministry in Seleucia of Isauria where she taught, cared for the poor, and healed the sick (see, e.g., the later Greek additions to the end of the *Acts of Paul and Thekla*).

Tertullian thought the author of the *Acts of Paul* concocted Thekla out of an overly enthusiastic "love of Paul," but it is more likely the author had learned Theklan legends from local storytellers and wrote them up in his own *Acts*. Given the dominant place of women in the story and the use of Thekla's memory to authorize women teaching and baptizing, it is likely these storytellers were themselves celibate women. The author of the pseudo-Pauline Pastoral Epistles (1 and 2 Timothy and Titus) seems to have known such stories and to have dismissed them and their legitimations of women's ministries as "tales told by old women" (1 Tim 4:7; MacDonald 1983). It is difficult to know how the legends were generated, but it is quite possible that an Anatolian woman named Thekla was in fact active in the Pauline mission and later became the subject of fantastic legends used to support women in their ministries.

Be that as it may, Thekla was popular in the imaginations of early Christians. The sections of the *Acts of Paul* pertaining to her circulated independently as the *Acts of Paul and Thekla* and were widely read and copied. We know of several traditions about her death, and she was the heroine of Methodius' *Symposium* (early 4th century). Her iconography is rich until the 12th century. Thekla typically is depicted listening to Paul preach, half naked between two wild beasts, or as an orant surrounded by flames. Vowed virgins often took her name, including Macrina, the sister of Basil the Great and Gregory of Nyssa. Her feast day was celebrated in the East on September 24 and in the West (until she was stripped of canonical status at the Second Vatican Council) on September 23.

The zenith of her popularity came in the 4th to 6th centuries and was largely concentrated in Seleucia, Isauria, the traditional location of her ministry. Gregory of Nazianzus called Seleucia "the city of the holy and illustrious virgin Thekla" (*On the Great Athanasius* 22), and here archaeologists found a richly decorated, huge basilica—almost the length of a football field—as well as other shrines, all in honor of St. Thekla. A 4th-century nun named Egeria visited Seleucia and recorded in her extant diary that it contained "a tremendous number of [monastic] cells for men and women (*The Travels of Egeria* 23, 1–6). A 5th-century resident of Seleucia wrote a two-volume work entitled *The Life and Miracles of Saint Thekla*, the first half of which simply paraphrases the *Acts of Paul and Thekla*. The second half, however, contains 46 stories of miracles attributed to Thekla by the local faithful, thus providing a window through which to see entire provinces of Asia Minor devoted to the veneration of this virgin martyr.

The text of the *Acts of Paul and Thekla* appears in pp. 235–72 of *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, vol. 1, eds. R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet (Leipzig 1891–1903; reprint Darmstadt 1959). See also *NTApocr* 2: 353–64 and *DACL* 15: 2225–36.

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DENNIS R. MACDONALD

THEODICY. Life's harsh enigmas render belief in a benevolent deity difficult. Theodicy is the attempt to defend divine justice in the face of aberrant phenomena that appear to indicate the deity's indifference or hostility toward virtuous people. Ancient Israel's conviction that God shaped historical events to benefit a covenant nation exacerbated the issue, particularly in the wake of events associated with 722 and 587 B.C.E. In one sense the pitiful state of Yahweh's worshipers during the Exile and in post-exilic Judah transformed theodicy into a question about history. For this reason, theodicy was never just a theoretical problem of the individual; divine justice involved society itself—the distribution of goods, access to knowledge and power, the formation of legal statutes. Moreover, distinct theodicies surfaced to protect the interests of the privileged and the powerless.

A. Theodicy in the Ancient Near East

Although more severe in Israel because of its belief in Yahweh's sole authority, the problem of theodicy also beset Egyptian and Mesopotamian thinkers. Most Egyptian authors resolved the issue by placing the blame on human shoulders, for example, "The Protests of the Eloquent Peasant" (*ANET*, 407–10), "Suicide" (*ANET*, 405–7), and "The Instruction of Amenemhet" (*ANET*, 418–19). On the

other hand, "The Admonitions of Ipuwer" (ca. 2100 B.C.E.) contains a gloss that boldly asks if the gods are sleeping while social chaos rages, adding that they set confusion throughout the land as if loving death (*ANET*, 441–44). Mesopotamian texts spread the blame more freely. A Sumerian Job text, "Man and His God" (*ANET*, 589–91), attributes the following response to sages of old: "Never has a sinless child been born to its mother . . ." Rather than accusing humans of innate guilt, "I Will Praise the Lord of Wisdom" (*ANET*, 434–37) appeals to human ignorance about the gods, whose will cannot be discerned and may in fact be just the opposite of what people think the deities desire. "The Dialogue of Pessimism" (*ANET*, 600–1) implies that societal chaos renders life meaningless, which is an indirect accusation of the gods. The sharpest attack comes in "The Babylonian Theodicy" (*ANET*, 601–4), an acrostic poem of twenty-seven stanzas of eleven lines each. Here the sufferer tells a pious friend that the gods endowed the human race with lies, and the friend defends the gods by appealing to broader experience and divine potential for making things right in a moment.

B. Theodicy in Ancient Israel

The Israelite responses to the problem of theodicy resemble these in some ways but bear their own stamp, chiefly because of Israel's experience. Creation faith in the goodness of all things precluded some answers, while belief in Yahweh's self-revelation ruled out others. Above all, an unfailing insistence on Yahweh as a moral creator and champion of the oppressed narrowed the possibilities for accusing God. Nevertheless, the dogmatic crust created by these fundamental presuppositions cracked and burst under the pressure of a greater integrity, a willingness to expostulate with the deity. Without exception, dissent arose on the basis of a profound vision of a better society in which Israel's God would play a decisive role.

The scope of this wrestling with theodicy is astonishing, from Eve's defense of the creator whom the serpent accused of tyranny to the Chronicler's effort to apply the Deuteronomistic historian's national punishment to specific individuals such as King Manasseh (cf. the Prayer of Manasseh in the Apocrypha). Spurred on by Josiah's shocking fate, the Deuteronomistic historian issued a monumental theodicy, an explanation for Judah's defeat that made sense theologically, at least to some. In a word, the nation sinned, God punished it by external foes; the people repented, God restored them. The cycle repeated itself ad infinitum. Gideon's sharp retort to an angel's assurance of divine solicitude speaks volumes: "Pray, sir, if the Lord is with us, why then has all this befallen us?" (Judg 6:13). Abraham's articulation of the issue can hardly be improved on: "Shall not the Judge of the whole earth do right?" (Gen 18:25); although Moses' request that Yahweh blot him out of the divine record book shows how seriously the author of Exod 32:32 took wholesale slaughter of populations by an angry deity. Joshua's request that a condemned Achan glorify God, assuming complete responsibility for his death, shows that the author valued divine justice greatly (Josh 7:19).

The prophets struggled valiantly with this problem, despite their strong sense of national waywardness. For Habakkuk, the prosperity of the wicked and the sorry lot of the virtuous seemed to suggest divine blindness and inactivity, until he caught a vision of broader horizons on which history began to unfold. He asked the most difficult questions of all: How long, and why? His contemporary Jeremiah personally bore the brunt of divine abuse, which he chose to describe as seduction and rape. Still, the prophet conceded that Yahweh was by definition *ṣaddîq* (innocent), even though Jeremiah felt constrained to press charges (Jer 12:1). Ezekiel, another contemporary, in Babylonian exile, argued with some people bent on challenging Yahweh's justice, and the best he could do was assert the opposite opinion (Ezekiel 18). The prophetic novella about Jonah states that at first the prophet refused to carry out the divine command precisely because of God's compassionate nature, wondrously announced in Exod 34:6–7. The issue separating Jonah and his Lord concerned divine justice: can a wicked city like Nineveh escape punishment by repenting? Jonah believed justice demanded punishment, whereas Yahweh thought a higher principle of mercy was operative. This argument placed the issue of divine justice on a different level from that presupposed by the authors of Genesis 18 and Exodus 32. Deutero-Isaiah pressed in another direction: an innocent servant died on behalf of other people, and God is essentially hidden (or hiding).

Wisdom Literature took up the problem of theodicy in earnest. The book of Job offered several partial answers—human ignorance, divine mystery, corrective discipline, delayed punishment and rewards—but acknowledged the problem as an insolvable enigma before which the best response was silence in the presence of a self-revealing creator. Various paradoxical proverbs recognized manifestations of anomie in society, for innocent victims like Abel forced such concessions, particularly after the weakening of corporate solidarity in favor of an increasing emphasis on the individual. Under Hellenistic influence, Ben Sira lifted the arguments out of the realm of verification, insisting on metaphysical and psychological answers, specifically that nature rewards virtue and punishes vice, and that evil people suffer psychic stress. Wisdom of Solomon endorsed both answers, emphasizing the latter with specific reference to the Egyptians who held Israel in bondage. The martyrdom of the devout during the Maccabean revolt prompted the author of Daniel 12:2 to entertain the possibility of life after death, but 2 Esdras laid bare the inadequacy of this solution, now extended in duration. Eternal torment for the masses hardly salvaged God's honor even if a few fortunate people like Ezra enjoyed hope of a better fate. The notion of human depravity threw a question over the worthwhileness of creation, a version of the modern debate over whether or not a moral creator should have fashioned free beings who would choose evil. A few psalms aired the problem of theodicy and responded to it by denial (Psalm 37), appeal to mystery (Psalm 49), and liturgy (Psalm 73, awareness of the deity's presence in the sanctuary, with assurance that the goodness of God alone mattered). Within rabbinic literature, the concept of *yēṣēr hārāʿ* and *yēṣēr haṭṭôb*, evil and good dispositions, offered a convenient explanation for human conduct, for the rabbis believed that God would eradicate the evil inclination in due time. An extreme view characterized the thinking in Ecclesiastes; the deity was

remote and indifferent to morality, giving free rein to chance and conceding ultimate authority to death.

In the Hebrew Bible the fundamental issues relating to theodicy cover three types of evil: primary, moral, and religious. The first type refers to catastrophic phenomena in nature such as earthquakes, tornadoes, pestilence, drought, and the like. The Yahwistic narrative examines this issue, refusing to absolve the deity of responsibility for evil's existence as manifested in the talking serpent, although largely exonerating Yahweh for sending the Flood (contrast the Mesopotamian parallels). Moral evil, arising in human decisions, exercises the energies of numerous thinkers, both in its social and its individual dimensions. Religious evil, which restricts itself to the vertical plane and thus involves only the individual and God, surfaced late but achieved poignancy in the poetic disquisitions of 2 Esdras. Because the created order was essentially good, the dualistic answer failed to gain momentum, despite the partially opened door accompanying the notion of Satan. Older claims that Yahweh created weal and woe, light and darkness, (Isa 45:7; Amos 3:7) retained their power to command assent. That belief introduced some embarrassing ideas, e.g., the divine seduction of persons to their harm (the pharaoh of the Exodus; 1 Kings 22) and pushed individual prophets into curious statements (Ezekiel's insistence that Yahweh commanded human sacrifice in order to horrify people). Small wonder a popular questioning of divine justice did battle with Yahweh's defenders, also beset with official complaints against divine governance.

Answers to the problem of evil derived from several contexts. Belief in a harmonious universe issued in a corresponding conviction that a rational principle, Order—or Yahweh—rewarded good deeds and punished evil acts. This principle, planted in nature at creation, was identified with divine wisdom (*maat* in Egypt), making endemoniasm an ethical issue, for virtuous deeds sustained the universe while at the same time bestowing life's good things on deserving persons. A theory of reward and retribution permeated the ancient world, hardening into dogma and eliciting sharp dissent throughout the ANE. Israelite prophets naturally subscribed to this theory, but they stretched it to the limit by insisting that some persons suffered precisely because they were Yahweh's servants and that others suffered because they participated in the divine pathos (Hosea).

The family setting produced a different response to the problem of evil. Loving parents disciplined their children to shape character and to protect them from harm. The parental metaphor for God lent credibility to the idea that the heavenly Parent chastened disobedient children. In fact, this metaphor enabled teachers to insist that discipline was proof of love. The educational setting, at first the home and later the royal court and schoolhouse, also encouraged this understanding of discipline, which was frequently harsh, as Sumerian and Egyptian school texts attest.

All religion presents a vexing problem—how to determine the purity of worship. The human tendency to assume the central position and the eagerness to act in a manner that pays worthy dividends forced Israel to ask whether anyone served God for nothing. The very survival of faith depended on a positive answer to this question, but the only way to find out whether persons would remain faithful without thought of the carrot or the stick was to submit them to a test. The probative response to the problem of evil thus emerged from the noblest of intentions. Perhaps that fact partially explains the dominance in later memory of the Joban response to suffering that characterizes the prose prologue, almost to the exclusion of the poetry's defiant insistence on appropriate rewards, an idea that also invaded the epilogue. Experience taught individuals in the ancient world that most unpleasant things passed eventually. Hope springs eternal in the human breast, and patience was deemed essential to learned persons. The God who draws near, inspired worship far and near, for many people believed that suffering and tears were superseded by joy. The idea of "latter things," eschatology, grew naturally from covenant promises never fully actualized. Davidic kings absolutized this ideology to enhance their own status and to legitimize the cult at Jerusalem and Zion's inviolability. People longed for the Day of the Lord when the mighty deliverer would correct all wrongs. Apocalyptic thinkers pushed that eschatological deliverance beyond this world into the remote aeons of eternity. Only thus would forgotten victims like Job's children and servants ever experience vindication.

From the realm of the sacrificial cult arose yet another answer to the problem of evil. The presumed efficacy of human sacrifice and, still later, animal or cereal offerings suggested that redemption occurred for those who incurred guilt, thus revealing God as forgiving. This notion was extended to include symbolic gestures of devotion such as prayers and the libations of one's mouth, and even further to embrace vicarious sacrifices. That powerful concept erupted for the first time in the Servant Poems of Deutero-Isaiah, and Christianity understood Jesus' death in this way.

In some circles evil was denied any reality. Prosperity of the wicked was dismissed as illusive, despite appearances to the contrary. According to the author of Psalm 73, the affluence of evil people had no more substance than images in a dream. On waking, Yahweh would shake these images into oblivion. In addition, Israel's thinkers recognized mitigating circumstances, so that passing judgment on a given individual became hazardous.

For some people evil offered an opportunity to act heroically. In short, suffering prepared individuals for knowledge of the inner self or for a revelation of divine will. Human extremity became God's occasion to act (cf. John 9:3), and suffering enabled growth in character and maturity in personality. In Job's case suffering led to immediate sight, a vision of the Lord of Nature that convinced the miserable creature that all previous knowledge of God had been derivative and hence flawed. The devout worshiper in Psalm 73 whose faith was sorely tested later felt God's hand on warm flesh and emerged from darkness into light with a mighty shout: "If I have you, I want nothing else."

One of the oldest answers to the problem of life's ambiguities emphasized ultimate mystery and human limits. The universe had its flaws, and no one possessed sufficient intellience to explain its enigmas. The earliest proverbs in the OT already perceived many areas in which human knowledge came up against a mightier force—Yahweh's

will. In the last resort, the poet responsible for the book of Job refused to offer a final answer to the mystery of suffering, even though Yahweh certainly had the opportunity to resolve the problem before which a groping humanity stands. In this instance silence was undoubtedly the right option for the poet, for keeping the question open was preferable to closure by means of a simplistic answer. Perhaps the enigma of suffering points to the mystery of the biblical God, who gathers human pain into the divine heart. Evil caused suffering on God's part, for that was the price of human freedom.

Qoheleth's skeptical response abandoned all hope of divine justice, in this radical view echoing Job's strident accusations of a deity who remained oblivious to human misery and Agur's mocking parody of sacred tradition (Prov 30:1–4). Qoheleth's flippant question, "Who knows?" grew out of dismay that the universe had gone awry, rendering existence futile and absurd. One could even speak of a tendency in the Hebrew Bible toward antitheodicy. The insistence on divine freedom and human limits persisted in spite of quests for rational solutions to the problem of evil. Israel's sages recognized pride's folly, the arrogant insistence on judging God on the basis of human reason. This intuition led the author of Job to propose an answer within revelation rather than reason, just as the composers of "The Babylonian Theodicy" and "I Will Praise the Lord of Wisdom" appealed to religious tradition and mystery rather than locating the final word in human logic.

In ancient Israel history kept the problem of theodicy alive, for few people doubted that Yahweh stood behind the events of 722 and 587 B.C.E. The ensuing crisis of faith resulted in a transcending of the ethical principle—strict justice giving way to compassion—and a universalization of providence. The basis for both moves lay in Israel's idea of creation, for only the fashioner of the universe had sufficient knowledge and power to render absolute justice, or to forgo it. Confronted by this maker, the questioning individual had one of two options: repentance or despair.

Within Wisdom Literature, texts dealing with creation frequently broach the issue of divine justice. The emergence of the figure Wisdom (*ḥokmāh*) softened the anxiety resulting from emphasis on the High God who ruled the whole universe, rather than promoting allegiance to the patron deity of a single group. Wisdom, personified as a woman, turned toward human beings like a lover, assuring them of divine benevolence. The sages also employed a debate formula in several discussions of theodicy. The form advised people against saying something ("Do not say"), cited the specific expression that the teacher wanted to prevent, and offered the reason for urging silence in this regard. Wisdom and apocalyptic had an advantage over prophecy and Yahwism generally—they lacked historical triumphalism. Whereas the sages virtually ignored the Israel's history until Ben Sira, apocalyptic surrendered the belief that Yahweh controlled historical events, for history had become a nightmare.

Modern calamities such as the Lisbon earthquake and, above all, the Holocaust have raised the question of theodicy to new heights. Traditional free-will defenses have lost their power, partly because they are ahistorical, overly abstract, and rationalistic. Cosmic order no longer makes sense, philosophical theism reduces religion to a few ideas that are shared by many groups, and the experience of faithful believers who struggle against evil escapes notice. In the opinion of some, process thought offers a way of approaching the problem that resembles the OT emphasis on God's susceptibility to change. Perhaps patient resistance to evil that juxtaposes love and hatred, passive response and harsh force, comes closest to discerning a viable response to evil. The crucial issue remains: will such action actually overcome evil? Only when resistance to God has vanished will theodicy cease to trouble theists.

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THEODOTION, THEODOTION'S VERSION. Among the early Jewish translators of biblical material into Greek was Theodotion of Ephesus, who was active in the mid-2d century C.E. Origen, who organized his Hexapla a century later, included work attributed to Theodotion in his sixth column. In certain books, such as Exodus, Joshua, and Job, this sixth-column material may securely be identified with the Theodotionic recension. In such books, and especially in Job, Origen regularly drew on Theodotion to "correct" the then current Greek to

reflect more accurately the Hebrew text Origen held in highest esteem. In other places, however, the sixth column does not contain Theodotion (as with the Minor Prophets and Psalms, for example), and scholars must seek his version elsewhere. The trail sometimes leads to the LXX itself, as in the case of Daniel, where Theodotion's edition supplanted the Old Greek at a very early date.

In fact, quotations from Theodotion's Daniel and from other material identified with him antedate "historical" Theodotion by as much as a century. This has led to the hypothesis of an "Ur-Theodotion." His work may be described as a thoughtful revision of the Old Greek of some (all?) of the OT toward a Hebrew that closely resembled the text preserved by the Masoretes (the MT). This anonymous individual (or group of individuals) apparently lived in the 1st century B.C.E. and provided the basis for "Theodotionic" quotations prior to Theodotion. It is unclear how extensive are the further developments that can be attributed to the 2d-century Theodotion, whose existence and activity are too widely witnessed by tradition to be dismissed altogether.

Efforts to establish the locale and purposes of Ur-Theodotion have been revitalized by the work of Dominique Barthélemy (1963). For him, (Ur-)Theodotion cannot be understood apart from the *kaige* recension of the LXX, which Barthélemy first identified on the basis of a Minor Prophets scroll found in the Judean desert. Barthélemy isolated a number of characteristic translation devices and equivalences for this recension, among which was the representation of Hebrew *gm*, "also," by the Greek *kaige*. There is no doubt that in certain biblical books, like Exodus and Joshua, the text preserved in Theodotion's name is in fact part of this larger recension. Each book or block of material, however, must be investigated separately. In Barthélemy's opinion, *kaige*—and, therefore, Theodotion—originated in Palestine in circles that can be closely linked to particular types of rabbinic exegesis. Barthélemy seeks to establish the identity of Ur-Theodotion: he is Jonathan ben Uzziel, to whom a Targum on the Prophets is generally credited. Barthélemy's overall characterization of the *kaige* recension has won wide acceptance, as has his association of much of Theodotion's version with the recension. His more speculative attempts at identification and localization have met with a more guarded response.

Judged on its own merits and as part of the *kaige* recension, Theodotion's version is generally accorded high marks. He aimed to produce a text that retained much of the flavor of the Semitic original and at the same time appealed to a wide audience of Greek speakers, and in this he succeeded. One of his goals, apparently, was to provide standard representations of key Hebrew words and phrases where the Old Greek he was revising preferred variety. He was also partial to transliteration of technical terms or of other unclear or obscure words. Many of the techniques used by Ur-Theodotion (and the *kaige* recension in general) were perfected by Aquila, and it is for that reason that Barthélemy speaks of Theodotion-*kaige* as Aquila's precursor. See also AQUILA'S VERSION. However, it would be unfortunate to think of Theodotion's work only in terms of its heirs or even of its subdivisions. As a finished product, it represents a high point in Jewish attempts to make the sacred text comprehensible to those who no longer understood the Hebrew language.

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THEODOTUS (PERSON). Theodotus was a common Greek name meaning "gift of God," and was the name of several significant people in secular and sacred history.

1. A Samaritan epic poet who wrote in the 2d century B.C.E., of which only fragments are extant (see *FGrHist* 732; and Eusebius *Praep. Evang.* 9.22).

2. Among the 72 Palestinian elders listed in the Jewish-Alexandrian *Letter of Aristeas* is the Greek name Theodotus.

3. One of the ambassadors along with a certain Mattathias (unless these are the Greek and Hebrew name of the same man) sent by the Syrian general Nicanor to make peace with Judas Maccabeus (2 Macc 14:19).

4. An Aetolian whose plot to murder Ptolemy IV Philopator, king of Egypt (221–204 B.C.E.), was foiled by a renegade Jew (*3 Macc.* 1:2; and compare further Polybius 5.81).

5. Theodotus, son of Vettenus. An inscription bearing his name found on Mt. Ophel, Jerusalem, indicates that he dedicated a synagogue (*CII* 2 [1952], no. 1404). The excavations conducted by Weill disclosed the remains of a large building dating from Roman times, including the installations of a bathhouse. The Greek inscription indicates what the complex of buildings was used for: "Theodotus the son of Vettenus, priest and *archisynagogos*, son of the *archisynagogos*, grandson of the *archisynagogos*, built this synagogue for the reading of the Torah and the study of the commandments, and the hostel and the rooms and the water installations, for needy travelers from foreign lands. The foundations of the synagogue were laid by his fathers and the elders and Simonides." No certain evidence identifies this synagogue with any mentioned in literary sources such as the synagogue of the Freedman, as some scholars suggest (Acts 6:9). The name may indicate Roman connections, perhaps a family of Jewish exile origin which built the synagogue after gaining freedom to cater to the needs of pilgrims arriving in Jerusalem.

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THEOLOGY. This entry consists of two articles. The first focuses on OT theology and the second focuses on NT theology. For a survey of attempts to understand theologically the relationship between the two, see THEOLOGY (BIBLICAL), HISTORY OF.

OLD TESTAMENT

OT theology may be defined as the exposition of the theological content of the OT writings. While such a definition is simple and to the point, it masks a variety of understandings which have been operative in the history of the discipline, as well as the complex range of problems associated with it, which require further elucidation.

A. History of OT Theology
1. In the Service of Protestant Orthodoxy
2. Emancipation from Dogmatics
3. The Influence of Rationalism
4. OT Theology Eclipsed by the History of Israelite Religion
5. Rebirth of OT Theology
6. The "Biblical Theology Movement" and the Alleged "Crisis" in OT Theology
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A. History of OT Theology

OT theology came into existence as a distinct discipline toward the end of the 18th century. Prior to that time, it was subsumed, along with NT theology, under the larger discipline of biblical theology. It should be noted, however, that within the context of the Jewish canon, OT theology is synonymous with biblical theology, whereas in the context of the Christian canon, it is a subdiscipline of the latter. See also THEOLOGY (BIBLICAL), HISTORY OF. An understanding of the origins of biblical theology is essential for a proper understanding of fundamental issues in OT theology today. Consequently we shall begin our historical survey prior to the time when OT theology became a distinct discipline. At the risk of a certain amount of oversimplification, the history of the discipline may be divided into five distinct periods.

1. In the Service of Protestant Orthodoxy (ca. 1550–1650). While the Bible has been read theologically since its formation, biblical theology as a discipline has its roots in the Protestant Reformation. The Reformers' emphasis on Scripture as the sole source and norm for all matters of faith provided the soil from which biblical theology sprang. While the term itself was not used by the Reformers to designate a distinct discipline, it is clear that for them biblical theology meant a systematic theology which was biblical in character, that is, for which the Bible was the primary, if not the sole, source and norm. Insofar as the Reformers self-consciously sought to differentiate their theology from Roman Catholic dogma, in which tradition played a major role, one may note a polemic dimension in the birth of biblical theology. One could go on to observe that while the target of the polemic changed periodically, the polemic dimension has been a constant feature of biblical theology throughout its history, in the sense that it had to fight repeatedly for an unbiased hearing of the theological witness of Scripture.

While the Reformers in their use of Scripture introduced a creative tension between the Bible and dogmatic theology, the opposite was true of the proponents of Protestant orthodoxy who followed them. In their hands the Bible became subservient to Protestant dogmatics, which determined the selection, order, and treatment of biblical passages. The Bible came to be viewed as a uniform sourcebook of quotations whose primary task was to support the dogmas of Protestant orthodoxy against the dogmas of Roman Catholicism. No distinctions were made in regard to time, authorship, historical context, compositional purpose, or distinctive theological perspectives of the biblical documents. The system of arranging biblical data was the traditional *loci* method known from medieval scholasticism. That is, various Scripture texts would be listed and briefly commented upon under the topical rubrics drawn from dogmatic theology. The understanding of biblical theology reflected in Protestant orthodoxy may be characterized as "dogmatic biblicism" or proof-texting *(dicta probantia)*. Early in the 17th century, the actual words "biblical theology" began to appear in the title of works of this kind. As far as we know, the first work to use such a title was W. J. Christmann's *Teutsche Biblische Theologie* published in 1629. While many other works of this nature were published subsequently, a significant shift in the understanding of biblical theology began to take place during the second half of the 17th century, thus ushering in a new era in the history of the discipline.

2. Emancipation from Dogmatics (ca. 1650–1800). The more attentively Scripture was read and studied during the course of the 17th century, the more it became apparent that the biblical documents did not really contain a theological system of doctrines at all. Rather, Scripture was cast into the form of a historical narrative. It told the story of God's unfolding relationship with humanity through a sequence of temporal events *(oeconomia temporum)*. Furthermore, it was noted that this relationship between God and humanity was given form through a series of covenants. Hence this approach to Scripture came to be known also as "federal" or "covenant" theology (from Lat *foedus*, "league, covenant"). One of the first and most influential proponents of this new approach was Johannes Cocceius (1603–69), who was trained in OT and oriental studies, but toward the end of his life became professor of dogmatic theology at the University of Leiden. Cocceius abandoned the topical outline of the traditional dogmatics in favor of covenant as the central concept around which the theological assertions of Scripture were organized. At the same time he emphasized the notion of Scripture being the record of God's redemptive activity in history, thus becoming a forerunner of the later *heilsgeschichtliche* approach to biblical theology.

The shift from a dogmatic to a more historically oriented approach to biblical theology accelerated during the course of the 18th century. Of particular importance in this development were two cultural movements of the 18th century: German Pietism and the Enlightenment. Pietism was a revolt within the German Church against Protestant scholasticism, which it considered to be excessively preoccupied with dogmatic speculations and arid abstractions.

Whereas Protestant orthodoxy tended to equate the Christian faith with intellectual assent to sound doctrine, Pietism stressed personal experience and awareness of the presence of God, as nourished through a life of prayer, personal devotion, Bible reading, and moral living. Pietism's emphasis on the reading and study of Scripture by all brought about a greater familiarity with the contents of the Bible. It also brought about an increasing awareness of the differences between biblical and dogmatic theology. Biblical theology, which until now had been subservient to Protestant dogmatics, became increasingly differentiated from and even opposed to the latter during the course of the 18th century. In distinction from dogmatic theology, biblical theology was primarily concerned with the temporal and sequential unfolding of revelation in the Bible. The religious teaching of the Bible must be set forth in its own right and according to its own categories, rather than in the straitjacket of dogmatic systems. It was to be practical as well as edifying for the ordinary believer. The meaning of Scripture was to be ascertained with careful attention to the historical context out of which it arose and to the specific nuances of biblical words and concepts.

The increasing differentiation of biblical theology from dogmatic theology was also greatly aided by the Enlightenment which swept across Europe during the 18th century. Rationalism's aversion to dogmatic religion, its belief in the powers of the human intellect to ascertain truth through observation and inductive reasoning, as well as its belief in the existence of universal natural religion which was in conformity with the demands of reason, exerted a powerful influence on biblical studies and widened the gulf between biblical and dogmatic theology. Increasingly the Bible came to be subjected to the same kind of critical and rational study as any other human document of antiquity.

Thus under the impact of both Pietism and rationalism, biblical theology was liberated from the dominance of dogmatic theology and became a distinct and independent discipline. The first major biblical theology to be written from this new vantage point was G. T. Zachariä's four-volume *Biblische Theologie oder Untersuchung des biblischen Grundes der vornehmsten theologischen Lehren* (1771–75). Mindful of the widening gulf which had been shown to exist between the meaning of biblical texts as determined by critical exegesis and that alleged by dogmatic theology, Zachariä set out to determine the theological teaching of the Bible free from the constraints of any dogmatic system. The latter was, rather, to be tested and, if necessary, to be corrected by the former. Whereas dogmatic theology had treated the Bible like a uniform textbook of theological doctrines, a true biblical theology must allow for greater historical differentiation and individual treatment of the biblical writings. Each book of the Bible has its own peculiar character and intent. Differences in time, place, circumstance, and purpose must not be glossed over, but must be determined as accurately as possible. Philological and semantic concerns were to be given due emphasis, so as to penetrate the peculiar language and thought of the Bible. While Zachariä thus clearly emphasized the historical and descriptive character of biblical theology, he believed that it had also a constructive or normative function. Some of the assertions and beliefs of the biblical authors related more to their own times than to ours; consequently, biblical theology must differentiate between that which belonged to their own time and that which is valid or binding for all time. That which was historically or culturally conditioned must be distinguished from that which is abiding or universal. Biblical theology must not only expound the exegetical meaning of the Bible, but must also attempt to translate the timeless biblical truths into contemporary garb, so as to allow us to appropriate them. The results of such a biblical theology could then serve as the basis for a purified dogmatic or systematic theology.

The emancipation of biblical theology from dogmatic theology found its clearest expression toward the end of the 18th century in a programmatic essay by J. P. Gabler (1753–1826). Gabler has often been credited as being the founder of biblical theology as a distinct theological discipline. That, however, is not quite accurate, for many of the ideas he formulated had already found expression in other 18th-century biblical theologians prior to him, such as Zachariä, W. F. Hufnagel, and J. G. Hofmann. It would be more accurate to say that he took up ideas and impulses present in the work of other 18th-century biblical theologians and formulated them into a coherent programmatic statement which became formative for the entire subsequent history of the discipline. Gabler himself never attempted to write a biblical theology, but his program for one was laid out in his inaugural lecture at the University of Altdorf in 1787, as well as in subsequent occasional articles. The rather lengthy title of his inaugural lecture was indicative of his program: "Concerning the Proper Distinction between Biblical and Dogmatic Theology and the Appropriate Definition of the Respective Goals of Both." Gabler proceeded to differentiate the two theological disciplines as follows. Biblical theology is historical in character; that is, it sets forth what the sacred writers thought about divine matters. Dogmatic theology, on the other hand, is didactic in character, teaching what a given theologian thinks about divine matters in accordance with his ability, his particular circumstances, age, locale, religious and intellectual tradition, and similar conditioning factors. Gabler went on to differentiate two phases or distinct tasks of biblical theology. The first task of biblical theology was to ascertain simply what the various biblical authors thought and asserted about divine matters in their various contexts. This was to be accomplished by means of a purely grammatical and historical exegesis. All allegorizing or spiritualizing was to be shunned. Care was to be exercised in differentiating the various ideas of biblical writers, not to blur differences but to arrange and compare these ideas in some suitable manner. The second task of biblical theology was to sift these various biblical concepts and assertions in terms of their universal and abiding value and to deduce some general concepts and ideas from these which could serve as a basis for the construction of a dogmatic theology. In subsequent writings, Gabler referred to these two stages in biblical theology as *wahre* ("true") and *reine* ("pure") biblical theology respectively (Hayes and Prussner 1985: 62–64). It is clear from this distinction that for Gabler, biblical theology thus entailed both a purely historical or descriptive and a constructive or normative dimension; and this distinction has contin-

ued to occupy biblical and OT theology down to the present day. It is also obvious that the second task involves the application of certain value judgments to the Bible which are extrinsic to it. Usually these were drawn from Christian theology or contemporary philosophy. For Gabler, for instance, one such norm was the concept of the spiritual evolution of the human race, according to which spirit evolves in stages from the lower to the higher. The rationalism of the age of Hume is clearly reflected in his thinking on this point. In the century following Gabler, rationalism became a dominant influence in biblical theology.

3. The Influence of Rationalism (ca. 1750–1875). Initially rationalism, along with Pietism, had been a constructive force in emancipating biblical theology from the stranglehold of dogmatic theology and in establishing it as a distinct theological discipline in its own right. Many 18th-century biblical theologians combined both currents in their life and their scholarship. That is, they were both devout believers as well as rationalists, and this was reflected in their scholarly work on the Bible. But toward the latter part of the 18th and especially during the first half of the 19th century, these two currents more often than not stood in opposition to each other, as rationalism became the more powerful of the two. Increasingly, rationalist philosophy penetrated biblical theology and for a time forced it into a philosophical straitjacket which threatened to become as rigid as the older religious dogmatism had been. The Bible was now understood in terms of an evolutionary religious process leading from lower forms of religion to the absolute or universal religion. The latter was usually defined as a religion of reason (deism) or morality (Kant). Representative of this kind of 19th-century biblical theology were the works of G. L. Bauer, C. F. von Ammon, and G. P. C. Kaiser. Only those teachings of Scripture which were in accord with reason, or the universal religion as established by reason, were of abiding value. Everything else was to be discarded as the outgrown ideas and practices of a particular culture or period in history. Concomitant with such a rationalistic approach to biblical theology was an increasing devaluation of the OT as the record of an inferior stage in the religious development of the human race, and hence less suitable than the NT for the construction of a biblical theology.

Another important development during this period was the division of biblical theology into the separate disciplines of OT and NT theology, a practice which has become customary down to the present day. Several reasons may be cited for this development. One was undoubtedly the increasing recognition of the diversity of Scripture, especially the distinct differences in content, historical context, and outlook between the testaments, which made it more difficult to treat them as homogenous documents. Another reason was the sheer increase in data and new discoveries pertaining to the Bible, which made it more difficult for anyone to master the entire field of biblical studies. Thus specialization became a necessity. But thirdly, it must also be said that the rationalistic devaluation of the OT in favor of the NT undoubtedly contributed to this bifurcation in biblical theology. At any rate, the work that marked the beginning of this division of the discipline, and thus the beginning of OT theology proper, was G. L. Bauer's OT theology published in 1797. The subtitle of his work is indicative of Bauer's understanding of the newly independent discipline of OT theology: "Theology of the Old Testament, or Outline of the Religious Ideas of the Ancient Hebrews from Earliest Times until the Beginning of the Christian Era." That is, the task of OT theology was to trace the religious ideas of the Hebrews in their historical development and against the background of other ANE religions with whom the Hebrews came into contact. Already the influence of comparative religion was beginning to make itself felt here in this first OT theology. Bauer's rationalistic orientation manifested itself in the manner in which he judged the religious content of the OT. Miraculous and mythological elements in the Bible were dismissed by him as superstitions of a primitive race.

While other OT theologians were even more rationalistic than Bauer, not all biblical theologians of the late 18th and early 19th centuries were equally indiscriminate in their application of rationalistic philosophical principles to the Bible. Others, like D. von Cölln and W. L. DeWette, were more moderately rationalistic, seeking to bring into a creative confluence thought-forms of a modern age with the historical revelation and faith of the Bible. However, in response to the excesses of vulgar rationalism, a conservative reaction took place around the middle of the 18th century, leading to the writing of OT theologies along more orthodox lines. Representative of this development were scholars like E. W. Hengstenberg and F. Delitzsch. Other OT theologians of this period, like H. Ewald, G. F. Oehler, and E. Schultz, took a more moderate or mediating position somewhere between the rationalists and the orthodox Lutherans. Of these, the OT theology by Oehler, published posthumously in two volumes (1873–74) and written from a *heilsgeschichtliche* perspective, was a particularly influential work. It was also the first of the major German OT theologies to be translated into English shortly after its original publication.

4. OT Theology Eclipsed by the History of Israelite Religion (ca. 1875–1930). During the last quarter of the 19th century, another significant shift in emphasis occurred in the field of OT theology. The systematic-conceptual presentation of the theological content of the OT, whether of the rationalistic, conservative, or mediating variety, was replaced by a historical and genetic approach to the religion of Israel. Several factors brought about this development. First and foremost among these was the greater historical consciousness brought about during the 19th century by the work of such distinguished historians as L. von Ranke. Of equal importance were developments in the comparative study of religions. Israel's religion was no longer viewed as an isolated phenomenon *sui generis*, but as one among several other ancient religions, such as those of Egypt, Babylon, Greece, or pre-Islamic Arabia. This development was hastened by a veritable flood of archaeological discoveries from antiquity, which shed fresh light on the Bible and the religious beliefs and practices contained therein. At the same time, revolutionary changes in the historical-critical understanding of the OT, associated with the names of Vatke, Graf, Kuenen, and above all Wellhausen, required new assessments in

one's understanding of the history of the religious ideas of the OT.

These developments brought about a shift in the understanding and definition of OT theology. Even when scholars like B. Stade and E. Kautzsch continued to use the word "theology" in the titles of their works, it was apparent that they were really writing histories of the religion of the OT or of Israel. In recognition of this changed reality, most other scholars of this period abandoned the title "OT theology" altogether when they wrote on the religious content of the biblical documents. Reflective of this new outlook was a volume by R. Smend, *Lehrbuch der alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte* ("Textbook of the History of Old Testament Religion"). For the next four decades or so, few people wrote OT theologies; most wrote histories of OT or Israelite religion.

The history-of-religion approach differentiated itself from OT theology as traditionally conceived by the following characteristics: (1) an exclusive reliance on a historical-genetic, rather than a systematic-conceptual, approach to the OT; (2) a concomitant de-emphasis on the OT as special revelation, in favor of seeing it as a historical and human record of the evolution of Israelite religion; and (3) greater emphasis and attention to Israel's ANE environment. Increasingly, the OT was seen as an integral part of that environment and only one particular form of religious development among many.

Generally, the history of Israel's religion was traced through several distinct stages. Not infrequently, extrinsic value judgments were applied to these. Thus, for instance, postexilic Judaism was usually compared unfavorably with the religion of the preexilic prophets (Hayes and Prussner 1985: 140–41). Evolutionary philosophical principles were evident in many presentations of Israelite religion. The latter was usually described as evolving from primitive animism or nature religion to ethical monotheism. The influence of Hegel and Darwin may be discerned here. Thus, in spite of its claims to historical objectivity, the history-of-religions approach was not immune to the philosophical assumptions and cultural presuppositions of its own age.

5. Rebirth of OT Theology (1930 to the Present). The dominant hold which the history-of-religions approach had exercised over the discipline of OT theology began to wane during the period between the two world wars. Several factors helped bring this change about. Among them were the general change in theological climate following World War I, a reaction against the extremes of 19th-century historicism and evolutionary developmentalism, and new developments in the field of OT scholarship itself. Already during the twenties, there appeared a series of articles by leading OT scholars, such as R. Kittel, C. Steuernagel, O. Eissfeldt, and W. Eichrodt, calling for a revival of the discipline. Without surrendering the legitimate gains of the history-of-religions approach, many increasingly felt and expressed the need to allow the OT to speak theologically in its own right. In so doing, they hoped to defend the OT against its many detractors, as well as to enable it to speak more immediately and in fresh ways to contemporary theological issues and problems.

The year 1933 may be said to mark the beginning of a new era in OT theology with the appearance of two such works, one by E. Sellin and the other by W. Eichrodt. By far the most outstanding and enduring representative of the new era in OT theology is Eichrodt's *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, originally published in three parts between 1933–39 (Eng 1961–67). In spite of legitimate criticisms and acknowledged shortcomings (Hayes and Prussner 1985: 277), Eichrodt's work so far remains unsurpassed in comprehensiveness, methodological thoroughness, and theological acumen. From our vantage point in the late 20th century, one may safely say that it has stood the test of time and may well turn out to be the most significant work of its genre in the 20th century.

A brief look at its structure reveals the nature of OT theology as the author understood it. In an introductory chapter on methodology, Eichrodt defined the task of OT theology as constructing a complete picture of the realm of OT belief in its structural unity. Such an exposition was to be done with constant reference to two contextual realities: the world of ANE religion on the one hand, and the realm of NT belief on the other. It should be observed, however, that in actual execution, Eichrodt paid far more attention to the former than the latter. His methodology sought to differentiate itself self-consciously from the systematic rubrics of dogmatic theology on the one hand, and the genetic approach of a radical historicism on the other. The developmental analysis of the history-of-religions approach he replaced with a systematic synthesis of OT religion, but in rubrics and categories suggested by the OT itself. The biblical concept of "covenant" was chosen by him as an overarching category or unifying center of OT theology, and the material was presented in accordance with the following tripartite scheme: God and the People, God and the World, God and Man. A look at the full table of contents reveals that the organizational principle operative in Eichrodt's theology was systematic or conceptual. It should be noted, however, that within this systematic scheme, allowance was made for historically tracing changes in Israelite religion or in the perspective reflected in the chief documents and tradition complexes of the OT.

The systematic approach to OT theology, in terms of presenting a cross section of the basic structure of OT belief, continued to dominate the discipline for the next three decades. While there were differences in the choice of organizational schemas and overarching concepts, nearly all OT theologies were written from such a systematic-conceptual perspective. This methodological consensus was shaken during the late 1950s by G. von Rad with the publication of his immensely stimulating *Theologie des Alten Testaments* in two volumes (Eng 1961–65). Against the systematic-conceptual approach to the OT, von Rad insisted that the theological task proper to the OT is not the spiritual or religious world of Israel, nor the belief system of the OT, but simply Israel's own explicit assertions about Yahweh as reflected in the major tradition complexes of the OT. The latter, however, presented Yahweh's relationship to Israel as a continuing divine activity in history. Consequently, it was this picture of Yahweh's activity in the history of Israel as reflected in the traditions of the OT which, for von Rad, constituted the proper subject of OT theology. Methodologically, this meant for him that the retelling of this confessional story of the OT traditions was the most legitimate form of theological discourse on the

OT. This conviction is reflected in the manner in which von Rad organized and presented his material. Vol. I consists of two parts: a concise survey of the history of Israelite religion, followed by a theology of Israel's historical traditions. After a brief chapter on methodology, the latter are treated under the following three headings: "The Theology of the Hexateuch," "Israel's Anointed" (covering the Deuteronomistic and the Chronicler's history), and "Israel Before Yahweh (Israel's Answer)," which covers the Psalms and the Wisdom Literature. Vol. II is divided into three parts as follows: "General Considerations in Prophecy," "Classical Prophecy" (which treats the OT prophets from Amos on in their sequential appearance down to and including apocalyptic literature), and "the Old Testament and the New" (in which the author sets forth his understanding of the relationship between the testaments).

Von Rad's approach to the subject has often been labeled a salvation-historical one, and in one sense this is correct. It must be remembered, however, that for him *Heilsgeschichte* did not refer primarily to Yahweh's saving activity in Israel's actual history as critically reconstructed by the historian, but to the kerygmatic history as confessed by the OT writers and traditionalists. For von Rad, as for many other OT scholars, a considerable gulf exists between these two histories. For this reason, von Rad's approach to OT theology can also (and perhaps more accurately) be labeled a tradition-historical, rather than a salvation-historical, one. At any rate, von Rad's OT theology made a considerable impact on the field, not only because it was a significant departure from more traditional methodologies, but because it was a well-written and stimulating book, characterized by profound erudition and theological sensitivity. His approach has succeeded in presenting a more differentiated and finely nuanced picture of the various theological perspectives found in the OT documents. On the minus side it must be said that his twofold division of the history of Israel into an actual and a confessional history, and his opinion that only the latter of these is of concern to OT theologians, are unsatisfactory and indefensible. Furthermore, his claim that the OT presents no coherent theology, but only a wide variety of conflicting theologies, is exaggerated and excessively atomistic. In the long run, it is doubtful that von Rad's tradition-historical approach to OT theology will replace more systematic and conceptual approaches to the subject. In all likelihood it will be no more than a contributing perspective or intermediate step, albeit a very important one, in the construction of more conceptually oriented theologies of the OT. In support of such a contention, it might be noted that most of the OT theologies which have appeared in the past 30 years since the appearance of von Rad's work have not followed him in his basic approach.

Before we bring this survey of the history of the discipline to a conclusion, we must comment briefly upon one particular phase in its most recent history.

6. The "Biblical Theology Movement" and the Alleged "Crisis" in OT Theology. The revival of biblical and OT theology in this century brought it to a position of prominence in the larger theological enterprise during the 1940s and 1950s, which has led some to speak of a "biblical theology movement" during that era. According to Childs (1970: 32–50), this movement was characterized by a rediscovery of and emphasis on the theological dimensions of the Bible; the unity of the Bible; the revelation of God in history; a distinctive biblical mentality, involving a sharp dichotomy between Greek and Hebrew thought and stress on semantic approaches to the content of the Bible; and emphasis on the contrast between the Bible and its ancient environment. Barr (*IDBSup*, 105) adds a certain antiphilosophical bias as another characteristic feature of this movement. Childs (1970: 61–87) describes the rapid dissolution of this movement during the 1960s. It was brought on, according to him, by both changing perspectives within the field of biblical studies and by pressures external to the field. Chief among the latter were the new secularity, developments in the social sciences, and a gap between theology and experience. Since the appearance of Childs' book, it has become fashionable in some circles to talk of a "crisis" in biblical and OT theology. The added perspective of the past two decades, however, make it appear that such assessment is in need of considerable revision. Those who have bought into the "crisis" talk have overstated their case. They have also been guilty of confusing and oversimplifying certain issues which need to be differentiated more carefully. The following observations are offered in support of this contention.

First of all, it needs to be said that Childs' description of a biblical theology movement in the 1940s and 1950s is a bit oversimplified and hence misleading. It focuses too exclusively upon the American scene, and even there lumps together biblical scholars, theologians, and theological positions which need to be differentiated more carefully. Even more misleading is the implicit equation of the biblical theology movement with the much wider discipline of biblical theology (Smart 1979: 18–30).

Secondly, it must be remembered that the term "biblical theology" (and hence "OT theology" and "NT theology") has functioned traditionally in at least two distinct, albeit related, senses. By it one may mean either (a) a type of theology which is consonant with the Bible; or (b) the theology (or theologies) contained in the biblical documents. Biblical theology of type (a) is a systematic theology which uses the Bible as its chief, if not sole, source and norm, whereas type (b) is more of an exegetical and descriptive enterprise. Childs' description of the biblical theology movement and its crisis operated more with a type (a) definition of biblical theology. Thus, whatever crisis there may have been applied to a narrow segment of the enterprise, that is, to Childs' "biblical theology movement," rather than to biblical theology of the exegetical and descriptive variety. The title of Childs' book appears to be somewhat of a misnomer.

Thirdly, we feel that it is more accurate to say that whatever crisis existed in the 1960s was not uniquely one in biblical theology as such, but rather a crisis of faith and theology in general. Scholars, clergy, and laity alike had bandied about too glibly theological concepts and categories, biblical or otherwise. Then they woke up one day and discovered that a serious gap existed between their theological abstractions and their faith experience; and so they became disenchanted with "biblical theology" and cast about for greener intellectual pastures. The theological enterprise itself at one point became uncertain about its

identity and purpose, as evidenced by the now strangely quaint and dated "Death of God" controversy. To the extent that biblical theologians are human beings who, like anyone else, imbibe of the general cultural and philosophical currents of their age, that general malaise or crisis may have been in some forms of biblical theology also, but it did not belong uniquely to that discipline.

For all these reasons we believe that it is inaccurate to speak of biblical theology as being in a state of "crisis" or dissolution during the 1960s. It would be more accurate to speak of it as entering a period of transition and reassessment. After three decades of breathless expansion, culminating in what Dentan (1963: 72–83) has termed the "golden age of the fifties," biblical and OT theology reached a plateau where it needed to reflect whence it had come and whither it was going. Some of its cherished assumptions were tested and found wanting; certain in-course corrections had to be made; new data and perspectives provided by ancillary biblical disciplines had to be sifted and accommodated; and differing methodologies needed to be assessed and evaluated.

While few new OT theologies were produced during the 1960s, more than a dozen such works have appeared since the beginning of the 1970s, which is an unprecedented number for any comparable period during the entire history of the discipline! To this number of full-length theologies must be added the flood of articles and monographs which deal with some specific topic or aspect of OT theology and which today number in the hundreds and thousands of items. All this suggests that the discipline of biblical theology today is alive and well.

7. Summary: Two Fundamental Dialectics. Our survey of the history of the discipline has shown that OT theology has undergone a number of significant changes during the past four centuries. These were brought about chiefly as the result of two related, though distinct, fundamental dialectics operative in the history of the discipline, which continue to be operative in the discipline and stand at the center of contemporary discussions about OT theology. The first dialectic has to do with the nature and task of OT theology, that is, whether it is primarily *descriptive* or *normative* in character. We saw how biblical theology started out as a normative discipline, designed to undergird the dogmatic assertions of orthodox Protestantism. Under the impact of Pietism and the Enlightenment, biblical theology asserted its status as a distinct theological discipline and became more self-consciously descriptive in character. The excesses of vulgar rationalism, however, obscured the legitimate gains of the descriptive approach by subjecting OT theology to the normative straitjacket of philosophical rationalism. The impact of 19th-century historicism, on the other hand, for a time displaced any kind of normative OT theology with a purely descriptive history of the religion of Israel. Finally, in the mid-20th century, the normative aspects of OT theology were given greater prominence again.

The second fundamental dialectic operative in the history of the discipline has to do with the question of methodology; that is, what is the most effect way to present the theological content of the OT. This dialectic may be designated by the words "systematic-conceptual" versus "historical-genetic" (the terms "synchronic" or "crosscut" versus "diachronic" are also used in the literature). A systematic-conceptual approach to OT theology sets forth the theological content of the OT in terms of ideas or categories drawn either from the OT itself or from somewhere else. A historical-genetic approach, on the other hand, seeks to describe the theological content of the OT in its historical and sequential unfolding, either in terms of the actual history of Israel or of the history of the traditions and literature of the OT. Our historical survey showed how biblical theology started out with an exclusively systematic-conceptual framework; that is, the theological content of Scripture was fitted into the rubrics of Protestant dogmatics. With the rise of federal or covenant theology, and later *Heilsgeschichte*, the rigorously dogmatic methodology was abandoned in favor of a more historically oriented one. Historical-genetic methodologies became most pronounced during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. And in the last 50 years, the pendulum has swung back toward more systematic methodologies.

B. Current Issues and Problems

As one surveys the sizable literature on OT theology during its revitalization in the mid-20th century, one cannot help but note that a few key issues have stood at the center of the discussion. Some of these, like the two fundamental dialectics identified above, have been with us for a long time; others have come to the fore only more recently. There appear to be at least four central issues that warrant some discussion.

1. Descriptive and Normative Dimensions. At issue here is the very nature and purpose of the discipline. Is OT theology to be construed as a purely descriptive discipline, the chief task of which is to describe the theological ideas of the OT irrespective of their abiding significance and continued meaning today? Or must any credible OT theology also press on to deal with "contemporary meaning" questions? Our historical survey above has shown that this fundamental question has received varying answers throughout the history of the discipline. It remains for us to assess where we stand on this issue today.

Following the demise of the theological consensus represented by the so-called "biblical theology movement," the pendulum swung toward a self-consciously descriptive approach to OT theology. For a while it appeared that the program of a purely descriptive biblical theology advocated by Stendahl (*IDB* 1: 418–32) and others would carry the day. Certainly much valuable work in OT theology was produced under its banner. More recently, however, dissatisfaction with a purely descriptive approach has become more vocal again, and calls have been issued for the inclusion of normative dimensions in the enterprise of biblical and OT theology (so, for instance, Childs 1970; 1985; de Vaux 1971; Clements 1978; Martens 1981; Hanson 1986; and others). Should such calls be heeded, or should they be ignored as an illegitimate intrusion of the concerns of systematic theology into the discipline of OT theology? Will OT theology again be pressed into the service of dogmatics, to the point where its independent witness will be muted or falsified? This danger is certainly real, as the history of the discipline has amply demonstrated. One must proceed cautiously and with proper safeguards against the uncritical confusion of descriptive and norma-

tive concerns. Nevertheless, when all is said and done, it can be argued that a normative dimension belongs legitimately to the discipline of OT theology. In support of this view, the following considerations are advanced.

First of all, it should be noted that even a self-consciously descriptive OT theology embodies certain normative dimensions in the manner in which biblical data are selected, interpreted, and arranged in some coherent fashion. The process of determining the essential and fundamental structures of OT faith inevitably involves the interaction of biblical data with the cultural, philosophical, and theological presuppositions of the interpreter. Complete neutrality and objectivity is an illusion. The recognition of this fact, however, does not provide us with an excuse for unbridled bias. On the contrary, one must strive to be as objective and as faithful to the biblical data as one can, and to differentiate carefully between these data and one's own presuppositions. The heavy-handed imposition of philosophical or theological straitjackets on the biblical data must be strenuously resisted as being inimical to a vital and creative OT theology.

A second reason for insisting on some normative dimension in OT theology is suggested by the very nature of the biblical writings, for they seem to demand some kind of commitment or response on the part of the interpreter. Even if complete neutrality and detachment were feasible, this would not be true to the intentions of the biblical text, which presupposes the reality of God in relationship to human beings and the world, and which seeks to elicit a personal response on the part of the reader. It is for this reason also that the historical-critical method in and of itself, in spite of the impressive and lasting results which it has achieved, has proven to be an inadequate tool for doing biblical OT theology. Any approach to Scripture which views the world as a closed system of natural cause and effect, which operates with the principle of analogy as if it were an absolutely inviolate norm, and which rules out by definition the possibility of miracle or divine activity in human affairs is incapable of producing a truly biblical OT theology.

A third consideration which has been advanced in support of the contention that normative concerns rightly belong to the discipline of OT theology has to do with one's understanding of the term "theology." If theology is in any sense concerned with "truth for us" or truth for the religious community in which the OT is a foundational faith document, then OT theology cannot be content merely to describe the religious ideas which the ancient Hebrews held at some point in their history. Inevitably it must press on to discern what the abiding truth is today for those who consider themselves to be the spiritual descendants and heirs of ancient Israel. R. E. Clements (1978: 6–7) recently has argued that theology is something more than the study of religious ideas in the sense that it also offers some measure of evaluation of their truth. It is in the very nature of theology to concern itself with living faith rather than the history of ideas. Against this view, it may be argued that the word "theology" does not always have such normative connotations, but that it is also used in a more descriptive and noncommittal sense, as in the expressions "historical theology" or "Hindu theology," which may refer to a description of the belief system of a person or group of persons by a more or less sympathetic bystander who does not necessarily share that belief system. Without denying that such a description "from the outside," as it were, can yield important insights, we are inclined to doubt that OT theology can or should be restricted to such a specialized understanding. To be sure, there are those who would be content to restrict OT theology to being simply one of several historical or comparative theologies. But for most members of the faith communities for whom the OT is a normative foundational document, OT theology inevitably suggests connotations of abiding truth value, and any OT theologian worthy of the name is expected to address these in some fashion.

This leads to a fourth and final consideration in support of our contention that some normative concerns rightly belong to the discipline of OT theology—a consideration that is of a more pragmatic nature. The chief reason why the Bible has been preserved, read, and cherished for all these centuries is because it was considered in some sense to be God's word to us. People have turned to it in order to find God and to discern meaning and purpose for their lives. Thus, "meaning questions" will inevitably rise in the mind of most students of Scripture, and it would be a disservice to them to ignore these. What, for instance, is the meaning and significance of holy war in the books of Joshua and Samuel, and how can this inform our current concerns with issues of war and peace? Does God repent or have a change of mind, as the book of Exodus seems to assert, and what does this do to traditional notions of God's immutability? Does God bring about both good and evil, as some of Israel's poets seem to suggest? How are we to understand the *lex talionis,* or what is the theological significance of contradictions in the OT law codes? Does God indeed reward good and punish evil, and what must we do to gain favor in God's sight? Biblical theologians who ignore such meaning questions and adhere solely to the descriptive dimensions of their task will frustrate their readers or lose them altogether.

There are those who argue for a strict division of labor between theological disciplines, insisting that it is the task of systematic theology to deal with the question of what it means for us now, whereas OT theology need only deal with the question of what it meant to ancient Israelites back then. But this dichotomy is both unsatisfactory and impractical. The hermeneutical task cannot be divided up that neatly. Most students of the Bible prefer to have their meaning questions addressed as these arise from their reading of the text, rather than being referred to some other discipline, the agenda and theological discourse of which may be informed by other than exegetical concerns. Furthermore, the field of biblical studies has become so complex that few systematic theologians have either the interest or the energy to be fully conversant with developments in biblical exegesis. Here OT theologians can perform a valuable service for systematic theologians by presenting them with a theological synthesis of the results of biblical exegesis in a form which is more readily accessible and useful to the latter. In order to do this effectively, however, biblical scholars in turn must become more conversant with theological perspectives and be willing to move beyond merely antiquarian concerns.

For all of the reasons indicated, we believe that a normative dimension belongs appropriately to the discipline of OT theology. This, however, in no way is meant to minimize or detract from the descriptive task, which must always remain the heart of the enterprise. As OT theologians attempt to deal with present meaning, they must not lose their interest and respect for the descriptive task, if OT theology is to remain a viable and creative enterprise. Under no circumstances must it be allowed to become captive to either a narrowly meaning-oriented philosophical or theological system, or an ideological historicism which refuses to deal with meaning questions in any form. In the light of the descriptive/normative dialectic inherent in OT theology, an attempt should now be made to locate the discipline of OT theology vis-à-vis the two disciplines with which it had to contend most for its independence and integrity.

OT theology is a boundary discipline which shares some common ground with the history of the religion of Israel on the one hand and systematic theology on the other. It functions best when it maintains the tensions between these two disciplines and resists the temptation of being too closely identified with either.

The chief source and norm for OT theology is the canonical books of the OT. In seeking to understand the theological concepts and ideas contained in these, OT theology may also consult extracanonical literature and archaeological data, but these in themselves will not become a basis for theological construction. For example, the understanding of Yahweh reflected in the Elephantine papyri or in the inscriptions of Kuntillet ʿAjrud is of interest to OT theology in the sense that it can provide background or contrast against which the biblical understanding of God can be seen more sharply, but it does not become part of a normative definition of the latter. A history of the religion of Israel, however, may rightfully draw upon extrabiblical sources for its reconstruction of the beliefs and practices of Israelite religion. Systematic theology, on the other hand, shares with OT theology its use of the canon as a source and norm, but in addition it recognizes certain others, such as tradition, human knowledge and experience, and reason, as valid sources and norms for constructive theology.

As regards its method of operation, OT theology is an exegetical and theological discipline; that is, it deals with the grammatical, historical, and literary meaning of biblical texts, but with special attention to their theological significance and meaning as discerned by the theologian under the illumination of the spirit of God. The history-of-religions approach operates more exclusively from a phenomenological and historical perspective. Systematic theology shares with OT theology its concern for the theological meaning of Scripture, but it is at the same time more philosophically and logically oriented than OT theology.

As regards the organization of data, there is considerable variation. In general, OT theology follows a combination of conceptual and tradition-historical principles in organizing its materials, whereas the history-of-religions approach generally employs historical and genetic principles of organization. Systematic theology, on the other hand, seeks to construct logically coherent conceptual systems. OT theology is much less interested in system building and is able to live with a lot more ambiguity and diversity of theological perspectives. It thus remains truer to Scripture, which does not come to us in the form of a logically coherent system of theology.

As regards the respective hermeneutical concerns of these disciplines, the history of religions is primarily, if not exclusively, descriptive in the sense that it seeks to describe a historical phenomenon like the religion of ancient Israel. Systematic theology, on the other extreme, is primarily concerned with normative meaning questions; that is, what does the OT mean for us today in the context of our respective belief communities? OT theology falls somewhere in between these two. It is both descriptive and normative in the sense that it must not only ascertain what the OT documents meant in their own historical context, but also press on to reflect on what they can mean for us today in our own context.

The location of OT theology as a "boundary discipline" between systematic theology and the history of religions as sketched in the preceding paragraphs can be summarized in tabular form:

RUBRIC	*HISTORY OF RELIGION*	*OT THEOLOGY*	*SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY*
Sources & norms:	biblical and extra-biblical, literary and archaeological data	the canon of the OT	Scripture, tradition, reason, human experience and knowledge
Methodology:	phenomenological and historical	exegetical and theological	theological and philosophical
Organization of material:	chronological and genetic	conceptual, topical, historical and tradition-historical	systematic and logical
Hermeneutics:	descriptive: what was it and what did it mean?	descriptive and normative: what did it mean and what might it mean for us today?	normative and constructive: what does it mean in the context of this faith community?

While these distinctions are not absolute but allow for a considerable amount of overlap as demonstrated by the history of the discipline, this schema suggests a range on the descriptive/normative spectrum at which OT theology seems to function best and at which it may be legitimately differentiated from the history-of-religions approach on the one hand and systematic theology on the other.

2. Methodology. Assuming that OT theology legitimately includes both descriptive and normative dimensions, the question still remains how the manifold and diverse theological witness of the OT can best be organized so as to present a reasonably coherent and comprehensive picture of the faith structure of the OT. Our historical survey has shown that methodologies have fluctuated between systematic-conceptual and historical-genetic approaches, or varying combinations thereof, and the same is still true of recent OT theologies. Within that fundamental dialectic, however, many different schemata of organization are possible. No one particular schema has been

able to dominate the field or win universal assent, as the following analysis of recent OT theologies since Eichrodt and von Rad will demonstrate.

a. T. C. Vriezen. For Vriezen (1970) the central task of OT theology is to describe the characteristic features of the message of the OT and to reflect upon that message from the viewpoint of the Christian faith. His book is divided into two parts. The first part is devoted to an examination of the place of the OT in the Church and its significance for Christian theology. Nearly a third of the book is devoted to this general topic. If one wonders why the author devoted so much space to this subject, it is probably because he wished to restore the OT to its rightful place in Christian theology after a period of serious neglect and devaluation (it must be remembered that the first Dutch edition appeared in 1949).

In the second part of his book, Vriezen turns to the actual delineation of the theological content of the OT. It is divided into four chapters, in which the material is presented in an essentially conceptual fashion under the following four headings: (1) the nature of the knowledge of God in the OT; (2) the intercourse between God and man; (3) the community of God; and (4) the future hope of the community of God. Vriezen essentially follows the cross-section approach pioneered by Eichrodt, except that the overarching central theme of the OT for him is not covenant, but communion between God and humanity. With this emphasis Vriezen intentionally sought to counter von Rad's denial of a theological center of the OT, as well as the atomizing tendencies inherent in the latter's tradition-historical orientation. Vriezen also made a conscious effort to differentiate OT theology from the history of Israelite religion, which for him were separate disciplines showing distinct differences in function, scope, and methodology. According to Vriezen (1970: 147), OT theology is a Christian theological discipline whose task is to delineate the characteristic features of the message of the OT, both in itself and in its relation to the NT; whereas the history of Israel's religion is a historical discipline seeking to offer a picture of the religion of Israel in both its historical development and in its innermost essence and character. In accordance with this definition, Vriezen went on to produce a book on Israelite religion (1967). He is one of a handful of scholars to have produced both an OT theology and a history of the Israelite religion.

b. W. Zimmerli. Like Vriezen, Zimmerli follows a basically conceptual approach in the ordering of his material. But within that overarching structure, he is much more tradition-historically oriented than the former. His understanding of the nature and task of the discipline is also not as confessional as Vriezen's was. For Zimmerli, OT theology has the task of presenting what the OT says about God in a coherent whole. It must deal with the most important narrative complexes (which for him, as for von Rad, are the Hexateuch and the Prophets), but at the same time it must also lead readers "to bring together in their own minds the diverse statements the OT makes about God, who wishes to be known not as a manifold God but as the one Yahweh" (1978: 10). The self-revelation of Yahweh as formulated in the First Commandment may thus be said to be the unifying center of OT theology. This central theme is reflected in the organization of his book, which is divided into five major sections. The first one, entitled "Fundamentals," deals with Yahweh under the aspects of the revealed name, the God of Israel since Egypt, the God of the Fathers, Creator and King, Election, Covenant, and Commandment. The second part deals with "The Gifts Bestowed by Yahweh," among which are war and victory, land and blessing, God's presence, and charismata of leadership and instruction. The third part analyzes "Yahweh's Commandment," and the fourth part deals with the topic of "Life Before God." The latter, dealing with the themes of obedience, praise, lamentation, and wisdom, is very much reminiscent of von Rad's section "Israel Before Yahweh (Israel's Answer)" (1962–65, I). The fifth and last major part of Zimmerli's OT theology is entitled "Crisis and Hope." It is chiefly devoted to the Prophets, but includes brief sections on the primeval history, the historical narratives, apocalypticism, and a concluding chapter on "The Openness of the OT Message."

In spite of the topical organization of his material, Zimmerli's approach to the subject stands much closer to von Rad's than to Eichrodt's or Vriezen's. In large stretches his OT theology reads like a miniature von Rad, though he is more interested in drawing out the overarching unity of the OT's understanding of God than von Rad, who was content merely to delineate the various theologies of the major tradition complexes of the OT.

c. G. Fohrer. Fohrer is another contemporary OT scholar who, like Vriezen, produced both an OT theology and a history of Israelite religion, though in reverse sequence from Vriezen. Fohrer's *History of Israelite Religion* (Eng 1972) appeared in German four years before his OT theology. It is a substantive work which made a significant contribution to the field. A brief look at it may help us put Fohrer's understanding of OT theology into sharper perspective. According to Fohrer, the purpose of presenting a history of Israelite religion is to depict the course of this religion as one among many others, without theological value judgments or apologetic concerns. Careful attention must be given to both the manifold changes this religion underwent during the course of its history and the common elements which it exhibited in all periods and which make it possible to speak of Israelite religion as a single entity distinct from others. Following a strictly historical and chronological principle of arrangement, Fohrer's *History of Israelite Religion* is divided into four parts: (1) the religion of the earliest period (patriarchal times through the era of the judges); (2) the period of the monarchy; (3) the exilic period; and (4) the postexilic period down to the era of the Maccabees.

Israelite religion arose as the synthesis of two basic given religious elements as modified by a series of five major religious impulses. The two basic givens were the nomadic clan religion of the patriarchs and Canaanite nature religion. The five major religious impulses which determined the development of Israelite religion were: (1) Mosaic Yahwism; (2) the monarchy; (3) the prophetic movement; (4) Deuteronomic theology (seen as a consequence of the first three impulses and a new impulse in its own right); and (5) exilic prophecy and incipient eschatology. In spite of the developments, tensions, and changes which Israelite religion underwent, it also exhibited certain constants throughout its long history. Fohrer identifies these as a

personalistic structure of faith; the correlation between divine and human activity; the notion of God's present action among nations and people; the demand for human conduct which is consonant with the divine will; the belief in the sovereign rule of God; and God's communion with humanity, to be realized in the lives of both individuals and nations.

Fohrer's delineation of the structural constants in the religion of Israel is of particular significance, for it becomes a point of contact between his history (1973) and his theology (1972), where they are taken up again in chap. 6 as "basic elements of OT faith" which run through the entire OT. From this, one may gain an important insight regarding the relationship of the two disciplines: the point at which OT theology and the history of Israelite religion show the greatest degree of affinity, and at times become virtually indistinguishable, is in the delineation of the abiding or fundamental structures of Israelite or OT faith.

With this we must turn to a closer examination of Fohrer's OT theology. It consists of seven chapters and follows an essentially conceptual and topical method of presentation. While the descriptive side of the task is not neglected, the normative and constructive dimension is very much in evidence throughout his book, much more so than in most recent OT theologies. The first two chapters of the book are taken up with what might be termed prolegomena to an OT theology. Chap. 1 reviews the various ways in which the OT has been interpreted down through the ages. Most of these are judged by him as erroneous or improper, for they are rooted in questionable dogmatic presuppositions. The OT faith must be understood in its own right and in its various historical manifestations, where it is permissible, however, to differentiate between what is of abiding theological significance and what is merely peripheral and culturally conditioned and time-bound. Unfortunately, Fohrer fails to inform the reader by what yardstick that is to be measured.

Chap. 2 deals with the question of the OT and revelation. Fohrer argues that the OT as a document or book cannot be equated with revelation. Revelation happens only in the concrete encounter between God and human beings. That is, it is personal experience, and only the one who experiences it can testify to it or describe it. Consequently, the OT is at best a witness or testimony to acts of revelation. Even the prophetic word as recorded in Scripture is already a mixture of divinely given insight as well as human perception, integration, and digestion. It is obvious that Fohrer operates with a very subjective understanding of revelation. However, the mere fact that he is speaking about revelation at all and allows for its occurrence shows how much he is operating at this point as a constructive theologian, rather than simply as a descriptive historian of Israel's religion.

Chap. 3 is organized under the philosophical category of *Daseinshaltung* ("attitude toward existence"). He describes six types of attitudes toward existence, all of which are found in the OT: magic, cultic, legal, national-religious (election faith), sapiential, and prophetic. These are then evaluated by him in terms of their merely temporal and transtemporal or abiding value and significance. Magic was purely temporal, an inappropriate attempt to manipulate the divine world. The priestly cultic and legal attitudes toward existence had some transtemporal significance insofar as they overcame magic and attempted to revitalize Mosaic faith in a changed cultural milieu. But they too were beset by problems, leading in turn to a superficial faith which sought to manipulate the deity for selfish or nationalistic ends. The same was true when genuine election faith was usurped by national-religious ideology. The sapiential attitude is found wanting because it was a mere utilitarian morality. This leaves the prophetic attitude toward existence, which for Fohrer represents the high point of the history of OT faith. It transcended all the others and is characterized by faithful trust and obedient service rooted in complete communion with God. Prophetic existence, according to Fohrer, was the reappearance of Mosaism in a purified form. Fohrer's lifelong preoccupation with Israel's prophets may be partly responsible for this one-sided valuation of prophetic existence. On the other hand, one cannot help but feel that his low esteem for Israel's cultic and legal traditions may also be the result of a long-standing theological bias found in much of Lutheran Protestant OT scholarship.

In chap. 4, which is entitled "Unity in Diversity," Fohrer turns to the question of whether OT faith has a center around which everything else revolves. After noting von Rad's denial of such a center, and after rejecting various centers proposed by other OT scholars, Fohrer proposes a dual center for OT theology designated by the concepts of "rule of God" and "communion with God." These form the unifying core to which the diverse religious and theological concepts of the OT may be related. Corresponding to this dual concept of the rule of communion with God is a dual human response of fear and trust, or distance and relatedness, which is characteristic of OT faith. Here we see how one of the "constants" of Israelite religion which he isolated in his history of Israelite religion has become the center of his OT theology.

Chap. 5 deals with the power and ability of OT faith to absorb and transform ancient beliefs and practices, chiefly under the influence of the dual center isolated in the previous chapter. OT faith itself, however, even its understanding of the rule of God and God's will to communion, in turn underwent change and expansion.

In chap. 6, "Developments," Fohrer discusses basic tendencies of OT faith which are not confined to one particular stream but which run through the whole of the OT because of their relatedness to the central concepts of the rule of God and communion with God. They are: (1) the personal structure of OT faith; (2) God's activity among people and nations; (3) God's action in and through nature; (4) a correlation between divine and human activity (the act-and-consequence scheme); (5) faith as righteous action; and (6) the "this-worldliness" of OT faith. As we noted above, most of these basic tendencies of OT faith had previously been identified by Fohrer as "constants of Israelite religion" in his earlier work. At this point, his two works coincide very closely.

But in the very next chapter, Fohrer goes far beyond what any history of Israelite religion could do and what few contemporary OT theologians have even attempted to do. In this final chapter, entitled "Applications," Fohrer's mode of operation becomes overtly normative and con-

structive as he seeks to spell out how the fundamental insights of OT faith can be applied to fundamental human issues and problems today. The meaning question is wrestled with under the following five major headings: (1) the meaning of the biblical prologue; (2) the state and politics; (3) social organization; (4) humanity and technology; and (5) the future of mankind.

Both of Fohrer's works are immensely stimulating and have made significant contributions to the field, especially as regards an appropriate differentiation between the disciplines of OT theology and the history of the religion of Israel. His work, however, is not without shortcomings. His descriptive work is at times idiosyncratic and insufficiently substantiated; his one-sided valuation of the prophets is excessive, and his lack of appreciation for Israel's cultic and legal traditions is deplorable. His conceptual categories are too limiting at times, and his theological biases too glaring. But his attempt to delineate the constants of Israel's religion or the basic tendencies of OT faith is highly commendable and worthy of emulation. His forthright and unabashed attempt to deal with contemporary-meaning questions belongs to the very core of the theological enterprise. One may frequently find oneself in disagreement with elements of both Fohrer's historical reconstruction and his normative theological construction, but one will rarely fail to be stimulated in one's own thinking by what he has to say.

d. C. Westermann. According to Westermann (1982), a theology of the OT has the task of summarizing what the OT as a whole and in all its parts says about God. Westermann agrees with von Rad that unlike the NT, which has a center in Jesus Christ, the OT has no other center to which various theological assertions could be related. It is important, however, to look at how the OT speaks about God. As the tripartite canon indicates, the OT speaks about God's acting and speaking in history, and about humanity's response to that divine acting and speaking. And this furnishes Westermann with a key to organizing his material in six parts. Part I, "What Does the OT Say About God?" deals with methodological issues and provides a brief précis of his approach to the subject. The next four parts form the central core of his OT theology. Part II, "The Saving God and History," deals with one fundamental kind of divine activity: God's rescue of the needy from distress. God's saving activity may take many forms and applies to all spheres of life in both its individual and corporate dimensions. God's saving activity in the Exodus event at the beginning of Israel's history became determinative for all subsequent history.

Part III, "The Blessing God and Creation," deals with another fundamental kind of divine activity. It refers to God's ongoing, gradual, and less spectacular action in creation and in the daily flow of life, which is known as blessing in the Bible. The history of this blessing theme is then traced by Westermann from the patriarchal narratives and the Balaam oracles through Deuteronomy, the institution of kingship and the cult, the prophets, and the book of Job. Words associated with the blessing motif, such as "peace," "success," "prosperity," and "protection," are analyzed. Westermann's distinction between God's saving and blessing activity is an important one, which has frequently been neglected in more salvation-historically oriented treatments of the OT. It is a real gain which deserves to be preserved and explored more fully in OT theology. Curiously, though, Westermann does very little with wisdom in the OT, even though earlier in his book he had, quite rightly, located it under the rubric of creation theology.

Part IV, "God's Judgment and God's Compassion," begins with an analysis of the OT concept of sin and the vocabulary associated with it. The act/consequence theme is explored, as is the notion of forgiveness. This is followed by a discussion of the judgment theme in the Prophets, which addressed itself to all areas of Israelite life. The prophets, however, were also messengers of a saving, healing, and forgiving God, which leads Westermann to a discussion of God's compassion. The chapter concludes with a brief discussion of the apocalyptic, which is predominantly concerned with the future.

Part V, "The Response," analyzes various human responses to God's words and actions. Westermann distinguishes three basic forms which this response took: words, actions, and reflection. The response in words consisted of prayers, praise, and lamentation. The response in action could find either legal or cultic expression, that is, by obedient action in response to commandment, or in the life of corporate worship, including holy places, times, and mediators. Unlike Fohrer, Westermann here finds a positive valuation for Israel's legal and cultic traditions within his OT theology. The third type of human response to God's initiative is reflection. This could take the form of pious meditation on God or God's Torah (as in Psalms 1 and 119), or in more extended theological reflection. Examples of the latter would be the major historical traditions of the OT, such as the Yahwistic work, which is rooted in praise over experience of deliverance; the Deuteronomistic History, which is a reflection on the experience of judgment; and the Priestly work, which is rooted in the fundamental reality of God's presence in worship. He says nothing about the Elohistic tradition or the Chronicler. Westermann's subsuming of the primal histories of the OT under Israel's response is a major tour de force, which makes one wonder how meaningful the categories of "Yahweh's activity" and "Israel's response" really are when dealing with OT documents in an OT theology. Can these two entities be so neatly distinguished? Are not all OT documents at the same time records of both God's actions and Israel's response?

Part VI, "The Old Testament and Jesus Christ," is the last chapter in Westermann's book, in which he explores the nature of the relationship between the OT (and the faith expressed therein) and Jesus Christ. He does this from the tripartite perspective of the Hebrew canon under the following headings: (1) "The Historical Books and Jesus Christ," (2) "The Prophetic Proclamation and Jesus Christ," and (3) "Christ and the Response of God's People." Both God's saving and blessing activity find parallels in the NT story of Jesus Christ, as does the prophetic message and experience. Israel's response in words and actions as expressed in the psalms and in commandment and law also finds many echoes in the NT. Most of the comparisons which Westermann makes in this concluding chapter are predominantly of a descriptive nature and merit further exploration and consideration by objective scholarship. Unlike many earlier OT theologies written by Christians,

he does not simply use the OT for purposes of negative contrast; on the contrary, he frequently attempts to correct traditional Christian misconceptions of the OT. Throughout one gets the impression that he is concerned to restore the OT to full and equal partnership in the theological dialogue between the testaments.

Westermann's OT theology, like that of Zimmerli, is only a *Grundriss* ("basic elements"). It is a brief but very compact treatment of the subject, though one that is highly stimulating and thought-provoking. As regards his methodology, in spite of his emphasis on the historical character of the OT and the action-oriented nature of its God-talk, it is fundamentally conceptual and topical, rather than historical-sequential. This appears to be the prevailing trend in the field.

e. J. L. McKenzie. McKenzie's work (1974) is the first by a Roman Catholic scholar to break with the traditional schema of dogmatic theology. Instead, he follows a conceptual approach with topics abstracted from the OT itself. The basis on which his topics are chosen is the amount of coverage which they receive in the OT and the degree of "profundity" they exhibit within the totality of Israel's experience. On the basis of this admittedly somewhat subjective criterion, McKenzie devotes a chapter to each of the following seven topics: the cult, revelation, history, nature, wisdom, political and social institutions, and the future of Israel. Within this larger systematic and topical scheme, McKenzie occasionally finds it expedient to lapse into a more historical-sequential scheme, as when under the chapter on revelation he treats some of the prophets sequentially and book by book. This only reinforces what we have had occasion to observe previously, namely, that a single methodology is rarely adhered to rigorously, and that most OT theologies today exhibit a mixture of both systematic-conceptual and historical-sequential methodologies. Other distinguishing features of McKenzie's OT theology are the heavy emphasis he gives to Israel's cult and his refusal, explicitly at least, to relate the OT to the NT. As regards the former, one cannot help but wonder whether his emphasis on the cult is entirely due to the prominence given it in the OT, or whether the author's Roman Catholic orientation may also play a role in this. As regards his claim that he wrote this OT theology as if the NT did not exist, it is at least debatable whether the application of his criterion of "profundity" is not at times implicitly influenced by Christian values and NT perspectives.

f. W. C. Kaiser, Jr. Written by an American OT scholar and dean of Trinity Evangelical Divinity School in Deerfield, Illinois, Kaiser's theology (1978) is a self-conscious attempt to move beyond the methodological impasse represented by Eichrodt and von Rad. He attempts to achieve this by combining both conceptual and historical approaches to the subject in a harmonious whole. With von Rad, the author agrees that an OT theology must draw its approach from the historic progression of the canonical text of the OT. But unlike von Rad, he places much greater confidence in the historical accuracy and reliability of Israel's narrative traditions. Unlike von Rad also, but in agreement with Eichrodt and others, Kaiser believes that the various theological assertions of the OT are united by a common theological theme, which like a leitmotiv runs through them all and unites them in a common bond and purpose. The author thus belongs among those who believe in the existence of a theological center and organizing principle in OT theology. For Kaiser this is the theme of God's promise and blessing, first enunciated in Gen 12:1–3 and textually reiterated and confirmed throughout the canon by means of a variety of related words and concepts.

Accordingly, the main part of Kaiser's OT theology is organized into eleven chapters which follow a historical-sequential order, but are grouped around the central theme of promise as follows: Prolegomenon to the Promise: Prepatriarchal Era (chap. 5); Provisions in the Promise: Patriarchal Era (chap. 6); People of the Promise: Mosaic Era (chap. 7); Place of the Promise: Premonarchical Era (chap. 8); King of the Promise: Davidic Era (chap. 9); Life in the Promise: Sapiential Era (chap. 10); Day of the Promise: 9th Century (chap. 11); Servant of the Promise: 8th Century (chap. 12); Renewal of the Promise: 7th Century (chap. 13); Kingdom of the Promise: Exilic Prophets (chap. 14); and Triumph of the Promise: Postexilic Prophets (chap. 15). The first four chapters of the book deal with issues of definition and method, and the final chapter addresses briefly the question of the connection between the OT and NT.

A look at this outline inevitably creates the impression of a certain artificiality in the organization of the biblical data, which is confirmed by a close reading of the actual contents of these chapters. For instance, the Abrahamic and Davidic convenants are stressed to the neglect of the Mosaic covenant, which incidentally, Kaiser considers to be an outgrowth of the Abrahamic covenant. Given the author's choice of the promise motif as his theological center, this is not surprising at all, but it is highly doubtful that it reflects either historical reality or the literary witness of the OT. Also problematic is Kaiser's association of the topic "life in the promise" with the sapiential tradition and the assigning of all of the latter to the Solomonic era. Israel's cultic traditions are insufficiently treated, and it is also highly questionable to treat the postexilic developments of Israelite faith under the rubric of prophecy. Another serious shortcoming of Kaiser's OT theology is his failure to come to terms with the literary character of the material he is interpreting. Most of it is treated by him as if it were uniformly historical in character. Historical and literary-critical problems are bracketed out or ignored. This might have been less objectionable if the author had been content to claim merely a structuralist or canonical reading of the documents rather than a historical one.

In spite of these shortcomings, however, the book contains many valuable exegetical insights. The author is to be commended for his insistence on the exegetical nature of OT theology and that the overarching categories should be derived exegetically from the material itself. Certainly the theme of promise and blessing is an important one in the OT, the significance of which can be exegetically demonstrated over a wide range of literature, as Kaiser has done. But it, no less than any other single theological theme, is incapable of doing full justice to the wide-ranging and richly varied theological literature of the OT.

g. R. E. Clements. Clements' theology (1978), written by a British scholar and Baptist minister, originated in

1975 as a series of lectures intended primarily as a critique of then-existing OT theologies. Subsequently these were expanded to include the author's own suggestions as to what a theology of the OT should look like. This explains why a significant amount of space is devoted to methodological issues, whereas the author's own constructive treatment of the theological content of the OT is more in the nature of a brief sketch or outline rather than a full-fledged OT theology. Its eight chapters follow an essentially topical outline.

Chap. 1, "The Problem of OT Theology," deals with fundamental problems of the discipline as traditionally construed. Observing that OT theology traditionally has been a Christian undertaking, Clements questions why this is so and whether it is necessarily so. Against a purely descriptive approach, the author argues that theology by definition is something more than the study of religious ideas, for it offers a measure of evaluation of their truth. While the historical-critical method is absolutely essential for OT theology today, it alone is not sufficient but must be complemented by theological perspectives. The canon is of theological significance for the discipline, as is the fact that we can observe already in Scripture a process of transition from cultic religion to the religion of a book. Clements rejects the methodological search for a uniform center for constructing an OT theology, but notes that ultimately it is the nature and being of God which establishes a unity in the OT.

Chap. 2, "Dimensions of Faith in the Old Testament," turns to an examination of four salient features of the OT which must be considered carefully before one attempts to elicit from it a particular theology. *The literary dimension* reminds us that the OT is not the product of any one author but of many, and that it contains many literary types. *The historical dimension* reminds us that the OT consists to a large extent of historical narratives which speak of various levels of divine intervention and activity in the world; these have to be taken into account in uncovering the theological meaning of ancient biblical narratives. Changing and conflicting perspectives (e.g., the revolt of Jehu) can also be demonstrated, but the notion of "progressive revelation" must be used with caution. *The cultic dimension* reminds us that contrary to much modern Christian interpretation, the cult was not just a dispensable adjunct but the heart of Israelite religion. It so affected the ideas and language of the OT that it may be viewed as the cradle of biblical theology. Yet the conception of God also brought forth changes in the cult. Finally, *the intellectual dimension* reminds us that the OT arose in an ancient culture and setting which was very different from the modern world. In this ancient milieu the OT came in contact with three areas of the history of religious ideas—primitive thinking, mythical thinking, and the realm of magic—yet it effected significant changes in all of these areas as a result of its emphasis on the personal and moral nature of God.

After these preliminary hermeneutical considerations, Clements in the next four chapters of his book turns to an examination of the essentials of OT theology as he understands it. Chap. 3, "The God of Israel," deals with the being, names, presence, and uniqueness of God. Chap. 4, "The People of God," examines God's human partner under the rubrics of people and nation, election, and covenant. Chap. 5, "The Old Testament as Law," gives adequate recognition to the importance of Torah in the OT under the following four headings: "The Meaning of Tôrâh," "The Pentateuch as Tôrâh," "The Tôrâh and the Prophets," and "From Tôrâh to Law." Clements' emphasis on Torah is a welcome and much-needed corrective to many OT theologies written by Christian authors. Chap. 6, "The Old Testament as Promise," deals chiefly, though not exclusively, with the prophetic literature of the OT under the following fourfold subheadings: "Prophecy and the Judgment of Israel," "Prophecy and Hope," "The Forms of Prophetic Hope," and "The Promise in the Law and the Writings." Clements goes on to observe that for Christian interpreters the prophetic promise motif has always been more congenial to finding theological meaning and significance in the OT than the Torah motif (see the OT theology by Kaiser above). Yet both motifs are present in the OT and must be given their due significance in any OT theology. The author is to be commended for his evenhanded treatment of both themes. The sixth chapter concludes the author's attempt at constructing the outline of an OT theology as he understands it.

In the final two chapters of his book, Clements turns again to topics which belong to the category of prolegomena to an OT theology, rather than to its actual content. They deal with OT theology in relation to other theological disciplines, Chap. 7 dealing with "The Old Testament and the History of Religions," and Chap. 8 with "The Old Testament and the Study of Theology."

One may fault Clements' OT theology for the disproportionate attention given to the prolegomena-type issues, as over against the theological content of the OT. His failure to deal with the third part of the OT canon, except for a few scattered references to the psalms, is a more glaring omission and one which is not adequately explained. The acknowledged origin of the book may be cited in partial explanation of these imbalances. In spite of these shortcomings, however, the book contains many good insights and suggestions, which others may explore more fully. It certainly breaks some new ground, and for this reason alone must be judged to be an important contribution to the ongoing discussion about the nature and task of OT theology.

h. E. E. Martens. Written by the president of and professor of OT at Mennonite Brethren Biblical Seminary, Martens' OT theology (1981) represents a distinctive approach to the subject in that it seeks to construct an OT theology on the basis of a grid provided by a single text in Exod 5:22–6:8. In this passage, the author finds enunciated the central message of the OT in the concept of "God's design." God's design has a fourfold purpose: (1) the bestowal of blessing, consisting of both deliverance in history and blessing through the cult; (2) the formation of a covenant community; (3) the knowledge of God expressed in personal relationship; and (4) the gift of the land and the enjoyment of life in it. On the basis of this grid of God's fourfold design, the author then proceeds to lay out the theological content of the OT. The book is divided into four major parts. In the first part, the fourfold design is articulated on the basis of the Exodus passage and "earlier" anticipations of it in the primeval

history and the patriarchal narratives. The second part examines the implementation of this design in the premonarchic era. The third part traces the testing of that design during the era of the monarchy. And the fourth part explores of the reaffirmation of that fourfold design in the postmonarchic era, including a brief glance at its reemergence in the NT books of Matthew and Romans.

From this outline it is apparent that the author's methodology is a combination of systematic-conceptual and diachronic approaches, whereby historical- and literary-critical questions are for the most part ignored in favor of a conservative acceptance of the historicity of the narratives. In spite of this shortcoming, however, the book provides many valuable insights into the meaning of the biblical text. The author also has a clear sense of the difference between the descriptive and constructive dimensions of his task. At several points scattered throughout the volume, there are sections specifically marked as "Theological Reflections," in which Martens explores the potential meaning and significance for today of biblical passages and themes just described. Martens' OT theology further confirms the confluence of synchronic and diachronic, descriptive and normative approaches to the subject, which we have had occasion to observe in many contemporary OT theologies.

i. W. H. Schmidt. The Werner Schmidt, who is professor of OT at the University of Marburg in Germany, has characterized his book (1983) as standing midway between a history of Israelite religion and a theology of the OT. Even a casual examination of its contents, however, reveals that the book is in fact a history of the religion of Israel, not an OT theology. First of all, the dominant and overarching approach to the subject is historical and genetic rather than systematic and conceptual. The four major subdivisions of the book are purely historical in nature: (1) nomadic prehistory; (2) the early period after the Conquest; (3) the period of the monarchy; and (4) the late period. The subsections under these headings deal for the most part with individual topics of a historical nature, such as the God of the Fathers, the wars of Yahweh, the tribal confederacy, the monarchy, prophecy, and the apocalyptic. Where more systematic concepts such as covenant, election, or the word of God appear at all, they are relegated to a brief excursus rather than being taken up in the main body of the text.

A second reason why this work is better classified as a history of Israelite religion is because it emphasizes heavily the notion of growth and change in Israel's religion during the course of its history, as well as its relationship and affinity to its ANE environment. To be sure, the author also describes that which distinguishes Israelite religion from other ancient religions (chiefly its understanding of God as reflected in the first and second commandments), but that fact in itself does not make Schmidt's book an OT theology. Any history of Israelite religion worthy of the name will also do that, as we have seen above (cf. Fohrer and Vriezen).

A third reason for judging this book to be a history of Israelite religion rather than an OT theology has to do with the exclusively descriptive nature of its analysis. There is no attempt at constructive theological synthesis or at making any kind of judgment regarding what are the normative and abiding elements of OT faith which might continue to inform the faith communities who view the OT as sacred Scripture.

The fact that this book deals chiefly, though by no means exclusively, with the history of the religious ideas (rather than the religious practices and institutions) of Israel does not make it an OT theology, as the author seems to assume. Even a history of religious ideas is still a history of the religion of Israel, albeit a more narrowly focused one. Schmidt's volume, for all intents and purposes, is very similar in conception, structure, and emphasis to such recent histories of Israelite religion as those by Ringgren, Fohrer, and Vriezen, and might just as well have been labeled that. As such, it is well written and takes its place as a worthy equal among them.

j. B. S. Childs. Brevard Childs of Yale University has been an active participant in the debate about the nature and purpose of the discipline for many years (see Childs 1970). More recently, however, he has presented his own constructive attempt at an OT theology (Childs 1985). It is a book of rather modest dimensions; like most recent OT theologies, it is more in the nature of an "outline" rather than a full-fledged treatment of the subject. By the author's own admission in the preface, it is presented in a less technical form than his earlier commentary and introductions. Nevertheless, the subject matter is dealt with in sufficient detail to reflect adequately his understanding of it.

Childs follows essentially a systematic and topical method of organization. The roughly 250 pages of his book are divided into 20 brief chapters. The first two are methodological in nature, dealing respectively with the nature and history of the discipline and the meaning of revelation as applied to the OT. The theme of revelation is also the subject of the next two chapters, where the author examines the question of how God is known (chap. 3) and what the purpose of God's revelation is in the OT (chap. 4). The revelation of God is inseparably associated with the revelation of God's will. Consequently, the next four chapters are devoted to that subject under the following headings: The Law of God (chap. 5); Knowing and Doing the Will of God (chap. 6); The Theological Significance of the Decalogue (chap. 7); and the Role of Ritual and Purity Laws (chap. 8). The next five chapters examine various human recipients of God's revelation: The Recipients of God's Revelation (chap. 9); Agents of God's Rule: Moses, Judges, Kings (chap. 10); The Office and Function of the Prophet (chap. 11); True and False Prophets (chap. 12); and the Theological Role of Priesthood (chap. 13). The theme of revelation, which loosely held together the first 13 chapters of the book, is not as apparent in the remaining 7 chapters, which deal with a sequence of unrelated topics as follows: Benefit of the Covenant: The Cultus (chap. 14); Structures of the Common Life, dealing with various civil, legal, and military institutions (chap. 15); Male and Female as a Theological Problem (chap. 16); The Theological Dimension of Being Human (chap. 17); The Shape of the Obedient Life, which deals with Israel's response to God in psalms, wisdom, and story (chap. 18); Life under Threat (chap. 19); and Life under Promise (chap. 20).

From this outline it is apparent that Childs' way of doing

OT theology represents no radical departure from the way others have done it. He emphasizes both constructive and descriptive dimensions of the task and orders his material in a conceptual and topical, rather than a historical or tradition-historical, manner. Even his vocal emphasis on a "canonical approach" represents no radical departure from past practices, for OT theology has traditionally accepted the canon of the OT as the source and norm which define its limits. It is true that Childs, more frequently than other scholars, makes the final or present shape of the canonical books the object of his theological reflections, rather than the antecedent stages or the process which led to their formation. But this fact is not sufficient to speak of a radical departure in biblical theology. (Hasel's handbook [1982: 86–92] needlessly multiplies labels and distinctions when it calls this the "New Biblical Theology Method." It is neither a new nor a distinct or well-defined method.) Childs' OT theology falls well within the limits of the fundamental dialectics described earlier, which have characterized the discipline for many years. His most recent work is another significant contribution to the field, but it blazes no new trails, nor does it resolve the fundamental problems and tensions which have beset the discipline in the past, and which will continue to beset it in the future.

Finally, Childs' claim that OT theology is a specifically Christian theological discipline makes only explicit what has historically been implicit in most OT theologies written by Christians. The validity or legitimacy of this claim is an issue which we shall not pursue at this point, but to which we shall return (see B.4 below).

k. S. Terrien. Terrien's volume (1978) is not so much an OT theology as it is a biblical theology, ranging across the theological content of both the OT and NT. However, since a major portion of its content deals with the OT, and since the OT provides the major overarching rubrics for dealing with the content of the NT, it is desirable to include this book under a discussion of recent OT theologies.

For Terrien, the reality of the presence of God stands at the center of biblical faith. This presence, however, is always elusive, so that one could equally well say that the dialectic between God's self-disclosure and self-concealment stands at the center of biblical faith. This theme, according to Terrien, is more fundamental and pervasive than the theme of covenant or any other center which has been proposed so far. Its pervasive presence can be demonstrated not only for the OT, but for the NT as well; hence it is ideally suited for the construction of a biblical theology which embraces both testaments.

In accordance with this overarching theme of God's elusive presence, a vast amount of biblical data is organized in ten succinct chapters. Chap. 1, "Cultus and Faith in Biblical Research," deals with some antecedent methodological issues. The author alludes to three revolutions in biblical studies (literary criticism, form criticism, and tradition history) and describes what he considers to be two dominant schools in OT studies: (1) the Scandinavian and British "myth and ritual" school, and (2) the German and Swiss "story of salvation" school. Terrien's own inquiry proposes to utilize the insights of both in the conviction that cultus and faith are integrally related and mutually interdependent in the Bible. The remainder of the first chapter is devoted to a brief discussion of the history and nature of biblical theology, as well as the author's own constructive proposals regarding it.

Chap. 2, "Epiphanic Visitations to the Patriarchs," traces the theme of divine presence through the ancestral narratives. These are understood as stories which preserve memories of moments when the Hebrew ancestors had perceived the presence of their God with particular intensity. Terrien maintains that the ancestral traditions differ from other theophanic traditions in the OT in that they are free from the display of natural mirabilia and are couched in the style of simple meetings, centering on dramatic dialogue between God and human beings. Several of the narratives of Genesis are examined in detail by the author with considerable exegetical skill and theological sensitivity.

In chap. 3 Terrien turns to an examination of "The Sinai Theophanies." While the theophanic experiences ascribed to Moses bear some resemblance to the "epiphanic visitations" of the ancestors, they also differ from the latter in several respects: they ascribe the theophanies to a single place, the mountain of God; while the ancestors erected many altars at various sites, Moses created no topographically fixed shrine in the Wilderness of Sinai; they emphasize the element of natural wonder; and they are concerned with the theologoumenon of "the Name." In the disclosure of the latter, sight is submitted to hearing. Hebraism is a religion not so much of the eye as of the ear. The name carries connotations of divine presence, but it also confers upon this presence a quality of elusiveness. Terrien then goes on to contrast "name theology" with "*kābôd* theology," which are seen as the conflation of two distinct traditions, North and South. The former emphasizes the hearing of sounds and voices and the obeying of words, whereas the latter emphasizes visions of divine glory.

Chap. 4, "Presence in the Temple," deals with the theme of divine presence through sacred space, a notion deeply embedded in the human psyche. In Israel, however, there was a profound tension between two cultic views of divine presence: presence through space, and presence through time. This tension Terrien illustrates with reference to the changing roles of three cultic institutions: (1) the Ark of Yahweh, illustrating a move from historical time to cultic space; (2) the tent of meeting, which was a spatial vehicle for prophetic or oracular communication, to be distinguished from tabernacle and temple; and (3) the temple of Solomon, which Terrien interprets in the main as a reversion to NW Semitic paganism, with its omphalos myth and the triumph of the sense of seeing over the sense of hearing. Only in the Deuteronomistic reinterpretation of the name theology is the sense of hearing brought to the fore again. Further modifications were also effected by the prophetic critique of one-sided notions of divine presence in Israel; which brings the author to the subject of the next chapter.

Chap. 5 is devoted to "The Prophetic Vision." In keeping with Terrien's thematic and conceptual approach, the prophets are not dealt with individually and in chronological order, but as a single phenomenon under several theological rubrics. In distinction from other commonly held views, Terrien understands the prophets not primar-

ily as predictors of the future, nor as announcers of the coming Messiah, nor even as social reformers, but as "poets of divine presence, even when they prayed to a deus absconditus" (1978: 227). In the traditions about Elijah, Terrien discerns a dramatic turning point in the Hebraic theology of presence, insofar as it closed the era of theophany and relegated it to the realm of an unrepeatable past. In its place is ushered in the era of prophetic vision, "where miracles of nature become miracles of character" (1978: 229). Elijah's experience at Horeb demonstrates that "the God that is coming is altogether different from the one that man expects" (1978: 234). Elijah recognized the presence, but he did not see God. He only heard a voice, and it was the voice of commission. Elijah was not a new Moses, but the forerunner of an Amos. All the great prophets were confronted with the sudden discovery of presence, which they did not seek out, but to which they responded. Their burden was the burden of the word which had been forced upon them. It is to the intrusion of the divine presence in the word that their entire lives were subordinated. The prophets were intimate companions of God, but their companionship never deteriorated into casual familiarity. When Yahweh was silent, the prophet prayed, but he could not compel. The elusiveness of the divine presence gave birth to prophetic prayer and the poetry of spiritual agony. It also fulfilled a double function: it pointed to God's transcendent freedom over nature and humanity, but it also became a symbol of God's self-imposed weakness as a model for human power.

In chap. 6, Terrien turns from the prophets to "The Psalmody of Presence." Several specific psalms are analyzed to demonstrate the manifold ways in which the theme of presence is developed. David himself, as reflected in Psalm 18, experienced divine presence as immediate and real and in terms of the liturgical anamnesis of the Sinai theophany, together with its implications of obedience and loyalty to the Mosaic covenant demands. For the Davidic successors, however, presence was conceived as an adoption into divine sonship, which was institutionalized in sacred ritual, as illustrated by Psalm 110. Terrien considers this to be a deterioration of the Hebraic theology of presence.

That the Lord of heaven and earth was present cultically in the sanctuary is the assumption of much of Israel's hymnology. But the psalms also attest a movement from cultic presence to spiritual presence, in the form of communion with Yahweh through faithful obedience far from the holy place (Psalms 27 and 84). The psalmists received through Zion a faith which taught them the superfluity of Zion. Some psalmists labored under the plight of their spiritual isolation; they sang of the absence or hiddenness of God (Psalm 22). Others spoke of the "haunting God," whose presence was experienced as oppressive (Psalm 139). And yet others spoke of the "sufficient God," whose presence could be experienced in situations of extremity (Psalm 23). Terrien sees the psalmody of presence evolving from royal communion to the inner life of the common person. Like the great prophets, the cultic musicians interiorized the cultus and thus helped to prepare the birth of Judaism after the destruction of the temple in 586 B.C.E.

In chap. 7 Terrien turns to an analysis of "The Play of Wisdom." While the prophets compared communion between Yahweh and Israel to a marriage, and while the psalmists spoke of divine presence in terms of cultic nearness and mystical quest, the wise spoke of access to presence through the love of wisdom, which Terrien characterizes as a "man-initiated enterprise but in depth a human response to a transcendental call" (1978: 358). Wisdom could be likened to a sublime counterpart of the prostitutes in the mystery cults of the ancient Semitic world, who attempted to allure all who passed by. While for many of the wise presence was viewed as attainable, Job experienced God not only as absent or silent, but as an enemy whom he accused of malevolence and irresponsibility. Yet Job in turn encountered the holiness of God in its fullness, without intermediary or protective armor. Qoheleth pierces the traditional delusions of religionists. Seemingly skeptical, he nevertheless maintained a deep attachment to the theocentricity of all life. Terrien concludes this chapter with the claim that the sages exhibited the same theological rigor as the prophets, but they shifted their attention from history, a stage now devoid of God, to the theater of the universe where they detected divine presence. Terrien's claims for wisdom appear to be somewhat exaggerated, though he is to be commended for seeking to restore it to its rightful place within an OT theology.

Chap. 8, "The Final Epiphany," deals with postexilic Judaism. It is distinguished sharply from preexilic Hebraism as follows. Whereas Hebraism had been founded on divine presence, Judaism arose from divine absence. The parents had seen the mighty acts of God, but the children knew only national dereliction. Such generalized epitomes may strike the reader as a bit too glib and facile. God's presence continued to manifest itself even in postexilic times. And this not only cultically, but now also in joyous meditation upon and faithful obedience to God's Torah, as well as through a life of prayer and mystic communion with one's Maker (see, e.g., Psalms 1 and 119).

More justified, perhaps, is Terrien's claim that there occurred in postexilic times a shift in emphasis from sacred space to sacred time. This thesis is undergirded with respect to three institutions which the author analyzes: The Sabbath, the Day of Atonement, and the Day of the Lord. In the Sabbath, ancient notions of sacrality are transferred from "holy space" to "holy time," as illustrated dramatically by the creation story in Genesis 1. Whereas ancient Semitic cosmogonies had concluded in the building of a temple, the priestly story of creation concludes with the consecration of the Sabbath. For Terrien, the Day of Atonement ritual exemplifies a theology of mediated presence through the agency of priest and temple, whereby the sins of the past were erased through the observance of the yearly ritual. Terrien, however, moves on shaky ground when he asserts that the atonement ceremony contains a "built-in element of amorality," because the collective aspect of forgiveness tends to dull the rigor of personal decision and behavioral commitment. Such value judgments appear ill-founded, especially when one compares the subsequent history of the Jewish and Christian communities.

The remaining two chapters of Terrien's theology are devoted to tracing the theme of divine presence into the NT. In chap. 9, "Presence as the Word," Terrien argues that the theme of divine presence was of more fundamen-

tal importance to the early Christian interpretations of Jesus than the ideology of messianism. This is seen most clearly in three pivotal movements described in the Gospels: annunciation, transfiguration, and resurrection. Correlating the motifs of theophany, temple, and final epiphany, they interpreted the person of Jesus in the context of divine manifestation. These three stories as told in the four Gospels are subjected to a detailed exegesis by Terrien, and numerous parallels are drawn between elements in them and their OT antecedents. (That the NT picture of Jesus exhibits extensive affinities to Hebraic and Jewish antecedents comes as no surprise but a welcome confirmation to those who have never been persuaded by the Bultmannian construct of Jesus and of early Christianity.) In answer to the question why the early Church told the stories about the annunciation, transfiguration, and resurrection of an obscure Galilean executed for sedition by the Romans, Terrien replies quite simply that they saw that God was present in Jesus and that Jesus communicated divine presence to them. In his mortal existence, Jesus had brought God's nearness to people in need. In his eternal life, his presence enveloped them and created them anew.

Chap. 10, "The Name and the Glory," is devoted to the proposition that one of the dominant thought forms of the earliest methods of interpreting the person of Jesus was the temple ideology. The author seeks to demonstrate this thesis by looking at some key passages in Acts and the Epistles of Paul under the following three themes: (1) the New Temple; (2) the Temple of the Spirit; and (3) the Temple of his Body. Surprisingly, the author pays scant attention to the Epistle to the Hebrews, which is replete with temple ideology.

Obviously, Terrien's analysis of NT materials from the perspective of the theme of divine presence could have been even fuller. But by what he has done, the author has amply demonstrated that a biblical theology covering both testaments is a viable enterprise and one which could shed fresh light on the meaning and significance of the NT and of the Christian faith. Terrien's volume is a significant and masterful exemplar of the discipline of OT and biblical theology. Thoroughly grounded in the detailed exegesis of numerous texts, it includes a wealth of information exhibiting broad mastery of the field and relevant literature. His documentation from both primary and secondary sources is thorough and comprehensive. The book is also lucidly and interestingly written. Even where one disagrees with viewpoints advanced by the author, one still finds oneself stimulated by him. The understanding of the discipline of OT theology reflected in his work is both descriptive and normative. It goes further than most recent OT theologies in being theologically normative. The author's overarching methodology is conceptual and thematic, although historical and tradition-historical perspectives are not entirely ignored. The center of his theology is the dialectal theme of God's presence and absence, or self-disclosure and self-concealment. Associated with it are a number of subordinate dialectal themes, such as eye and ear, hearing and seeing, glory and name, aesthetic and ethical, and the like. By means of these, he is able to bring into correlation a mass of biblical data, including such diverse and frequently neglected materials as wisdom and cultic piety. It is not necessary to agree with the author that the theme of divine presence is the only one, or even the most viable one, for doing biblical theology. Other themes and conceptual constructs may be used to correlate significant amounts of biblical data, as an examination of one final biblical theology will demonstrate.

I. P. D. Hanson. Like Terrien's theology, Hanson's (1986) is a biblical theology that ranges across the content of both testaments, and that draws major overarching concepts from the OT. The purpose of Hanson's biblical theology is clearly stated in its preface. He does not seek to present a new biblical theology on the scale of Eichrodt or von Rad. Instead, he proposes to follow one fundamental theme which he sees running as a unifying thread through all the diverse writings of the Bible. On the other hand, he proposes to transcend the limitations of Eichrodt and von Rad in two important ways: first, by concentrating not solely on the historical and prophetic traditions, but by dealing with all major biblical traditions, including priestly, sapiential, and apocalyptic ones; and second, by going beyond the OT into the NT.

As regards the book's design, an appendix and the first chapter are devoted to a discussion of the underlying presuppositions and methodology of the author. Hanson's approach to the subject is avowedly descriptive and normative. Constructive theological reflections are interspersed with rigorous historical, sociological, and philological analysis. The remaining 14 chapters of the book cover various biblical periods in historical sequence, including the intertestamental and NT periods. Relevant biblical literature is assigned to and discussed against the background of a brief historical sketch of each period, which is prefixed at the head of each chapter. So rigorous is this historical and sequential approach to the subject that in large stretches the book is indistinguishable from a history of the religion of Israel. Nevertheless, the construct of an overarching normative theme against which the various religious ideas and institutions of each period are measured, as well as the presence of constructive theological reflections and applications, places this book squarely within the category of OT theology as we have defined it. Hanson's book, however, is a vivid reminder of how closely related and interdependent these two sister disciplines have become in recent decades.

The unifying theme or center of Hanson's biblical theology is the biblical notion of community. Born in the experience of the Exodus, this notion is based on a pattern of divine initiative and human response. To the antecedent acts of a righteous and compassionate God, Israel responded in grateful worship and praise. The Yahwistic notion of community centered on devotion to one God alone and was defined by a triad of qualities: righteousness, compassion, and worship. This triadic notion of community, unlike the one which it challenged, did not offer a finished program, but rather inaugurated a historical process. It is to a description of this historical process that the successive chapters of Hanson's book are devoted.

The Yahwistic notion of community grew during the era of the tribal league. It was tested and refined during the age of kings and prophets. Kingship with its Davidic covenant theme and Zion tradition affected it both positively and negatively. But it was especially through prophecy that the Yahwistic notion of community was preserved and

developed. Amos and Hosea envisaged a reformulation of the community of faith. Isaiah effected a masterful synthesis between the early Yahwistic notion of community and the Jerusalem royal theology; at the time the latter was thoroughly eschatologized. Micah represents one of the sharpest attacks on the Zion tradition in the name of the covenant theology of early Yahwism; and Jeremiah stands as a monumental example of the tenacity of the latter. He saw more clearly than anyone before him that the chief obstacle to true community lay deep within the human heart, requiring a new redemptive act by God. In spite of the sincere reform efforts by kings like Hezekiah and Josiah, the monarchic experiment ended in failure. Out of this crisis, new attempts at reformulating the Yahwistic notion of community were made. Ezekiel envisaged a program for the restoration of purity through the sanctuary and the cult. The Priestly writing also envisaged a return to fundamental structures of worship established in a bygone era. It stressed the atonement ritual provided by God as a means of overcoming sin and alienation from God. The emphasis on strict division between priests and Levites and the stress on the definitive nature of Torah as an eternal order ordained by God on Sinai sowed the seeds of subsequent strife between various segments of the postexilic community. Second Isaiah's was the most remarkable response arising out of the Exile. The era of punishment for sin was ended; a new era of salvation was about to be ushered in by God. In the figure of the servant, he announced a broadened and deepened understanding of community. It included not only Israel but the nations of the world and was rooted in the mystery of God's redeeming action in one who suffered the fate of the accursed, but who through his vicarious sacrifice was gathering together a community of the forgiven and redeemed by God.

In contrast to Second Isaiah's lofty vision, the early postexilic community was characterized by party strife and dissension. Leadership was held firmly in the hands of the Zadokite party, with its pragmatic program of domestic consolidation around a hierarchically stratified cult. It received support and new impetus from prophets like Haggai and Zechariah, as well as from circles responsible for an early edition of Chronicles. Dissident groups gave rise to apocalyptic eschatology, represented by such texts as Ezekiel 38–39, Isaiah 24–27, and Zechariah 10–14. The book of Malachi, as well as the editorial framework of Third Isaiah, represents a protest against conditions in the divided community of the 5th century. Hanson ventures the judgment that the Yahwistic notion of community during this period was perhaps better understood by those who lost the struggle for preeminence than by the Zadokite establishment which won, a reminder that faithfulness to a biblical ideal is not necessarily associated with the religious establishment of a given era.

The threat of the dissolution of the Yahwistic community during the 5th century was avoided through the successful reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah. Their contribution is evaluated positively by Hanson as providing the concrete communal structures capable of regulating a society and maintaining a just order, without which the high ideals of the Yahwistic community of faith might not have been preserved. At the same time it must also be noted, however, that their tendency to identify righteousness too closely with a narrow partisan view of community muted earlier prophetic understanding of God's compassionate and all-inclusive outreach. Such attempts to scale back the eschatological dimension of Yahwistic faith by focusing too exclusively on the "holy seed" of Judah did not go unchallenged. Voices of protest against them were raised in such writings as Joel, Ruth, and Jonah.

During the 3rd century, the pressures of hellenization posed new threats to the Jewish community. Against the threats of assimilation, fidelity to the Torah came to be upheld as a norm. The Torah came to be viewed as the eternal manifestation of the divine order of the universe, aided by its identification with wisdom. Increasingly, the Torah scribes came to be viewed as the community leaders. The last two centuries before the common era witnessed the rise of diverse notions of community, represented by the rise of such rival groups as the Sadducees, Pharisees, and Essenes. An understanding of these is important for studying how the biblical notion of community was further developed with the early Christian movement.

Hanson turns next to an examination of the notion of community in the teaching of Jesus as reflected in the Synoptic Gospels. He is careful to delineate both elements of continuity and discontinuity in the message of Jesus against its Jewish background. Jesus' teaching began with the heart of classical Yahwism as expressed in the Shema and Isaiah's call to trust in God. Jesus' own life of prayer and worship exhibited continuity with his Jewish upbringing, as did his respect and love for the Torah tradition of his people. He treasured the commandments as a trustworthy guide to God's will. But his view of Torah was less systematic and philosophical and more historical. It involved attention to both the original setting and present setting of any law, as exemplified by his views on the divorce law. More important than the mere keeping of any precept was a person's present relationship with God (see his dialogue with the rich young man). Jesus also redefined community membership in a more inclusive way by removing it from normal social conventions and placing it directly within the eschatological context of divine initiative and human response. The kingdom of God for him was not an object of apocalyptic speculation but a present reality in the lives of those responding to God's call; wherever acts of justice and mercy are performed from a grateful and loving heart, there the kingdom is present. Indivisibly related to his teaching was the way in which he manifested the presence of the kingdom in his own life. His whole life was one of undivided worship of his Father in heaven; righteousness and compassion lay at the very center of it. Finding the Yahwistic triad of worship, righteousness, and compassion in the gospel narrative further corroborates the notion that it constitutes the heart of the biblical notion of community.

The subsequent history of this notion is then briefly traced by Hanson through the first three Christian generations as reflected in the rest of the NT. The early disciples understood their mission to be an extension of that of their master, that is, to preach the kingdom of God. In the post-Easter period, their focus came to rest increasingly on Jesus as the Messiah of the kingdom. As the Torah represented God's presence to the Pharisees, so Christ

came to represent God's presence to the disciples. The basis for Paul's message was his eschatological belief that Jesus the Messiah had inaugurated the new age of reconciliation. The notion of community was broadened to include the gentiles, though without voiding God's election of Israel. Finally, in the period after 70 C.E., and in the face of rising tensions with gnosticizing tendencies, alienation from the Jewish community, and Roman persecution, Church order and true doctrine came to be increasingly stressed. The intense eschatology of the primitive Church gave way to a more pragmatic posture of viewing the Church as one institution among many others in the world.

In a final chapter, Hanson engages in some concluding reflections on the contemporary implications of the biblical notion of community. He believes that it has abiding validity and that it can offer a reliable guide both in providing a life-sustaining fellowship and in reaching out beyond that fellowship to bring healing to a broken world. That basic thesis is elucidated with reference to three typical problems posed for the communities which continue to look to the Bible for guidance: community structure, relations with civil authorities, and Jewish-Christian relations.

A brief comparison between Hanson's and Terrien's biblical theology may be instructive at this point. Their understanding of the nature of the discipline shows a large measure of agreement. While both works are rooted in detailed description, their authors affirm and practice the normative dimensions of their task. Both range over the entire Christian canon of OT and NT. In sharp contrast to biblical theology as practiced by most Christian theologians, the OT is not slighted in favor of the NT, but given its full due as a worthy partner in the theological dialogue between the two. Hanson perhaps does a little better job in delineating the elements which unite and differentiate Christians and Jews in a common theological bond. Both make a conscious effort to include in their biblical theologies previously neglected parts of the OT, such as priestly, sapiential, and apocalyptic traditions. In this respect, Hanson is stronger in his treatment of priestly and apocalyptic materials, and Terrien in his handling of sapiential ones.

Methodologically, both use a combination of conceptual and historical methods, whereby Hanson's treatment of the subject is more pronouncedly historical and genetic than Terrien's. Terrien does a magnificent job of amassing and critically sifting a vast amount of secondary literature; whereas Hanson's documentation is perhaps a bit more eclectic and not as comprehensive. Both have a center for their biblical theology in the form of an overarching theme. The fact that both are able to digest a vast amount of biblical data under centers which differ, yet which each author considers as in some sense central to biblical theology, is further evidence for the contention that the quest for a "center" in OT theology is not as significant or crucial as recent discussion would lead us to believe (contra Hasel 1982: 117). As a matter of fact, we consider the search for a center to be largely immaterial and misleading, irrespective of whether one understands by "center" either a principle of organization or a normative category in the sense of referring to the abiding truth and validity of Scripture. To be sure, the most pervasive reality of the OT is Yahweh God, and in this very limited sense, one could speak of Yahweh as the dynamic unifying center of the OT. How useful or functional, however, is such a general and abstract statement? The OT does not contemplate God in isolation or in God's essential being, but only in relation to and interaction with other entities, such as human and angelic beings, history, or the world in which we live. Therefore, as soon as one goes on to ask such questions as, what kind of God is it to whom the OT bears witness? or, what is God like and how is God known? one is immediately involved with a chorus of many voices and answers which the OT documents provide.

The search for a center becomes even more futile when by it we mean a single organizing principle under which all the materials of the OT can be effectively subsumed. The multiplicity of so-called centers advanced in the history of the discipline, to say nothing of the many dialectal or multiple "centers" which have become popular in recent years, should be ample evidence to persuade us of the futility of such a quest. Each center has a limited usefulness in that it provides a particular angle of vision from which the biblical data may be viewed. Some may even be broader and more comprehensive than others, allowing us to see a wider spectrum of the Bible. Others may be too narrow, screening out too many important data. But even the best and most comprehensive still distort or leave out dimensions better seen from other angles, or they may become so broad and abstract as to obscure the sharpness and specificity of the biblical presentation of ultimate reality. For these reasons, we consider undue preoccupation with a center for OT theology to be a wasted effort. Several angles of vision are better than one. Eichrodt's covenant concept, Terrien's "Elusive Presence," Hanson's "Triadic Notion of Community," just to mention a few, are all angles of vision which allow us to see some things more clearly than others. None are inherently superior. Among all of them, there is a considerable amount of overlap. All taken together give us a more adequate, though still not perfect and complete, grasp of the reality to which they point. The quest for a unified and logically coherent system is perhaps more germane to systematic than to OT and biblical theology. Inordinate attention to it may even suggest that we are in danger of confusing the two disciplines again. The historically specific and concrete theological message of the OT must not be overly systematized and abstracted.

m. Summary. In concluding this section on methodology in OT theology, it may be helpful to summarize succinctly what we have learned from this survey of recent OT theologies. First of all, as regards the dialectal tension between descriptive and normative dimensions of the discipline, some scholars, like Zimmerli, Westermann, and McKenzie, continue to emphasize the descriptive dimension of OT theology. The majority of OT theologians surveyed, however, have become much more overtly normative than either Eichrodt or von Rad. By and large they have achieved this, however, without falling prey to the confusion between these two dimensions which characterized some of the biblical theology of the 1950s. Stendahl's differentiation seems to have made a lasting impact, even if his counsel for a purely descriptive approach is no longer heeded.

As regards methodological principles of organization, the issues today are no longer as sharply drawn as they

were between Eichrodt and von Rad. Nearly all OT theologies today combine conceptual and systematic with historical and tradition-historical approaches to the subject. Some, like Vriezen, McKenzie, Clements, Childs, and Terrien, favor the conceptual approach. Others, like Zimmerli, Kaiser, and Hanson, clearly prefer historical and tradition-historical principles of organization. A few, like Fohrer and Westermann, exhibit a more nearly equal balance between the two.

Some of the works surveyed continue to favor some parts of the OT canon over others. The German scholars on the whole continue to give preference to the historical and prophetic traditions, downplaying or ignoring priestly and sapiental traditions. Westermann's distinction between the saving and blessing activity of God, however, appears to be a significant modification of a one-sidedly salvation-historical approach to the subject. While many English-speaking scholars are guilty of a similar preference for a "canon within the canon," some important correctives can be discerned in recent British and American OT theologies. Clements, for instance, seeks to redress the imbalance with respect to the Torah and legal traditions of the OT. McKenzie emphasizes the importance of the cult, and Terrien gives adequate recognition to the importance of sapiential and cultic traditions. Hanson's coverage of apocalyptic traditions is quite thorough. Legal and cultic traditions are also given their due by Hanson and Childs. While more could yet be done on this score, all in all there appears to be a greater degree of respect for the theological witness of the entire canon of the OT, rather than just selected segments thereof.

3. Revelation through History, Tradition, and Story. Another issue in OT theology is the problem of revelation through history, which has received considerable attention since the appearance of von Rad's work (see esp. Albrektson 1967; Barr in *IDBSup*, 746–49; Herberg 1976; Pannenberg 1968; Roberts 1976). At the core of biblical religion, whether in its Jewish or Christian manifestation, stands the belief that God has acted for the benefit of the human race and the world through specific and concrete events in the history of a particular people called Israel. Both the OT and the NT attest to this fundamental conviction. How that divine activity is to be visualized and understood constitutes one of the fundamental problems of OT and biblical theology. The older Protestant orthodoxy had understood revelation as consisting chiefly of inspired utterances of a propositional and dogmatic nature. But already during the 17th century, a more historically oriented understanding of revelation came to the fore in the writings of "federal" theologians like Cocceius. Increasingly, revelation came to be understood in terms of God's redemptive activity in history, and the Bible was viewed as the written record thereof. This notion reached its fullest development in the various salvation-historical perspectives of the 19th and 20th centuries. The 19th-century revolution in historical thinking aided this development greatly, at the same time as in some circles it also tended to undercut the notion of God's activity in history. In the religiohistorical perspectives of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the biblical idea of revelation came to be replaced with notions of human progress and the evolutionary development of religion. But following the revival of OT theology during the mid–20th century, the notion of revelation through history gained greater currency again, especially during the era of the so-called biblical theology movement. Against both the fundamentalist notion of revelation as propositional truth and the liberal notion of revelation as human progress and religious evolution, it became fashionable to locate revelation in the actual events of biblical history, many of which were strikingly illumined by spectacular discoveries in biblical archaeology (Wright 1952). During the 1960s, however, the concept of revelation through history came increasingly under attack from several quarters. Today it has fallen on hard times, and while not without its defenders, it has been abandoned by some and become dysfunctional for many others.

As one surveys recent literature on this issue (see Lemke 1982: 34–46), it becomes apparent that the notion of revelation through history has become problematical chiefly on two grounds: it was construed too one-sidedly and burdened with too many unresolved ambiguities. A one-sided emphasis on God's mighty acts in history tended to ignore or overlook other important dimensions of God's self-disclosure. The Bible also speaks of God's self-disclosure in the realm of nature, in the proclamation of laws and commandments, in the high moments of communal worship or the quiet meditations of the human heart, in the reflections of the wise, and in the musings of poets and storytellers. Furthermore, the Bible does not differentiate as sharply as modern theologians have between *facta* and *dicta*, the God who acts and the God who speaks, or the objective historical event and its subjective appropriation by human beings. If God is revealed at all, God is revealed in all of these manifold ways. Thus, for example, God's communication with Moses, the actual events at the sea, Miriam's song about it, and the cultic anamnesis of all of these are part of God's revelatory act which we call the Exodus.

Among the unresolved ambiguities which have beset the notion of revelation through history are the following. To begin with, there is a problem of definition. What do we mean by "history" or "revelation"? If history is defined in terms of a closed system of finite causality and revelation is defined in terms of God's self-disclosure, then obviously there is no room for divine activity in history and it is pointless to speak of revelation through history.

Unexamined or confused philosophical and theological assumptions have been another major source of ambiguity in the discussion about revelation through history (Blaikie 1970). What, for instance, is our understanding of God? Is God a personal agent or an impersonal process? What is our understanding of divine and human causality, the nature and possibility of miracle, or the meaning of providence? Lack of clarity on such questions as these will lead to confusion and equivocation in one's understanding of revelation through history.

A third source of ambiguity which has contributed to the dysfunctionality of the concept of revelation through history lies in the recourse to purely historical and descriptive language when theological and normative language is called for. Statements like "the Hebrews believed that God had clogged the chariot wheels of the Egyptians" or "Moses felt himself to be in the presence of the Holy when he

encountered what appeared to be a burning bush at Horeb" render the concept of revelation through history problematical, for they tell us nothing about what exactly God was doing in those events, how God was revealed, or whether God was doing or saying anything at all.

Finally, a fourth source of ambiguity which has rendered the concept of revelation through history problematical is the bifurcation between "actual" and "confessed" history brought about by modern historical-critical approaches to the Bible. If the events of Israelite history as reconstructed by critical historiography are not identical with those narrated or confessed by the biblical writers, then what happens to the notion of revelation through history? Where is the locus of divine revelation, in the *actual* or in the *confessed* history? Which set of events is the proper object of OT theology? There are those like von Rad who clearly opt for Israel's confessional history as the only proper object for OT theology and the real locus of revelation. That, however, poses some real problems for the concept of revelation through history, for if the events through which God was alleged to have been revealed did not happen, or happened in a manner other than remembered by the biblical authors, then what happens to God's mighty acts in history? Do they simply evaporate into thin air? For those who, like F. Hesse (1971), would answer this question affirmatively, the only recourse is to ignore the confessional history and to place the locus of revelation in the events as reconstructed by critical historiography alone. Neither course of action has proven satisfactory or adequate; nor are these the only options available to us. For one, the dichotomy between actual and confessed history is not as radical as it has often been made out to be. There is a considerable degree of confluence between the two, if not in every detail, at least in regard to the broad outlines of biblical history. Secondly, even where these two histories diverge in significant details, the confessional history is at the same time another datum of Israelite history and therefore a legitimate object of both historical inquiry and theological reflection. The locus of revelation then becomes more complex. God's activity cannot simply be located in the *bruta facta* of the one, nor in the confessional *dicta* of the other, but in the complex interface between the two. A. Weiser (1961) already saw this quite clearly; more recently the issue has also been addressed by P. Hanson (1978).

The limitations and ambiguities inherent in the notion of revelation through history have elicited a number of responses by systematic and biblical theologians. There are those who have sought to expand the notion by making all of history the locus of revelation (Pannenberg 1968; Rendtorff 1961; Kaufmann 1960). Revelation, in other words, *is* history. That is, God's purpose and activity is revealed in the totality of history, and consequently not until its final consummation. From the vantage point of biblical or OT theology, such a "resolution" of the problem is not satisfactory. For one, it is too global and universal to be historically useful. Furthermore, it goes beyond what the Bible asserts. In Scripture, God's activity is neither confined to, nor wholly identified with, the historical process as such.

Another recent attempt to come to terms with the notion of revelation through history is to abandon it in favor of a notion of revelation through story or narrative theology. This approach has gained many adherents in recent years and has certain advantages, at least on the surface. For one, it recognizes that much of the biblical narrative comes to us in the form of story or tradition, some of which may be historylike, but which is far removed from history writing as commonly understood today. Secondly, it associates revelation with the word, which is a time-honored and biblically based notion. And thirdly, it relieves us of the burden of having to decide whether events actually happened the way they were remembered and told.

In spite of its current popularity and appeal, it is doubtful that this flight into "revelation through story" will prove to be a satisfactory solution to the problem. While it can provide a necessary corrective to the imbalances and excesses of the revelation-through-history approach, it fails to address the deeper underlying and abiding issues which the latter was designed to engage. Granted that not all biblical narratives can or should be read as history, many of them must and will continue to be read this way. The reasons for this are partly determined by the Bible and partly by our own cultural givens. Once modern critical historical consciousness has arisen in us, we cannot very well revert to a precritical stance. In some fashion or form, people will continue to ask questions of what *really* happened in history and what relevance that has for them today. Of even greater significance is the fact that biblical religion is *essentially* historical in character. As long as some biblical documents make claims about God's presence and activity in human affairs and among a particular historical people, we will necessarily continue to address the issue of God's revelation through history. Any theological approach to Scripture which ignores this problem or pretends that it does not exist will have no lasting impact upon the discipline of OT theology.

4. Is OT Theology an Exclusively Christian Enterprise? The final issue which we seek to address is posed by both the actual history of the discipline and by the explicit way recent practitioners of it have chosen to define it (see Lemke 1989; Levenson 1987). If one looks at the history of the discipline, it would appear that OT theology is indeed an exclusively Christian enterprise. OT theology had its roots in the Protestant Reformation, and for most of its history it was practiced by Christian scholars working, either explicitly or implicitly, from Christian theological assumptions. The noticeable absence of Jewish biblical scholars from the discipline in the past may in part be attributed to the specifically Christian polemic context in which biblical and OT theology arose. However, there were other historical circumstances which converged to keep Jewish scholars from entering the field of OT theology. Goshen-Gottstein (1975: 69–88) has shown that just as the treasures of Jewish exegesis were made available to Christian Hebraists during the late 15th and 16th centuries, Jewish biblical scholarship entered a period of protracted stagnation brought about by a combination of external circumstances and spiritual forces within Judaism. According to him, it is only the belated entry of Jews into 20th-century biblical scholarship that has prevented until now the development of Jewish biblical theology. From a purely historical perspective, therefore, one would have to concede that OT theology in the past has been an exclusively Christian (and until recently, a mostly Protestant) enter-

prise. This historical fact, however, does not settle the question of whether OT theology of necessity, or in its essential character, is an exclusively Christian enterprise. While a great majority of its practitioners continue to define it that way (see, for instance, Childs 1985: 7), we would argue that there is no compelling reason to continue to do so, and that the discipline would be immensely enriched by the inclusion of Jewish scholarship. To a limited degree this is already happening, but it should become even more extensive and self-conscious in the future. Since this judgment is not shared by most of the OT theologies which we have surveyed, we propose to submit to closer scrutiny some of the main arguments for and against our thesis.

First of all, the fact that OT theology arose as a Christian theological discipline and that most of its practitioners during the last 400 years have been Christians (nominally at least) does not mean that this necessarily defines the discipline in perpetuity. A look at its own history is instructive here. Biblical theology began in a polemic context: it was directed first against Roman Catholic dogma and then against the orthodox doctrines of Protestant scholasticism. Yet today, both Protestants and Roman Catholics are engaged in a fruitful dialogue and in the production of significant works in biblical theology. There is no reason why a similar development cannot take place between Christians and Jews. It has already happened in many areas of biblical studies, such as history, archaeology, philology, and exegesis; there is no compelling reason why the theological dimensions of our common scriptural tradition cannot be made the subject of fruitful and mutual dialogue.

Secondly, on the basis of the fact that the very name "Old Testament" is a Christian designation which points to the existence of a "New Testament," it has been suggested that OT theology must therefore be construed as a Christian discipline; and that the question of the relationship of the testaments is part of the essential purpose and task of OT theology. Such an argument, however, is not irresistibly persuasive. To be sure, the question of the relationship between the testaments is a valid and legitimate theological question, at least for Christians, but probably also for Jews. However, it belongs more appropriately to a Christian *biblical* theology than to OT theology as such. Furthermore, the designation "Old Testament" need not imply pejorative connotations or theological value judgments. Today it is widely used in a purely neutral sense of designating the documents of the Jewish canon of scriptures (Tsevat 1986: 33–50). The fact that these documents also happen to be part of the Christian canon does in no way necessitate the assumption that their theological witness cannot be ascertained in its own right, but must only be heard in the context of the theological witness of the NT. As a matter of record, when NT contexts and perspectives are emphasized too much, the independent theological witness of the OT becomes muted or obscured, as amply illustrated by the history of the discipline. A further point of clarification should be made. When we are saying that OT theology is not of necessity a Christian theological discipline, we do not wish to deny that the theological perspectives of subsequent faith communities have a significant role to play in the theological interpretation of the OT. They clearly do. All we are claiming is that they need not be confined to the Christian faith community. The Jewish faith community surely also has legitimate insights and perspectives to contribute to this quest. It can provide a much-needed corrective, or a more variedly nuanced perspective, to a one-sidedly Christian theological reading of the OT, from which Christians would benefit in the construction of their own theology.

Thirdly, Jewish scholarship itself has been reluctant to participate in the production of OT theologies. There may be various reasons for this. For instance, it has frequently been asserted that Judaism is less theologically oriented, right conduct and observance being more important than right thinking. There is some truth in that objection, but it is not a compelling argument against Jewish OT theology. Jews also study the Bible and reflect on its theological content. This is evidenced by much recent Jewish biblical scholarship, even when it does not overtly label what it produces as OT theology. Kaufmann's well-known treatment of Israelite religion (1960), while following essentially a historical and descriptive methodology, also has recourse to more conceptual presentations of Israelite religious phenomena and is at points highly constructive and normative in its historical reflections. It requires little imagination to see that Kaufmann might equally well have written an OT theology. The work of the late Abraham Heschel clearly falls within the understanding of OT theology presented in this essay. It is hard to imagine a theologically more perceptive and finely nuanced treatment of the life and message of Israel's prophets than that of Heschel (1962). Limitations of space do not permit us to mention others by name, but contemporary Jewish scholarship abounds with examples of first-rate theological treatments of various facets of the OT. It is only a question of time before a full-length and major OT theology will be produced by a Jewish scholar. Perhaps it will be called Tanakh theology (Goshen-Gottstein 1987: 617–44) or a theology of the Hebrew Bible, or the like, but whatever its name, it will be a significant contribution to OT theology. Such a theology will bring fresh nuances and perspectives, especially on those portions of the Hebrew canon which have often been ignored or slighted in Christian OT theologies. Jon Levenson's recent treatment of the Sinai, Zion, and creation traditions of the OT (1985; 1988) may be viewed as signposts on the way to a Jewish OT theology. One can only hope that the renewed interest in biblical theology by Jewish scholarship will not stop with the OT, but will also issue in fresh theological readings of the NT. There is no doubt in our mind that not only biblical and OT but NT theology as well could be greatly enriched through a Jewish theological reading of the NT documents.

But we must return to the question with which we began this section. By now it should be apparent that we can see no compelling or valid reasons for viewing OT theology as an exclusively Christian enterprise. The absence of Jewish scholarship from the field of OT theology is more the result of historical accident than logical or theological necessity. Both Christian and Jewish scholars can and should be engaged in doing OT theology. The discipline would be greatly enriched and strengthened by such truly ecumenical dialogue.

If one wonders why it has taken us so long to come to this realization, the Church and Christian theology must surely assume a major share of the blame because of their long-standing devaluation and subordination of the OT to the NT. A concise summary of traditional Christian attitudes toward the OT will make this clear. For the first century of the existence of the Church, the OT was the only Bible the Christians had. Both Jesus and the apostles recognized the documents of the OT as their sacred Scripture. The central problem for the early Christians was not whether the OT was to be their sacred Scripture, but whether and how Jesus could be understood as another mighty act of the God whom they already knew through their Scriptures (Sanders 1976: 531–60). Not until the 2d century, or as Christianity became increasingly a Gentile movement, did the status of the OT become problematical for some Christians. Marcion tried unsuccessfully to remove the OT, along with a good part of the NT, from its status as sacred Scripture. But while the Church officially adopted the OT as part of its canon of sacred Scripture, the ghost of Marcion continued to haunt the Church throughout its subsequent history. The varying attitudes which Christians have assumed toward the OT may for convenience' sake be grouped into five basic categories.

(1) *An Abrogation or Negative Valuation of the OT.* This attitude may range from an outright rejection of the OT from the Christian canon (Marcion, Schleiermacher, von Harnack, F. Delitzsch) to a radically qualified acceptance of it for purposes of negative contrast with the NT and the Christian gospel (Bultmann, Baumgärtel). All of them have no positive theological use for the OT, which is variously characterized as inferior, superseded, or on a par with the other non-Christian religions. In short, the OT is simply the dark foil against which the light of the gospel shines all the more brightly. Regrettably, many Christians through the long history of the Church have adopted this attitude, even though it is wholly unbiblical and unworthy of their allegiance. It is potentially very harmful and has been responsible in part for gross outbursts of anti-Judaism throughout the history of the Church. If consistently held, it would lead to the eventual destruction and disappearance of Christianity.

(2) *The OT as a Necessary Historical Presupposition.* Because of Christianity's origin in a specifically Jewish milieu, an understanding of the OT is essential for a proper understanding of the NT and of the gospel. The history of the early Church is incomprehensible apart from its Jewish antecedents, and the literature of the NT presupposes knowledge of the language and thought-world of the OT. While correct as far as it goes, this position is inadequate, because it confines itself to a purely historical and descriptive level. Historical and cultural connections alone are not sufficient grounds for canonization; if they were, one could argue with equal validity for the inclusion of the Enuma Elish in the Jewish canon, and some of the intertestamental literature in the Christian canon.

(3) *The "Christianization" of the OT.* This was the prevailing attitude toward the OT in the Church for at least a millennium, or from the early Church Fathers to the Reformation. This position accepts the OT as a theologically relevant part of the Christian canon. However, its voice as an independent theological witness was muted by the superimposition of Christian meanings on the OT. Allegory and typology were the prevailing exegetical techniques in earlier centuries. More recently, subtler ways of doing this have been devised. Usually this takes the form of some hermeneutical key, such as the "law/gospel" or "promise/fulfillment" dialectic, by means of which the theological meaning of the OT is to be discerned. The problem with these unitary hermeneutical keys is that they are too one-sided and simplistic, obscuring both real continuities and obliterating finer nuances and distinctions. Proponents of these usually also fail to see that whatever dialectics may be legitimately present in Scripture, they cannot be divided up between the testaments but are operative throughout the entire Christian canon, inclusive of the NT. Such a one-sided Christian reading of the OT gives lip service to the theological relevance of the OT, but in actuality does not really permit it to speak in its own right.

(4) *The OT Has Direct Literal and Prescriptive Theological Validity.* While this position has never had a wide following among Christians, it has enjoyed some favor among certain groups. Essentially it holds that since Christians have become heirs to God's covenant with Israel, they also must assume all of its obligations. Apart from 1st-century Jewish Christians, this attitude was also embraced by some Anabaptists of the radical Reformation, as well as by some modern sectarians.

While this attitude is commendable in its theological consistency, it is too literalistic and fails to take sufficient cognizance of the fact that even biblical religion is a living organism which underwent significant changes and adaptations, to say nothing of the gulf that separates modern people from the cultural world of the Bible.

(5) *The OT as Theologically Significant and Indispensable Norm for Christian Faith.* This position involves a positive theological valuation of the OT. It rejects all notions of a unilaterally evolutionary or supersessive nature. The God of Jesus is the same as the God of Abraham, Moses, and Deborah. The OT continues to function for Christians as a source of revelation and valid apprehension of God's character and relationship to humanity and the world. The theological meaning of the OT must be ascertained through objective critical scholarship, in which both Christian and Jewish scholars can participate. And while the subsequent adaptations of the theological content of the OT by Jewish and Christian faith communities may provide valuable insights into the fundamental structure of biblical faith, they must not be granted normative value in the sense of dictating in advance how the theological message of the OT is to be heard. Allowances must be made for both continuities and discontinuities in theological perspective between the OT and the two faith communities to which it gave rise. Neither the NT nor the Talmud should be allowed to define OT theology in any normative sense.

It is this fifth and final position which holds the greatest promise today for the doing of OT theology in a truly ecumenical context in which both Christians and Jews may participate with integrity and to the mutual benefit and enrichment of the respective faith communities for whom the OT is sacred Scripture.

C. Conclusion

At the beginning of this article we defined OT theology as "the exposition of the theological content of the OT writings." In the light of our historical survey and our analysis of key issues in the evolution and current practice of the discipline, we are now in a position, perhaps, to give a little more specificity and precision to that definition. OT theology may be defined as *an exegetical and theological discipline which seeks to describe in a coherent and comprehensive manner the OT understanding of God in relationship to humanity and the world.* A few comments on key elements in this definition may be in order. By defining it as *an exegetical and theological discipline,* we wish to underscore that OT theology must be rooted in the careful exegesis of the actual texts and documents of the OT, but that this must be done in such a manner that the theological dimensions of the text are not ignored or obscured, but given due prominence. The phrase *to describe . . . the OT understanding* seeks to safeguard the descriptive aspects of our task, so that we hear what the OT itself has to say rather than superimposing theological and philosophical systems on it from the outside. This is not to say that legitimately constructive and normative dimensions of theology can or should be ignored. They clearly have a place in any OT theology worthy of the name. But the constructive and normative dimensions must always be closely related to, and dependent upon, the descriptive dimension. OT theologians must not confuse these two dimensions, but as much as possible should be clear about when they function in one or the other mode of operation. Furthermore, this description of the theological content of the OT must be reasonably *coherent and comprehensive.* That is, it should deal with the essential faith structure of the OT, not with every phenomenological detail of Israelite religion but in sufficiently comprehensive fashion so that no important element (like wisdom, the cult, creation theology, or legal and priestly traditions) is slighted or ignored. Finally, the phrase *God in relationship to humanity and the world* points to the proper object and parameters of the discipline. It is not the God of philosophical abstraction or theological speculation that is the object of our inquiry, but Yahweh God who is revealed not only in creation but in the historical experiences of a particular people called Israel. OT theology thus defined and understood is in no crisis or quandary, but in the midst of a highly productive and creative period, the full extent of which remains yet to be seen and assessed.

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NEW TESTAMENT

New Testament theology (NTT), now sometimes called "the theology of the New Testament" but in 1800 "the biblical theology of the New Testament," is a product of the 19th-century division of "biblical theology" into Old and New Testament sections. See THEOLOGY (BIBLICAL), HISTORY OF. This was later reinforced by the growing sense of historical development and by increasing specialization within university theological faculties, but the roots of NTT in the older, precritical biblical theology hold the key to its nature and purpose. It arose out of Protestantism's aim to preserve and demonstrate its biblical credentials, and so its truth. These theological origins and aims were partly obscured in later biblical scholarship, and have been eroded by further secularization in recent years. But the religious and rational implications of the name "theology" were recovered in the mid-20th-century flowering of the discipline and provide a criterion for the proper use of the phrase today.

A. Nature and Purpose
B. History and Analysis
C. Problems and Possibilities
1. Scope
2. Unity and Diversity
3. The Relationship to Contemporary Theology
4. Literature and History
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6. The Historical Jesus
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A. Nature and Purpose

"Theology" implies a relationship to religious faith, and NTT an orientation to the canon as a source and norm of Christian doctrine. How this biblical discipline is related to contemporary Christian faith and theology became a problem with its use of historical methods not designed to communicate religious faith. A systematic presentation of the biblical material must be important to a Christianity that appeals to the Bible. But historical reconstruction of these early witnesses provides neither a single nor a modern account of Christianity. The move from ancient history to modern theology is not straightforward, and may be possible only in reverse or through a fusion of horizons.

Though rooted in the Reformers' determination to make Christian theology accord with the Bible (as they claimed late medieval scholasticism did not), the discipline derives more directly from subsequent theological developments in Protestant orthodoxy. The Reformation churches, having rejected the Roman magisterium and subordinated tradition to Scripture, needed to demonstrate that their theology corresponded to the content of the Bible. They did so by "collections" of *dicta probantia* or proof texts, such as S. Schmidt's *Collegium Biblicum* of 1671. The earliest works entitled *Teutsche Biblische Theologie* (W. J. Christmann, 1629) and *Theologia Biblica* (Henrius a Diest, 1643) were similar defenses of Protestant doctrine.

To count as Christian, any theology has to demonstrate some continuity with Scripture and tradition. Quoting texts is a shorthand for that. But the need for probative arguments in controversy, coupled with assumptions about the infallibility of Scripture, led to a belief that proof texts demonstrate the truth of doctrinal statements. The argument is circular and the belief false, because as in modern fundamentalism the texts are theologically meaningful only in relation to the system that governs their selection and interpretation. This kind of biblical theology was only a small part of Protestantism's theological engagement with the Bible, and has never been a serious contender to replace dogmatic theology. But in the context of pietist hostility to the dogmatics of Protestant scholasticism and the memory of the Reformers' call for a more biblical theology, these systematically organized collections of texts gained enough independence to allow them a critical role with respect to the dogmatics they were originally designed to support.

In his *Pia Desideria* (1675) Spener attacked the return in Protestant theology of the Aristotelianism which Luther had ejected, and demanded a biblically based theology and reform of ministerial education. C. Haymann's *Biblische Theologie* (1708) and A. F. Büschings *Gendanken von der Beschaffenheit und dem Vorzug der biblisch-dogmatischen Theologie vor der alten und neuen scholastischen* (1756) reflect this pietist demand for biblical simplicity. Later salvation-history theologies and the 20th-century "biblical theology movement" reflect the same hostility to philosophy and systematic theology. They bear witness to the essential

simplicity of the gospel, but bypass the answerability of theology at the bar of reason. Biblical and NT theology could be understood as an alternative to systematic theology only where claims to religious truth were based on a biblicist view of revelation which excluded the rest of human knowledge from Christian accounts of God and the world. That antirational strand in Christian thought became even less credible when the Bible itself was subjected to critical questioning, but it has remained a subordinate strand in biblical and NT theology.

The future of biblical and NT theology lay not with this pietist undercurrent, but in German and Swiss theological faculties. Here it has not usually been a shortcut to bypass complications, but one expression of the theologically committed biblical scholar's task to clarify what the Bible says, and so contribute to the professional education of Protestant clergy whose main activity would be preaching.

This orientation to contemporary religious needs has remained a feature of the modern critical discipline, which also has flourished in confessional theological faculties and seminaries, but rarely elsewhere. Its strongly emphasized independence of dogmatics did not until quite recently mean any loss of theological interests; and where that has happened the name "theology" has usually been dropped.

The religious aims and assumptions of NTT have affected the actual presentations. Where interpreters have been convinced that there is no real difference between the Bible and their own Christianity, a summary of its contents has seemed sufficient. But in the Enlightenment some theologians saw that only part of the Bible corresponded to their own understandings of Christian truth, and later more historically conscious theologians reflected on the differences between ancient and modern views of the world and God. A bridging operation was necessary to relate the Scriptures to modern theology, and NTT contributed to this. Some NTTs remained summaries of exegetical conclusions, but the more advanced ones contained hermeneutical proposals within their summaries of biblical ideas. How the modern interpreters understood the Christian revelation affected the form of their presentations. These became part of the strategy for relating the results of biblical study to modern understandings of the Christian revelation.

Christian accounts of revelation point to the biblical texts, the history behind them, and the corporate and individual mind of those who hear the message. Different theories emphasize different elements, and the NTTs reflecting a theory of revelation exhibit corresponding combinations of the three elements. They may be more or less biblicist, more or less historicist, and more or less hermeneutical. These three points of reference allow us to map the field and provide the basis for a typology of all work done in it. Insofar as it is possible to judge between better and worse theories of revelation they also provide a criterion for evaluating different conceptions of NTT, though not for judging how well these have been carried out. That depends on their exegetical success. But in NTT the theory is as important as the practice—and relatively neglected.

1. The *biblicist* element in Christian accounts of revelation and in NTT is the tendency (more or less extreme) to attach greater weight to these writings than would be rational for non-Christians. It is necessary because Scripture is indispensable for knowing God in Jesus Christ, and that is central to Christianity. Associating revelation closely with Scripture is axiomatic because Christian revelation centers on Jesus, the Messiah of Israel. But actually identifying Scripture with revelation is irrational biblicism. It bears witness to this "givenness" of revelation, its capacity to challenge the interpreter, and its "offense" to human wisdom, but hardens that witness into a false objectivism.

2. Because Christians find the revelation of God in a historical figure, the *historical* element in a Christian doctrine of revelation and in NTT cannot be evaded by appeals to the text alone, or to text plus preaching. Orthodox Christianity resists any tendency to treat the NT as fiction, despite its fictional and mythical dimensions. But in a secular culture the historical dimension can if absolutized lead to a historicism which destroys all talk of God and revelation, and so destroys NTT.

3. The *hermeneutical* element in the doctrine of revelation and in the NTT recognizes the distance between the past event of God in Jesus and its present appropriation, but bridges it in the act of interpretation, whether by word or action. If emphasized at the expense of the other two necessary emphases this can dissolve into a subjectivism which loses the otherness and givenness of revelation. But it is possible to preserve the two horizons in a dovetail joint which connects them.

The roots of NTT lie deep in a brittle biblicism that was broken and transformed under the impact of modern historical questioning. Both the historical and the hermeneutical emphases made their historically disciplined understandings of the texts fruitful for the modern interpreters' own rather different understandings of Christianity. The difference between them is that the historicist keeps historical-exegetical work separate from personal appropriation, whereas the "hermeneutical" type (to borrow a 20th-century theological use of that word) tries to combine the two steps in a single act of interpretation. The biblicist still thinks there is only one step.

The problem for the historicist is how to get from the first to the second step; there is no obvious connection. Most Christian reading of Scripture, whether biblicist or hermeneutical, combines the two steps. There are dangers of modernizing distortion, but these are met by allowing other exegetes and historians to challenge all theological interpretations. The argument is then engaged on the public exegetical field. There is no appeal to private experience in exegesis.

The dangers of distortion are strongest where biblicists want a close correspondence between the Bible and their own convictions. The historicist has a low regard for this—and consequently risks losing contact with the revelation attested by Scripture. The hermeneutical middle way is to insist that Christian interpreters can disagree with a text by engaging in a theological criticism which justifies this disagreement, taking the rejected text with due seriousness but refusing to absolutize it. Theological criticism *(Sachkritik)* is therefore essential in hermeneutical NTT. It offends historicist sensibilities because it appeals to nonhistorical factors (the theological interpreter's own understanding of the gospel), and it offends biblicism for "urging Christ against Scripture" (Luther). It hovers on the

brink of subjectivism, especially when the individual interpreter fails to take due account of the corporate judgment of the Christian community.

Prior beliefs can be challenged by reflection on a text, and possibly even changed. Or they may be confirmed at the cost of giving reasons, based on other scripture, tradition, reason, and experience, for rejecting a passage. This interaction cannot long be suspended where theologians are wanting to communicate the truth of the biblical message. Personal beliefs can to a large extent be held in suspension while performing the more straightforward historical tasks that are a large element in NTT. But if these are made the goal of NTT a transition has been made from theology to ancient history. The dangers of this happening are considerable because most biblical specialists are by training linguists and historians, not theologians.

Many NTTs have made use of doctrinal categories drawn from the subsequent tradition to summarize the biblical material. Such grids drawn from modern dogmatics are likely to introduce anachronisms and historical distortion, though they may also allow a deeper penetration of the text's meaning, since these analytical tools arose out of past attempts to fathom the biblical message. But their main value is that as formalizations of the interpreters' own tradition and belief or empathy, they make possible an implicit affirmation of the Christian reality and truth of the material being communicated. Instead of repeating the contents of the Bible and then affirming their agreement (on whatever grounds), such theological interpreters combine exegesis and confession in a single move which correspond more closely to how Christians actually read their Scriptures. They combine description and advocacy, fidelity to the texts and an implicit claim that what the Bible says corresponds to the reality that Christians acknowledge today.

The justification for this kind of NTT, like any theology, lies in the needs of the religious community that develops it. Modern Western Christianity has required interpretations of the NT which do justice both to the rational study of these texts and to its fluctuating understandings of its revelation of God in Jesus Christ. Where the boundaries of the religious community are blurred and the texts are public property, all kinds of interpretation are possible. The justification for nonbelievers engaging in theological interpretation is then their honest concern to offer interpretation commensurate with the authors' understanding of their subject matter. The case for admitting the interpreters' own real or assumed theological beliefs into their presentations is that only in this mirror can be religious content of the text be acknowledged and communicated. This can remain a rational procedure so long as exegetical controls are also admitted, and modernizing distortions criticized. Historical exegesis provides a necessary control in NTT, checking that what is presented accurately represents the ancient documents, and providing the rational rules for debating this. But it does not determine what Christians believe today. Even if the NT provided a uniform doctrinal system (which it does not), contemporary belief could not simply repeat it because belief in a God who relates to the world invokes (in principle) all human experience and knowledge, and that varies from age to age. Biblicism denies this problem and positivistic historicism ignores the question of God. Christian theology has to solve the hermeneutical question because biblical components are central to Christian belief. NTT addresses it while engaging in biblical scholarship. These biblical ingredients in Christianity are difficult even to define precisely because they are affected by the culture in which the Bible is read. The necessary historical study draws nonbiblical material into the discussion and that affects the interpretation and evaluation of some biblical texts. It also raises questions quite foreign to the biblical authors, such as the "historical" (as contrasted with the "earthly") Jesus. The contexts of both text and interpreter so complicate the question of the contemporary theological meaning of the Bible that biblical scholars can be pardoned for retreating to their own specialist tasks and leaving theology to the theologians. But the history of NTT confirms that its origins and continuing vitality stem from Christian theological needs. This history discloses theological commitment expressed in a passion for truth, but also compromises, errors, problems, and future possibilities.

B. History and Analysis

The Reformers' and their successors' demands for a theology that was in accord with the Bible went hand in hand with a determination to expose its theological content. The tasks were closely related but not necessarily combined. Calvin's commentaries did not make his *Institutes* superfluous. Not even the new genre called "biblical theology" was designed to replace systematic theology, only to make it more biblical. That idea was widely shared by orthodox, pietist, and rationalist theologians, but it proved to have two unforeseen consequences. First, as Luther had seen, Scripture has a nose of wax and can be made to support many different theologies. Secondly, when historical study sharpened the differences between ancient and modern thought, a gulf between the Bible and modern theology became visible. That posed a bridging problem. Most biblical theologians have thought this their responsibility, but by the late 19th century the discipline was being defined in historicist terms which virtually excluded such hermeneutical endeavors.

The modern exegetical methods of Locke, Turrentini, and Ernesti had rational teeth which could strengthen the criticism of contemporary dogmatics and so fulfill an essential element in the Reformers' use of Scripture. G. T. Zachariae's *Biblische Theologie oder Untersuchung des biblischen Grundes der vornehmsten theologischen Lehren* (4 vols., 1771–75), which took Protestant orthodoxy's proof-texting method to an exegetically responsible climax, remained within the bounds of the doctrine of inspiration while allowing the biblical materials to challenge dogmatics, as the subtitle implies ("Investigation of the Biblical Basis of the Main Theological Doctrines"). But the criticism of dogmatics by rational exegetical methods could be taken much further than Ernesti or Zachariae envisaged. It was soon detached from the doctrine of inspiration, and in the hands of rationalist theologians exegetically responsible proof-texting could support different forms of Christianity. In the biblical theologies of Hufnagel (1785 and 1789) and Ammon (1792, 1801–22) the moral teaching of Jesus

became central, in accordance with Enlightenment preferences.

Biblical theology did not lend itself as readily to modern ideas as the new historical study of the gospels, and even Ammon saw himself as relatively conservative, mediating between the older Protestant beliefs and a new outlook. This was a time of transition; the disagreements between the orthodox and biblical theologians more strongly influenced by the Enlightenment show that these theologically motivated attempts to present the content of the Bible were guided by the interpreter's own understanding of the gospel. The same effect can be seen in the Fathers' and Reformers' theological interpretation of Scripture, and is justified by the element of subjectivity present in all talk of God. This was later obscured by the equally legitimate demand for greater objectivity in historical presentations of NTT.

By the end of the 18th century many theologians were aware not only of the gulf between the NT and orthodox dogmatics, but also of that between both of these and modern religious convictions, and between the biblical texts and historical reality. One way of bridging the gap between Jesus (or the NT writers) and contemporary thought was to suggest that Jesus (or the Holy Spirit) had "accommodated" himself to the thought-forms of the day. This solution could not survive a more historically sensitive approach to the NT, but it provides further evidence of the part played in all theological interpretation by the interpreter's own convictions. It was Enlightenment sensibilities which told Semler what Jesus and the apostles "really" believed.

The same prior convictions about what was true in religion and morals lay behind J. P. Gabler's proposals for sifting a "pure" distillate of religious ideas from the biblical materials systematically arranged by the biblical theologian. Gabler's suggestions were not pursued, mainly because his rationalist account of revelation as true ideas was overtaken by romantic conceptions of religion and revelation. But in the course of his earliest sketch, his Altdorf inaugural lecture in 1787, Gabler advanced the discussion beyond Zachariae in ways which have led most analysts to see the beginnings of the modern discipline in this *Oratio de iusto discrimine theologiae biblicae et dogmaticae regudnisque recte utriusque finibus* ("On the Proper Distinction between Biblical and Dogmatic Theology and the Specific Objectives of Each") (see ET in *SJT* 3: 133–58).

Gabler's aim as an Enlightenment theologian was to suggest how the Bible could still inform Christian faith, even though much of it was open to moral and historical criticism. He prepared to sift the wheat from the chaff by distinguishing between the historical task of analyzing the content, and the doctrinal and philosophical task of expressing Christianity in one's own language. It was this preliminary distinction that proved epoch-making because it allowed biblical specialists to present the material in whatever ways seemed historically appropriate, instead of being bound by their doctrinal aims. Those could be satisfied at the next stage of the process by which Gabler, like his predecessors, hoped to make Protestant theology accord better with its scriptural basis. The stage was thus set for historicist biblical scholars to limit themselves to the first step and leave the second to doctrinal theologians and popularizers. Biblicist NTTs could continue to identify them, but critical biblical theologians with a Christian view of Scripture would have to find alternative ways of combining the recognition of historical distance with their contemporary appropriation of the biblical witness.

Gabler's proposals for biblical theology as a historical, not a dogmatic, discipline were confused, because his final step was more theological and less historical than he recognized. But that was in any case not followed. What was accepted was his distinguishing the first historical step, and this led at once to G. L. Bauer's division of biblical theology into OT and NT sections, as required by the historical and material distance between them. Bauer published his *Theologie des alten Testaments oder Abriss der religiösen Begriffe der alten Hebräer* in 1796, and his unfinished *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments* (4 vols.) in 1800–2. The latter NTT distinguished discrete historical entities within the NT itself: the religion of Jesus from that of the apostles, and the different NT witnesses from one another. The sharper historical perspective of late-18th-century biblical criticism was thus drawn into biblical theology, though as Bauer's procedure and title make clear, the new subdiscipline still employed these independent historical methods and insights in the service of theological claims.

The same combination of historical methods and theological interest is evident in the title and structure of W. M. L. de Wette's "Biblical Dogmatics" (1813) which described the religion of the Hebrews, of Judaism, and of early Christianity (*Lehrbuch der christlichen Dogmatik in ihrer historischen Entwicklung dargestellt. Erster Teil. Die biblische Dogmatik, enthaltend Biblische Dogmatik Alten und Neuen Testaments. Oder kritischer Darstellung der Religionslehre des Hebraismus, des Judenthums, und Urchristenthums*). The teaching of Jesus is distinguished from its interpretation by the NT writers, and here the NT books are grouped according to their (presumed) (1) Jewish-Christian, (2) Alexandrian or Hellenistic, or (3) Pauline character.

Although these two interpreters present the material in a historical way, they are not writing ancient history. Their theological aims are clear when they draw critical theological conclusions from their historical judgments. If the aim of biblical and NT theology is to unite historical study of the Bible with a modern theological perspective, then Gabler's pupil de Wette may be judged the greatest biblical theologian of the century. He had drawn from Schleiermacher and Fries a theory of religion which could contain his critical studies and so allow the Bible, studied by the best rational methods available, to inform his faith and theology. Gabler's insistence on the historical character of biblical theology had in principle made it possible for biblical theology to assimilate the more progressive biblical criticism of Semler and Michaelis. But the discipline's character and aims place it on the conservative end of the theological spectrum, assisting Christian use of the Bible, and apart from de Wette there was little progress between G. L. Bauer and F. C. Baur. Von Cölln's posthumous "purely historical" work (1836) advances the historicist option of clearly separating biblical and doctrinal theology, but the earlier biblical theologies of Kaiser (1817) and Baumgarten-Crusius (1829) are unimportant.

Not until the 1830s and 1840s, when historical criticism of the NT made its decisive advances, was the discipline

finally forced to face the changed situation which biblical criticism had been brewing for over 150 years, since Spinoza and Simon. After Strauss' *Life of Jesus* (1835) and Bauer's criticism of the Pauline Epistles (1831–45), Acts (1845), and the Gospels (1844–47), the older assumptions concerning the proximity of the NT witness to modern Protestantism were rendered obsolete, however slowly most theologians came to recognize this. A new account of the unity of the NT, by definition a central issue in NTT, was needed, along with an account of the relationship between the NT and modern theology which took into consideration the new critical historical perceptions of these documents. Baur answered both these needs with his account of the historical development of Christianity and a Hegelian metaphysics which allowed him to speak of God as spirit moving through the entire development. It could not stop with the NT, which was only the first chapter of the history of dogma, but this integration of a historical reconstruction in a modern philosophical theology allow Baur's "purely historical" NTT to be classified as a "hermeneutical" type, a theological interpretation of the NT. It was genuine theology because it aimed to satisfy both faith and reason, unlike the biblicist type which satisfies historical reason at the expense of faith. Baur thought his strong sense of "objective" historical reality also protected insights that had been lost in the more subjective NTT of the Enlightenment, later to be repeated in liberal Protestantism. But the way he understood revelation in history was so dependent on his own philosophy that this could not be challenged without destroying the whole basis on which he read these texts as revelatory. One point of the biblicist strand in Christian views of revelation is that it allows the text to challenge the interpreter. A critical theologian may overrule this challenge on appeal to the gospel to which it bears witness *(Sachkritik)* but even this takes the texts more seriously as religious witness than Baur's radical historicism, which refuses to treat them as more than information about the past.

The achievement of Baur in NTT was rounded off in 1864 by the posthumous publication of his *Vorlesungen über Neutestamentlichen Theologie*. He had in the 1840s pioneered the developmental historical form which was to remain a characteristic of the discipline. Three generations of impressive historical scholarship followed, including a series of textbook summaries of the content of early Christian thought, culminating in H. J. Holtzmann's *Lehrbuch der Neutestamentlichen Theologie* (1897, 1911). They were variously written from different theological standpoints, corresponding approximately to the spectrum of critical historical judgments. Holtzmann represents liberal scholarship at its best, and B. Weiss provided (1868, 1903, Eng trans., 2 vols., 1882–83) an influential conservative statement.

Despite the range of critical judgments it is striking how similar most of these presentations appear, at least in outward form. W. Alexander's is based entirely on dogmatic loci, but the rest offer a more or less historical presentation, with even the most conservative scholars doing some justice to the diversity of the NT witness. Following A. Neander, B. Weiss contrasted this historical, and so variegated, biblical and NT theology with the unitary system of a "biblical dogmatics." They all (except Alexander) provide an account of Jesus, sometimes extending to half the work, though the aims and presuppositions of these accounts vary. Apart from the liberals Weinel and Kaftan, who were influenced by the history-of-religions school, the more substantial works made use of the categories of dogmatics. The textbook format is distinctive, but the more historically sensitive they are the less there is to distinguish them in content from the NTT contained in lives of Jesus and histories of the "apostolic age."

The similarity between NTT, now a historical task using historical methods, and partial or total histories of early Christianity, which were very largely histories of religious thought, raised the question whether NTT had any right to exist as a separate discipline. This was answered most sharply by W. Wrede in 1897 (ET 1973), largely in the form of a critique of Holtzmann's monumental work, which had recently appeared and summed up a generation of liberal Protestant historical and exegetical research. Taking the historical tasks and methods of the discipline for granted, Wrede argued that the canon could not determine its boundaries (so too G. Krüger *Das Dogma vom Neuen Testament*, 1896), that doctrinal categories did less than justice to the historical material, and that treating each little book separately was absurd, since they provided insufficient data for reconstructing their authors' theologies.

As an account of what he rightly preferred to call "the history of early Christian religion and theology," Wrede's essay remains unsurpassed. That he could reduce the theological component in NTT to the history of religious ideas and think he was only carrying out consistently principles that were generally accepted is explained by the extent to which the hermeneutical aims of NTT had either been compromised by association with conservative critical judgments or relatively neglected by the better historians, both conservative and liberal. Wrede simply rejected the hermeneutical task of bridging historical scholarship and theological reflection and restricted NTT to the former. His proposal leads "beyond NTT" (H. Räisänen 1990), i.e., to the dissolution of that theological discipline in the interests of a history of religions untainted by the scholar's own commitments. This ideal enjoys widespread support today among biblical scholars who see their specialism as primarily descriptive-historical, and among theologians reacting against a "biblical theology" unschooled in philosophy and systematics. The best expression of both these reservations is found in the program of K. Stendahl (*IDB* 1: 418–32). The background to Wrede's essay and the various responses it elicited will therefore throw light on the present situation.

NTT was agreed by many conservatives as well as liberals to be a descriptive historical discipline, establishing what was once believed. Having accepted its historical character, they could be criticized for failures in this regard. Those who inclined to the biblicist identification of their historical and exegetical conclusions with their contemporary theological views could not allow contradictions between the biblical witnesses and were vulnerable to Wrede's charge that their association of NTT with dogmatics was corrupting their historical work. However, this was caused not by the mere association with dogmatics but by the biblicist

identification, which forced the history into a procrustean bed. The liberals, by contrast, were under no such pressure to harmonize the biblical witnesses and could with less difficulty correct failures in their historical reconstructions. Only in their accounts of the historical Jesus were they subject to similar pressures. Holtzmann's orientation of NTT to the biblical documents and the use of doctrinal categories was residually guided by his theological interests, and this resulted in historical defects, but he could in principle have taken account of Wrede's points in a revised historical presentation, as Bultmann later did. There was no need for the theological interests guiding the presentation to weaken the history. Theological interests pose a threat to historical objectivity, and that requires vigilance. It does not require their denial or suppression, or even (necessarily) their suspension. Historians have interests; what matters is that they do not pervert historical judgment.

Holtzmann's second edition (1911) could acknowledge Wrede's arguments and welcome his program, while also briefly defending the right of NTT to be guided by the position of the canon in contemporary Christianity. His purely pragmatic defense of his canonical orientation was not grounded in his view of revelation. It was also unconvincing because it contradicted his own historical structure, which began with a chapter on the Jewish context. But it correctly reflected the connection of NTT with Christian use of the Bible. It could have recovered more of the biblicist and hermeneutical elements in NTT by suggesting that revelation takes place partly in the present, through texts being interpreted and heard. But the liberal Holtzmann shared Wrede's historicist view of revelation lying behind the text, rather than the later (and earlier) kerygmatic view of it occurring "in front of" the text, in the act of reading, or through its reception. The conservatives B. Weiss and W. Beyschlag had a stronger sense of the textual or biblicist element in the doctrine of revelation, and so in NTT. Wrede dismissed their comments because they were compromised by their association with defective history. But his brief arguments (in his footnote 4; see Morgan 1973) against Beyschlag's badly stated and Weiss' inadequate hermeneutics miss their valid point that biblical theology has always presupposed a Christian account to what the Bible is about, and has sought to elucidate that. Because they did not argue their case, and because B. Weiss adhered to a biblicism that was not far removed from the discredited doctrine of inspiration, Wrede rejected out of hand what sounded to him like mere assertion.

But his argument against Weiss is revealing. Unlike Overbeck, whose secularizing program for a "profane" Church history and exclusion of all theological interpretation from the scholarly realm was close to his own, Wrede allowed himself to be drawn on the question of revelation, and showed how his scholarship was guided by positivistic assumptions. Revelation, he said, was "no concern of biblical theology," but a matter for dogmatics to debate after the biblical scholar has identified the "something" which may or may not be revelation. Such a value judgment on the results of historical research is rather distant from any views of revelation implied in the Church's use of the Bible. NTT which aimed to serve that would require a more textual orientation. Historical research has its own integrity and autonomy. It also has much to offer theology and exegesis. But in a discipline that is concerned with the Church's use of the Bible it is an auxiliary science. It can discredit implausible readings, but only when bolstered by philosophical theory (as it was by Baur, and more weakly by his successors) could it make theological claims.

Neither Holtzmann's failure to satisfy the historical and hermeneutical ideals of NTT nor Wrede's radical dissolution of the discipline signaled the bankruptcy of liberal NTT. Much of its effort was invested in the so-called "historical Jesus" quest, which received far more serious blows from J. Weiss in 1892 and Wrede himself in 1901, and from the theological critique of Kähler (1892). But liberal Protestantism's historicist option of finding something behind the texts with which it could identify was not limited to the Ritschlians' historical Jesus. It was equally possible to see historical research as a means to understanding religion, and to find the revelation of the divine in that rather than in the moral personality of Jesus. For Harnack, the interests in religion, Christianity, and Jesus coincided, and Wellhausen could similarly identify with the prophetic religion he uncovered as a historian. But some members of the history-of-religions school could sit more lightly to christology and find God in the religion they interpreted with the help of a romantic theory of religion. They criticized their great liberal predecessors for being too oriented to doctrines and documents, and illuminated "the beginnings of our religion" (Wernle) with parallel material and the study of preliterary traditions and motifs. Wernle's title admits the personal interest characteristic of NTT, and Bousset's *Kyrios Christos* makes plain its author's personal standpoint. A hermeneutical bridge was thus being constructed as the Bible became a source for understanding religion, and Jesus and Paul valued as religious personalities. This was therefore still NTT, even though the biblicist component had been abandoned and the "religion hermeneutic" did not fit into the traditional doctrinal and systematic format. Diessmann's polemic against the "dogmatized" Paul, for example, was theologically as well as historically motivated.

The liberals' hermeneutics were underdeveloped, because with the exception of Troeltsch most of these great historians were not great theorists. Their position was also unstable because their emphasis on the historical component in revelation made their theology vulnerable to their own further research. J. Weiss and especially A. Schweitzer thought the eschatology of Jesus and early Christianity out of tune with their own religion, and Heitmüller saw a similar problem in Paul's sacramentalism. But despite this, the "religion hermeneutic" survived because the liberals did not claim to believe the whole NT. Theological criticism of its untenable aspects had long been taken for granted. Their casual elimination of parts of the biblical witness was at odds with the Church's use of its Scripture, but some connection between the NT and this modern liberal theological interpretation was maintained.

This form of NTT was further weakened by the changes in cultural climate around 1914, and was eclipsed for some 60 years, at least in the German and Swiss Protestant homelands of NTT. Karl Barth's *Römerbrief* (1919, 1921) provided the catalyst for a reemergence of the biblicist

type of NTT which had been dampened by the intellectual victory of liberal Protestantism in historical research. More importantly, it stimulated a new combination of critical research and strong theological interests, in Bultmann's hermeneutical type of NTT.

Barth had some considerable sympathy for the biblicist strand in 19th-century theology and NTT, represented by J. T. Beck. But his strand formed a very wide spectrum, and included such outstanding historical scholarship as that of Lightfoot and Zahn. The main importance of Barth's reaction lay in its relativizing of the historical research which had dominated the discipline, and restoring the emphasis to the text and its interpretation. The theology of the word influenced the terminology of F. Büchsel (1935, 1937), who subtitled his NTT "A History of the Word of God in the New Testament," but failed to distinguish between this and the doctrinal concepts in which it found expression. A few years later M. Albertz published *Die Botschaft des Neuen Testaments* (4 vols. 1947–57), which was shaped by form criticism. Although it avoided the word "theology," it is a NTT influenced by the new movement. The so-called biblical theology movement which took various forms in Britain in the 1930s and North America in the 1940s and 1950s was only partially influenced by Barth. E. C. Hoskyns owed much to the *Römerbrief*, which he translated, but the *Church Dogmatics* had little impact in England. In Scotland and North America, where Calvinism was more pervasive, Barth was taken more seriously, though only a few biblical theologians could be called remotely Barthian. The most celebrated NTT from this wide and disparate movement may be seen in the "salvation history" theology of O. Cullmann. The popular writings of A. Richardson, culminating in *An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament* (1957), and some early work of A. M. Ramsey also belong here. But the new theological interest in the Bible after World War I had many sources and took many forms, including Kittel's *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (1933–74; ET 1964–76), which was dedicated to Schlatter.

The ambiguity of Barth's relationship to his liberal teachers became visible in his debate with Bultmann in 1922 over what Bultmann saw as the necessity of *Sachkritik*, i.e., theological criticism of the text in the light of the gospel it intends to articulate. Barth's unwillingness to admit this emphasized the biblicist component in NTT in contrast to the hermeneutical emphasis in Bultmann's kerygmatic theology. Barth had persuaded Bultmann to abandon the liberal religion apologetic he had learned from Herrmann and refined in debate with Schleiermacher, Troeltsch, and Otto in favor of a greater emphasis upon "theological exegesis," i.e., interpretation of the biblical texts. But Bultmann was determined to maintain the liberal heritage of historical criticism and built his historical research into an existentialist theological interpretation of the NT which drew on Dilthey's existentialist philosophy of history and Heidegger's phenomenology. With this new theological framework he was also able to appreciate Schlatter's hermeneutics, which had similarly held together thinking and writing.

Bultmann's *Jesus* (1926) is an impressive theological interpretation of the earliest strata of the synoptic tradition, and may therefore be classified as NTT, but the distinctive shape of his achievement is clearer in other articles from the same period, and monumentally in *The Gospel of John* (1941, ET 1971) and the *Theology of the New Testament* (1948–53; ET 1952–55). These great syntheses of theological interpretation were solidly based in the most advanced of German biblical scholarship and dominated NTT for most of the present century. Bultmann retained the historical outline of early Christian thought, following Wrede's recommendation. But inside this outline, his NTT proper is contained in daring theological interpretations of Paul and John which go well beyond historical reconstruction. These interpretive ventures presuppose Bultmann's own understanding of revelation and God-talk, seeking to explicate faith's understanding of God, the world, and human existence, as found in these texts.

This existential theological interpretation was bound to be rejected by theologians with a more biblicist or historicist view of revelation, but the most cogent criticisms were those which argued that it failed to do justice to aspects of the NT itself. The Synoptic Gospels evidently attach theological importance to the ministry and teaching of Jesus, and Paul and even (arguably) John are more positive about the world and history (past and future) than Bultmann's concentration on the "historicity" of human existence can allow.

Those who rejected that account of revelation taking place in the act of proclamation, with theology articulating the resulting self-understanding, gave accounts of NTT which reflected their own more historicist (Jeremias) or biblicist positions. Both these alternative types combine some talk of the word proclaimed with greater prominence to history. But their concepts of history are as elusive as Bultmann's when related to revelation. Theories of salvation history are not easily reconciled with early Christian eschatology, and they stand in a curious relationship to the critical study of history. But they echo the historical dimensions of the biblical witnesses, especially the OT, and some popular NTT has claimed this label, including E. Stauffer's *Theology of the New Testament* (1941; ET 1955). A more serious claimant to continuity with von Hoffmann and others, perhaps the most impressive textbook since Bultmann's, is L. Goppelt's posthumous *Theology of the New Testament* (2 vols., 1975–82; ET 1981–82).

A more rationalistic account of revelation in history was developed by W. Pannenberg, also in opposition to theologies of the word. It was partly inspired by von Rad and ultimately dependent on Hegel, but also built on some modern study of the apocalyptic. It influenced the thinking of some NT theologians (e.g., U. Wilckens) but did not result in any complete NTT.

Discussions of history and eschatology dominated the discipline in the 1950s and 1960s, with some of the most creative contributions stemming from Bultmann's own pupils and followers, and relating to the "historical Jesus." Bultmann's synthesis was challenged on all fronts and defended on some, but the crop of NTT textbooks which followed signaled a decline. H. Conzelmann wrote *An Outline of the Theology of the New Testament* (1968, 1987; ET 1969) to give greater prominence to the historical components in NTT and to supplement Bultmann with a section on the synoptic kerygma. His most surprising theological modification of Bultmann was to follow H. Schlier in

seeing theology as the interpretation of early creedal formulations.

Other textbooks followed from outside the Bultmann school. They correct some of his weaknesses, but lack his hermeneutical penetration and retreat toward biblicism and historicism. J. Jeremias wrote only the first volume of his NTT, devoted entirely to "The Proclamation of Jesus" (1971, 1988; ET 1971). The summaries of W. G. Kümmel (1973; ET 1974), E. Lohse (1974), and G. Strecker (1988) provide basic information but do not advance the methodological discussion. J. D. G. Dunn's textbooks, especially *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament* (1977) and *Christology in the Making* (1980, rev. 1989) are more substantial, as are the textbooks by the evangelical scholars G. E. Ladd (1974), D. Guthrie (1981), and L. Morris (1986), which summarize the contents of the NT rather than interpret its essential content. Their biblicist standpoint and generally conservative historical judgments allow them to identify with what they find in the NT much as conservative NTTs did in the 19th century. Even in some mainstream biblical scholarship, the biblicist component in NTT has expanded to fill the vacuum left by the decline of hermeneutics within liberal and radical scholarship. As biblical scholarship has become more secularized, the religious interests that govern most people's reading of the NT have reasserted themselves, often fruitfully. The attention that Bultmann's hermeneutics are receiving from some conservative interpreters is impressive.

Within Roman Catholicism the revival of biblical studies since *Divino Afflante* (1943) has given rise to some sophisticated hermeneutical discussion and some outstanding biblical scholarship, much of it written with eyes open to theological questions. But the textbooks of M. Meinertz (2 vols., 1950) and J. Bonsirven (1951; ET 1963) no more advanced the discipline than the popular NTT of A. Lemmonyer (1928; ET 1930) and O. Kuss (1936). K. H. Schelkle (4 vols., 1968–76; ET 1971–78) reverted to a structure based on doctrinal concepts, but within each section the diversity of the witnesses is respected. This major work fulfills the discipline's aim to make the biblical material available for religious use, but it takes for granted the intelligibility of the traditional doctrinal structure. Some more original Roman Catholic NTT has been written by systematic theologians (notably E. Schillebeeckx and H. Küng) turning to biblical studies in order to loosen the dogmatic straitjackets.

The past few years have seen a variety of developments, some of which are religiously and theologically motivated and deserve the name NTT. Many of these have retained a strong base in biblical scholarship, but have seen this as a necessary control rather than setting strict limits to the interpretive task. Liberation theology has roots in an older biblical theology. It is not in the vanguard of historical scholarship, but is opening up new perspectives in biblical interpretation which will surely be increasingly important for European and North American NTT.

Still working within the historical paradigm, E. Schüssler Fiorenza (1983) has also argued powerfully for a "committed" stance which rejects the ideal of historical objectivity. Interpreters' legitimate interests are best declared and scrutinized. The feminist challenge is evidently most important for the Western churches and demands the attention of any biblical study that asks about the meaning and truth of its message. This has traditionally been the underlying concern of biblical and NT theology, even though it has sometimes been suppressed by a positivistic historiography. In the past it was considered very largely within the parameters set by the doctrinal tradition. Today ethical issues are becoming a growth point in NTT and the discipline can be expected to take many new shapes. Both the application of social-scientific methods in biblical studies and the recent swing to more literary types of interpretation are full of potential for NTT. But these take us beyond history and analysis into a concluding summary of problems and possibilities.

C. Problems and Possibilities

1. Scope. The phrase "New Testament theology" is used in a general sense to embrace all theologically interested research on the NT, and more commonly in a narrower sense to refer to textbook summaries of its theological context. The history of the discipline reveals a series of historically informed attempts to present the ideational content of these writings in a coherent way. But the definition of that content as theological has usually led interpreters to relate the biblical witnesses to contemporary Christian belief and practice. This is because the belief that the canonical writings communicate the revelation of God implies a self-involvement on the part of the interpreter. This puts an unusual kind of pressure on the largely historical character of NTT, and has led to methodological problems.

The discipline originated and has survived in the service of the Church's use of Scripture. Its tensions, which some have thought amount to contradictions, stem from its combination of this religious interest with the rigorous use of the linguistic and historical methods that are agreed to be necessary for clarifying the meaning of ancient writings. NTT has insisted on using these rational methods of biblical scholarship to determine what, according to the linguistic conventions of their authors, these texts mean. But the results have not always corresponded to the ways the Bible is heard and understood in the wider contexts of religious communities sharing beliefs shaped partly by intervening history.

As a biblical discipline NTT gives priority to the witness of the texts, and this matches the wish of the community to be challenged and corrected by the witness of its Scripture. The discipline's dependence on the rational methods available at any given time reflects the general commitment of the Church and theology to human rationality. But in a secular culture these methods tend to exclude the presupposition on which Christian theology operates, the revelation of God in Jesus. So long as it remains a theological discipline NTT retains this assumption, and explicates it in ways that avoid conflict with the methods and results of the rational investigation of the Bible.

2. Unity and Diversity. The most serious point of conflict between faith and reason in the modern study of Scripture and the most visible problem for NTT concerns the unity of the Bible. This is implied by the notion of Scripture and assumed by Christianity, but challenged by historical investigation which has highlighted the diversity of the biblical witness. That destroyed traditional accounts

of its unity which saw this in terms of a monolithic doctrinal structure. The unity of the two testaments has always been a problem for Christian theology, and biblical theology has tried to resolve it in ways that do justice to modern critical study. But within NTT it is the diversity of these explicitly Christian witnesses which raises questions about how Scripture should be read. F. C. Baur's ambitious attempt to integrate his radical historical criticism in a dialectical account of the unity of the development was falsified by subsequent research, but his combination of critical and hermeneutical perspectives remains suggestive. Bultmann's location of the unity in the nonobjectifiable kerygma seemed to evade the problem by removing it from history and texts to an event which eludes definitive formulations. But this is vacuous until it is specified by reference to the theological, i.e., doctrinal language in which faith's self-understanding is expressed, and then disagreement breaks out, as the discussion of H. Braun's essays (1957, ET 1968; 1961, ET 1965) illustrated. It emerged from the hermeneutical debates of the 1960s that most theological interpreters are dissatisfied with Bultmann's near contentless christology and want to point in more specific ways to the person in whom Christians find the decisive revelation of God. They recognize the diversity of christological statement in the NT, but find the unity of Scripture and the criterion of its diverse formulations in the historical, exalted, and expected Jesus to whom these formulations bear more or less adequate witness. Since the person and place of Jesus Christ cannot be explicated without drawing out his soteriological meaning, some general anthropological and ecclesiological statements are also included in most accounts of the unity of Scripture.

3. The Relationship to Contemporary Theology. Behind any theological interpreter's construal of the unity of the biblical witnesses stands some particular understanding of the saving revelation of God in Jesus, i.e., a contemporary understanding of Christianity, which is related (often silently or implicitly) to the understanding of Scripture uncovered by history and exegesis. The three elements in a Christian account of this revelation (history, text, contemporary actualization) are differently defined and differently accented in different NTTs. The liberals' sometimes positivistic emphasis upon the history at worst reduced the texts to sources and failed to hear them as religious witnesses. In fact most of the older liberals had a sensitive ear for religious utterances and could relate in a personal way to the history they uncovered or constructed. But their focus on the religion "behind" the texts did less than full justice to the ways the Church actually used its Scripture. The various modern theologies of the word have reacted by undervaluing the historical element in Christianity, provoking further reactions in renewed emphases on salvation-history or universal-history frameworks for speaking of God and revelation. These disputes have come to no clear conclusions. NTT today is beginning to develop the liberals' "religion" option in ways that take the texts as more than historical sources. C. Geertz's cultural-linguistic theory of religion opens new doors for theological interpretation, as W. Meeks has appreciated in *The First Urban Christians* (1981) and L. Johnson in *The Writings of the New Testament: An Interpretation* (1986). Alternatively, Bultmann's model can be developed to take account of the new emphasis upon liberation and praxis, as is clear from D. Tracy's *The Analogical Imagination* (1981), a work deeply suggestive for NTT.

4. Literature and History. The shape of NTT is determined by the biblical data and the interpreter's understanding of revelation. The hegemony of historical research in biblical scholarship since Baur has tugged NTT away from its more natural orientation to the exegesis and interpretation of the biblical literature. This would ultimately have dissolved NTT into the history of early Christianity, had not Barth instigated a renewal of attention to the text and its interpretation. Like Barth in his *Römerbrief* Bultmann is primarily a theological interpreter of certain biblical texts, but in his textbook Bultmann maintained the historical paradigm preferred by biblical scholarship and included his existential interpretations of Paul and John within that outline, commenting only briefly that for him the historical outline stands in the service of the primary task, which is interpretation of texts. Despite his followers' even stronger historical emphasis, it is possible to develop a more literary model for NTT out of his legacy. This need not and should not involve any devaluation of historical scholarship. The Christian Church's emphasis upon the historical elements in its founding revelation forbids any exclusion of the historical interest, even though some forms of historical apologetic have lost their cogency for a critical age. The importance of historical exegesis in the study of literature varies with different theories, but only a literary theory which insists on textual determinacy (to which historical research makes a major contribution) is likely to meet the needs of NTT, because without that, Scripture could mean anything and would lose its capacity to challenge and perhaps redirect the interpreter and the Church.

5. The Canon. Discussion of the appropriate interpretation of Scripture points NTT in a literary direction, whereas most biblical scholarship since Semler has (partly for good theological reasons) preferred a historical paradigm. The notion of a canon is applicable to a collection of literature, but as Wrede memorably insisted, it has no place in historical research. Its theological function of excluding what does not correspond to its critical norm is also uncongenial to liberal Christianity and in any case only workable in a very loose sense today. Now that theories of inspiration and revelation which make these writings different in kind (as opposed to having a special use) have disappeared from critical theology, the question of "canon" is important only in discussion of the boundaries of Scripture, and that is scarcely a live issue today. Michaelis suggested that nonapostolic writings would have to be excluded. This entanglement of theological with historical judgment is intelligible in view of the argument from apostolicity used in the formation of the canon, and it gained weight from some accounts of inspiration. Such false supports are exposed by historical criticism. But the Church's reception and use of the Bible today has only the loosest connection with these arguments. Any of its statements can be challenged, but Scripture is not a "given" for the Church, its shape and content vindicated by centuries of experience. The "theological problem of the canon," which has haunted the historical study of the Bible from

its inception, is really the problem of Scripture, i.e., having a collection of writings which are treated with more respect than can be rationally justified outside the Christian interpretative community. This biblicist strand in Christianity and NTT stands in some tension with a historically dominated biblical scholarship but only falls into contradiction with historicist views of revelation and NTT.

B. S. Childs has since 1979 appealed to the canon in opposition to the hegemony of history in biblical interpretation. His canonical criticism recalls NTT to its ecclesial and theological context, and his angle of vision adds a dimension to the task of scriptural interpretation and remains interpreters to balance historical with literary perspectives. But the data for NTT are the multilayered Scriptures in all their many-sidedness. Theological interpretation cannot be constrained by the final form of the text or final shape of the collection, least of all when this involves denying or neutralizing historical insights. The final form is important because that is what the Church reads as Scripture, but the final editors are not all-important for a Christian view of revelation. This depends on a dialectic between Scripture and the gospel, which is hindered as much by constricting the possibilities for scriptural interpretation as by cutting loose of theological assumptions. The plasticity of a multilayered Scripture enlarges the possibilities for theological interpretation expressing the freedom and truth of the gospel. Scripture is the indispensable source and resource of Christian witness. It also functions as a norm by being constantly used by the religious community. But to strengthen its normative role by hardening its canonical arteries would lead at best to a sterile orthodoxy and at worst to a precritical bibliolatry.

6. The Historical Jesus. The difficulty of maintaining a correct balance between on the one hand the historical founding events of Christianity, and on the other hand the texts and their interpretation, is particularly clear in the argument concerning the place of the (so-called) "historical Jesus" in NTT. The phrase is ambiguous, but both meanings are important. NTT can scarcely ignore the earthly ministry and teaching of Jesus, which are plainly important for some if not all the NT writers. Neither can it ignore the distinctively modern question of the Jesus reconstructed by modern historical research. This is important for many Christians' understanding of their faith, and rightly so, granted the identity of the Lord of faith with the man from Nazareth. Nevertheless, it is far from clear that this legitimate interest is best satisfied by speculative reconstructions based on inadequate evidence. Even the so-called New Quest of the historical Jesus in the 1950s and 1960s was theologically vitiated by the historians' proper contrast between the Jesus of history and the Christ of faith being made constitutive for christology, and the early Bultmann's tendentious comments that "how the proclaimer became the proclaimed" is the central question for NTT was similarly a remnant of the Enlightenment's prejudice against doctrine. A more literary approach to NTT could do justice to the importance of the history of Jesus for Christianity by saying what can be said about this history in the course of interpreting each of the gospels. A critical theological interpretation can justly appeal to all that can be known about Jesus in the course of unfolding and assessing the witness of each evangelist. Historical insights can question the evangelists' interpretations at particular points (e.g., over Matthew's account of Jesus' attitude to the Pharisees, or John's account of his attitude to "the Jews"), but without placing these points in a framework that systematically exaggerates the discontinuities and tries to structure christology on them.

7. Old and New Testaments. The relationship of the testaments was no more satisfactorily handled in historicist NTTs than other aspects of the problem of the canon. Biblical historians could not justify neglecting the intertestamental material, but they found it hard to do it justice in the context of biblical theology. More biblicist NTTs and biblical theologies, and Christian theologies of the OT, have paid particular attention to this question, but their answers are too exclusively dependent on their textual data to satisfy theologians whose view of revelation pays more attention to the present-day actualization of the text.

The biblicist theological emphasis on the texts themselves is reinforced by biblical scholarship which likewise focuses attention on the texts. This alliance of biblicism and sound scholarship is present in the recent German discussion of "biblical theology" led by H. Gese and P. Stuhlmacher, and continued in the *Jahrbuch für Biblische Theologie* (1986–). But a critical NTT and even a critical Christian biblical theology must take its bearings from a more satisfactory view of revelation. Since the Christian revelation of God focuses on Jesus Christ, crucified and risen, rather than on the texts that bear witness to him, a Christian biblical theology or reading of the Bible is almost bound, in a historically conscious context, to be a NTT. The OT witness has to be interpreted in the light of that, placing such a strain on the historically trained conscience that one may question the very possibility of a Christian OT theology which does justice to faith and reason. But there is nothing unreasonable about a Christian biblical theology which selects OT material and interprets it in the light of the event to which Christians believe it ultimately bears witness. This is permissible if the texts are not distorted and made to say what exegesis refutes. That restriction will exclude from a Christian biblical theology much of the valuable substance of OT scholarship. But these writings have continued to be read as Scripture and there are many possible interpretative strategies by which the insights of the older covenant can be preserved in the new. Some of the best recent biblical theology has focused on particular theological themes as found in both testaments, without trying to provide an overview of everything, e.g., D. Senior and C. Stuhlmueller's *The Biblical Foundations for Mission* (1983) and P. D. Hanson's *The People Called: The Growth of Community in the Bible* (1986).

8. Christianity and Judaism. The Hebrew Bible is shared by two complex religious communities who claim to worship the same God, but understand God's revelation, and so the shared Scriptures, quite differently. This question of the relationship between Judaism and Christianity has not until recently been much discussed in NTT. But recent history has placed it firmly on the Christian theological agenda, and the historical circumstances of Christian origins mean that the NT has much to say to it. The arrival of this theme in NTT is signaled by F. Mussner's *Tractate on the Jews* (1979; ET 1984).

9. The Future. Increased specialization even within NT scholarship has rendered the old textbook format of NTT questionable. It has become less likely that one scholar's summary of his or her exegetical conclusions will excite the interest that Holtzmann's did. But the textbook form has value at the introductory level. NTT has always had a popular appeal, and many of the older and modern presentations are popularizations rather than scholarly *summae*, e.g., A. M. Hunter, 1943, 1944, 1958 and F. C. Grant, 1950. But the conclusion to be drawn from the present discussion is that the particular tasks of NTT within biblical studies and on its borders with systematic, doctrinal, or philosophical theology center on understanding the NT in ways that do justice to the best insights of historical and exegetical research, while also relating (perhaps critically, but always constructively) to the expectations and needs of the Christian community. This may be done by an "interpretation" of the writings of the NT (L. Johnson), or a *Theological Introduction to the NT* (E. Schweizer, 1989). It is more likely to be oriented to the biblical literature than to early Christian history, but unlikely to follow B. S. Childs' narrowing the discipline to a study of "the NT as canon" (1984)—a proposal which was discredited when it set the canonical Paul against the historical Paul. History and exegesis retain critical controls over what is said in NTT, even though theological interpretation and criticism (*Sachexegese* and *Sachkritik*) go outside the realm of historical discourse. This literary orientation is in the first place a reflection of the fact that the NT is a collection of literature, whereas it merely provides material for historical reconstruction. But secondly, it respects the extent to which most theology is oriented to texts. However, a modern liberal theology is likely to be oriented to the empirical phenomenon of religion, and doing justice to early Christian religion for the sake of NTT involves historical and social-scientific as well as literary perspectives.

The theological orientation of NTT as a theological as well as a biblical discipline means that it is largely concerned with theory. But unlike a *Hermeneutik*, which discusses the principles of interpretation (e.g., H. Weder, 1986), NTT illustrates them in the process of interpreting these writings. However, unlike a commentary, NTT needs to make clear the way in which it combines exegesis and theology in a theological interpretation. That is the special task of a theologically and historically responsible presentation of biblical *Sache* or "content" that is believed by Christians to mediate the decisive saving revelation of God.

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Discussions of the conceptual content of the NT amount to a large portion of NT scholarship and cannot be selectively included. The items listed below therefore have been included primarily because of their focus on methodological issues. Most New Testament Theologies contain a section on the aims and task of the discipline. Standard theological/biblical encyclopedias also contain relevant articles, notably *RGG*^{2} 1: 1091–94 (ET in Pelikan 1970: 27–31); *IDB* 1: 418–32; *IDBSup*, 104–11; *RE*^{3} 3: 192–200; *LTK* 2: 444–49; *Sacramentum Mundi* 4: 216–20. Also consult the bibliography of THEOLOGY (BIBLICAL), HISTORY OF.

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THEOLOGY (BIBLICAL), HISTORY OF. The following article gives an overview of more than two centuries of research in the field of biblical theology. It begins in the period before historical criticism became dominant in the understanding of the Bible in the wake of the Enlightenment. Before Gabler, who "discovered" the field, the dogmatic approach was dominant. It saw the whole Bible on one level and tried to found dogmatic sentences on the evidence of verses taken from all parts of Scripture without any regard for historical developments. Every word was taken as inspired and equally God's own word. Gabler reserved this task for "dogmatic theology," while assigning the historical task of describing what the biblical writers said to "biblical theology." Subsequently, the "history of religions" approach fixed its attention exclusively on the development of Israel's religion. The different writings, sources, and layers in the Bible were seen as

products of time-bound circumstances, correlated to one another by a development leading from the earliest and most primitive to the most recent periods. Dialectical theology brought an end to this approach, stressing again that the Bible is God's word speaking to the Christian believer today through the voices of the biblical witnesses. The more recent "biblical theology movement" was the concerted effort of Anglo-American scholars to carry through this approach in a scholarly world still dominated by liberal views. Many ways of tracing a biblical theology have been explored since then. The result is that neither an overarching structure, nor a single term (as "center" of the Bible or one of the Testaments), nor a historical development as such can suffice as a unifying principle for the whole Bible. Therefore the ongoing task of biblical theology must be a careful listening to the different voices of the biblical witnesses living in different times and circumstances, and the quest for the inner unity that comprises the Bible as proclaiming the same God, the God of Israel and the father of Jesus Christ.

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A. Developments before Gabler

Although the principle of *sola scriptura* (Scripture alone) had accorded the Bible a central position for faith and theology in the Reformation, the Reformers themselves failed to develop a critically considered biblical theology. Luther straightforwardly understood Scripture to be the preached Word of God. His yardstick for assigning a work to the center or periphery of Scripture—an undertaking he took so seriously as to exclude whole books from consideration—was dogmatic ("was Christum treibet": "[that] which urges to Christ").

The dogmatic approach of the medieval period continued to dominate in the period of Protestant Orthodoxy (17th century). Indeed, the doctrine of Holy Scripture considered as the Word of God led to such a thoroughgoing identification of the two that every single word in the Bible was reckoned to be inspired (so, e.g., by Johann Gerhard), as was the very Masoretic vocalization of the Hebrew text (so Johann Buxtorf). The need to support dogmatic positions with corresponding statements from Scripture led, under Orthodoxy, to the formation of a concept of "biblical theology," which was above all defined by Abraham Calov as an ancillary discipline of dogmatics. The task of this "exegetical theology" was held to be the coordination of biblical passages (*dicta probantia* or *collegia biblica*) with the various appropriate doctrines (*loci*). In the best known work of this sort (Schmidt 1671), the supportive passages from the OT and NT were listed separately, although no differentiated evaluation of either part of the Bible was intended by this. At this point—as in modern-day fundamentalism—all of Scripture was regarded to be on one and the same plane, regardless of the times when the various texts themselves originated.

Even Pietism, which had criticized the scholastic system of Orthodoxy and had sought to replace it with a biblically founded theology (as in the works of Heymann [1708] and Wiedner [1722]), did not transcend the understanding of biblical theology as an ancillary discipline of dogmatics. Pietistic works, too, merely organized supportive passages for dogmatic purposes. However, Pietism did manage to call renewed attention to the biblical basis of theology and the role of the Bible for evangelical piety.

This fundamentally ahistorical view of the Bible was not even surpassed by the early theologians of the English Enlightenment (the so-called Deists), in spite of their opposition to the orthodox ecclesiastical position. This is most clearly the case in the work of Matthew Tindal (*Christianity as Old as the Creation* [1730]), which was probably the most representative of Enlightenment efforts. Here, too, the Bible was evaluated according to an absolute and imposed system; although this system was not the teaching of the Church, but a "natural religion" (or, more precisely, a rational and self-evident morality for all men). The only biblical statements regarded as valid were those that could satisfy the demands of this morality (provided, however, that those statements derived from morally unobjectionable biblical authors). Most of the recipients of revelation in the Bible failed to satisfy the latter criterion. Tindal thought it possible to discern his "religion of nature" in the gospels. Hermann Samuel Reimarus (1694–1768) was far more consistent. On the basis of similar views about a purely morally conceived religion (determined by the rational supernaturalism of his teacher, Wolff), Reimarus perspicaciously recognized the time-bound features in the Bible, penetrating all the way to the heart of Jesus' message. From this point of departure he developed what was surely the most radical criticism of Scripture of his day (see Reimarus 1972).

The decisive fundamentals of a historical criticism of the Bible had already been formulated by B. Spinoza (1670). However, as Spinoza was regarded as something of a maverick, his views were only acknowledged a century later. Spinoza noted that the biblical writings derive from different epochs and thus could not be held to lie on the same plane. There was furthermore the question of the original intentions of the author of a given biblical work. Finally, he maintained that one's knowledge of the contents of the biblical works ought to be won from the Bible itself, and should not be based on dogmatic premises imposed from without. Spinoza developed his own pantheistic philosophical system entirely apart from the Bible; he assigned reason to the realm of truth, and theology to the realm of piety and obedience.

Among the theologians of the Enlightenment, A. F. Busching was the first who possessed sufficient indepen-

dence to develop a theology based on the Bible alone, in contrast to the scholastic teaching methods; he presented this theology in his lectures at Göttingen, as well as in numerous works. He also attempted provisionally to organize the OT and NT statements with respect to their appropriate historical periods. But it was J. S. Semler who first developed the theoretical fundamentals of a historical-critical biblical exegesis which opened a pathway for a new understanding of biblical theology (Semler 1771–75; and other works). Semler emphasized the importance of distinguishing between the "Word" and "Scripture," and held that the latter should be seen as a product of human effort to be understood purely historically according to the dates its various sections were composed, a position that undermined the traditional teaching about verbal inspiration. Although Semler himself published two volumes of biblical *dicta probantia* for dogmatics (1764–68), he had nonetheless prepared the methodological ground for a new understanding of the task of a biblical theology.

One perhaps ought to mention the work of G. T. Zachariä, which was influential in its own time (1771–75). Zachariä sought to develop a new arrangement of the theological doctrines corresponding to a systematization which follows the order of the material in the writings of the OT and NT. However, since Zachariä held to the notion of verbal inspiration, and since he considered a writing's date of composition to be unrelated to its theological value, the dogmatic doctrinal system was merely replaced by Zachariä's own biblicistic one.

B. From Gabler through World War I

1. The Program of J. P. Gabler. A fundamentally new understanding of the goal of a biblical theology was presented by Gabler in his now famous accessionary lecture delivered to the faculty of theology in Altdorf in 1787 (see Sandys-Wunsch and Eldredge 1980 for translation and discussion of this address). Basic to Gabler's thought was the distinction between "Biblical Theology," which is of a historical nature *(genere historico)*, and Dogmatic Theology, the nature of which is didactic *(genero didactico)*. According to Gabler, biblical theology, "passes on to us what the holy authors thought about divine things." In contrast, dogmatic theology presents us with conclusions about divine things arrived at by a theologian whose thought will have been conditioned by the particularities of his time, his origins, and the school to which he belonged. Since dogmatic theology is subject to the continuous transformations of history, it is crucial that those "pure concepts" which are valid for all times should be derived from the Bible and analyzed so as to distinguish divine from human wisdom. To this end a precise historical organization of the biblical works according to their respective times of origin is necessary, enabling us to recognize the time-bound concepts (the *true theology*), as well as to collect the sacred ideas *(notiones sacrae)* through comparative study, thus gaining the "pure theology." Since the "sacred ideas" are "constant," dogmatic theology at any time-determined stage may appeal to them to support its statements.

Gabler's emphasis on the historical character of biblical theology deserves special stress. The consequence of this idea is that the biblical writings are to be studied with the same methods as apply to secular works. A further consequence of the chronological distinction of writings (in connection with which the apocryphal writings proved to be important) is that the OT recedes in importance with respect to the NT, the distinctions between various canons become clearer, and the dogmatic unity of Scripture breaks down. However, Gabler's assumption that it is possible to extract from the Bible *dicta classica* (that is, timeless universal truths agreeing with reason; i.e., a "biblical theology, narrowly construed"), which might form a solid foundation for the didactic mission of (more subjective and time-bound) dogmatic theology, was itself a product of Enlightenment thought. Gabler did not see that historical knowledge itself is based on various time-bound presuppositions, and that it, too, therefore remains subjective.

2. The Partition into OT and NT Theologies. Gabler himself never attempted to realize his program. The work of C. F. von Ammon (1792) once again interpreted the whole of Scripture on a single plane, albeit a plane based on Kant's moral teachings. Wherever Gabler's work was taken seriously, his historical program speedily led to a partition into OT and NT theologies, as first occurred in the work of his colleague at Altdorf, G. L. Bauer. Bauer accepted only Gabler's first methodological step, namely the historical investigation of the sources. In the process, Bauer emphasized powerfully the pre-Christian and sub-Christian elements (except for monotheism) in the OT. His basic idea was that religious ideas evolved progressively, and in keeping with that idea he studied the development of the concepts. He also sought rationalistic explanations for biblical myths and miracles, and considered the decisive climax to be the advent of Jesus, whom he designated "the greatest teacher in the world."

Also in the subsequent period we find an unequal balance between historical interpretation of the sources and the desire to derive universal truths from them, so that the reconstruction *(comparatio)* alternated between these extremes. Additionally, the historical approach created an abyss separating the Testaments. F. C. Baur objected that the works of W. M. L. de Wette (1813) and G. P. Kaiser (1813–21; see below) were not sufficiently historical. De Wette described "the moral idea of a god, liberated from all myth, as a holy will" as the objective principle of Hebrew religion. This "ideal universalism" (conceived as the idea actually intended by Moses) was symbolized by theocratic particularism. De Wette summarized Hebrew religion and Judaism as "the religion of the Old Testament," Judaism being for him "the unfortunate reconstruction of Hebrew religion." "The teachings of Jesus" and "the teachings of the apostles" were the "religion of the New Testament and of Christianity." For De Wette, "only that which according to philosophical principles belongs to religion" should be part of the presentation, which is systematically constructed according to the doctrines of God, man, and the Messiah (soteriology). After the second edition, de Wette prefaced each subsequent section with a "doctrine of revelation," which showed Hebrew religion to be a history of revelation from the Creation until the latest period.

D. G. C. von Cölln attempted to carry out Gabler's program in a work published posthumously (1836). The OT and NT were treated separately, and the various epochs (such as "Hebrew religion" and "Judaism") were distinguished according to "historical principles." The ra-

tionalizing and systematic tendency was, however, dominant in the work: Von Cölln's goal was to make manifest the "universal religious concepts or religious universalism" which he distinguished from the concrete temporal features (expressed either mythic-symbolically or mythic-non-symbolically), which he labeled "theocratic concepts of religion or religious particularism." It is noteworthy that historical development was scarcely discernible in this work.

A new approach more explicitly concerned with the historical development of Israelite religion came with the work of W. Vatke (1835). Influenced by Hegelian philosophy, Vatke understood the chain of events in history as the self-manifestation of the "absolute Spirit" in revelation. In this view, "the various evolutionary stages of religion were equivalent to just as many stages in the development of consciousness" (p. 100). The goal of this evolutionary development of consciousness is absolute religion, in which "the concept of religion becomes completely realized as idea" (p. 101), which Vatke saw as occurring in Christianity. Hegel's historical dialectic led to a periodization of the religious history of Israel, according to which the Law followed the prophets, the Chronicler's History was dated very late, and the Psalms and Wisdom materials, too, were dated later than the prophets. Hegel's student B. Bauer also published a similar type of history-of-religions investigation (1838–39).

In his review of volume 1 of G. P. Kaiser's biblical theology, F. C. Baur earlier (1818) had already demanded such a thoroughgoing, historically conceived, and independent scholarly investigation of biblical theology which would bring Jewish and Christian religion into comprehensive historical perspective. Step by step, the historical-critical investigation of the NT sources permitted the reconstruction of the history of early Christianity (by distinguishing between authentic and deutero-Pauline epistles, the Synoptics and the gospel of John, etc.), a reconstruction that was later summarized by Baur himself (1853). From this effort, Baur's (posthumously published) lectures emerged (1864). At the outset he formulated the following principle: "Unlike dogmatics . . . biblical theology ought to be a purely historical discipline." Due to the historical difference between the two Testaments, he insisted that this discipline should yield separate theologies of the OT and NT (1864: 1, 10). On the basis of Hegel's dialectic and the understanding of history as the self-manifestation of the human spirit (which over time participates more and more in the absolute spirit), three NT periods arose out of the conflict and conjunction of doctrinal concepts: (1) the period of the four Pillar Epistles of Paul and the antithesis provided by Revelation; (2) the period of Hebrews, the deutero-Pauline epistles, 1–2 Peter, James, the Synoptics, and Acts; and (3) the period of the Pastoral Epistles and the Johannine writings, since, according to Baur (p. 351) "New Testament theology achieves its highest stage and most complete form" in the Johannine didactic concept. In addition to this, the teaching of Jesus constituted the "primeval period," which, however, "escapes precise historical observation" (p. 122), since it has been transmitted by tradition. (Against this, G. L. Bauer held that the teachings of Jesus themselves belonged constitutively to NT theology. The disagreement on this point is still noticeable even in the most recent studies, and is, indeed, one of the abiding problems of NT theology.)

Among the other notable publications of the 19th century was the *Christologie* (1829–35) of E. W. Hengstenberg, a conservative attempt to demonstrate the unity of the two testaments as revelation utilizing Messianism as a unifying theme. But despite Hengstenberg's ecclesiological influence, the future belonged to the historical approach. The *Vorlesungen* ("Lectures") of J. C. Steudel (1840) presuppose an understanding of the step-by-step, continuous developmental path of OT religion from the very simplest forms, even though these lectures were structured systematically. According to Steudel, Christianity is, "in virtue of its historical connection with Judaism, both the continuation and the perfection of Judaism (or, more rightly put, of the OT revelation)" (1840: 542). Steudel's student, G. F. Oehler (1873–74), also wanted to derive the step-by-step, progressive revelation of NT faith historically and genetically from the OT witnesses. His subdivisions were Mosaism, prophetism, and OT Wisdom. We should note that Oehler assigned the whole of the Law, including Deuteronomy, to Mosaism, and did not accept Vatke's assignment of it to the period following the prophets. The post-positioning of Wisdom had no chronological intent; rather, it points to the special role played by this literature, which Oehler understood as satisfying man's drive for knowledge.

H. Ewald's theology (1888), presupposing his *Geschichte Israels,* stresses in a similar way the historical "stages of revelation." These, however, he found to correspond to one another in the main and to have their common reference point in Christ. Thus the two Testaments were once more understood from the same point of view. This work was, however, scarcely noted in the following period.

3. From Biblical Theology to History of Religion. a. From OT Theology to the History of Israelite Religion. In the last quarter of the 19th century, the discussion raged even within the field of OT theology for and against the Graf-Kuenen-Wellhausen hypothesis, according to which prophecy was held to have preceded the Law. While the history-of-ideas oriented account of F. Hitzig (1880), student of H. Ewald, and the conservatively minded A. Dillmann (1895) either did not refer to the debate (thus Hitzig) or rejected the Wellhausen hypothesis (thus Dillmann), the popular *Theologie* of Hermann Schultz (1892), which ran to five editions, represented a transition to a mixed position. Here the history of Israelite-Jewish religion enjoyed the place of honor, while the systematic-theological treatments of the "Congregational Consciousness of Salvation in the Second Temple" and the "Religious Understanding of the World" were presented at the end of the work. Thus, Hitzig, Dillmann, and also E. Riehm, in a posthumously published work (1889), present introductory sections on "The Nature of Israelite Religion," followed by sections devoted to historical matters.

The future was to belong to the purely historical studies, such as those of A. Kuenen (1869–70), J. Wellhausen *(WGI),* and K. Budde (1912). The change also manifested itself in A. Kayser's *Theologie* (1886), the title of which was changed to *Geschichte der israelitischen Religion* in the edition revised by K. Marti in 1897. When B. Stade, a comrade-in-arms of Wellhausen, named the first volume of his 1905

work "The Religion of Israel and the Origins of Judaism," and yet retained as series title the misleading *Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments* (1905), the latter was plainly an anachronism. Matters were similar in the posthumously published work of E. Kautzsch (1911), since his was a purely history-of-religions approach. In a well-known speech (1893), Stade described the task of the discipline as a purely historical one and rejected all connection to dogmatics. The elder Rudolf Smend (1851–1913) wrote a *Lehrbuch der alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte* ("Textbook of the History of Old Testament Religion," 1893) from the point of view of the Wellhausen School, and so brought this development to a climax. Other works of this type were published by G. Hölscher (1922), and by W. Oesterley and T. H. Robinson (1930).

An interesting note was brought into the discussion by the so-called history-of-religions school, the main representative of which in OT study was H. Gunkel. The members of this school shared with their contemporaries the rejection of the old style of biblical theology; their twin battle cries were "religion" and "history" (Gunkel 1914: 386–87; cf. also W. Klatt 1969: 25–26). The intention, "to grasp *the religion itself* in all its depth and breadth," that is, the "history of *biblical religion*" (Gunkel 1922: 66; cf. Klatt 1969: 27), entailed the separation of OT study from dogma and canon, but also from constrictive literary criticism. Additionally, and this is especially noteworthy, Gunkel held that OT and NT religion ought to be understood in all their "historically conditioned connections with other religions" (1922: 66).

b. From NT Theology to the History of the Early Church. Similar developments characterized the field of NT theology. Already E. Reuss declared: "Biblical theology is essentially a historical discipline. It does not demonstrate; rather, it relates. It is the first chapter of a history of Christian doctrine" (1852: 11). The beginning of this history of Christian doctrine was the appearance of the person and message of Jesus, both of which had to be included in any investigation.

Even a work which proceeded on the basis of a fundamentally conservative attitude, such as B. Weiss' popular *Lehrbuch* (1868) could not escape the results of the historical-critical study of the NT writings. Weiss' work presupposed the results of this research with respect to authors and dates of composition, so that after arranging the writings historically it would be possible "to regard them as sources for a particular concept of doctrine" (1868: 8). Weiss defined the real task of biblical theology as "historical-descriptive." He also distinguished between biblical theology and "biblical dogmatics," the latter attempting to derive a unified system of doctrine from scripture's manifold teachings. He held that the presence of such a unified doctrine guarantees the authenticity of the NT writings as documents of the perfect revelation which took place in Christ. Since this position did not really take the various historical contexts seriously, it ultimately proved to be unsatisfactory. The *Theologie* (1891) of W. Beyschlag was a thorough presentation of the teachings of Jesus (one after the other, but harmonically) according to the Synoptics and John, interpreted along the lines of liberal theology; in other respects it followed B. Weiss. Beyschlag found the concept of a biblical theology actually inappropriate, since the Bible does not contain anything like a scholarly theology, but rather religion, or even religio-moral teachings (1891: 1.1–2).

A further step in the direction of a consistent religio-historical study was soon taken. A. Deissmann demanded an "account of the collective consciousness of early Christianity" which went beyond the borders of the canon (1893: 137–38). G. Krüger (1896) demanded that the biblical theology of the NT be replaced by a history of the religion and literature of early Christianity. In the program of the history-of-religions school W. Wrede supported the following approach: the study of early Christian literature would be liberated from the rule of dogmatics only if one abandoned the "method of doctrinal concepts" and looked beyond the borders of the Canon (1975: 85–135 passim). The task was then to depict the living early Christian religion in its development and self-manifestation (Wrede 1975: 115, 123–32).

However, Wrede's program was never consistently followed in any later comprehensive study. H. Weinel attempted to develop, with Wrede, a "history of the religion of the earliest Christianity" instead of a NT theology (1911: 3). However, in so doing Weinel proposed a "religion of Jesus and of early Christianity" as a "moral religion of redemption" (p. 130) in an absolutely liberal-theological sense. Similar to this was J. Kaftan's work (1927). The religio-historical approach was more consistently carried out in 1913 by W. Bousset (1967), who depicted the religion of early Christianity as "the history of faith in Christ from the beginning of Christianity until Irenaeus." P. Feine's *Theologie* (1910; cf. also 1921) is an ambiguous work in that it broadly adopts the results of historical-critical research, but then presents—in the traditional sequence—the teachings of Jesus according to the Synoptics, of early Christianity, of Paul, and of the rest of the NT writings, each separately listed; in the process Feine inserted numerous subjective and confessional evaluations of faith. Decidedly conservative was T. Zahn's *Grundriss* ("Outline") (1928). A. Schlatter went entirely his own way (1909–10); according to him, the historical "awareness" postulates a theological interpretation which defends the ecclesiastical tradition materially as well as harmonizes contradictions.

C. New Beginnings at the End of World War I

1. The Understanding of Scripture according to Dialectical Theology. According to the principles of historical inquiry (which formed the hermeneutical basis of the religio-historical approach), the twin bases of historical knowledge are objectivity and relativism. In this connection, the yardstick for evaluating events as really having happened is inner-historical analogy, which presupposes the "similarity in principle of all historical occurrences" (Troeltsch 1898). However, this presupposition also reduces the events of salvation history (themselves derived from the Bible by historical-critical methods) to the level of mundane historical events. K. Barth was merely one of many young pastors who discerned a painful discrepancy between the results of this historical-critical exegesis and the Bible-based piety of the congregation, and who thus found themselves left alone by the exegetes with the duty of preaching from biblical texts. Thus the appearance of Barth's 1919 commentary on the epistle to the Romans

(1933) had the effect of a call to arms. The new hermeneutical approach which Barth had only hinted at in the preface he explained in the preface to the second edition in more detail: Barth emphasized that while he acknowledged historical criticism, he could not consider himself satisfied with the text "as it stands." Rather, he felt compelled to press on to actual *Verstehen* ("understanding") and *Erklären* ("explanation"). As he said, "Kritischer mussten mir die Historisch-Kritischen sein!" ("The critical historian needs to be more critical" [1933: 8, although the authorized translation does not quite do justice to the original German!]). Following the model of the Reformers, Barth held that it was essential that one should strive for a dialogue between the inner dialectic of the matter behind the text and the reader. Barth subsequently developed this position (esp. 1925). His point of departure for understanding Scripture was, however, the dogmatic contention that "the Bible is the Word of God" (1925: 217), and, while men may have spoken in it, it was, "[though] refracted through the prism of their words, God himself" who spoke (p. 220). The self-evidence of this truth is the work of the Holy Spirit (p. 243). However, he insisted on "the historical conditionality of the Biblical witness" (pp. 226–27) if only in the Reformers' sense of the "in, with, and under" of God's word in human words. In response to those who sought historical information beyond the canon, Barth insisted that the canon was an "absolute datum" (p. 221), and, although differences were admitted between its various parts, as between the OT and NT, these were merely relative with respect to the unity of revelation behind both (pp. 222–23). Thus the theme of "biblical theology" was posed anew, understood now as a question about the unity of the testaments.

In addition to this, Barth's Christological approach must be considered. His remarks about "history and primeval history" (1927: 230–54) were especially influential. According to Barth, only the revelation which took place in Jesus Christ was a "primeval history" (p. 230). Normal history, as such, is not revelation; revelation, however, is discoverable in history, but only when it is heard as God's personal address to people who look for him (p. 234). Thus, it is only in the light of the "primeval history" (i.e., the revelation in Christ) that history becomes revelation—i.e., a context interpreted through the Word of God. The demand levied by dialectical theology that the hearer (reader) immediately encounter the Word of God provoked a lively discussion. Taken together with the simultaneous Luther renaissance, the result was a harkening back to the Reformation understanding of Scripture, together with the claim of complete integration with the knowledge and methods of historical-critical research. However, dialectical theology was also in danger of repeating the hermeneutical weaknesses of the Reformation by insufficiently considering the relationship between exegesis and dogmatics.

A strongly Christocentric exegesis of the OT as the Word of God which also acknowledged the historical character of the Word was propounded by W. Vischer (1934–42). First he examined the Pentateuch ("the Law"), then the historical books ("the Former Prophets") with the aim of disclosing their hidden Christological significance, though in the process he frequently resorted to allegory.

2. New Efforts in OT Theology. Renewed interest in the theological aims of the study of the OT was not stimulated by dialectical theology, but rather by exegetes more closely aligned with the religio-historical school. R. Kittel, the old master of the historical research on the OT, proclaimed that the decipherment of the specifically religious content of OT religion had been neglected (1921: 95). He further emphasized that it was important to press on from the merely religio-historical and psychological characterization to describe the nature and nucleus of the religion, and its truth in terms of systematics, that is, the philosophy of religion, or dogmatics. Because of the purity of the OT conception of God and of personality, and because of its universalism, OT religion was viewed as the "summit of all ancient religions" (1921: 96; similarly also Porter 1921). C. Steuernagel (1925) also espoused the history-of-religions position, although he suggested that it was important to include a systematic and thematically ordered characterization alongside the genetic account of the general development of Israelite religion. However, as he stated, "Both disciplines have the same object: Israelite religion . . . ; the same sources . . . and the same method: historical" (1925: 272). The descriptive-dogmatic method of OT theology was thereby established. In this task (as Steuernagel saw it) of providing a "philosophy of religion" perspective on OT materials, a pre-Gabler form of the old task of "biblical theology" was revived. Steuernagel objected only to its lack of evolutionary perspective and its overarching dogmatic scheme (p. 267).

Indeed, we find in numerous works of this period a return to the 19th-century ambivalence mentioned above. A historical and evolutionary account of the history of Israelite-Jewish religion was now accompanied by a systematic account. This was the case, for example, in E. Sellin's two-volume *Theologie* (1933). In this book, the traditional tripartite division recurs: (1) God and his relationship to the world; (2) man and man's sin; and (3) divine justice and salvation. This systematic account was, however, intended to reproduce the faith and doctrine in the OT, "only insofar as they have acknowledged Jesus Christ and his apostles as the presupposition and foundation of their Gospel, as the revelation of the God they had proclaimed" (1933: 1). It was this "prophetic-moral-universalistic-eschatological religion" that continually wrestled with the "national cult-religion" throughout the OT period, the latter being preserved within the various currents in Judaism.

O. Procksch's posthumous *Theologie* contains, in addition to the insistence that the history of religion should be subordinated to OT theology (since the self-sacrifice of God is encompassed by history; 1950: 17), an extensive section on "the historical world" before the systematic main section on "the world of thought." L. Koehler's *Theology* (1958; original German 1936) is programmatic and descriptive: "One may give a book the title *Old Testament Theology* if it manages to bring together and relate those ideas, thoughts and concepts of the Old Testament which are or can be theologically significant, justified by their content and in their right context" (1958: 7). The total organization of this work is traditionally dogmatic: (1) the doctrine of God; (2) the doctrine of man; and (3) the doctrine of divine judgment and salvation (escha-

tology). Here, too, we find Protestant cultural premises: a section entitled "The self-redemption of man: the cult" can only be assigned to (2) (as a mere human enterprise)! But Procksch was the first scholar to develop new ideas about organizing the material in better accord with the contents of the OT. In the systematic main section of his work, he used for the first time such relational concepts as "God and world," "God and nation," and "God and man," concepts which were later adopted by W. Eichrodt (on the basis of Procksch's lectures). However, a gap separated the descriptive form of Procksch's account of the contents of the OT from his theological aims ("All theology is Christology" [p. 1]; the OT points to Christ; in his historicity he may only be apprehended through the OT [pp. 7–12]).

W. Eichrodt's 3-volume work published in the 1930s (cf. the 2-volume English translation, 1961–67) expressed in classical form the presentation of OT theology in terms derived from the OT itself. In the preface to the edition, Eichrodt defined the goal of his work as *"to present the religion of which the records are to be found in the Old Testament as a self-contained entity, exhibiting . . . a constant basic tendency and character"* (1961–67: 1.17). By the same token, Eichrodt also intended "to understand the realm of OT belief . . . and . . . by examining on the one hand its religious environment and on the other its essential coherence with the NT, to illuminate its profoundest meaning" (p. 1.31). The overall structural arrangement—(1) God and people; (2) God and world; and (3) God and man—apparently follows Procksch (with conscious emphasis on "God and people" as the relationship which was most central to OT thought), although the historical development is thematically integrated in the work.

Eichrodt chose the idea of the covenant as his organizing principle, around which he grouped the entire theological content of the OT. In the first part (vol. 1) the headings are accordingly grouped under the key word "covenant," even though not all of the material fits well in this context. In parts II and III (vol. 2) the word has been dropped from the headings, and the connections are also much looser. In the 5th German edition of vol. 1, Eichrodt noted that from a historical perspective, the movement from the OT to the NT reveals itself as the breakthrough and triumph of the royal reign of God. Conversely, he noted a reverse "movement of life" *(Lebensbewegung)* passing from the NT to the OT, by means of which the world of OT thought will finally be completed (p. 2).

However, against the objections of Baumgärtel (1951), Eichrodt insisted on the strictly historical, nonnormative task of OT theology (1961–67: 1.13). After Eichrodt, the dogmatic scheme established itself more often in most of the thematically ordered studies. This applies to some Roman Catholic works, such as that by P. Heinisch (1950), which was divided into five main sections (God, Creation, Way of Life, the Hereafter, and Redemption), and that by P. van Imschoot, of whose originally planned three volumes only two appeared (1965), focusing respectively on God and Man. But an organization based on dogmatic *topoi* was also exemplified in the works of Baab (1949), Vriezen (see below), and Garcia Cordero (1970).

3. The Situation in NT Theology. Unlike the creative theological efforts in the field of OT theology, the situation of NT theology between the world wars was characterized by comparative stagnation. The new theological impetus which had been initiated by dialectical theology did not lead to the appearance of new general presentations. Instead, the old standard works of Feine, Weinel, and Schlatter were repeatedly reprinted. Of course, theological work was conducted in several individual areas of NT study. This applies particularly to Pauline studies, which not only discussed the questions of the Hellenistic or Jewish origins of the apostle's thought (following the lead of the religio-historical school), but also inquired as to the contents of his proclamation. The theological understanding of the gospel of John was summarized in Bultmann's commentary (1941). Form criticism offered the study of the Synoptics new possibilities to work out the theology of the (early Hellenistic) congregation which was reflected in the short units in those works.

It is remarkable that R. Bultmann, who belonged originally to the religio-historical school, had conceived his sharply existential approach by 1925, immediately after his encounter with Martin Heidegger. For Bultmann it was essential that "the text makes its claim on the reader, i.e., it does not let itself be observed, but instead attempts to determine the reader in his existence" (1975: 252). However, since the text is a historical witness, "the decisive question is: whether we approach the narrative in such a way that we acknowledge its claim upon us, that it has something new to say. If we surrender our neutrality with respect to the text, this means that the question of truth dominates our exegesis" (p. 253). Instead of the contemporary-historical question "What does it say?" the important thing is the question "What does it mean?" (p. 254); it is in such a way "that we then inquire as to the possibilities for our existence which emerge from our encounter with the narrative" (p. 265). However, since Bultmann held that the only correct questioning of the NT "is that of belief," that is, "[an approach] which is founded in obedience to the authority of the Scriptures" (p. 271), such questioning in effect becomes fundamentally impossible, as does theology in general. Interpretation of self and of text are inseparable and "since . . . the self-interpretation of the individual as historical individual can only be carried out in the interpretation of history, theology and exegesis or systematic and historical theology fundamentally coincide" (p. 272). In biblical theology, "the existential encounter with the reality of this history is carried out" (p. 273).

In practice, however, systematic and historical theology *are* separable, since systematics has the task of "conceptual explication of man's existence as determined by God," while the aim of historical theology is "to describe the interpretation of the individual which is given in the text" (p. 273). In its capacity as conceptual-scientific thought, exegetical theology understands the NT as the Word of God only indirectly; the revelation is veiled in human words. The duty to elevate its intelligibility into the intelligibility of the present (Bultmann's later famous key word for this was "demythologizing" [*Entmythologisierung*]) reveals the *necessity for expert criticism* (p. 274). Bultmann's entire program was thereby already implied.

At this time, F. Büchsel completed a work (1937) which was, however, both inadequate and conservative-apologetical. The work by E. Stauffer (1941) was likewise unsatisfactory, since in its major section (which focuses on "Salvation

History") it avoids making an adequate differentiation of the NT writings; indeed, the section ranges beyond the limits of the canon. The work also promulgates a unifying "Christocentric NT theology of history."

D. Developments since World War II

1. The "Biblical Theology Movement." There soon emerged in Great Britain and America a renewed religious interest in the Bible. A movement which began in Great Britain shortly before (and which continued during) World War II strove to bring about an obligatory approach of faith to the Bible, including the OT, so that the questions of its theological meaning and its relation to the NT attained wider significance. First popular revivalistic writings, and subsequently also critical scholars, demanded a return to the authority of Holy Scripture (including the OT) as essential to Christian faith. Above all in America (and Scotland), the consequences of dialectical theology now showed themselves, while England to a large degree went its own way. A number of scholarly journals (*Theology Today*, 1944; *Interpretation*, 1947; *Scottish Journal of Theology*, 1948) were founded to provide a forum for the new movement. The views which appeared differed in points of detail, although much of it derived from the prior developments in the German-language sphere. Thus, for example, Hebert (1941; cf. also 1947a; 1947b; 1950) interpreted the OT on the basis of its fulfillment in Christ, a Christological interpretation reminiscent of W. Vischer. For Pythian-Adams (esp. 1942; cf. also 1944), the "presence" of God was the central concept in the OT; he held that the relationship of this presence to the fulfillment in Christ was the foundation of the unity of the salvation history. The NT scholar P. Minear demanded an immediate relation of faith to the Bible: "The Bible calls for witnesses, not for teachers. It is written from faith to faith" (1949: 3).

Against views which were not infrequently fundamentalistic, H. H. Rowley expressly emphasized the necessity of the historical-critical method for the understanding of the OT. Rowley further held that the use of this method offered no obstacles to the spiritual understanding of the word (1944). For Rowley, the Bible was not revelation itself, but merely the account of the revelation; consequently it must be read with the aid of critical reason (1963: 3–34). Rowley remained convinced of the importance of the OT for Christian faith (cf. also 1946), and saw the relationship of both testaments as one of promise and fulfillment (1953). However, diversity is visible within this unity (1953: 1–29); as Rowley said, "Each Testament is to be read first and foremost in terms of itself . . . before they are related to one another" (p. 20).

After World War II, a lively discussion broke out in America (in short form already in *JBR* 8 [1940]) concerning the need for a biblical theology. On one hand were proponents of the view that a purely historical understanding of the Bible must accommodate the more immediate demands of faith. Thus already in 1946 G. Ernest Wright advocated a view which distanced itself from the compulsion for "objectivity," insisting instead that Bible readers adopt for themselves the confessional viewpoint of the biblical narrator (1946; similarly also Ferre 1952; 1959). B. Childs objected to a merely "objective" description of the religious contents of the Bible, advocating a reformatory understanding of the Bible, on the assumption that the Reformers read the OT in order to hear the Word of God (1964: 437). For this, Childs maintained, faith is necessary. Against the objection that this would be an unscientific form of biblical interpretation, Childs (like other advocates of the "confessionalistic" method) stressed that the task of description was implicitly part of the theological task. All critical methods are to be employed, since the OT is the witness of a historical people, a fact that the exegesis of the Reformers did not sufficiently respect.

On the other side there were, above all, the proponents of the old liberal exegesis, who, if they did not simply insist on a purely religio-historical interpretation, demanded for biblical theology in objective-descriptive manner of presentation. The spokesman for the latter position was K. Stendahl (cf. above all 1962; 1965). According to Stendahl, it is easy to distinguish between "what it meant" and "what it means." Adherents of this position emphasized repeatedly that biblical theology is a historical undertaking and so must be accomplished descriptively. They thus insisted on pursuing the course which Gabler had begun. From a methodological viewpoint they adhered to historicism, fearing that the "biblical theology movement" led to undue enthusiasm, arbitrariness, and loss of scientific objectivity.

It is important that we see the international background behind this "movement" and consider the interconnections with the theological ground-breaking which had taken place in European biblical study since World War I. Also the "crisis" of the movement, which was diagnosed by Childs at the beginning of the 1960s (1970; on the discussion, see Smart 1979: 18–30), had to do with changes in the general spiritual and theological climate in the Western world at this time. Insights and points of view from sociology and the humanities commanded more and more of the Church's attention, often at the expense of the Bible. However, the preponderant disregard of the Bible in the Church beginning in the 1960s (which Smart [1970] so very much regretted at the height of this "crisis") has more recently given way to a renewed interest in biblical theology (see below).

2. Main Problems in OT Theology. The much-discussed question whether an OT theology ought to proceed purely descriptively, or whether it ought in some way to make statements of faith, has been variously answered in the European debate as well. Whereas W. Eichrodt had stressed the descriptive-historical approach (1929: 89–91), O. Eissfeldt (1926: 1–12) placed historical and theological interpretation on two different planes, namely the plane of knowledge and the plane of faith. Although in this form Eissfeldt's suggestion remained a unique contribution, this dichotomy would in the future prove to be a fundamental problem of OT theology.

In the work of F. Baumgärtel an experiential piety in the tradition of the Erlangen Lutheran pietism revealed itself. For Baumgärtel, the question is whether the OT individual "being touched" by the "basic promise" ("I am the Lord, your God") is also our "being touched" by the Gospel (thus, in a subjective sense, "salvation history"), even though the concrete realization under the old covenant has been done away with, and in the OT only the lack

of prospects, that is, the failure, becomes visible (see Baumgärtel's major work: 1952; and esp. 1953; 1954).

a. Systematically Structured Works. In contrast to Eichrodt, T. C. Vriezen in 1949 saw the task of an OT theology as "a Christian theological science" (1970: 147). "As a theological branch of scholarship the theology of the Old Testament seeks particularly the element of revelation in the message of the Old Testament; it must work, therefore, with theological standards and must give its own evaluation of the Old Testament message on the ground of its Christian theological starting-point" (p. 148). Therefore Vriezen treats in the first main section of his Introduction above all "The Christian Church and the Old Testament" (pp. 11–21), and devotes a separate chapter (pp. 91–142) to the theme "The Old Testament as the Word of God, and Its Use in the Church." The concept of revelation is central to Vriezen's thought, for it is here that we also find the connection to the NT. Vriezen says, "At the heart of the Old Testament message lies the expectation of the Kingdom of God, and it is the initial fulfilment of this expectation in Jesus of Nazareth . . . that underlies the message of the New Testament. The true heart of both Old and New Testaments is, therefore, the eschatological perspective" (p. 123). A second main section (pp. 153–461) then presents "The Content of Old Testament Theology." Here Vriezen makes the fundamental determination that in the OT the knowledge of God is the "intimate relationship between the Holy God and man" (p. 153). He treats revelation and the cult in a section entitled "The Intercourse between God and Man" (pp. 176–289); and has other sections devoted to "The Community of God" (where God as the God of community, the interpersonal community with its ethical standards, and the understanding of man all belong); and "The Prospect of the Community of God" (pp. 430–63) (covering the present rule of God and future hope).

Against this, E. Jacob (1958) argued for retaining the historical-descriptive character of OT theology. It is nevertheless not a question of *bruta facta;* in Jacob's view, interpretation is decisive for history, and for the Israelites this took place in their faith. Jacob's OT theology has unlimited scope: "faithful to its name, it deals solely with God and with his relations to man and the world." Thus Jacob's first main section deals with "Characteristic Aspects of the God of the Old Testament" (1958: 37–120); here he sees "the living God" as "the center of revelation and of faith," and as forming the point of departure. He subsequently goes on to describe God's names, manifestations, holiness, righteousness, faithfulness , love, wrath, and wisdom. In the second main part of the work we find "The Action of God according to the Old Testament" (pp. 121–275). First the spirit and the word are characterized as "means" of divine action; then descriptions follow of God as creator of the world, of nature and the destiny of man, of God as the lord of history, and of God in the various institutions (offices and places). The third main section is entitled "Opposition to and Final Triumph of God's Work" (pp. 281–342); here the traditional topos of eschatology has apparently provided the pattern. The subjects here are sin and redemption, death and future life, final struggle and messianic kingdom. One might ask whether the theme of "God" pure and simple is suitable to serve as the formal supraordinate category of OT theology as a whole.

However, the theme "God" does in fact serve in this capacity in the work of G. A. F. Knight (1959), the main sections of which are entitled "God," "God and Creation," "God and Israel," and "The Zeal of the Lord" (which is more in the nature of a rubric under which all sorts of different themes can be treated). In a certain sense, Knight seems intent on describing a theology of the entire Bible. Like Vriezen, he emphasizes "that the Church believes the Old Testament to be the Word of God"; thus his intention is to write a theology of the OT from an ecclesiastical perspective (1959: 7). In the various OT metaphors of the "divine family"; of God's name, face, and spirit; of Israel as the "sons of God"; and also in those metaphors expressing Israel's manifold hopes ("son of David," "branch," etc.), we find reflected some of the conceptual patterns which were adopted in the NT, and a somewhat loose collection of such metaphors assembles itself before the reader's eyes.

An independent (though for its author, characteristic) effort was chosen by G. Fohrer. Proceeding on the assumption that revelation is "personal experience" (1972: 49), Fohrer saw in the (antimagical and antilegalistic) existential attitude of the (individual) prophets the real high point of the OT (pp. 71–86). The interwovenness of the lordship of God with the community with God forms a second focus in this connection (pp. 98–109; see further below).

J. L. McKenzie saw matters quite differently. He, too, understood the OT writings as "records of this people (Israel) with Yahweh" (1974: 31). However, he found the most normal and frequent site of this experience to be the cult. Revelation took place in the cult (in the laws of the Covenant and the prophets); history, nature, and wisdom were collected there, and (as not subsumable) political and social institutions and "the future of Israel" were generated there. One cannot help noting that McKenzie is a Roman Catholic scholar, and that consequently the varying organizations of the OT theologies described here apparently derive from quite different worldviews.

W. Zimmerli's account (1978) is relatively brief, but is nevertheless the result of many years of theological preoccupation with the OT. Zimmerli also adheres to a systematic presentation, one which proceeds from the revelation of the name of God (see below, D.2.b). This implicitly leads to a bipartite presentation, first on God (chaps. 1–3), then on Man (chap. 4). A fifth chapter, "Crisis and Hope" (dealing with judgment and salvation), reveals the old *locus de novissimis.*

The work of C. Westermann (1982) is structurally intelligible only on the basis of the systematics developed by the author in numerous preparatory studies. Using a peculiar form of existential approach, the work is characterized by numerous interwoven polarities: (1) through the opposition between the saving and blessing activity of God (historical acts and acts of creation, respectively); (2) between God's justice and his mercy (prophecies of judgment and salvation; the apocalyptic); and (3) between the act (and word) of God and man's response. However, it is also necessary to evaluate Westermann's work in relation to the questions posed by G. von Rad (see below). Similar dialectics are the one of Terrien (1978) between "aesthetics" and

"ethics" and the "cosmic-theological" one of Hanson (1978).

Judging by its framework chapters (chaps. 1–2 and 7–8), the work by R. E. Clements (1978) is a sort of prolegomena to an OT theology which contains discussions of the fundamental problems of the subject. The middle section (chaps. 3–6) contains a mixture of material *topoi* (God [chap. 3]; the people [chap. 4]) and dogmatic themes (the Law [chap. 4]; the Promise [chap. 5]). Some isolated authors still conducted historical-genetic studies. An example of this is the work of C. K. Lehman (1971). The subdivisions of Lehman's work correspond to those of the Masoretic canon itself (Pentateuch, Prophets, the Writings), and his assumption of a seamless and reliable historical tradition stretching from Adam to the postexilic period allow both event and interpretation to coincide. However, one should note that also a fundamentalist approach, such as the work of J. B. Payne (1971), may take the form of a dogmatically ordered presentation: God, man, faith, commitment (repentance, faith, ethics, cult), reconciliation.

b. The Problem of History. Working on the basis of the traditio-historical approach, G. von Rad produced his own account of OT theology. Already in 1952 von Rad had demanded "that the plan of an Old Testament theology be historical and not systematic" (p. 31). In so saying, von Rad had already laid the foundation for the bipartite division of his major work, which would be published within the decade (*Theology of the OT* [*ROTT*], ET 1962–65). As Sellin and Procksch had done previously, von Rad placed at the beginning of his study "A History of Jahwism and of the Sacral Institutions in Israel in Outline." In the following "Methodological Presuppositions" he insisted that the object of any theology of the OT be "simply Israel's own explicit assertions about Jahweh." It was essential to "deal directly with the evidence"; in the process the theologian must "in many cases . . . go back to school again and learn to interrogate each document, much more closely than has been done hitherto, as to its specific kerygmatic intention" (*ROTT* 1: 105–6). The use of the key word "kerygmatic" here illustrates von Rad's reliance upon dialectical theology. At the same time, however, he limited his field of study, since, as he said, the OT witnesses likewise "confine themselves to representing Jahweh's relationship to Israel and the world in one aspect only, namely as a continuing divine activity in history." He went on to affirm that "Israel's faith is grounded in a theology of history." However, the manifold nature of the OT witnesses means that there is no single appropriate systematic-theological approach to the theology of the OT; thus von Rad concluded that "re-telling remains the most legitimate form of theological discourse on the Old Testament" (*ROTT* 1: 121).

Accordingly, the main body of vol. 1 presents the theology of the Hexateuch according to the periods of saving history which are recounted there (*ROTT* 1: 129–305). The following section, "Israel's Anointed" (pp. 306–54), unites thematic organization with an exposition of the sources (the Deuteronomistic and Chronistic histories, and also the royal psalms). Extensive materials which von Rad found impossible to subsume under the heading of "historical traditions" (such as prayers, psalms, the Law, and, above all, Wisdom) are gathered under the heading "Israel before Jahweh (Israel's Response)."

Von Rad observed that prejudicial earlier scholarship had maintained that there was a "definite break between the message of the prophets and the ideas held by earlier Yahwism" (*ROTT* 2: 3). This led the author to divide his work into two volumes, of which the second is entitled "Theology of Israel's Prophetic Traditions." Here von Rad emphasized that at the heart of their message the prophets, too, had been dependent on ancient traditions (*ROTT* 2: 4). However, they also saw a new thing, namely an entirely new type of historical action by God, which was to replace what had gone before. Their new understanding signified an "eschatologizing of historical thought" (*ROTT* 2: 112–25).

The subsequent discussion was above all determined by the dilemma which von Rad himself had brought about when he spoke of the gap separating Israel's *actual* history from the understanding of history which Israel had conceived in relation to Yahweh and his actions. They are to a large extent irreconcilable (*ROTT* 1: 106). Nevertheless, according to von Rad it remains the task of an OT theology to reproduce Israel's picture of her history, as this self-understanding was itself a historical fact, and therefore theologically significant: "In the Old Testament it is thus this world made up of testimonies that is above all the subject of a theology of the Old Testament" (p. 111).

One of the first objections voiced against this was that von Rad's procedure loses the immediacy of faith; the presentation remains descriptive and avoids posing the question of truth (Keller 1958). Yet another criticism (affirmed by, above all, F. Hesse [1958; 1960]) maintains that it was not Israel's conceptions about her history but the actual course of that history, as revealed by historical-critical research, that is theologically important, since, if Yahweh really did act in history, only the facts could be of interest.

Von Rad responded to these criticisms in the preface to vol. 2 (*ROTT* 2: v*ff.*) by referring to the presuppositions of modern historical research. Research, too, interprets history, but it does so on the basis of presuppositions which acknowledge only the material cause-and-effect actions of men, and not the actions of God. To consider the latter reality, we must perforce study the witness of ancient Israel.

A number of scholars took up an intermediate position with respect to this discussion; they held that it suffices if Israel's interpretation of history is only broadly correct, and that it is not a matter of the accurate reproduction of matters of detail.

By way of contrast, the fundamentalistic position rejects the above-characterized dualism, and severs the Gordian knot (and in doing so incidentally prevents satisfactory reflection about the hermeneutical difficulties) by claiming that the Word of God opens the objective reality of history.

More or less simultaneously with von Rad's preparatory thoughts about the possibility of an OT theology, G. Ernest Wright published his work *God Who Acts* (1952). The subtitle of the work, "Biblical Theology as Recital," prefigures its central hypothesis, which is that history is the actual plane on which God's revelation takes place. The external acts of God, which he effected through the mediation of the election of Israel (the confirmation of which was the making of the covenant on Sinai, while Christ was its goal),

are decisive; theology, then, is practically nothing but the confessional recital of the acts of God in history. For von Rad, too, these confessions were themselves facts, but they came in the distinctively different form of tradition, that is, of a message about an event. Later, he was to distinguish (*ROTT* 2: 358) between the revelation by the *word* (ranging from oracles to God's direct address to the prophets) and that occurring in the *acts* of God, whereby only the latter are susceptible to contemporary new interpretation (p. 301). He held that the elements of "promise" and "fulfillment" describe a tension internal to the OT in the "periodization of history" (pp. 133–35; 168–75; 304) which progresses from promise to fulfillment.

The students of von Rad developed his understanding of history in two directions. One of these directions, promulgated in 1961 by the systematic theologian W. Pannenberg, has been characterized by the key word "revelation as history" (1968). According to Pannenberg, God's self-revelation did not take place directly, as, for example, in theophanies, but indirectly, in the historical acts of God. This revelation is visible to all and universal, but it will only first be fully apparent at the end of all history.

The second direction has been advocated by R. Rendtorff, who proposes to build a bridge over von Rad's "gap" between facts and the history which was affirmed by Israel's faith. Rendtorff maintains that history and tradition are namely one and the same (1960). In this view, "the tradition about the historical acts of God is itself history. It encompasses the facts, but is inseparable from them" (1960: 39). The *historical effect* of events often resides in the experiences and interpretations of them made by those implicated in them. External and internal history belong together.

Rendtorff additionally claimed, in his contribution to Pannenberg's volume (1968), that "the prophetic word may not itself be understood as revelation," since it is based on the self-demonstration of Yahweh in historical events made only previously or retrospectively. This was explicitly contested by W. Zimmerli (1962). For Zimmerli, the proclamation of the word was the central revelational event. This was already his position in his early work (1956), as well as in the preliminary works leading up to his commentary on Ezekiel (Hermeneia; 1979–83). Particularly, Zimmerli's contribution on the "word of (self-)manifestation" (German *Erweiswort*) links the announcement of the name of Yahweh as "means of revelation" to his demonstration of reality in the historical event itself (1982). Today many exegetes share this view that the interpreting and proclaiming Word of God as medium of revelation must be viewed along with the historical events themselves.

In this connection one should particularly take note of the position of H. W. Robinson as unfolded in his posthumously published work (1946). Robinson's main hypothesis was that the form of revelation in the faith of Israel was determined by two factors: by the means whereby God acted, and by the interpreting response of whoever received the revelation. "The divine revelation in Nature, Man and History is through acts, which need to be interpreted through human agency to make them words in our ordinary sense." A related view is P. D. Hanson's model of "dynamic transcendence" (1978). In Hanson's view, a multilayered socio-political-historical event can only be understood as divine activity through the tradition-forming perspective of the faith of a community in the reception of its confessional inheritance.

In the meantime, the traditio-historical approach had established itself as an important perspective of OT theology (Knight 1973; 1977). However, there were also certain caveats to be observed with respect to any identification of tradition with revelation. Thus, in his collection W. Zimmerli stressed the prophetic "no" which was pronounced upon the fossilized tradition of the people. (On H. Gese, see section d. below.)

The importance of history for OT faith has been much discussed. G. von Rad had once sweepingly declared, "The Old Testament is a history book" (1961: 181); later, however, even he found this view too one-sided (1966: 144). Massive criticism was voiced by James Barr against the use of the concept of history in OT theology. Barr pointed out that there are too many areas in the OT where the concept is inapplicable, for example, in connection with wisdom and creation, but above all also in conjunction with the verbal communication between God and man. Furthermore, the idea of an extensive historical continuity is foreign to the OT (thus 1966; also 1963). The younger R. Smend has since then also emphasized that history is only one aspect of the OT, albeit a very important one (1968: 4).

However, the view that the OT understandings of history differed significantly from those of all other ANE religions and cultures (as had been stressed by G. E. Wright [1968]) has at last expired. B. Albrektson (1967) particularly concluded that other ancient oriental religions were familiar with the notion of gods who act in history (see further H. Cancik 1976; Gese 1958a; Saggs 1978).

c. The "Center" of the OT. The attempt to find a concept which might serve as the basic idea, central concept, or "center" of the entire theological content of the OT is peculiar to the systematic-theological approach to OT theology. Among the many candidates have been the following: "the holiness of God" (Hanel 1931); "that God is the Lord who commands" (Koehler 1958: 30, 35); "the Kingdom of God" (Klein 1970); "election" (Wildberger 1959: 77–78); "the Promise" (Kaiser 1978: 32–40); and "the community between God and man" (Vriezen 1970: 8, 15–16). For Eichrodt, who rejected all dogmatic schemes, the concept of "covenant" was nevertheless the self-inherent "center" of the OT (1961–67, 1:13; also Wright 1969: 62; Clements 1978: esp. 119).

The subsequent discussion as to how ancient the idea of "covenant" was in the OT (see COVENANT), or as to whether one might not more fittingly translate Hebrew *bĕrît* as "obligation" (Kutsch 1973), did not really touch upon the essential question: namely, whether it is at all possible to designate any concept as the "center" of the OT. There were also suggestions in favor of a bipolar definition of the "center," as, for example, that of G. Fohrer: "lordship of God and community with God" (1968; 1972), or the so-called "Covenantal formula" (R. Smend 1963), or "Yahweh, the God of Israel; Israel the people of Yahweh" (R. Smend 1970).

G. von Rad spoke out against the attempts to find a "center" of the OT. Speaking from a traditio-historical viewpoint, he stated that "the revelation of Jahweh in the

Old Testament is divided up over a long series of separate acts of revelation which are different in content. It seems to be without a centre . . ." (*ROTT* 1: 115). Thus the OT offers ever new interpretations and actualizations of Israel's salvation-historical traditions. However, he admitted, all individual traditions do ultimately refer to a single greater "Israel"; but this Israel is an object of faith (p. 118), for which reason it cannot be chosen as the "center."

Von Rad's objection did not end the search for a "center" of the OT. Among recent suggestions, there are two which regard the "center" to be a literary quantity. W. H. Schmidt has held the first commandment of the Decalogue to be a *vade mecum* which leads us through the whole of the OT understanding of God (1970: 11). Similarly, W. Zimmerli first held the "I Yahweh" of Exod 20:2 to be a constant of the faith of Israel (1971 and later), and subsequently found Yahweh's name, at once both veiled and revealed in Exod 3:14, to be the "center" (*TRE* 6: 445ff.). On the other hand, S. Herrmann has proposed that we regard the Book of Deuteronomy to be the "center," since "the basic questions of Old Testament theology are concentrated there" (1971: 156). There also remains considerable skepticism as to whether the OT can be said to have a "center" at all (thus, among others, A. H. J. Gunneweg 1978: 140; M. Oeming 1987: 182–83). This skepticism then also applies to the suggestion which has won the most supporters in recent years, namely to regard the sovereignly acting, free God as the real "center" of the OT. However, the principle of the "center" should not be misunderstood. The self-same God is also important for any theology of the entire Bible (see below).

d. The OT Perspective on the World. (1) Creation Theology. In G. von Rad's salvation-historical theology, the theme of "creation" played only a subordinate role. In a 1936 essay, von Rad had advocated the hypothesis that in the OT a faith rooted in creation is subordinated to a faith rooted in salvation (1966: 131–43). According to his famous 1938 essay on the Hexateuch (1966: 1–78), the Yahwist's Primeval History is only a sort of prestructure to his salvation-historical account (p. 63). His intent, then, was to show that the ultimate goal of saving history with respect to Israel was the salvation of all people. To substantiate this subordination of creation-faith to salvation-faith, von Rad chose the example of Deutero-Isaiah. He points out that by hearkening back to the creation of Israel, the concept of creation is thereby incorporated into the concept of redemption (in a corresponding way, R. Rendtorff [1954] saw creation and redemption as closely connected in the writings of this prophet). In his theology, von Rad also regarded the position of creation to be marginal, particularly as a theme of later Wisdom Literature.

A considerable number of OT scholars and systematic theologians followed this view until the Bristol Faith and Order Conference in 1967 (the official position paper was *God in Nature and History*). Since then, however, the general opinion on the theme of creation has changed significantly. The saving action of God in history (the blessing), viewed as continual activity, was paired with creation by C. Westermann (1978; also 1982). He stressed the independence of the primeval event as a biblical category (1967; also *Genesis* BKAT, 1: 1–103; also Crüsemann 1981). Also of importance was Westermann's distinction between the topoi of world creation and human creation (Genesis 1: 31–34 et passim; cf. further Albertz 1974).

In terms of the history of religions, Canaanite religion has gained considerably in importance, particularly since the discoveries at Ras Shamra-Ugarit. Jerusalem seems to have played a major role in the adoption of Canaanite traditions, such as the idea of the kingship of God (cf. W. H. Schmidt 1966; Schreiner 1963), the motif of the chaos battle (O. Kaiser 1958; Stolz 1970: 12–71), and the notion of the mountain of God, which in Jerusalem was identified with Zion (Clifford 1972; O. Steck 1972). The concept of the mount of God as a dam holding back the primeval waters belongs, like the chaos battle, to the themes of creation, with the admixture of ideas originally associated with El and Baal.

Albertz (1974: 91–99) shows that the topic of the creation of the world has its place in hymns as a description of the majesty of God or of the *creatio continua,* that is, the preservation of the creation (esp. Ps 104:10–23). In Deutero-Isaiah the theme serves in the "disputation" to demonstrate Yahweh's superiority (Albertz 1974: 7–13).

(2) Wisdom. For a long time, Wisdom played virtually no role whatsoever in OT theology. It was repeatedly held to be a purely secular and utilitarian phenomenon (Zimmerli 1976; McKane 1965), or else only secondarily "Yahweh-ized" in late times (Fichtner 1933). The almost exclusive orientation among scholars toward the historical and prophetic traditions threatened to marginalize Wisdom. Von Rad supported the hypothesis of a "Solomonic enlightenment," that is, the theory that the early monarchic period, when Wisdom was cultivated at court, was a time of secularization as a result of enlightened intellectuality (1972: 59–61; also Brueggemann 1972; criticisms were voiced by Crenshaw 1976: 16–20). However, according to von Rad, even these enlightened wise men had recognized that the "limits of wisdom" (1972: 97ff.) were in the omnipotence of God. They, too, knew experiences of God (1972: 61ff.). In this late work, von Rad definitely emphasized the theological quality of Wisdom: "This wisdom is . . . at all events to be regarded as a form of Yahwism" (1972: 307). Also W. Zimmerli later (1978 para. 18; *TRE* 6: 450–51) admitted that the "fear of Yahweh" was of central importance for the old sententious Wisdom; in Job and Ecclesiastes he saw a clear orientation toward the "I am who I am." He was strongly attentive to the personification of Wisdom in such didactic poems as Proverbs 8, Job 28, and Sirach 28, understanding it in the sense of a self-revelation of the creation, which, alongside of the saving history, possessed its own quality as a sort of "primeval revelation" (1978: 175). He thus saw these to be genuinely Israelite conceptions. However, one might, with Crenshaw, be tempted to ask whether such a small section of Israel's artistic poetry (the dating of which is quite uncertain) can support such wide-reaching hypotheses.

Von Rad had pushed to one side the international character of OT Wisdom. Ultimately he saw the peculiarity of Israel to reside in the fact that she never pressed on to the understanding of a world entity governed by world order (1972: 71–72). Gese, however, who, in the course of a previous investigation of Egyptian Wisdom, had rejected its "eudaemonistic misinterpretation" (1958b: 7–11), as he emphasized the divine character of *ma'at* (world order)

(pp. 11–21), had already shown that ancient Israelite Wisdom participated broadly in the ancient oriental concepts of order (pp. 33–45). For Gese, nevertheless, ideas in ancient Israelite Wisdom relating to the issue of act and consequence (cf. esp. Koch 1983) were limited by the emphasis on the sovereign freedom of Yahweh (1958b: 45–50). In the Job poem, in which the Comforters are adherents of this act-consequence doctrine, the freedom of the personal God, who is exalted above this order, is demonstrated to the righteous sufferer (in precise reversal of the Sumero-Akkadian paradigm where the deity is expected to listen to a complaint, the paradigm on which the act-consequence doctrine is based).

H. H. Schmid (1968) presented evidence that the Israelite concept of righteousness (Heb *ṣdq*/*ṣĕdaqâ*) has an extremely comprehensive semantic field (law; wisdom; nature; fertility; war/victory) which corresponds, like Egyptian *ma'at*, to the concept of world order (also parallel is *šalom*, "peace"). Later (1974), Schmid attempted to draw some consequences of this insight for OT theology. For Schmid, creation theology comprises the "total horizon of Biblical theology" (1974: 9–30). Not only wisdom but also state and law, prophecy, and even the historical traditions stand in a certain relation to this order. Schmid relaxed his picture of an inflexible order by depicting a hypothetical development in Israel's concepts of order (1974: 31–63). He held this development to have led to the formation of a theocentric cast of thought which separated God and the world. Crenshaw (1976: 26) seized on Schmid's position and, with reference to H. Gunkel, maintained that the threat to world order posed by chaos was the background of the theology of creation.

There remain some unsolved problems concerning the relationship between Wisdom and OT historical thought, and also concerning the assignment of a place for Wisdom within OT theology.

3. Attempts at a NT Theology. a. Modern German Studies. (1) Protestant Studies. After World War II new developments in NT theology began in 1948 with the publication of R. Bultmann's *Theologie* (*BTNT*, 1951–55). Structurally, the book begins by focusing on what Jesus himself proclaimed (*BTNT* 1: 3–32); it "belongs among the presuppositions of a theology of the NT and is not part of it itself" (p. 3).

According to Bultmann, "theology" proper begins with Paul, who belonged completely to Hellenistic Christianity (pp. 187–89). This is so because the "kerygma of the primitive congregation" and above all the kerygma of the Hellenistic congregation lay between Jesus and Paul, since "already his [i.e., Paul's] theology presupposes a certain amount of development in primitive Christianity" (p. 63), namely the development of Hellenistic Christianity out of earlier Jewish and pagan forms. The theology of the gospel of John and the Johannine Epistles (which are quite independent of Paul) reflect even further development after Paul (*BTNT* 2: 3–92). Church order, doctrine, and ethics (pp. 119–54; 203–36) belong still later, attesting to the development of the ancient Church.

In Bultmann's view, the goal of a NT theology is that "the Christian faith makes sure of its object, its reasons, and its conclusions. But first there was a Christian faith; later on there was a Christian kerygma . . . which proclaimed Jesus Christ as God's eschatological saving act, namely that very Jesus Christ, the crucified and resurrected one" (*BTNT* 1: 3). Bultmann held that this development began with the kerygma of the primitive congregation, and that it is essential that we reconstruct this kerygma (pp. 33–62).

According to Bultmann's "Epilegomena" (*BTNT* 2: 237–51), theological ideas are explications of the believing self-understanding, that is, "ideas, in which the believing understanding of God, the world, and man unfolds" (p. 237). But since faith is "faith in the kerygma" (p. 239), the NT theology has to describe (or even reproduce) the kerygma. However, this is only possible in the form it is interpreted by the respective theological statements. Thus, alongside of reconstruction, we find interpretation to be the second pole of Bultmann's efforts. And this also accounts for the form of Bultmann's presentation: it unfolds the theological ideas of the individual works or groups of works in all their differences.

The following statement is decisive for Bultmann's account of the Pauline theology (one of the two foci of Bultmann's work): "Pauline theology (is) at the same time anthropology," since for Paul "Every statement about God is also a statement about man, and vice versa" (*BTNT* 1: 191). This entire section is determined by Bultmann's anthropological and theological concepts, which also influence its structure. In the section dealing with Johannine theology (the second focus), the discussion alternates between concepts whose main categories are dualism, judgment, and faith. By contrast, the sections which frame the two focal ones are more strongly influenced by the (historical-critical and history of religion) reconstruction. Reconstruction and interpretation are both necessary and interconnected, according to Bultmann; but interpretation takes place "on the presupposition that both have something to say to the present" (*BTNT* 2: 251). That means whenever "self-understanding," which has been "awakened" by the kerygma, "is understood as a possibility of human self-understanding, the hearer is called to decision" (p. 241).

As far as the respective descriptive and "theological" tasks of biblical theology are concerned, Bultmann saw both in a single perspective. It is obvious how much his anthropological approach narrowed the hermeneutical horizon. But even today Bultmann's theology has retained its exceptional position as a classic. H. Braun radicalized Bultmann's anthropological approach in single-minded fashion, pushing the anthropological approach to the extreme (1961). For Braun, theology is nearly identical with anthropology, because God can be encountered nowhere other than in interhuman relations. God, as one "existent by himself," is no longer intelligible; thus Braun defines God only as the "whereness of my being driven about" (Ger: *"Woher meines Umgetriebenseins"*), in the "I may" and "I must": "man in all his fellowman-ness implies God." "God would then be a certain kind of fellowman-ness" (1961: 341). H. Conzelmann, however, developed Bultmann's approach further. The structure of his 1967 work is similar to Bultmann's: after a religio-historical survey, Conzelmann proceeds to investigate the kerygma of the primitive congregation and the Hellenistic congregation, then the Synoptic kerygma (in which the traditions about

Jesus have been reworked), together with the theology of the Synoptic authors. Then follow the theology of Paul, the post-Pauline developments, the Johannine corpus. Whereas Conzelmann stubbornly maintained that "the 'historical Jesus' is not a theme of New Testament theology" (1967: 16), E. Käsemann represented the problem of the historical Jesus (1954) as so far unsolved. The identity of the risen and the earthly Lord is important, according to Käsemann, so that we cannot dismiss the question of historicity.

Unlike Bultmann and Conzelmann, W. G. Kümmel devoted the first chapter of his work (1969) to reconstructing the proclamation of Jesus. For Kümmel, "The Faith of the Primitive Congregation" (chap. 2) was constituted by the Easter faith. In chap. 3 ("The Theology of Paul"), the final section, entitled "Paul and Jesus," is noteworthy; here Kümmel on the one hand describes the historical connection between both figures, and the differences in their historical and salvation-historical situation on the other. The final section deals with the gospel of John and the Johannine Epistles. This, however, does not bring the entire canon into review.

J. Jeremias offered a lengthy reconstruction of the proclamation of Jesus (1971). He felt that it was possible to derive criteria which would enable a relatively certain reconstruction of the *ipsissima vox* of the historical Jesus within the "pre-Easter tradition." The effort had many gainsayers; further volumes did not appear.

E. Lohse incorporated the preaching of Jesus completely into the discussion of NT theology ("Since the Christian sermon relates to the beginning of the Gospel, the theology of the New Testament must illustrate the indissoluble dependence of the kerygma on the [with respect to itself] pre-existent history of Jesus [1974: 18]). Lohse's "postulate of nonderivability" (*Unableitbarkeitsthese:* Jesus' *ipsissima verba* being those which cannot be attributed to the early Church) permitted such a reconstruction (1974: 21, although this is now questioned). There then follow "The Kerygma of Earliest Christianity," the theology of Paul, the Synoptic Gospels, and the Johannine corpus (all arranged chronologically according to their times of origin as determined by modern criticism). A concluding chapter on "The Apostolic Teaching of the Church" reflects the situation as it was at the close of the 1st century A.D. The final section, entitled "The Unity of the New Testament," understands the NT canon to contain a variety of theological efforts, which, however, were all founded on the same kerygma of the crucified and risen Christ.

Goppelt's posthumously published *Theologie* understands itself to be breaking new ground, insisting that Bultmann's approach "has lost its historical and theological relevance in research" (1975–76: 38–39). The first volume (the programmatic superscription of which is "the theological significance of Jesus' activity") is based on the conviction that the tradition about the activity of the earthly Jesus in the gospels was drawn as a "substructure" into the kerygma (whereas the epistolary literature of the NT reflects the development of the kerygma within the situation of the congregation [pp. 57–58]). Thus the message of Jesus (about the arrival of the kingdom of God, the challenge to repent [Jesus' ethical instructions], and the idea that Repentance is a gift of the Kingdom of God [the new order of salvation]), his saving actions (the miracles), and his self-understanding (which, according to Goppelt, already entailed both messianic promise and the expectation of the Son of Man, if in veiled form), taken together with the Easter event and the Easter kerygma, are all components of the theology of the NT itself. A. Lindemann particularly protested against this, insisting that "Theology is the interpretation of the Easter confession, not interpretation or repetition of the teachings (and, as far as they are known, the actions) of Jesus" (1975: 56). This fundamental disagreement still obtains today. In his second volume, entitled "The Multiplicity and Unity of the Apostolic Witness to Christ," Goppelt dealt with the primitive congregation, and Paul and the post-Pauline writings, in the course of which he also includes other modern questions (the relationship to "society"; para. 43–44).

b. Roman Catholic Studies. With a few exceptions the special task of articulating NT theology was only acknowledged at a relatively late date by Roman Catholic scholars. The first sizable work, by M. Meinertz (1950), thus dealt with the NT writings separately, and failed to take into consideration the impact of the development of primitive Christianity on the NT writings. Bonsirven likewise mainly took the task to be a dogmatic one: "to recover the revealed matters as understood by the authors, to attempt a hierarchical classification of these matters, so as to furnish a basis for Christian dogmatics" (1951: 9). Bonsirven nevertheless undertook to discuss historical development; in doing so, he dealt separately with Jesus (whose teachings, however, he reconstructed from the Synoptics and John), primitive Christianity, and Paul and the post-Pauline writings (the latter entitled "Works of Christian Maturity," reflecting the author's high estimation of these materials).

In his study of the history of NT criticism, Schnackenburg (1963) developed a new idea, namely that a chronological and theological account based on the history of primitive Christianity should be supplemented and deepened by thematically oriented diachronic sections. Schnackenburg proposed to deal first with the kerygma and theology of the primitive Church, then the "message and teachings of Jesus" according to the Synoptics, followed by a theology of the individual Synoptic Gospels, of Paul, John, and the rest of the writings, and finally some central problems in thematic sequence.

This diachronic system dominates the presentation by Schelkle (1968–76), who pursues, from the OT and Judaism through the NT writings (in continuous discussion with dogmatics), such main themes as "Creation, World-Time-History" (vol. 1), "Revelation" (vol. 2), "Redemption and Salvation" (in Christ, vol. 2), "Ethos" (vol. 3), "Completion" (vol. 4/1), "Disciple, Congregation and Church" (vol. 4/2). All Roman Catholic presentations approximate this one closely.

Related to Goppelt's approach is the methodology employed by Thusing (1981), which attempts to follow an outline of a theology of the NT. The basic idea is that the theological unity of the NT is held to reside in two categories of criteria: (1) the "structures of the message, activity, and life of Jesus of Nazareth" and (2) the "structures of christology and soteriology" based on the resurrection of Jesus (in the sense of a "post-Easter transformation of the Jesuanic"). The author's intention is to provide a total

perspective which encompasses "the affirmation of God and the affirmation of man" as a field of tension.

c. Recent English Studies. With the exception of translations of German-language works, the first English-language work to appear in the postwar period dealing with the question of an appropriate methodology for NT theology was F. Grant's *An Introduction to NT Thought* (1950). Grant strongly emphasized the distinctions historical-critical research had observed between the various "theologies" contained in the NT, which may itself be characterized as a "theology in process" (1950: 60). As Grant saw it, the task is to discern the inherent unity within all this diversity. Since, however, the many differences make any reconstruction possible only to a limited extent, a historical interpretation is necessary which employs Christology as the "central tendency of the New Testament" (p. 61) as its general background. Certain themes ("Doctrine of God, Miracles, Doctrine of Man, Doctrine of Christ," etc.) are then synchronically treated throughout the NT.

The problems inherent in this effort became clearer in the influential work by A. Richardson (1958). The basic presupposition of this work was "that the apostolic Church possessed a common theology and that it can be reconstructed from the New Testament literature" (1958: 9). Richardson's goal was "the framing of an hypothesis concerning the content and character of the faith of the apostolic Church" (ibid.). This hypothesis maintained "that Jesus himself is the author of the brilliant re-interpretation of the Old Testament scheme of salvation . . . which is found in the New Testament, and that the events of the life, 'signs,' passion and resurrection of Jesus, as attested by the apostolic witness, can account for the 'data' of the New Testament better than any other hypothesis current today" (p. 12). Richardson consciously intended that his account not remain "within the limits of purely descriptive science" (ibid.), since "the principle of interpretation here employed is that of historic Christian faith" (p. 13). In matters of detail, then, the work offers a conservatively colored, systematic-theologically arranged account of such themes as "Faith and Hearing"; "Knowledge and Revelation"; "The Power of God unto Salvation"; "The Kingdom of God"; "The Holy Spirit"; etc. The disadvantage to this approach is the same as that which manifests itself in similarly constructed accounts of OT theology, namely that the individual biblical writers and their views do not come to expression. Furthermore, such important themes as creation, anthropology, and the Law are lacking. Richardson nevertheless rightly points out that "there can be no history . . . which does not depend on a principle of interpretation, which the historian must necessarily bring to his study" (p. 9). However, the presupposition of the dogmatic unity of the New Testament ("historic Christian faith") allows a procedure which sees the goal of a NT theology to be already fulfilled in the systematic organization of the biblical statements.

Methodologically similar efforts have been offered by Stagg (1962) and Knudsen (1964). Also for Stagg the "unity in diversity" of the NT was the methodological point of departure of the work (1962: ixff.). Correspondingly, the subtitle of Knudsen's work, "A Basis for Christian Faith," shows that the author's intention was to provide an "interpretation" which in systematic-theological fashion opened the way for the NT witness for faith. Once again the views of the individual biblical authors were not satisfactorily differentiated.

Lehman (1974) provided a conservative presentation. Unlike him, however, G. E. Ladd (1975) offered a presentation which was ordered according to the NT works: the Synoptic Gospels, John, the primitive Church, Paul, the General Epistles, the Apocalypse. Ladd understood the goal of a NT theology to be descriptive, although the concept of God's actions in history (1975: 25) serves in the work as a *vade mecum* to the contents. The triad of God-man-sin is the presupposition of the ideas of revelation and redemption as fundamental biblical statements (p. 26). On the other hand, for S. Neill, "Every theology of the New Testament must be a theology of Jesus—or it is nothing at all" (1976: 10).

The work by Guthrie (1981) advances a conservative position. He insisted that the entire teaching of Christ is authentic in all of the gospels (including John [1981: 70f.]). The organization of the work is systematic ("God"; "Man and His World"; "Christology"; "The Mission of Christ"; "The Holy Spirit"; "The Christian Life"; "The Church"; "The Future"); a final section entitled "Scripture" deals with the use of the OT in the NT. The author's fundamentalistic approach allows him to integrate "the teaching of Christ" into all of the sections.

Among Roman Catholic works, it would be appropriate to mention that of J. L. McKenzie (1965). In spite of his acknowledgment of the plurality of biblical "theologies," McKenzie, too, sees the task as the production of a systematic-theological presentation (pp. 275–76), for which reason his work is thematically arranged.

4. The Theology of Both Testaments. After World War II, inspired by dialectical theology, a new desire arose for regaining a Christian theological significance also for the OT. Scholars tried to find a positive answer for the question concerning the relationship between both testaments. Thus the development which had taken place since Gabler, and which had led to a broad separation between OT and NT theologies, was reversed for the first time. In the process, earlier models were once more drawn into the discussion to describe the relationship in question.

a. The Salvation-Historical Model. The concept of salvation history *(Heilsgeschichte)* had been introduced into theology during the 19th century through the so-called Erlangen School. The main representative of the concept was J. C. K. von Hofmann (1841–44). Hofmann defined "salvation history" in terms of its ultimate goal: "Jesus is the end, and also the middle, of history; his appearance in the flesh is the beginning of the end" (1841–44: 1.58). All history which had taken place prior to the Christ-event was history and prediction at once—"history" insofar as it witnessed to ever progressing forms of the community between God and man; and "prediction," insofar as ever more definite references to the final form of the community of God and man began to appear (p. 1.40). For Hofmann, salvation history was a peculiar history, the understanding of whose witness took place subjectively, according to the *testimonium spiritus sancti internum* ("inner testimony of the Holy Spirit"). Thus its facticity was, to this extent, not subject to historical criticism; it unified at one

and the same time individual pious experiences with the historical perspective.

This understanding of salvation history had two facets: (1) as the history of God's dealings with certain people throughout history, a history in which Christ was both the origin and the center; and (2) as the personal saving history of all people. These views recur in the work of K. Barth (1957), whereas F. Baumgärtel existentializes the concept as an exclusively internal happening (it is "the being-touched-by-God of men in the Old Testament," which "is our own being-touched . . . under the Gospel" (1953: 14). Normally, however, "salvation history" was understood as a total context of external events which began in the history of Israel and which came together as simultaneous conclusion and pinnacle in the Christ-event. It was so understood by Dodd (1928), Pythian-Adams (1938), Löwith (1949), and others.

In connection with the NT, it was above all O. Cullmann (1951, 1967) who developed the concept of salvation history. Cullmann insists on the "linear understanding of time in the biblical history of revelation" (1951: 51), in contradistinction to the cyclical one which characterized Hellenism; within the saving history consisting of selected moments (*kairoi*) in the course of time (p. 131ff.), the Christ-event forms the center. Both the salvation-historical past and the future refer to it (pp. 131ff.; 139ff.). But it is salvation history "with respect to the carrying out of God's plans for salvation" (p. 39). "Because of sin and judgement it can also be a history of disaster" (1967: 21). Cullmann additionally stressed that he understood the concept not as a seamless context of demonstrable historical events, but rather as salvation-historical faith, that is, as "faith in a connection revealed only by God, resting upon a completely uncalculable selection of individual events" (p. 55). Therefore the concept of "history" should be placed in quotation marks, although there is an analogy between history and salvation history (p. 91).

Criticism of the concept of "salvation history" was above all launched by R. Bultmann and his school (esp. Bultmann 1956). According to Bultmann, "history" had come to an end with Christ; therefore the Church and its message are not "historical" but "eschatological" quantities (Bultmann 1957). For Bultmann, "historicity" (which has individual reference and is inaccessible) and "history" (objective and accessible) are opposites of one another.

Similar criticisms were offered by G. Klein (1970), K. G. Steck (1959), and F. Hesse (1971, with a rejoinder by Schmitt 1982). According to Hesse, Christ's resurrection and its significance for salvation are not verifiable within history (1971: 62–63). In reality, the saving event is merely a single point which the adherents of salvation history try to represent as a line (called "astigmatism" by Hesse 1971: 66).

In the work of G. von Rad, a peculiar understanding of "salvation history" played a role as a referent to a theology of the entire Bible. Von Rad carried his traditio-historical understanding of "Israel's historical traditions" through the OT and beyond. He also held salvation history to be the always new, always actualizing interpretation of history (*ROTT* 2: 320). Also in the NT this continual process of new interpretation is repristinated yet again, "starting from a completely new event" (*ROTT* 2: 340). Nothing violent occurs; rather, the NT fulfillment is already anticipated in the internal movement of the salvation-historical dialectic of the OT, in its progress from promise to fulfillment. However, von Rad also acknowledged that there was a strong impression of the "discontinuity of the divine revelation which Israel experienced" (this phrase did not appear in the 1975–82 Eng translation). Thus he found it impossible simply to accord with Hofmann's view of the divine plan for salvation which was supposed to embrace both Testaments, and instead attempted to connect the two parts of the Bible through the use of typology (see below).

A great number of other exegetes have also seen some form of salvation-historical connection between both Testaments. Thus, for example, S. Amsler (1960), following O. Cullmann, saw in the historical event of the person and work of Jesus Christ (in which God himself acted according to the NT understanding) the central event of a history which spanned from creation to the eschaton (1960: 105). All the historical and revelatory acts of God belong to this history (p. 106), and its goal is achieved in Christ (p. 107). Amsler further maintained that the goal of this history is already repeatedly attested in the OT, in which connection what is important is our view of a still open future which is prestructured by the saving events of the past (pp. 107–11; 114–16). In the NT, all the events of the OT are interpreted in the light of the fulfillment which has taken place in the breakthrough of the end in Jesus Christ (p. 119). From this perspective, vistas emerge of promise, fulfillment, and typology (see below). See also Wright (1952: 56–58).

We also find the model of a history of salvation culminating in Christ, often including the Church, in earlier Roman Catholic and Protestant publications. Against this, Pokorny (1981: 3–4) cautioned that "the Christ-event of the New Testament is not a direct continuation or further development of the events of the Old Testament." It was the eyes of faith inspired by the experience of Christ which first saw the historical dimension of God's address in the OT witnesses.

b. Typology. Already in the 19th century, P. Fairbairn had written a major work on the subject of typology (1845–47). Fairbairn identified various "types" and saw in them the facts, persons, or events of which the biblical stories speak. These types were to be brought about by God within the framework of the divine economy of salvation. "Spiritual and divine truths," in order to be recognized when they would eventually occur incorporated into the person and work of Jesus, had to be prefigured in the earlier biblical stories.

Typology was brought to the attention of students of modern hermeneutics through the exegesis of the NT itself and through the study of the biblical exegesis of the early Church. In this connection the seminal work was *Typos*, by L. Goppelt (1982), which originally appeared in German in 1939. According to Goppelt, the typological interpretation of the OT in the NT is "the method of interpreting Scripture that is predominant in the NT and characteristic of it" (1982: 198). He holds that this form of interpretation is not exegetically passé; rather, it incorporates one of the most fundamental aims in the NT: "It is an excellent witness to the NT's consciousness of its own place in redemptive history. The NT knows itself to be in

some way the fulfillment of the types found in the redemptive history of the OT and to be a prophecy in type concerning the future consummation" (1982: 205). Since Goppelt, however, intensive study of the exegetical methods of the NT has shown that the methodologies are in fact quite various, and that typology is more seldom employed than Goppelt supposed. Nevertheless, Goppelt's basic understanding of the theological function of the NT use of Scripture as a whole has been confirmed.

In the programmatic number of the journal *Evangelische Theologie,* which appeared under the auspices of the BKAT series, the editorial group presented their aims of connecting the historical-critical method with kerygmatic goals, in the hope of producing an interpretation of the OT which would be useful for the purposes of preaching. In this connection, typology received a major position, thanks to a contribution by von Rad, published in *Interpretation* 15 (1961). Von Rad dealt with the question of how God's saving acts on behalf of Israel (as witnessed in the OT) applied to the Church and to the individual Christian, concluding that the only possible reply must be in terms of typology: "Rather we see everywhere in this history brought to pass by God's word, in acts of judgment and in acts of redemption alike, the prefiguration of the Christ-event of the New Testament" (1961: 192). In von Rad's view, typology is based on the belief that it was the same God who had revealed himself in Christ who had already acted in OT history and had spoken to the fathers through the prophets. Typology allows the working out of salvation-historical structural analogies in both Testaments.

In his *Theologie,* von Rad once again showed that he understood typology as a linear series of saving acts which encompassed both Testaments, and which was characterized by the tension between promise and fulfillment (*ROTT* 2: 364ff.). Thus typology was able to reveal an observable structure also in the case of the OT. H. W. Wolff (1961; 1956) had a similar working hypothesis for the historical understanding of the (given) correspondences between both Testaments. The views of Lampe and Woolcombe (1957) and Foulkes (1958) were similar as well.

Roman Catholic circles especially accepted typology as an appropriate method of spiritual scriptural interpretation. Here, of course, patristic exegesis played an important part (Origen and Thomas Aquinas). See especially Jean Daniélou (1950), which deals with both Scripture and patristic exegesis in connection with a number of themes (e.g., Adam-Christ).

Criticism of the typological method was above all offered by F. Baumgärtel (1952: 124–27, 138–43, plus numerous articles), who felt that typology provides a purely theoretical construction which cannot affect faith (contra Eichrodt 1963). See also J. Barr (1966, chap. 4).

c. Promise and Fulfillment. The scheme of "promise and fulfillment" can also be traced to the NT exegesis of the OT. However, the conceptual model of traditional theology with respect to the OT "messianic promises," which saw these as fulfilled in the NT in Jesus Christ, was no longer adhered to by critical exegetes (the last proponents were König 1923; Edelkoort 1941). However, after World War II, especially von Rad *(ROTT)* and W. Zimmerli (1961) attempted to show that the relationship of both Testments at least in part consisted in the correspondence of "promise" to "fulfillment." For both scholars, this correspondence was an aspect of the OT salvation history itself, which they described variously as an "area of tension constituted by promise and fulfilment" (von Rad *ROTT* 2: 371) or as a "movement from promise toward fulfilment" (Zimmerli 1961: 329). Since, however, all the fulfillments in the OT are only provisional, the final fulfillment is no sooner attested than by the NT—insofar as believers are still awaiting its completion. See further Oxtoby 1966; Bruce 1978; Achtemeyer 1973: 77–115, 165–67, 172–81.

Baumgärtel criticized this model on the basis of his own particular understanding of the concept of promise (1952: 95–101, 106–27). He distinguishes between "promise" considered as God's assurance, and "prediction," that is, human predictions of future events. However, Baumgärtel's understanding of "promise" in the sense of a timelessly valid basic promise of God is untenable with respect to the OT. J. Barr (1966: 113) regards the concept of "promise" as nonderivable from the NT's conceptual realm, which he, incidentally, also regards as no longer useful.

d. The Traditio-Historical Approach. Tradition history, as a specific approach to a new biblical theology, is associated with H. Gese (1970; 1981a; 1981b). Gese proceeds on the basis of von Rad's understanding of tradition history, but nevertheless reckons with a continuous context of tradition from the OT to the NT, where it finds its conclusion: "The Old Testament originates in the New Testament; the New Testament is the completion of a process of tradition, which is essentially a unity, that is, a continuum" (1970: 420). Gese does not attempt to specify the contents of this process of tradition, but he does acknowledge a traditio-historical "nucleus" of the OT. It consists of the revelation on Sinai (1970: 427; 1981a: 25), plus the self-revelation of the "I am YHWH" (1981a: 25; 1981b: 65). Through the "Wisdomization" and "eschatologization" of the Torah in the late period, a second center was formed, namely Zion; therefore Gese distinguishes between a "Sinai Torah" and a "Zion Torah" (1981b: 80–81). For Gese, the tradition itself is the kerygma: "The traditio-historical process corresponds to a process in the history of revelation" (1981a: 18). Gese's position has been supported by, above all, P. Stuhlmacher, who defines biblical theology as "a New Testament theology which is open to the Old Testament, and which attempts to discover the traditional and interpretative context of both Old and New Testament traditions" (1973: 375).

In addition to criticisms of Gese's "ontological" terminology, scholars have suggested that he presupposes a (undemonstrable) linearity in the development of the OT traditions. Moreover, his approach has been labeled a kind of phenomenology (since Gese simply describes the religious-historical phenomena without evaluating them). Finally, Gese insisted that it is only possible to assume an unbroken context of tradition between the testaments if one abandons the decision of the Reformers to limit the OT canon to the borders of the Masoretic Bible (1977: 324, an illegitimate "reduction of the canon"). Gese himself sees the connection precisely in the so-called "apocryphal writings" (apocalyptic and late Wisdom); however, the Masoretic canon would presumably have been fully established by the middle of the first pre-Christian century.

e. Basic Connective Concepts. Confronted with the difficulties inherent in trying to combine the two Testaments with the aid of some single encompassing scheme, scholars recently have attempted to demonstrate a connection between them on the basis of some common fundamental concepts. For P. Stuhlmacher (1973), one such concept is the confession of the resurrection of Jesus with respect to the OT confession of the hope of resurrection. But Stuhlmacher also mentions as fundamental concepts such features as "reconciliation," (e.g., 1979a: para. 15; 1979b) and "law" (1978; cf. also Siegwalt 1971). Others have suggested "the covenant" (e.g., Campbell 1954), "election," "lordship of God" (Gray 1979), "promise" (W. C. Kaiser 1974; 1978), and the "people of God."

Others have attempted to discern the connection in question in a number of key concepts (Haag 1965). Thus Abbing (1983) has traced the triad of features consisting of revelation, history, and human responsibility throughout the entire Bible. Some exegetes conclude that it was Yahweh himself who raised Jesus from the dead. For S. Terrien (1978), the *deus absconditus atque praesens* forms the real middle of the Bible. Seebass (1982) recognizes as the middle of the Bible the new understanding of God which came about in Jesus Christ (2 Cor 5:19, "God was in Christ"). Alongside of this insight he offers such factual themes as the resurrection, messianism, people of God and kingdom of God, creation, and trust in God. Wagner (1978: 794) insists on the "functional identity" of God in spite of all the differences in the tradition and redactional history of the Bible.

A special variant is the creation-theological approach of H. H. Schmid, which he attempts to make applicable to the entire Bible. He holds this concept to have been the conceptual presupposition also for fundamental theologoumena of the NT, such as Paul's doctrine of justification, the redemptive death of Jesus, and his mediative role in the creation (1973: 12–14). Using the same basic approach, U. Luck emphasizes more strongly the features of experience of the world and apprehension of reality (1976: 7–9, 13).

f. The Canonical Approach. B. Childs (1970: 99–107) initiated a discussion concerning a "canonical" biblical theology which has been especially lively in the United States. See CANONICAL CRITICISM. According to Childs, the crisis of biblical theology was to be ameliorated by a new approach based on the OT and NT as normative bases of the Church because of their divine authority. To this, J. A. Sanders (1972) added the demand for a "canonical criticism" which would have as its aim the derivation of a new perspective of critical exegesis by studying the origin and function of the canon (Sanders 1984; 1987). So saying, however, Sanders saw the real center of the OT canon to be the Torah (against this, Blenkinsopp [1977] emphasized the prophetic character of the canon); this reflects the earlier view in the U.S., promulgated above all by Wright (1969: 166–85), according to which there is unquestionably a "canon within the canon" or a "center" of the corpus (see above). In methodological terms, the choice of the canon of the Old (and New) Testament(s) as the referential framework of a biblical theology is dependent on the recent redaction-historical approach. Where scholars were previously interested in the respective earliest literary strata and traditions, now they had begun to concern themselves more with the "posthistory" and the "final form" of the biblical text. Thus scholars are increasingly tending to read the texts "holistically," that is, by taking the entire context of a given text into consideration and relating it to the perspective of the entire Bible (on these three indissoluble aspects of the "canonical" concept—earliest literary strata, "posthistory," "final form" of the text—see, critically, Barr 1983: 75–82). Childs has himself exercised his exegetical approach on a biblical book (*Exodus* OTL); furthermore he also used his "canonical principle" as the basis for introductions to both the OT and the NT (respectively 1979 and 1984). In his *Theology* (which follows the traditional organization), Childs describes the purpose of the canonical approach as "to describe the theology of the Old Testament according to the intertextuality of its canonical shaping and so seek to understand how this corpus of material was ordered and rendered within the context of scripture" (1985: 53). Childs also holds the theological understanding of the NT as the result of a "canonical process" to be of decisive importance (1984: 22–33).

Childs' "canonical program" has proved to be controversial (see *JSOT* 16 [1980], and *HBT* [1980]: 113–211). It has been argued that instead of attending to the unity of a writing within the context of both testaments, we should also observe the differences between individual writings (on the OT, see Hanson 1982; Goldingay 1987; on the NT, see Käsemann 1964; Dunn 1977). The demand to search for the "center" has also been levied in connection with the NT (Schrage 1976) and corresponds, as a definition of the "canon within the canon," to the tradition of the Reformers.

These are presumably not real contradictions, but rather different aspects of the total goal of a biblical theology, which encompasses both the exegetical and systematic horizons. A solution to the difficulties can only be expected through the cooperation of both theological disciplines, which would transcend the estrangement of exegesis and dogmatics that has obtained since Gabler.

5. Skeptical Voices. Skepticism about the theological value of the OT is as old as Marcion. In addition to the historical factors behind such skepticism (sometimes including anti-Semitism), there were often also theological factors. E. Hirsch considered the OT to be "a document of a religion of law which was superseded by Christian faith" (1936: 26); to it he opposed the NT ("the Christian religion") as the witness of the Gospel (pp. 11, 76). Hirsch therefore held that the OT is only of interest for Christians since there we encounter the *deus absconditus* in the masks of sin, death, and turmoils of faith (pp. 27–30), features which were, however, subdued forever through the God of love, the father of Jesus Christ. A similar rejection, based, however, on depth psychology, has been presented by Hannah Wolff (1983). According to Wolff, were we to acknowledge the OT as part of the Christian canon, the Christian self-identity, which is to be determined through the historical Jesus, would be subordinated to Jewish-patriarchal and counter-Christian foreign influence.

The judgment of R. Bultmann was more subtle. For him the scheme of "law and Gospel" means a legitimately "historical" existential question of "what basic possibility it

presents for an understanding of human existence" (1963: 13). The OT is "being under the law," and since this is the necessary prerequisite for "being under grace," man must be subject to the OT if he hopes to understand the NT. Similar views were also espoused by F. Baumgärtel and F. Hesse (see above). Bultmann's attitude toward the OT is still effective among his students and other NT scholars today.

Such skepticism as does appear often clothes itself partially in the guise of criticism of a given program (so, for example, in Grässer's 1980 criticism of Stuhlmacher; incidentally, Grässer [1980: 219–20] agrees with R. Smend that a biblical theology which begins with the NT and looks back to the OT remains possible; Strecker 1980). However, skepticism is sometimes explicit; thus, for example, Merk (1972: 270–71; see also *TRE* 6: 455–77) regards the separate treatment of the OT and NT to be the necessary consequence of Gabler's methodological approach. For Merk, the demand for a "biblical theology" which embraces both Testaments is a "retrograde tendency, which abandons the insights of Gabler and G. L. Bauer" (1972: 271, n. 193).

6. Conclusion. What might we expect in the near future from the ongoing work on a biblical theology? The theological task of biblical scholarship unavoidably includes the problem of the relation between the testaments. Every Christian preacher has to expound biblical texts taken from both parts of the Bible. So the discussion about their unity and diversity will continue. But the expectations of discovering a comprehensive model—a basic idea or ongoing development that would allow us to understand the Bible as an organic unity—remain unfulfilled. Thus, the next steps to be taken will be more modest: to detect common topics where the NT is related to the OT, where it expressly cites the OT or builds upon conceptions which have been taken over from it. All these endeavors have one basic presupposition: that the God who revealed himself in the OT is the same as the father of Jesus Christ. Insofar as the enterprise of a biblical theology of both testaments is rooted in faith, it needs dogmatic reflection for results that transcend the realm of simple exegetical observations on a concrete scriptural text.

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HENNING GRAF REVENTLOW
Trans. Frederick H. Cryer

THEOPHANY IN THE OT. Theophany, the self-disclosure of God, is a widely attested phenomenon in the literature of ancient Israel, recorded by its historians, prophets, sages, and psalmists. The word "theophany" itself is a Greek term, from *theos,* "god," and *phainein,* "to appear," a classical example of which in Greece was a festival at Delphi at which the statues of Apollo and other gods were shown to the people. Though the term is not a Hebrew one, and though divine images were not a part of Israelite ritual, "theophany" and related terms—"epiphany," "appearance," and "hierophany," "appearance of the sacred"—have come to be used among scholars for descriptions of the appearance of God in the Hebrew Scriptures.

God is understood by Israel to be a reality different from the world and unlimited by it (1 Kgs 8:27; Amos 9:2–4; Psalm 139). Yet in theophanies God is revealed by self-limitation to specific places and particular forms within the world itself. The distinctive places and forms within the world which become modes of divine manifestation in Israel are to be found in the realms of nature and of human society. Natural and social images of divine appearances are, in fact, closely integrated in most theophanies. God may be described, for example, in the form of a thunderstorm, unleashing lightning, hail, and torrents of rain, and at the same time as a warrior riding a chariot and leading heavenly armies into battle (Hab 3:3–15). Furthermore, this theophany may occur at a mountain revered as sacred both for its natural features and for its sanctuary and city which mark the center of a political entity. While great interest has been attached to the human form and social roles—warrior, king, judge—of divine self-disclosure in Israel, less attention has been given to the essential role of geography and natural forms in Israel's experience of theophany.

A. The Location of Theophanies
B. The Form of Theophanies
1. Natural Forms
2. Human Forms

A. The Location of Theophanies

One of the fundamental characteristics of theophany in Israel is its occurrence at locations in the natural environment which were considered particularly sacred, particularly conducive to contact and communication between the divine and human spheres of reality. God appears at springs (Gen 16:7), rivers (Gen 32:23–33—Eng 32:22–32), trees (Gen 12:6–7), but predominantly and most significantly at mountains (Gen 12:8; Exodus 19; Psalm 48). It is on the mountain that the deity becomes manifest as the divine warrior in the phenomena of the thunderstorm, is enthroned as king of the cosmos and history, and issues decrees about the divine will and intentions for the human community.

The occurrence of the most significant theophanies on mountains in ancient Israel is not unique but representative of a much wider phenomenon. For many cultures in antiquity the mountain was considered that point in the environment most conducive to contact with the divine, most revelatory of divine presence. This is true for the Canaanite culture, from which Israel emerged, whose major deities El and Baal both reside and become manifest on mountains (Clifford 1972: 34–97). It is also true for

ancient cultures in Greece, India, China, Japan, Africa, and the Americas, which all recognized mountains as locations of divine manifestation (Eliade 1969: 41–44; Eck *EncRel* 10: 130–34).

The prominence of the mountain in biblical theophanies must be related on the one hand to its complete familiarity to the Israelite inhabitants of the Canaanite hill country and on the other hand to its extraordinary natural features. With its peak reaching into the skies, it represents the closest connection in the environment between earth, the domain of humanity, and heaven, the realm of the gods. The splendor of the highest peaks produces a sense of awe, a sense heightened and made more mysterious when the cloud banks of the thunderstorm veil the summit from view. Once scaled, the mountain offers an unlimited vision, not only of the clouds and the heavens but also of the horizon of the earth.

These features make the mountain the most suitable site of divine manifestation and thereby identify it as a cosmic center. The mountain as cosmic center is a concept fundamental in many traditional societies, as Mircea Eliade (1969: 27–56) has shown, and operative also in ancient Israel, as demonstrated by Richard Clifford (1972). In Israel, as elsewhere, the mountain functions as the center and site of theophany by linking the three cosmic regions along a central axis: located on earth, its top reaches into heaven (Ps 48:2–3—Eng 48:1–2) and its base down into the subterranean waters of the Underworld (Pss 46:3—Eng 46:2; 104:5–9). The waters of the Underworld are frequently represented by a spring issuing from the earth at the mountain's base (Ps 46:5—Eng 46:4; Ezek 47:1–12). This point of intersection is supremely sacred, for it is the meeting place of heaven and earth, the point at which direct contact is made between the divine and human. This contact is represented by vivid manifestations of the divine, by theophanies in which Israel experienced divine assistance, divine rule, and divine communication.

As the center of the cosmos the mountain is also the center of human society. With its defensible height and its spring to provide a stable water supply, the mountain was both the location of divine presence and a favorable site for human habitation. The mountain thus became the focus of the familiar, inhabited, and organized space of society, a space representing the political microcosm beyond which existed the unknown, foreign, and chaotic reality of cosmic and historical enemies. The central institutions of a society, in particular its religious sanctuary, were constructed on the mountain to represent divine contact with and control of human affairs.

The understanding of the mountain as the site of divine manifestation and thus the center of cosmos and society is present in an ancient Canaanite mythic pattern which Frank Cross (*CMHE,* 147–94) has shown to have deeply influenced biblical descriptions of theophany. In this mythic structure, present in the Baal Cycle from Ugarit (and reflected in Enuma Elish from Babylon), the storm god Baal, sitting in the assembly of gods on the sacred mountain, is challenged by his enemies, preeminently Sea, who embodies chaos. Baal, as a warrior mounted on the clouds, responds by destroying Sea. As a result of this victory, Baal is enthroned as cosmic king on Mt. Zaphon, receives a house constructed on the summit, and appears as the storm with the thunder, lightning, and rains which bring fertility to the earth. While Baal is celebrated at Ugarit as king and ruler of the universe from his mountain height, it is El, father of the gods, who issues decrees and communicates to human beings the will of the divine council from its assembly atop his own sacred mountain.

In Israel, these modes of theophany have been combined in the activity of a single deity, Yahweh, who appears at the cosmic mountain as the divine warrior in the thunderstorm to protect Israel from cosmic and historical threats to its security, who is manifest as ruler of the cosmos and history, and in that capacity discloses the divine will by issuing decrees, revealing plans, judging nations and people, granting requests, answering inquiries, and commissioning messengers. These modes of the theophany of Yahweh are closely related and unified by their location at the sacred mountain.

Though Israelites experience the theophany of Yahweh in these modes at a variety of sacred mountains, by far the most important are a southern peak, Mt. Sinai, and the hill on which the city of Jerusalem was built, Mt. Zion. The southern mountain is the site of God's appearances in Israel's oldest accounts of theophany. A number of archaic poems composed before the monarchy identify God's appearances to Israel with a mountain in the S called Sinai or Paran, and perhaps Seir (Deut 33:2–5, 26–29; Judges 5 [esp. vv 4–5]; Habakkuk 3 [esp. vv 3, 7]; Psalm 68 [esp. vv 8–9—Eng 7–8; and vv 18–19—Eng 17–18]). In these poems, God becomes visible on the mountain in the phenomena of the thunderstorm and marches out from it as a warrior with heavenly armies to fight for Israel. All of these poems are in fact victory hymns depicting the theophany of the divine warrior at the mountain as decisive for the victories of Israel's armies. Present also in these archaic theophanies is the depiction of Yahweh as king who in divine and human assemblies issues decrees and instructions (Deut 33:3–5). Another premonarchic poem, Exod 15:1–18, opens with a theophany of Yahweh as a warrior in the storm fighting Pharaoh's armies at the sea and concludes with the enthronement of Yahweh on his holy mountain.

This early identification of Israel's deity with mountains can be illustrated further by two archaic titles. One identifies Yahweh as "the One of Sinai" (*zeh sînay;* Judg 5:5; Ps 68:9—Eng 68:8). Another designates Yahweh *ʾĒl Šadday,* "God, the One of the mountain," a title used in archaic poems (Ps 68:15—Eng 68:14) and again in later archaizing contexts (Job, Ezekiel, the priestly work). The divine mountain itself is identified as a sacred space (*qōdeš;* Ps 68:18—Eng 68:17) and called the "mount of possession" (Exod 15:17), designating it as exclusively divine property.

This southern mountain is identified as the site of the most significant theophany in Israel's formative period by the epic tradents, the Yahwist (J), who refers to it as Sinai and the Elohist (E), who calls it Horeb. Sinai/Horeb is called the "mountain of God" (Exod 3:1) and is designated as sacred ground (Exod 3:5; 19:12–15, 21–23). Here God appears to Moses as a flaming tree during Israel's enslavement, commissions Moses to direct Israel's exodus, and reveals the divine name (Exodus 3). Here also God appears to the assembled Israelites after the deliverance at the sea (Exodus 19; 24). As in the old poems, the archaic theo-

phanic pattern lies behind the description of God's manifestation (*CMHE,* 164–69). Yahweh meets Moses at the sacred mountain with instructions for the coming conflict (Exodus 3), appears at the sea to fight for Israel in the storm (the pillar of cloud and fire/lightning; Exod 14:19–20, 24–25), and then leads the people back to the holy mountain where, in a vivid self-disclosure of the victorious deity in the thunderstorm, the decrees which will constitute Israel as a covenant community are issued (Exodus 19–24).

The exilic Priestly writer (P), who appropriated these epic sources for an extended treatment of Israel's formative period (Genesis–Numbers), divided Israel's early history by three great moments of divine self-disclosure, the final and climactic of which occurred in God's revelation at Mt. Sinai. (The preparatory theophanies are to Noah on a mountain in Ararat [Gen 8:4; 9:1–17] and to Abram, presumably by the oaks of Mamre [Gen 14:13; 17:1–27].) The Priestly writer too preserves the old theophanic pattern. The glory *(kābôd)* of Yahweh in the cloud (e.g., Exod 16:10) leads Israel from Egypt through the wilderness to Mt. Sinai, where the glory of God is manifested in the thundercloud (Exod 24:15b–18). Here as in the epic sources, the emphasis in the theophany at the southern mountain is on the rule of God and on the communication to Israel of decrees and instructions which will place that rule into effect. Indeed, the entire collection of Israelite law has been identified by P as promulgated in the Sinai theophany, an assertion which makes this theophany and the divine will communicated through it definitive for all subsequent generations of Israelites. The martial character of the theophany at Sinai, though less emphasized by P, may still be recognized not only in the divine leadership in the cloud from the battle at the sea, but also in the assembling of Israel in military companies by tribe and in the march from the mountain by the tribes following the divine warrior in the cloud (Numbers 1; 2; 9; 10).

The old tradition in Deuteronomy which now provides the introduction to the Deuteronomistic History (Joshua–2 Kings) contains essentially the same modes of theophany at the southern mountain, here called Horeb. The deity becomes manifest in the thunderstorm at the mountaintop, is recognized as Israel's divine warrior, and issues decrees which become the basis for Israel's community life (Deuteronomy 4–5). The pilgrimage of the prophet Elijah to Horeb and the divine revelation to him there recorded by the Deuteronomistic Historian (1 Kings 19), a theophany reminiscent of an earlier one to Moses (Exod 33:17–23), indicate that this southern mountain continued to be regarded as a site of theophany down into the days of Israel's monarchy.

The location of this mountain can no longer be identified with certainty, except that it lay in a desert area S of the land of Israel. Though tradition has understood it to be Jebel Musa in the S tip of the Sinai peninsula, this tradition is late and uncorroborated by archaeological evidence. The mount of theophany may in fact have been located in the N Sinai or, more likely, in the mountainous area SE of Israel in the Transjordan where the old poetic and epic material place it. The various names for the mountain—Sinai, Horeb, Paran—could even reflect different traditions connecting theophanies of Yahweh and Yahwistic sanctuaries with more than one S peak.

During the Israelite monarchy this S mountain in the desert, which had been the preeminent location of theophany in Israel's formative period, is superseded in importance by a mountain in the land of Israel itself known as Zion. Zion was the name given to the ancient fortified ridge between the Tyropoeon and Kidron valleys. A modest mountain when compared with surrounding peaks, its summit was inhabited as early as the EB Age (ca. 3000 B.C.E.), likely because the Gihon spring at its base provided a stable water supply. This spring undoubtedly also lent the mountain cosmic significance, symbolizing the subterranean realm linked to the earth and heaven at this point. Mt. Zion was captured by David and became the site of the royal palace and then of the temple of Yahweh constructed under Solomon at its summit. From the time of David on, psalmists, prophets, historians, and apocalyptic writers see Zion as the most prominent place of divine self-disclosure.

The psalmists, while believing heaven to be the divine realm proper (Pss 11:4; 14:2; 20:7—Eng 20:6), understand God to be present within the human realm at Mt. Zion (Pss 11:4; 46:5–6—Eng 46:4–5; 48:1–4—Eng 48:1–3; 76:1–3—Eng 76:1–2), frequently referring to it as God's sacred mountain (Pss 2:6; 48:2—Eng 48:1; 87:1). The same modes of Yahweh's epiphany associated with the southern mountain are also present in Zion theophanies. The deity appears on Mt. Zion as a thunderstorm, going into war against Israel's enemies to protect Zion and the Davidic king (Pss 18:7–20—Eng 18:6–19; 29:1–11; 97:1–5; 144:1–11). God's kingship on Zion is celebrated, in particular in a series of hymns which may have been used in the liturgy of a fall New Year festival (Psalms 47; 93; 95; 96; 97; 98; 99). From Zion the divine king communicates with Israel, issuing decrees which govern the Davidic state and the nations at large (Pss 2:5–9; 89:20–38—Eng 89:19–37; 132:11–18), rendering judgment on Israel and the nations (Pss 9:8–9, 20–21—Eng 9:7–8, 19–20; 96:10–13; 99:1–5), and accepting the prayers and offerings of Israel (Pss 5:1–4—Eng 5:1–3; 12:6–7—Eng 12:5–6; 20:1–5).

Even among prophetic figures, for whom divine self-disclosure in Israel was not bound to specific spaces and the institutions and offices attached to them (Amos 7:14–15; Jer 18:1–2; Ezek 1:1), theophanies are primarily associated with Zion (Ezekiel 1; 10; 43; Amos 1:2; Mic 1:2–4; Zephaniah 1). This is particularly true for Isaiah, whose vision of Yahweh in the temple (Isa 6:1–13) and description of the appearance of Israel's God as a thunderstorm to protect Jerusalem (Isa 29:1–6; 30:27–33) identify God's manifestation on earth as inextricably linked to Mt. Zion.

Apocalyptic writers regard Mt. Zion as the site at which theophany would one day become an everyday reality. Here the divine warrior would appear in the storm to fight a decisive battle against the nations to remove permanently any threat to Zion's security (Isa 66:15–23; Ezekiel 38–39; Joel 3:1–21; Zechariah 9). God would then be enthroned over an eternal kingdom of peace and prosperity in which the light of God's presence would replace the sun, moon, and stars (Isa 24:21–23; 25:6–8; 60:16–22; Joel 3:17–21; Zech 14:6–21) and in which all would by nature respond to the divine law (Jer 31:31–34; Ezekiel 36).

Though Sinai and Zion dominate Israel's theophanic landscape, other mountain peaks also mark the sites of divine appearances. Mt. Carmel is the location of a decisive theophany to Elijah, Ahab, the prophets, and the people of Israel in which Yahweh is manifest as a thunderstorm consuming the offering of Elijah by lightning and bringing rain and fertility (1 Kings 18). Together with Carmel, Mt. Tabor is also referred to as a sacred mountain (Jer 46:18; cf. Hos 5:1; Ps 89:13—Eng 89:12; Judg 4:6, 12, 14). Mts. Ebal and Gerizim figure prominently in an archaic ceremony near Shechem affirming the acceptance of the divine law (Deuteronomy 27; Josh 8:30–35). Divine appearances in ancestral traditions also occur at mountains (Gen 12:7–8; 22:1–14; 28:12).

The primary symbol identifying the mountain as the site of divine disclosure not only within the natural realm but within the realm of human society as well is the religious sanctuary, the dwelling place for the deity constructed on the mountaintop. This sanctuary, or earthly house of God, becomes the focal point for the political structures which order Israelite life. Located at the center of the community, the sanctuary represents the presence, the protection, and the rule of God within Israelite society. At the southern mountain in Israel's formative period this dwelling appears to have taken the form of a tabernacle or tent shrine. The Priestly writer later described its construction as based on a divine design related to Moses on Mt. Sinai, thus representing an earthly copy of God's heavenly home (Exodus 25–27). Its two designations, "place of tenting/encampment" *(mišḵān)* and "tent of meeting/assembly" *(ʾōhel môʿēd)*, indicate that Israel saw the tabernacle as the location of God's presence and communication with Israel and its leaders (Exod 25:22; 33:7–11).

On Mt. Zion a more elaborate and permanent dwelling for the deity was constructed during the monarchy by King Solomon (1 Kings 6–8). Within the temple the psalmists experience the presence and behold the beauty of God (Pss 11:4; 27:4; 63:3—Eng 63:2; 84:1–5—Eng 84:1–4). In this temple God appears to and commissions Isaiah in a vivid theophany (Isaiah 6). Here the Deuteronomistic Historian believes God to be present on earth (1 Kings 8). From this sanctuary and through the Davidic king in his adjacent palace, God governs the affairs of Israel and of the nations (Psalms 2; 46; 48).

The way in which the cosmic mountain with the temple at its summit provides the focal point for the different modes of divine appearance—that is, as warrior, king, and lawgiver—suggests that theophany is a more unified phenomenon than much recent scholarship has claimed. A distinction is customarily made between theophanies during war and those in the cult (e.g., Jeremias *IDBSup*, 896–98; Westermann 1965: 93–101), and arguments are made for its origins in holy war (e.g., Jeremias 1965: 118–50; von Rad 1959) or during the great festivals of Israel's cult (e.g., Mowinckel 1967: 142–43; Weiser 1950: 513–31). In fact, these settings are closely linked from earliest times by their relationship to the sacred mountain, a linkage present in the archaic mythic structure of conflict, rule, and law-giving, and in the cultic life of the worshiping community. At the mountain sanctuary God appeared as warrior and led out Israel's troops to battle. At the mountain sanctuary the victorious God was enthroned to the praises of Israel and the divine rule over cosmos and history recited and reenacted. And at the mountain sanctuary the divine will was communicated and accepted by the community. These modes of theophany are thus not isolated phenomena, but part of a single pattern of thought and practice in Israel from earliest times.

Though the mountain is the customary location of theophanies in Israel, divine appearances do occur at other sites. In many of these cases, the manifestation of God is marked by other geographical features which represent portals or points of transition within the natural environment between the divine and human worlds. One of these geographical features is the water source, be it a spring, well, or river, which represents a link to the subterranean realm. The clearest example of the water source as a point of theophany is the spring issuing from the base of the cosmic mountain, indicating this location as a cosmic center where the three regions meet (Ps 46:1–6—Eng 46:1–5; Ezek 47:1–12; Joel 3:1–18; Zech 14:8). Theophanies at other water sources are common in the accounts of Israel's ancestors; they are experienced by Hagar (Gen 16:7–14; 21:15–19), Isaac (Gen 26:24), and Jacob (Gen 32:23–33—Eng 32:22–32).

Another aspect of the natural environment which locates theophanies is the sacred tree, which is the most widely attested variant to the mountain as cosmic center in traditional societies (Eliade 1969: 44–47). With its roots reaching into the Underworld and its branches into the heavens, it unites the three worlds on a single axis. The divine garden in Eden is populated with trees (Genesis 2–3), and trees are particularly prominent as points of theophany in traditions about Israel's early period. Theophanies to the ancestors (Gen 12:6–7; 18:1; 21:33–34), Moses (Exod 3:1–6), and the judges (Judg 6:11–24) occur at trees which mark sacred space (Exod 3:4–5).

While natural features like mountains, springs, and trees which mark the meeting point between divine and human realms determine the basic experience of theophany in Israel, not all divine appearances are located in this way. In some cases, the exact location of the theophany is unmarked (Gen 15:1; 20:3; Judg 13:2–3; Amos 7:4; Job 38:1). In other cases, a mobile symbol of divine presence, the tabernacle or the ark, determines the location of theophanies even when moved from the mountain itself (Exod 40:34–38; Num 10:35–36). These examples indicate that while certain places in the natural environment were especially sacred, particularly conducive to contact between God and human beings, divine presence and manifestation were not confined to these locations alone but ultimately pervaded the earthly realm and those above and below (1 Kgs 8:27–28; Amos 9:1–4).

B. The Form of Theophanies

Just as the essentially unlimited deity of Israel becomes manifest by a self-limitation to concrete space within the ordinary world, so the deity takes on familiar forms from mundane reality. Some of these forms are natural phenomena and others are human or social. In most cases the natural and social coalesce in Israel's description of the form of divine appearances.

1. Natural Forms. The most common natural form of divine appearance in Israelite literature is the thunder-

storm, with its dark storm cloud representing the divine chariot or throne (Hab 3:8; Ezekiel 1), its thunder representing God's voice (Eoxd 19:16, 19; Ps 18:14—Eng 18:13), and its fiery lightning bolts God's weapons (Hab 3:11; Ps 18:15—Eng 18:14). The thunderstorm is the predominant form of theophany in Israel's older literature, the early poetry and epic (J/E) sources, and in the psalms. While not as frequent or explicit, it also lies behind the major theophanies in the literature of Israel's later historians, prophets, and apocalyptic writers.

The reason the thunderstorm became the primary form of divine manifestation in Israel must be derived from its character as the most powerful and essential phenomenon in the life of people in a Canaanite agricultural society. Its violent winds, lightning, hail, and driving rain were the greatest demonstration of the powers of nature regularly experienced by Israelites, powers which could threaten and destroy life. On the other hand, the rain brought by the storm clouds was crucial to sustain the farming economy in Israel and provide food for its people. Drought and famine were constant threats. Thus the thunderstorm represented absolute power which could be both malevolent and beneficent.

In its frightening and beneficent qualities the storm reflects the dual character of the holy which Rudolf Otto understood to be at the heart of all religious experience (Otto 1958: 1–40). The apprehension of the holy, the *mysterium tremendum,* is widely characterized by a sense of "awfulness," or fear combined with a sense of fascination and of gracious intent. This "strange harmony of contrasts," which Otto sees as the most noteworthy phenomenon in the history of religions, is captured more powerfully in the experience of the thunderstorm for Israelite agrarian society than in any other experience of the world. It represents most intensely both the awful power and the benevolent care of divine powers at work in the universe.

The "awful" aspect of the manifestation of the sacred, so apparent in the storm, is the source of the great danger at times associated with theophanies in Israel. Divine appearances frequently elicit terror from those who experience them (Gen 28:17; Exod 3:6; 19:6; Lev 9:24; Judg 6:22–24). Furthermore, the prospect of death from a direct encounter with the divine is a common concern (Gen 32:31—Eng 32:30; Exod 19:12–13; 33:17–23; Num 17:12–13; Deut 5:24–27; Judg 13:21–23).

The thunderstorm as the preeminent manifestation of divine power is given expression in the same ancient Canaanite mythic pattern in which the sacred mountain functions as cosmic center. The pattern celebrates the supreme position of a storm deity (Baal in Ugarit, Marduk in Babylon, Yahweh in Israel), before whose military strength the universe and natural environment can be shaken. It concludes with a theophany of the storm god enthroned as king of the universe, in which the rain from the storm brings fertility to the earth.

The dominance of the thunderstorm in Israel's theophanies can be seen already in Israel's premonarchic poetry, in which Yahweh's appearance is in every case the storm. Since these poems are victory hymns, the destructive power of the storm, directed against Israel's enemies, is emphasized (Exod 15:7–10; Deut 33:2–3, 26–29; Judg 5:4–5; Hab 3:3–15; Ps 68:7–8, 31–34—Eng 68:8–9, 32–35). The beneficence of the storm as a source of fertility, is, however, also recognized (Exod 15:17; Ps 68:9–10—Eng 68:10–11; Deut 33:28). The psalms from Israel's monarchy reflect the enduring strength of this old theophanic tradition. The most vivid theophanies in the Psalter take the form of a thunderstorm, in which Yahweh's destructive power over Israel's enemies and blessings of fertility to Israel are both praised (Psalms 18; 29; 50; 77; 83; 97; 104; 144).

The thunderstorm is also the most prominent theophanic form in the epic sources (J/E), picturing in particular God's presence in the great revelation at Mt. Sinai (Exodus 19). The archaic traditions of the theophany of the storm god in Canaan and Israel make it clear that this epic depiction of God's manifestation has its origins in the thunderstorm rather than in the phenomenon of a volcanic eruption, as some have argued (Jeremias 1965: 100–11). The column of cloud and fire/lightning which Israel meets on its march to the sea (Exod 13:21–22; 14:19–20) and which leads Israel to and from the sacred mountain (Num 10:33–34; 14:13–14) is derived from this same storm imagery (Mann 1971: 15–30; *CMHE,* 163–69). See PILLAR OF FIRE AND CLOUD. The pillar of cloud by day and fire by night (Exod 13:22) does not represent different manifestations of divine presence by the single storm cloud (Exod 14:24) apprehended as a cloud column during daylight and as a fiery, lightning-filled column at night. The storm cloud is closely associated with the divine presence in the tabernacle in these epic sources (Num 12:5). Other manifestations of the deity as fire in epic and other sources (Gen 15:17; Exod 3:2–4; Lev 9:24; Num 11:1–3; Deut 9:3; 1 Kgs 18:38–39) may ultimately derive from the lightning of the storm and its effects.

The Priestly writer and the Deuteronomistic Historian both preserve this experience of the storm cloud as the form of divine appearances (Exod 24:15–20; 40:34–38; Num 9:15–23; Deut 1:33; 4:9–40; 1 Kgs 8:10–13). In relationship to this image P frequently uses the term "glory" *(kābôd)* to describe the presence of God (Exod 40:34–38; 24:15–20), a term used also by his exilic contemporary Ezekiel (chap. 1). While this term may have its origin in the radiance widely attributed to deities in the ANE, it may more narrowly also derive from the aura of the fiery storm cloud (*CMHE,* 153, 165–69).

Detailed theophanies are not characteristic of prophetic discourse, but where they are described, the thunderstorm lies behind the images chosen (Isa 28:2; 29:6; 30; 27–33; Ezekiel 1; 10; 43; Amos 1:2; Nah 1:2–4; Zeph 1:14–16). In apocalyptic literature, thunderstorm theophany is taken up to describe both the ultimate destruction of evil nations and the bountiful harvests Israel will experience when Yahweh appears to inaugurate the new age (Isa 24:17–25:8; Joel 3; Zech 9; 10:1–2). In Wisdom Literature as well, in particular the book of Job, the thunderstorm is employed to describe the manifestation of God (Job 26:5–14; 38:1; 40:6).

The theophany of Yahweh in the powerful natural phenomenon of the thunderstorm is ritualized in Israel in the iconography present in the divine dwelling, the tabernacle, and later the temple. The chief symbols in both sanctuaries were the cherubim fashioned for the top of the ark (Exod 25:18–22), embroidered into the tabernacle curtains

(Exod 26:1), placed in the holiest room of the temple (1 Kgs 6:23–28), and carved into its walls and doors (1 Kgs 6:29–36). The cherubim represented the throne of God and the place of divine presence without equal (Exod 25:20–22; 1 Sam 4:4; 1 Kgs 8:6–13; Isa 6:1–4; Pss 80:1–3—Eng 80:1–2; 99:1–5). The cherubim, hybrid creatures composed of the body of a lion with eagles' wings, were common throughout the ANE in royal and religious iconography as representations of the storm god, the lion representing the roar of thunder and the wings representing the storm winds (Jacobsen 1976: 128–29; Albright 1938). The identification of Yahweh's storm cloud with the cherubim in an early royal psalm (18:11—Eng 18:10; cf. 104:3) and later in Ezekiel's exilic vision (Ezekiel 1) illustrates the enduring understanding of these cultic figures as representative of the storm theophany of Yahweh.

Other features within the temple representing the appearance of Yahweh as the thunderstorm are the incense cloud and the blast of the trumpet (Beyerlin 1965: 134–35). The Priestly writer closely relates the divine cloud in which the deity appears above the cherubim to the cloud of incense produced by the priestly censer to cover these cherubim (Lev 16:2, 12–13). The epic sources connect the voice of God in the thunder with the blast of the trumpet (*šōpār*) at Mt. Sinai (Exod 19:16–19). Three of the greatest biblical theophanies—those to Samuel (1 Samuel 3), Isaiah (Isaiah 6) and Ezekiel (Ezekiel 1)—are understood best as manifestations of Israel's deity as the thunderstorm represented by its iconography in the sanctuary.

While the cherubim are understood as the divine throne and the cloud of incense as the storm cloud in which the deity is present, no images were fashioned for the sanctuary to represent God's actual form. Images of Yahweh himself were in fact prohibited as a means of divine self-disclosure (Exod 20:4, 23; 34:17; Lev 19:4). Since divine images are the primary means of divine manifestation in other ANE cultures, their prohibition represents a most distinctive characteristic of Israel's understanding of theophany. This rejection of images cannot stem from an identification of God with historical processes instead of with the realm of nature or a sense of God's absolute transcendence of the creaturely world (*ROTT* 1: 212–19; Zimmerli 1963: 234–48), since Israel experienced the manifestation of God within natural phenomena. The rejection of images may represent, rather, a dimension of the demand for exclusive allegiance to Yahweh and a barrier against the syncretistic influences which divine images would introduce. The close link between the First and Second Commandments and the reference to Yahweh's jealousy point in this direction (Stamm and Andrew 1967: 81–88; Exod 20:3–6, 23; 34:11–17).

2. Human Forms. As in the religions of Israel's neighbors, this depiction of the divine in imagery drawn from the natural environment is integrated with imagery drawn from human society. Within the description of God's appearance as a thunderstorm, the deity is at the same time attributed human characteristics: God has ears, nose, and mouth (Exod 15:8; Ps 18:7, 9, 16—Eng 18:6, 8, 15), as well as hands and feet (Exod 15:5; Deut 33:3; Ps 18:10—Eng 18:9); God stands and looks (Hab 3:6), marches into battle (Hab 3:12–13), rides a chariot (Hab 3:8, Ps 18:11—Eng 18:10), shoots arrows and hurls spears (Hab 3:9, 11; Ps 18:15—Eng 18:14); God speaks (Exod 19:3; Deut 33:27) and reveals such human emotions as anger and compassion (Exod 15:7; Hab 3:2, 8, 12). Especially prominent in the psalms is the reference to God's face, which is associated with divine favor. The psalmists seek God's face (Pss 27:7–9; 80:4, 8, 20—Eng 80:3, 7, 19) and entreat God not to hide his face (Pss 13:2—Eng 13:1; 30:8—Eng 30:7).

As a human figure, God is represented in biblical theophanies as assuming roles central to the society of ancient Israel. Storm theophanies characterize Yahweh as warrior (Exod 15:3) and king (Pss 97:1–5; 99:1–5) and in the role of king as lawgiver (Exodus 19) and judge (Ps 94:1–3). The representation of God as a human figure assuming familiar social roles indicates Israel's apprehension of the divine presence within the realm of human culture as well as in the powers of nature. The self-disclosure of God as warrior and king is described in imagery which mirrors these figures in Israelite society and gives expression to the belief that a divine power stands behind Israel's warriors, its leader or king, and the social order they defend and legislate.

As a warrior, God appears as the commander of heavenly armies which wage war against cosmic enemies threatening the orders of nature as well as against historical enemies which threaten Israel's security (Psalm 89). In these historical engagements, the divine warrior is the counterpart of Israel's commander, and the heavenly armies of Israel's own troops (Miller 1973: 74–141, 156; Deut 33:2–3; Hab 3:13). Storm theophanies which picture Yahweh as a warrior thus reveal the presence of divine powers in Israel's wars, fighting with, protecting, and achieving victory for Israel's armies.

As king, God is represented as the supreme power in the cosmos, surrounded by a divine council of heavenly attendants and ministers, a heavenly parallel of the court setting in the Israelite monarchy (Deut 32:7–8; Pss 82:1; 89:8–9—Eng 89:7–8; 103:20). Though in one stream of tradition God's manifestation as king precluded a human counterpart (Judg 8:22–23; 1 Samuel 8), for the most part it gave divine legitimation to the rule of the Israelite monarch (Psalms 2; 89; 132). The laws which governed Israelite society were not considered human conventions but divine decrees issued by the heavenly king. Thus the revelation of the law is a crucial part of the theophanies of Yahweh as king (Exodus 19–24; Psalm 132; Isa 2:2–4). The announcement of the divine will is frequently conveyed to individuals in the form of visions or dreams, a phenomenon particularly frequent among the prophets (Jeremiah 24; Amos 7:1–9; 9:1–4; Zechariah 1–6) and later apocalyptic authors (Daniel 7–12).

Members of the divine council, who assist the sovereign God in the administration of divine rule in the world, frequently appear to human beings as divine representatives or messengers (*malʾākîm;* Robinson 1944: 151–57). Appearances of members of the divine council as messengers announcing the divine will, protecting the righteous, and executing divine judgment are common in the old epic sources (Gen 16:7–11; 22:9–19; Numbers 22), in the Deuteronomistic History (Judg 6:11–22; 13:6–9; 2 Sam 24:16–17), and in the psalms (34:8—Eng 34:7; 148:2). Theophanies in prophetic literature are particularly affected by the conception of the divine council, since the

prophets regard themselves as the earthly counterpart to the heavenly messenger conveying to their contemporaries divine pronouncements (Ross 1962: 98–107; Isa 6; 40:1–8; Jeremiah 23; 1 Kings 22).

The theophanic images of Israel's deity which are human in form and representative of specific social roles are almost exclusively masculine. The figure of Yahweh is treated as male grammatically: pronouns and verb forms in theophanic narratives are always in the masculine gender. Furthermore, the primary social roles which Yahweh assumes as warrior, king, and judge are offices ordinarily filled by men. Recent attention has been drawn to feminine imagery also employed in the Bible to picture God (Trible *IDBSup*, 368–69), and to the place of women as recipients of theophanies (Bird 1987: 409). The use of feminine as well as masculine imagery to represent God indicates that the sacred was understood in Israel to encompass both male and female characteristics. Yet theophanic imagery in Israel is predominantly masculine, a circumstance certainly related to the patriarchal character of Israelite society itself. This is one further representation of the fact that in their description of the unlimited divine reality in its limited manifestation, Israelites employed forms which represented the character of the natural and social worlds with which they were familiar.

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THEODORE HIEBERT

THEOPHILUS (PERSON) [Gk *Theophilos*]. The name, meaning "friend or beloved of God," appears in literature, inscriptions, and papyri of both Jews and gentiles from the 3d century B.C. (*BAGD* 358). In the NT, Theophilus is the only person mentioned to whom writings were dedicated (Luke 1:3; Acts 1:1). Many scholars believe that he was a real person, because dedications of the time customarily referred to real persons. However, this specific person is not easy to identify, and the pseudonym "Theophilus" was probably used to protect this individual from the political authorities. Any number of suggestions have been made about Theophilus' identity: (1) Theophilus, the brother-in-law of Caiaphas; (2) Theophilus, an Athenian official convicted of perjury by the Areopagus; (3) Theophilus of Antioch; (4) Sergius Paulus, proconsul (Acts 13:6–12); (5) Lucius Junius Annaeus Gallio (Acts 18:12–17), the brother of Seneca; (6) Titus Flavius Clemens, the husband of Domitilla and the heir presumptive of Domitian, who may have been executed because of his interest in Christianity; (7) Philo; or (8) Agrippa II (Acts 25:13–26:32; Marx 1980: 18–26). The title which Luke gives Theophilus, "most excellent" (Luke 1:3; cf. Acts 23:26; 24:3; 26:25), suggests that he was a person of social and political prominence, perhaps a Roman governor, procurator, or magistrate, but this is by no means certain (Minear 1973: 133). Very likely, he was a leading figure in the group that Luke was addressing (Maddox 1982: 12).

Among other things, the dedication very probably indicates that Theophilus helped to make the two volumes available to potential readers. In the best of circumstances, as an influential patron he may have also made a considerable contribution toward this end. But there is no reason to think that Theophilus was a publisher (cf. Goodspeed 1954: 84) or Luke's literary agent, or that he hoped to benefit financially from the sale of Luke's double volume (Vögtle 1971: 41–42).

Through his prefaces, which bear a striking resemblance to two of Josephus' prefaces (cf. *AgAp* 1.1–4; 2.1–2), Luke unites his two volumes, reveals a certain literary intention, and claims through and for Theophilus both a place for Christianity on the stage of world history and a wider audience: Luke–Acts may be addressed to Chris-

tians, but there is a universal aspect to the work. In addition, Luke justifies his work for Theophilus by reference to earlier similar writings, his trustworthy sources based on careful research (*Acts* NIGTC 1978: 40–43).

There is a dialogic setting between Luke and Theophilus; thus, even more important than the insoluble question of his personal identity is the question of whom Theophilus represents. This question is closely related to Luke's purpose. Scholars are divided on the question of whether Theophilus was even a Christian (Brown 1978: 107). The main argument against it is that Christians supposedly would not have used a title like "most excellent" for one another. However, this observation seems to be truer of Paul's writings than of Luke's, and there is evidence that Theophilus was a Christian: in Luke 1:1–2, Theophilus is included in the "us" which refers to a domain shared by Luke and Christians. As W. Ong has indicated, while the writer's audience is always a fiction, Theophilus is Luke's implied reader and symbolizes his wider Christian audience (Kurz 1987: 208–12). If Theophilus was expected as patron to assist in making the book available to others, this would suggest that he was a Christian (Marshall 1979: 38). Also, the contents of Luke–Acts do not give the impression that it was specifically addressed to non-Christians, and so "the things about which you have been informed" (v 4) would mean Theophilus' catechetical instruction. This instruction, in all likelihood, did not include the whole content of the gospels in detail but the broad outline of the kerygma, including the ministry, death, and resurrection of Jesus and the coming of the spirit (cf. Acts 10:34–43; Marshall 1983: 296, 302–7). Hence, Theophilus most likely represents a wider Christian audience, and from the prologue we can get an insight into the nature of this audience or community. It was a community which had received some instruction about Jesus but now needed to be reassured of the reliability of this information. Luke's gospel was to help the community recognize this reliability. Moreover, this community saw itself as an eschatological and ecclesiastical "we" (Mussner 1984: 382–92).

Of all of his purposes, Luke clearly mentions only one; namely, when he writes to Theophilus, "that you might know the truth concerning the things of which you have been informed" (Luke 1:4; Minear 1973: 132). However, "truth" may not be the best translation of Luke's *asphaleia*. Most probably, Luke is not speaking only of the truth of historical facts, but also of the belief to which this truth would naturally lead. He has in mind the general anthropological conditions which relate to knowledge and historical experience and provide a basis for one's Christian faith decision (Glöckner 1975: 38–41). Perhaps "reliability" is a better translation of *asphaleia*. Luke wants to provide for Theophilus a reliable account of what Jesus did and taught and of how this was continued in the early Church (cf. Acts 1:1).

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THEOPHORIC NAMES. See NAMES, THEOPHORIC.

THEORIES OF TRANSLATION. Any discussion of theories of Bible translating must reckon with the fact that most translations are not accompanied by any explicit statement of the theory or principles involved in the production of the text. As a result, only by analyzing the text can one ascertain the implicit principles. Even when a text does include a statement concerning translation principles, a study of the text often reveals that quite different considerations must have significantly influenced the work of the translators.

In general, the introductions or explanations of the nature of a Bible translation contain not a statement of an underlying theory, but a set of principles which are usually very little more than "rules of thumb." Even when theories of translation are mentioned, they are usually not related to such communicative disciplines as philology, information theory, communication theory, psychology, linguistics, or semiotics, but primarily to matters of text and exegesis explained as corollaries of a theology of revelation and inspiration.

The various theories, either implicit or explicit, which have influenced Bible translating run the entire gamut from the most literal word-for-word renderings to the most paraphrastic interpretative amplifications. Note for example, the Concordant Version (1926) of Eph 2:1–2:

> And you, being dead to your offences and sins, in which once you walked, in accord with the eon of this world, in accord with the chief of the jurisdiction of the air, the spirit now operating in the sons of stubbornness.

And the Amplified New Testament (1958):

> And you [He made alive], when you were dead (slain) by [your] trespasses and sins in which at one time you walked [habitually]. You were following the course *and* fashion of this world [were under the sway of the tendency of this present age], following the prince of the power of the air. [You were obedient to and under the control of] the [demon] spirit that still constantly works in the sons of disobedience [the careless, the rebellious and the unbelieving, who go against the purpose of God].

One might suspect that the various gradations of literalism and freedom in translating would reflect a theological continuum of conservative to liberal, but that is not the case. Some theologically conservative persons are particularly anxious to have strictly literal translations, while many other conservatives are delighted with the highly paraphrastic Living Bible. Conversely, people of theologically liberal persuasion are often pleased with free translations which seem to be more meaningful, but others of this same theological orientation insist on literal translations, since they appear to communicate more of the aesthetic mystery of religious experience.

A brief review of some of the highlights in the history of Bible translating may help in understanding the great diversities in theories and principles used by translators and something of the present situation in which there are so many different translations, especially in English, reflecting so many different points of view.

The most significant of the ancient OT translations is the LXX, which according to tradition was translated by 72 elders for the use of the Greek-speaking Jews in Egypt. In reality, of course, this translation was not done by 72 elders who produced identical texts, but was produced during the 3d and 2d centuries B.C. by a number of different translators employing quite different principles. In some cases, the Greek is painfully literal and awkward, and in other places quite paraphrastic and interpretative. This was, of course, the OT used primarily by early Christians and quoted more in the NT than the Hebrew text itself. Many Jews, however, were not satisfied with the LXX translation and so Aquila produced an extremely literal translation. This text hardly makes sense in Greek, but is extremely valuable to textual scholars who try to reconstruct its underlying Hebrew text.

Early Latin translations of the LXX and of Greek texts of the NT were for the most part quite literal. As such they were not in accordance with principles of translation which had been proposed by various Roman authors, particularly Cicero, who made a number of meaningful comments on the necessity of producing intelligible and acceptable translations. Because of the unsatisfactory nature of the early Latin translations, Jerome was commissioned by Pope Damasus toward the end of the 4th century to produce a new translation based on the best existing Greek and Hebrew mss. His translation was in a sense quite revolutionary, for it was in the popular form of the Latin language, and as a result his text was known as the *Vulgata*. As with any daring attempt to put the Scriptures into meaningful form, there was a strong reaction against the Vulgate New Testament and only the prestige of Pope Damasus rescued the text and Jerome from serious condemnation.

During the Middle Ages, whatever translations were produced in the Western world tended to be quite literal and were greatly influenced by the Vulgate. But finally at the time of the Reformation Martin Luther produced a meaningful translation of the Bible in German and explained in a remarkable way his fundamental principles of translation in a document entitled *Sendbrief zum Dolmetschen* (1530). The German translation by Luther influenced a great many other translations made during the time of the Reformation and was particularly significant in a number of different translations made into English.

The most important translation in English was the King James Version, which was not designed to be an entirely new text, but to contain the best of existing translations. In view, however, of its extraordinary sensitivity to style, the KJV became widely used and constituted both a base and a model for many translations produced by 19th-century missionaries in different parts of the world.

There is an assumption that there was little or no translating into English between the time of the KJV (1611) and the Revised Standard Version (1953). In reality, however, some 500 different translations of at least one full book (not including translations made in connection with commentaries) were published in English. These translations ranged from very literal to excessively free. During this time, however, some translations were particularly important. One of these was John Wesley's New Testament (1755), which in many respects was ahead of its time, both in the level of language and exegesis. But the person who directly and indirectly influenced Bible translating most during the 19th century was George Campbell, who in 1789 published a translation of the Gospels with an introduction of some 700 pages outlining in detail the principles which should govern the translation of the Scriptures. His book, however, was not as influential as a book published by Alexander Fraser Tytler, who clearly plagiarized Campbell's statement of principles and in 1790 published an *Essay on the Principles of Translation*. Tytler's book was reprinted many times and frequently quoted by those involved in a study of principles and procedures in translating.

Toward the end of the 19th century there was a widespread reaction against the principles of freedom in translating the Scriptures. In certain respects this same tendency greatly influenced translations of secular literature. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Revised Version (1881) made in England and the corresponding American Standard Version (1901) favored quite literal renderings. In many respects the exegesis was more accurate and the textual basis more scientific, but the results were stylistically awkward and neither of these texts obtained wide acceptance.

Prior to World War II, the two most important translations, which were to influence considerably the theory of Bible translation into English, as well as in other languages, were *The Bible: A New Translation* by James Moffatt (1922) and *The Bible: An American Translation* by Smith and Goodspeed (1935). Particularly important was a book by Goodspeed titled *Problems of New Testament Translation* (1945), for

in this volume Goodspeed enunciated clearly and effectively the requirements for translation which would be intelligible in terms of content and acceptable in terms of style. Goodspeed was also important in early discussions concerning what later became the RSV (1953). The translations of Moffatt and Goodspeed were both freer than the RSV, which took as its base the KJV and the RV of 1881 and 1901.

Since World War II, there has been an explosion in the number and variety of Bible translations, not only in English but in numerous European languages and in hundreds of languages and dialects throughout the world. These have ranged from the traditional and literal New American Standard Bible (1960) to the highly literary and relatively free translation of the New English Bible (1970). The New International Version (1978) is a kind of hybrid as far as the theory of translation is concerned. In a number of passages it aims at clarity of statement, and hence uses present-day language, but in passages which are well known by the conservative constituency there is a tendency to revert to traditional terminology, even when it is quite misleading. For example, in Psalm 1:1 "the counsel of the wicked" is likely to be heard as "the council of the wicked" and "stand in the way of sinners" means in present-day English "to prevent sinners from doing or going some place," while in reality the Hebrew refers to "close association with sinners."

Since 1945, considerable attention in translation theory has been given to the production of texts which would be especially meaningful to particular constituencies. J. B. Phillips (1947) produced *Letters to Young Churches* as a way of capturing the attention of young people who could not understand or appreciate more traditional translations, and Today's English Version (known as the Good News Bible) (1976) was published in so-called common language (the overlap between the literary and the colloquial) in order to reach out beyond the Church to a largely secular constituency. Those who have played a particularly important role in the development of present-day theory and practice of Bible translating are Eugene A. Nida and colleagues of the American Bible Society and the United Bible Societies. Translation theory and practice have been described in detail in a number of volumes (see Bibliography) and in *The Bible Translator,* published quarterly by the United Bible Societies since 1950.

The present-day approach to the problems of Bible translating has required a careful consideration of four different disciplines: philology, linguistics, communication theory, and sociosemiotics. All of these approaches to communication are valid in different respects, but all are highly significant for any full understanding of interlingual communication. Based on insights from these different disciplines, the focus of theories of Bible translation has shifted from the context of the author to the understanding of receptors. This does not mean that translators overlook the implications of the historical-cultural context of the original communication, but the correctness of a translation must be judged on how correctly present-day receptors understand the text. Intelligibility, however, is not enough; a text must also be acceptable in such matters as level of language, style, format, and marginal helps.

Special attention must be paid to different constituencies, who employ different levels of language. What is understandable to children may seem unnecessarily simplified for adults, and what may be appropriate for devotional reading or for critical study may be out of place in a liturgical setting. Moreover, one must employ quite different principles of translation depending upon the literary genre represented in diverse biblical texts, for example, lyric poetry (Psalms), didactic poetry (Job, Ecclesiastes), prophecy, laws, history, narrative, letters, and apocalyptic. Furthermore, it seems quite evident that in major languages at least three different kinds of Bible translations are probably necessary in view of the diversity of receptors and differences of use: (1) a traditional, ecclesiastical text which will reflect customary Church usage, e.g., RSV; (2) a translation in common language, such as TEV; and (3) a literary text, such as the NEB. Translations are also being prepared for those who use American Sign Language, which has syntactic and lexical features differing significantly from American English.

A number of significant developments in biblical studies and in attitudes toward communication are of increasing importance in Bible translating. In matters of text most translators are moving away from the tradition of the textus receptus and are prepared to introduce into footnotes most of the significant variants. Similarly, in the case of the OT most translators no longer follow the Masoretic Text (the standard Hebrew text) blindly, for the Qumran evidence has clearly shown the diversity of traditions lying behind the LXX. It is important to note that translators are increasingly willing to indicate the diversities of textual evidence. In some circles this change has seemed to represent an intellectual revolution.

The changes in attitudes toward exegetical matters have been even more pronounced than those involving textual evidence. Rather than attempting to go behind the Hebrew text to discover some underlying meaning, whether on the basis of literary or historical criticism, more and more translators are recognizing the legitimacy of adopting as the exegetical perspective the meaning of the text when it was evidently recognized as "Word of God" for the believing community. Though the theological bases for a more canonical approach to Scripture do vary widely, the results clearly reflect a greater concern for the meaning of the Scriptures as evidently interpreted by those who participated in the community of faith.

Concern for effective communication has forced translators to focus more on the response of receptors and to recognize that correctness of rendering can only be judged in terms of the way in which the intended audience is likely to understand a text. Translators are no longer content to think merely in terms of source, message, and receptors. They are also concerned with setting, but not just the original setting of the message, but the setting in which the translation is to be employed. How will it be used, by whom, under what circumstances, and for what purpose?

Finally, translators are becoming increasingly aware that the meanings of words and sentences cannot be defined merely by what is to be found in dictionaries and grammars. In addition to designative meanings, syntax and lexical units are filled with all kinds of associative meanings, which in many respects are more important in acceptability of the message than the designative meanings.

An old-fashioned style can signal that a text is irrelevant, and a jazzed-up, journalistic rendering of Scripture can make the text appear to be nothing but cheap propaganda. Words and idioms have far more meaning than most dictionaries suggest. There are hosts of associative meanings clinging to lexical units—those resonances of usage which are hard to define but clearly evident in people's subjective reactions to any text. In English the term *righteous* seems to be too closely connected with *self-righteous* and *sanctification* sounds too much like *sanctimonious*. Semantic contamination or infiltration, whether positive or negative, is a constant concern of any sensitive translator.

The rate of Bible translating throughout the world is greater than it has ever been in history. Translating is actually going on in well over 1,500 languages, including many languages which have only recently been reduced to writing. Major revisions, or even new translations, are also being undertaken in most major languages throughout the world. Increasingly this work of Bible translating is not being done by missionaries but by trained nationals, who under the guidance of consultants can do a much better job of translating into their own mother tongue than anyone can do in trying to render the Scriptures into a foreign language. These translations are also having a highly significant impact on the growth of churches in the Third World.

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EUGENE A. NIDA

THERAS (PLACE) [Gk *Thera*]. An alternate form of the name AHAVA (PLACE).

THESSALONIANS, FIRST AND SECOND EPISTLES TO THE.

There is little doubt that 1 Thessalonians, the 13th book in the NT canon, is an authentic letter written by the apostle Paul to the Christian community at Thessalonica in Macedonia. It is the oldest document contained in the NT. However, a growing number of scholars doubt that 2 Thessalonians, the 14th book in the NT canon, was actually written by the apostle Paul himself; rather, it appears that it was written by an unknown Paulinist who used 1 Thessalonians as a model to address a new situation in Macedonia.

1 THESSALONIANS

A. Outline and Structure

The First Epistle to the Thessalonians has three major parts. The first major part (1:1–5) is the opening, which includes a greeting and opening thanksgiving. The second major part—the body of the letter—itself can be subdivided into two sections. In the first section (through chap. 3) Paul recounts his interactions with the Thessalonian church, stressing his integrity while proclaiming the gospel among them, and his ongoing concern for them after he had moved on. In the second section (or Great Paraenesis, 4:1–5:24), Paul exhorts the Christians of Thessalonica to live in a way that pleases God, aware that Christ may return at any moment. A final greeting, adjuration, and benediction (5:25–28) constitutes the third major part of the letter.

1 Thessalonians has an unusual but effective structure. The letter opening (1:1–5) follows the normal pattern of greeting and thanksgiving, as does the letter conclusion (greetings and benediction, 5:23–28; Boers 1976: 140). Paul regularly includes in his opening thanksgivings material related to the congregation he addresses. Scholars debate whether the thanksgiving belongs to the letter opening (as above) or to the letter body, and whether 1:6–10 is part of the thanksgiving. The outline given above treats 1:6–3:13 and 4:1–5:24 as the major units of the letter body. Boers (1976) argues that the intermediate thanksgiving (2:13–16), an unusual unit in the center of a section, is an interpolation. He divides the letter body into thanksgiving (1:2–10), apostolic apology (2:1–12), apostolic parousia (2:17–3:12), and exhortation (4:1–5:22).

B. Authorship, Literary Form, and Genre

1 Thessalonians names Paul, Silvanus, and Timothy as its writers (1:1). Though the letter is written in the first person plural throughout, Paul's viewpoint is consistently preeminent (cf. 2:1–11: the character of the initial preaching and manual labor; 2:18: Paul's desire to visit; 3:1: Paul alone in Athens). There is nothing to suggest that either Silvanus or Timothy participated in the writing. Scholars universally affirm that Paul is the actual writer of the letter.

Ancient epistolary theorists talk about both letter style and letter types (Malherbe 1988: 12–15, with ancient texts). 1 Thessalonians is an authentic letter, not a technical treatise, giving a real communication. Its subsections correspond to various letter types (1:2–10: friendly; 2:1–12: apologetic), but Malherbe (1988) has argued convincingly that the entire letter uses hortatory motifs and techniques and falls into the "admonishing letter" type (Pseudo-Demetrius *Epistolary Types* 7) or the "encouraging letter" (Pseudo-Libanius *Epistolary Styles* 83). Using ancient rhetoric as a guide, Kennedy (1984: 142) identifies 1 Thessalonians as a deliberative letter, a rhetorical analysis close to Malherbe's letter-style identification in spirit, but Jewett (1986: 71–78) characterizes 1 Thessalonians as an epideictic text and provides an outline based on the rhetorical analysis of an oration.

C. Origins and Social Setting

Thessalonica was the capital of the Roman province Macedonia. It was essentially a Greek city with early devotion to the cult of the Roman emperor. Acts 17:1–9 narrates Paul's initial missionary activity in Thessalonica. Paul travels there from Philippi along the Via Egnatia through Amphipolis and Apollonia. Paul preached Jesus as the Anointed One *(christos)* for three Sabbaths in the syna-

gogue. His success among the non-Jewish worshipers of God stirred up opposition among the Jews, who accused him of anti-Roman propaganda to the politarchs (chief officials in the administration). Lüdemann (1989: 185–88) argues that the preaching in the synagogue (Acts 17:2–3), the conversion of some Jews (17:4), and the rebellion of others (17:5–9) are all part of the Lukan redaction and are not historical. On the other hand, the travel itinerary of Acts, the conversion of Greeks, and the trial of Jason rest on good historical tradition.

Some data in 1 Thessalonians agree with the Acts narrative. 1 Thess 2:2 refers to Paul's initial preaching occurring after mistreatment in Philippi. But nothing in the letter suggests a Jewish element in the congregation. 1 Thess 2:14 (if authentic) implies that the church was wholly, or at least largely, non-Jewish in composition. The only mention of Jews in 1 Thessalonians (2:14–16) refers to the Jews who "killed Jesus and the prophets, persecuted us, do not please God, and are opposed to all people," clearly non-Christian Jews in Palestine and Jerusalem. The description of the initial proclamation (1:9–10), the advice about life in the city (4:10–12), the eschatological message (4:13–5:11), and the paraenesis about life inside the church (5:12–22) fit well into a Greek city (Malherbe 1987; Krentz 1988). The new congregation in Philippi sent Paul money twice (Phil 4:16) while he was at Thessalonica, which implies a longer stay than the two weeks of Acts 17:2. Other than that, Paul did some form of work to support himself (1 Thess 2:9) while in Thessalonica.

After leaving Thessalonica Paul came to Athens. Unable to revisit the Thessalonians, he sent Timothy north to get information about the conditions in the congregation (3:1–2) and to solidify them by exhortation to remain firm in persecution (3:2–3). Timothy's return with good news about their fidelity and their warm friendship for Paul occasioned the letter. Paul does not write to combat a theological aberration in the church at Thessalonica. There is none. His purpose is to strengthen the congregation by reminding them of his initial proclamation and by reinforcing the exhortation he had given them on the founding visit (4:1–2).

Recently scholars have stressed different aspects of Thessalonian history and culture as the social setting in which to place Paul's thought in 1 Thessalonians. Malherbe (1987) argues that the role of the philosophic teachers of ethics, especially as portrayed by Dio Chrysostom, illuminates Paul's self-description in 2:1–12 and the paraenesis in 4:1–12. Donfried (1985) stresses the significance of the cults of Dionysus and Cabirus for understanding Paul's discussion of sexual morality (4:1–9) and the civic cults for understanding the unique eschatology in 4:13–18 and the affliction present there. Jewett (1986) using the categories of modern sociology, interprets the Thessalonians as members of a millennial cult which Paul must fight. Krentz (1988) more generally calls attention to the character of a Greek polis as the matrix for interpretation. We still await a definitive answer.

D. Authenticity and Integrity

Though scholars accept the Pauline authorship of 1 Thessalonians, in spite of attacks on its authenticity by K. Schrader and the school of F. C. Baur in the 19th century, some question its integrity or regard two paragraphs, 2:13–16 and 5:1–11, as interpolations. Collins (1984: 96–135) summarizes the recent, inconclusive discussion.

Pearson (1971) identifies 2:13–16 as an interpolation because the paragraph interrupts the argument, introduces an unnecessary thanksgiving at an inappropriate location in the letter, contradicts Paul's hope for the Jews in Rom 11:25–32, and reflects a situation of persecution after A.D. 70. In evaluating his arguments, Davies (1977: 6–9) concludes that Paul was still working out his view of non-Christian Judaism. Donfried (1984) points out that 2:13–16 does not interrupt the argument, but takes up the themes of imitation and affliction announced in 1:6–9. Gilliard (1989) suggested a new solution: Paul only condemns the Jews doing the specific acts named in the restrictive participial modifiers in 2:15–16. He does not condemn all Jews. The rejection of 5:1–11 as an interpolation by a writer of the Lukan school who sought to correct false inferences drawn from 4:13–18 was proposed by Friedrich (1973). He based his opinion on the presence of traditional motifs of early Christian paraenesis and vocabulary not common in Paul. His suggestion has not won general acceptance (see Rigaux 1975).

Theories suggesting the combination of two or more authentic letters were offered by Eckart (1961), Schmithals (1964), and Demke (1973), among others. Differing from one another in general and detail, they have not gained general approval. Kümmel (1962) subjected Eckart's proposal to detailed analysis, while Collins (1984: 106–9, 114–35) and Marshall (*1–2 Thessalonians* NCBC, 13–16) critique the major proposals.

E. Historical Significance

1 Thessalonians is the oldest document in the NT. It offers the earliest direct insight into the early Christian mission and the life of an early, fundamentally non-Jewish-Christian church. It also contains the oldest summary of Paul's missionary proclamation to a non-Jewish community (1:9–10). Paul called the Thessalonians to turn away from the worship of images of gods to believe in and serve a God who is alive and authentic. Paul stresses that the gospel is the gospel about this God (the "word about God," 2:13; the "gospel about God," 2:2, 8, 9), who has demonstrated that he is authentic and alive by raising Jesus from the dead.

Paul's earliest proclamation also included exhortation about a lifestyle that corresponded to this call to faith (4:1–2). He had handed on to the Thessalonians "how they were to live and please God" (4:2). The standard of action and judgment is "the will of God" (4:3). Disregard the brother in sexual misconduct and God will carry out the judgment against the transgressor (*ekdikos*, 4:6), since misconduct "disregards the God who gave the Holy Spirit" (4:8). Thessalonians are "taught by God" (a single Greek word, unique in the NT, 4:9) to love one another. Because God has destined them for the possession of salvation, they are to exhort one another (5:9–11). Paraenesis is oriented to God, not the Spirit or Christ. Indeed, the Spirit is almost absent from this letter, and baptism and the Lord's Supper are not mentioned.

Paul also uses early traditional christological formulas. Havener (1981) identifies three christological passages:

1:10, 4:14, and 5:9–10. The first mentions Jesus' resurrection by God, but not his death, and stresses his rescue of the Thessalonians from future wrath. The second (4:14) states that the Thessalonians believe that Christ died and rose as the basis for their certainty of the future resurrection, while 5:9–10 states that the formula "who died on our behalf" is the basis for the conviction about future salvation (Rigaux 1975). Paul makes no use of Jesus' death in this letter. He stresses that the resurrection made him the Lord who will come as deliverer (1:10; 4:13–17). 1 Thessalonians uses *parousia* (the technical term for the arrival of a ruler) to describe Jesus' coming as Lord, the future deliverer, more than any other Pauline letter. The language is borrowed from the ANE ruler cult to proclaim Jesus as Lord.

Some language and modes of argumentation frequent in the later letters are totally absent. There is no use of the OT or any reference to any of the great OT figures (Abraham, Moses, David, the prophets), any great events in Israel's history (Exodus, kingship, Exile), or any of its cultic institutions (temple, priesthood, sacrifice). There is no reference to the Torah and, consequently, no language of justification. Paul does not refer to baptism or the Lord's Supper. There is no developed description of the Church as the body of Christ or the Israel of God. Christians are not described as living "in Christ" or "by the Spirit." Paul's theological and linguistic resources in this letter differ from the later ones. That does not mean his thought is impoverished; it is simply different, fitted to the church he addresses.

The Thessalonian church has only informal leadership (5:12). There is no trace of any clerical office. Thessalonians are encouraged to support one another by admonishing, encouraging, and enduring one another (4:14). Even their worship appears unstructured. 1 Thess 5:16–22 suggests common prayer. Spirit-filled prophecy (5:19–20), which is encouraged, must be put to the practical test of whether it leads to good or not. The Thessalonian church still lives in the spontaneous joy (1:6; 5:16) that does not require ecclesial structure to endure.

1 Thessalonians, so far as we know, is the first Christian letter. It sets the pattern for Christian letter writing that goes beyond the NT into the life of the early Church (the Apostolic Fathers). Koester (1980) calls it an "experiment in Christian writing" that influenced the subsequent Church.

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2 THESSALONIANS

A. Outline and Structure
B. Origin of the Letter
   1. Historical Situation Presumed
   2. Theories Assuming Authenticity
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A. Outline and Structure

Like 1 Thessalonians, 2 Thessalonians has three major parts. The first major part (1:1–2) is the opening greeting. The second major part—the body of the letter (1:3–3:16)—itself can be subdivided into three sections. The first section (through chap. 1) is a prayer of thanksgiving for the steadfast faith of the church at Thessalonica. In the second section (2:1–3:5) the writer addresses the problem confronting the church: the excitement over the supposed revelation of the imminent Parousia (return) of Christ. The third section (3:6–16) addresses the issue of lifestyle: the Christians are encouraged not to fall into disorderliness and idleness but rather to follow the example of Paul, who worked while he lived and preached among the Thessalonians. The third major part of the letter is the closing (3:17–18).

2 Thessalonians resembles 1 Thessalonians in structure

and content (Milligan 1908: lxxxi–lxxxii). Bailey (1978: 133) represents this similarity in a brief table:

	2 Thessalonians	1 Thessalonians
A. Letter opening	1:1–12	1:1–10
1. Prescript	1:1–2	1:1
2. Thanksgiving	1:3–12	1:2–10
B. Letter body	2:1–16	2:1–3:13
1. Thanksgiving in the middle	2:13	2:13
2. Benediction at the end	2:16	3:11–13
C. Letter close	3:1–18	4:1–5:28
1. *Paraenesis*	3:1–15	4:1–5:22
2. Peace wish	3:16	5:23–24
3. Greetings	3:17	5:26
4. Benediction	3:18	5:28

The salutation in the two letters is almost identical, describing the recipients as "the church of the Thessalonians," naming the inhabitants rather than the city, as Paul does elsewhere (1 Thess 1:1; 2 Thess 1:1). Both letters begin with a long thanksgiving. Both also have thanksgivings for the Thessalonians in the middle of the letter body (Krodel [1978: 77] speaks of "two thanksgivings"), a feature found in no other Pauline letter. The letter body in each closes with a request to God expressed by a volitive optative (each uses the optative verb form *sterixai* and the phrase *hymon tas kardias* as direct object, a combination found nowhere else in Paul). Each letter concludes the paraenetic section with a request that the "God [Lord] of peace" do something (1 Thess 5:23–24; 2 Thess 3:16). Both include petitions that use the verb *kateuthynai* (though in different contexts, 1 Thess 3:11; 2 Thess 3:16), found nowhere else in Paul. Both letters describe the situation of the Thessalonians in the context of the opening thanksgiving (1 Thess 1:6–19; 2 Thess 1:4–6). Their structure, as Bailey makes clear, is similar.

Neither letter identifies Paul as an apostle in the prescript. Both letters describe Paul's manual labor in Thessalonica in similar wording (1 Thess 2:9; 2 Thess 3:8) and urge the Thessalonians to imitate him in doing manual labor (1 Thess 4:11; 2 Thess 3:12) in quietness or tranquillity *(hēsychia)*. They use the same form of appeal *(erōtōmen [de] hymas,* 1 Thess 4:1; 2 Thess 2:1), a locution that occurs elsewhere in Paul's letters only in Phil 4:3. Both have extensive sections dealing with matters of eschatology (1 Thess 4:13–5:11; 2 Thess 1:6–2:12), though the one in 2 Thessalonians appears in the opening thanksgiving and forms the body of the letter, while the one in 1 Thessalonians occurs in the paraenesis. Both letters use motifs and expressions that do not occur elsewhere in Paul.

Rhetorical criticism is a recent development in the study of 2 Thessalonians. Scholars agree that 2 Thessalonians belongs to the deliberative genre of rhetoric. Holland (1988: 6, a revision of his 1986 dissertation) states that its constituent elements are exhortation and dissuasion. The author exhorts his readers to "obey the Pauline tradition" and dissuades them from "heeding the false proclamation that 'the Day of the Lord is here' (2:1–2)." Jewett (1986: 82, referring to Holland's dissertation) argues that Paul seeks to persuade the Thessalonians "to take some action in the future" that relates to their "self-interest and future benefits," in this case "a reassessment of the eschatological expectation and a stiffened policy toward the 'disorderly.' " Hughes (1989: 73–74, a revision of his 1984 dissertation) supports this genre identification by comparing 2 Thessalonians to Demosthenes' *Epistle* 1 in structure and topics treated; its goal is "to refute those who say, 'whether by spirit or *logos* or a letter as from us, that the Day of the Lord has already come.' "

They all analyze the letter into the five constituent parts of an oration (bounded by an epistolary prescript and postscript): exordium, narratio (or partitio), probatio, exhortatio, and peroratio (see RHETORIC AND RHETORICAL CRITICISM), but their identification of these sections in the letter differs. Their rhetorical analysis leads to differing statements of the goal of the letter because they identify the narratio (or partitio, the statement of the theme) differently. Jewett places 3:1–5 into the probatio (or proof by argument), while Holland and Hughes both regard it as part of the exhortatio. Hughes places the peroratio *before* the exhortatio because he does not regard it as a constituent part of deliberative oratory, but a contribution of ancient letter theory (1989: 63).

Rhetorical Analysis of 2 Thessalonians

Rhetorical section	Holland (1988: 8–33)	Jewett (1986: 82–85)	Hughes (1989: 68–73)
Exordium	1:3–4	1:1–12	1:1–12
Narratio (partitio)	1:5–12	2:1–2	2:1–2
Probatio	2:1–17	2:3–3:5	2:3–15
Exhortatio	3:1–13	3:6–15	3:1–15
Peroratio	3:14–16	3:16–18	2:16–17

B. Origin of the Letter

1. Historical Situation Presumed. The contents and historical situation presupposed in 1 Thessalonians influence all decisions about the origins of 2 Thessalonians. 2 Thessalonians claims the same authors as 1 Thessalonians: Paul, Silvanus, and Timothy (2 Thess 1:1; 1 Thess 1:1). However, Paul himself is the major figure, as is clear from 2 Thess 3:7–10 (the same is true in 1 Thessalonians, as 2:17–3:10 makes clear). "Improper and evil people" are impeding Paul's (their?) missionary work (2 Thess 3:1–2). However, the letter gives no additional information about Paul's situation, present location, or future plans. The only additional detail the letter provides is a reference to the signature in Paul's own hand in the letter conclusion, "which is a sign in every letter; that is the way I write" (2 Thess 3:17). 1 Cor 16:21, Gal 5:11, and Philemon 19 also refer to Paul's own handwriting in the letter conclusion; however, they do not identify it as a mark of authenticity.

The letter addresses the Thessalonians, who are undergoing severe persecution (2 Thess 1:4, 6–7). 2 Thessalonians does not name the persecutors or identify them ethnically (contrary to 1 Thess 2:14–17, which identifies the oppressors as "members of the same tribe" *[symphyletōn]*). They are simply identified as "those who do not know God and do not obey the gospel" (2 Thess 1:8; cf.

2:12). That persecution dominates the letter, which is essentially a one-theme document. The Thessalonians expect the Parousia of Jesus to occur very soon on the basis of Christian prophetic teaching (cf. 2:2; *dia pneumatos*), a theological argument *(logos)*, or a letter claiming Pauline authorship (2 Thess 2:2). The letter does not indicate how the writer obtained information about the situation in Thessalonica. There is reference to earlier eschatological teaching (2 Thess 2:5) and instruction in living (2 Thess 3:6, 10). The historical situation is vague.

Collins (1988: 223–24) points out that it is the "necessary proximity of the composition of 2 Thessalonians to 1 Thessalonians in the event of Pauline authorship of both letters which constitutes the problem of 2 Thess 2:2." Collins' analysis can be generalized. Any historical reconstruction of the origin of the two letters must account for the linguistic and structural similarity of the two letters if written in a brief time span, while also recognizing the differences in historical situation, in eschatological outlook, and in their christology and soteriology.

2. Theories Assuming Authenticity. Until the end of the 18th century readers assumed the Pauline authorship of 2 Thessalonians. Attestation of the letter is early and as strong as for other Pauline letters. Pol. *Phil* 11:3 refers to 2 Thess 1:4 and Pol. 11:4 apparently refers to 2 Thess 3:15. The Muratorian Canon lists it among the Pauline letters. It was cited by Justin Martyr (*Dial.* 110), the Epistle of Vienne and Lyons (Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* 5.1), Irenaeus (*Haer.* 3.7.2), and Tertullian (*de Res. Carnis* 24). Although Chester Beatty Papyrus 2 (P^{46}) does not include any of 2 Thessalonians, possibly because of its fragmentary preservation, Codex Sinaiticus, Codex Vaticanus, and Codex Alexandrinus, the earliest uncials, do. While most contemporary scholars no longer argue for Pauline authorship, those who do account for Paul's authorship in one of three ways.

a. Interpretations Assuming the Priority of 1 Thessalonians. Marshall (1983: 24–25) argues that the situation in 2 Thessalonians is easily accounted for as a development of the situation in 1 Thessalonians. 1 Thess 2:14–16 shows that intense persecution was already present. 2 Thessalonians reflects the growth of the opposition. The expectation of the Parousia in 1 Thess 4:13–18 could easily lead to seeing signs of the end of the world, while 1 Thessalonians also suggests that some members of the church "were living in idleness." The situation could develop quite rapidly. He also argues that "purporting to be from us" (*hōs di hēmōn*, 2 Thess 2:2) is not a reference to a spurious letter, but a phrase modifying all three items mentioned before; it refers to "whether the message attributed to Paul was a faithful representation of his teaching" (1983: 187), and that 2 Thess 3:17, the "mark" of Paul's own handwriting, is not designed to distinguish this letter from a spurious letter of Paul in circulation at Thessalonica, but to underline "the importance of the contents in each of his letters" (pp. 231–32).

Best (1972: 56–59) and Bruce (*Thessalonians* WBC) both support this position, though a bit more hesitantly than Marshall. Jewett (1986: 3–18) surveys the arguments against authenticity to conclude that the evidence is equivocal, but tilts in favor of authenticity. He accounts for the differences in emphasis by constructing a millenarian model of Thessalonian Christianity that would account for the misunderstanding of Paul's first letter that led to the situation described in 2 Thessalonians (1986: 161–92).

b. Inverted Order Solutions. Manson (1952–53: 268–78) brought back into the modern discussion a theory first proposed by H. Grotius, namely that Paul wrote 2 Thessalonians before 1 Thessalonians. Manson argued that the troubles in Thessalonica are present in 2 Thessalonians, but past in 1 Thessalonians (pp. 269–72); that the internal difficulties in 2 Thess 3:11–12 are a new development, but completely familiar to all in 1 Thessalonians (pp. 272–73); that the emphasis on the autograph close (2 Thess 3:17) is "pointless except in a first letter" (pp. 273–74); that the statement in 1 Thess 5:1 (that the Thessalonians do not need instruction about the times and seasons) is to the point if 2 Thessalonians 2 is already known; and that 1 Thess 4:9–5:11 introduces three didactic sections with the formula "Now concerning . . . ," where Paul must be replying point by point to questions raised by the Thessalonians, either by letter or through Timothy. As Marshall (1983: 26) comments, this "interesting theory has failed to gain support."

c. Different Recipients. The same is true of theories that Paul wrote 1 Thessalonians and 2 Thessalonians to different audiences in the Thessalonian church. Harnack proposed that 1 Thessalonians went to the gentile Christians, 2 Thessalonians to the Jewish Christians (cf. Best 1972: 38–39), while Dibelius (1937: 57–58) held that Paul wrote to different circles at Thessalonica, tentatively suggesting that 1 Thessalonians went to the community leaders while 2 Thessalonians was intended for liturgical reading. All such theories founder on lack of textual evidence for such partial audiences inside the Thessalonian church (see Marshall 1983: 26–27).

3. Theories Assuming Pseudonymous Authorship. Scholars in growing numbers argue against Pauline authorship in favor of authorship by an unknown Paulinist who used 1 Thessalonians as a model to meet a new situation in Macedonia.

a. History of Scholarship. J. E. C. Schmidt first proposed pseudonymous authorship in 1798 (Trilling 1972: 13, with reprint of the key pages of Schmidt's work, 1972: 159–61). He challenged the authenticity of 2 Thess 2:1–12 on the basis of its eschatology. In 1892 Holtzmann (pp. 213–16) summed up the arguments against authenticity after 90 years of scholarship: no anti-Jewish polemic as in the authentic Pauline letters; non-Pauline form of the language; basically an expansive repetition of parallels from the first letter; no OT citations. Wrede (1903) introduced a new stage into the research by providing evidence for the literary dependence of 2 Thessalonians on 1 Thessalonians in language, order of motifs, and structure. He formulated the questions that dominated scholarship down to 1972 (see Jewett 1986: 35ff.; Collins 1988: 212–13), even though the majority of scholars still held to Pauline authorship. Trilling's *Untersuchungen* (1972) ushered in the third stage of discussion, in which more and more scholars incline to pseudonymous authorship, e.g., Bailey (1978), Krodel (1978), Lindemann (1977), Collins (1988), Holland (1988), and Hughes (1989). Trilling supported his historical reconstruction in his 1980 commen-

tary. Krodel and Collins provide convenient summaries of the cumulated argumentation.

b. Linguistic-Literary Evidence. (1) Vocabulary. Vocabulary statistics are deceptive. Of the ten hapax legomena in 2 Thessalonians five occur in the LXX; the other five are not unusual (Milligan 1908: liii). Bornemann (1894: 471) suggests that the vocabulary of 2 Thessalonians is close to that of Luke–Acts, a suggestion supported by an examination of the eleven words that are Pauline hapax legomena in 2 Thessalonians but occur elsewhere in the NT, and the five that occur only in the Deutero-Pauline Ephesians and Pastoral Epistles. There are also a series of Pauline terms that are completely absent from 2 Thessalonians: *agapētos, aiōn, hamartia, an, anēr, apothnēskō, apostolos, ginōskō, gnō rizō, egeirō, egō, ethnos, zēteō, kalos, keryssō, laleō, mallon, men, nekros, polys, syn, sōma, teknon, tis.* The particles and prepositions are especially important. *Thessalonikeus* (1 Thess 1:1; 2 Thess 1:1) and *euthynō* (1 Thess 3:11; 2 Thess 3:5) are the only terms that occur in both Thessalonian letters, but nowhere else in Paul. The former is striking, because it is the only time Paul uses the term for the inhabitants of a city rather than the city name. Such word statistics allow no firm conclusions.

2 Thessalonians uses a number of terms in a sense unusual for Paul. Gk *thlipsis* ("suffering") is viewed as the basis for the retribution of the persecutors in 2 Thess 1:4–6, but as confirmation of the Thessalonians' election in 1 Thess 1:6–10. Paul regards the *basileia tou theou* as present in Rom 17:17, 1 Cor 4:20 and 1 Thess 2:12, but future in 2 Thess 1:5. (Paul does regard it as future in the phrase "inherit the kingdom," 1 Cor 6:9, 10; 15:50; Gal 5:21.) 2 Thess 1:7 uses *apokalypsis* of Jesus' Parousia (cf. 1 Cor 1:7), while elsewhere Paul uses it of the wrath of God (Rom 2:5), of some specific item of information (1 Cor 14:6, 20; Gal 1:12; 2:2), or of mystical experience (2 Cor 12:1, 7). Gk *klēsis* has a future orientation in 2 Thess 1:11 (without any tie to baptism), while 1 Thess 4:7 uses it of Christian life in the world. Paul usually relates "calling" to baptism (Gal 1:6, 15; 5:13; 1 Cor 1:26; 7:20).

Unusual turns of phrase are more significant. Frame (1912: 32–34) presents an extensive list of such phrases and turns of thought in 2 Thessalonians, which Trilling (1972: 49–50; cf. Rigaux 1956: 85–87) presents in a convenient format. While Frame claims that the apocalyptic subject matter accounts for many of them, Trilling more persuasively claims that recurring features of style in 2 Thessalonians better account for them: figures of speech, recurrent parallelism (see Trilling 1972: 52–53), and frequent plerophory.

(2) Literary Style. 2 Thessalonians has a distinctive style for such a short letter. On the one hand, it betrays few of the characteristic stylistic features of the authentic Pauline letters described by Weiss (1897: 5): individual, short sentences, rarely formed into periods, even when clauses are introduced by *hoti, hina, hopōs, hōste, etc.*; asyndetic clauses or clauses joined by the copula or antithetical or comparative particles; frequent appositions; infrequent genitive absolutes. In short, this is the style of the Cynic-Stoic diatribe. Such style uses much figurative language drawn from daily life, with frequent address to the readers.

2 Thessalonians is different. Some things characteristic of Paul's style are missing. There are no parenthetic expressions, no play on prepositions (cf. Gal 1:11, 12; Rom 11:36), and no initial or end rhyme (except for the one possibility in 2 Thess 2:17). Rigaux (1956: 90) gives an extensive list of pictorial language drawn from daily life in 1 Thessalonians, but finds only two examples of pictorial language in 2 Thessalonians: "rest" in 1:6 and the Word of the Lord "running" in 3:2, a sure indication of nonauthenticity for Trilling (1972: 56). The sentence structure is different. 2 Thessalonians has long sentences (1:3–12; 2:5–12; 3:7–9), formed of elements joined like links in a chain ("kettenartige Verknüpfung," von Dobschütz 1909: 42). 2 Thessalonians frequently repeats terms or expressions in identical form or a slight variant, a mark of the letter's "poverty of expression." Trilling (1972: 62–63) gives a long list that demonstrates this as a distinctive mark of style of 2 Thessalonians. This pleonastic style also led to the frequent use of parallelism, in 2 Thessalonians most frequently synonymous, more rarely synthetic, almost never antithetical. Trilling (1972: 52–53) gives a long list of such passages. Krodel (1978: 82–83) translates part of the list into English and comments that these parallelisms are "all the more important when we recognize their sparsity in 1 Thessalonians." Weiss (1897: 12–13) points out that Paul himself most frequently used antithetical parallelism, a basic element of his theological thought.

Rigaux (1956: 89) called attention to Paul's development of thought by triadic groupings in 1 Thessalonians. He identified sixteen such triads. But 2 Thessalonians has only one such triad (2 Thess 2:9). This is striking in view of 2 Thessalonians' tendency to pleonasm, fullness of expression, seen in compound verbs when the simplex would do (2 Thess 1:3, 4, 5, 10), in the frequent use of *pas, pantes, en panti tropō*, the use of substantive chains, and the use of hendiadys (2 Thess 2:4, 17; 3:8, 12; Trilling 1972: 58–60). A comparison of the paraenetic sections of the Thessalonians letters makes this clear. 1 Thess 4:4–10; 5:1–11 are formed of short sentences, while 5:14–22 is a series of short, asyndetic imperatives. 2 Thessalonians is different: there are only two short sentences in its paraenesis (2 Thess 3:2b, 17) and four paraenetic imperatives (2 Thess 2:15; 3:13, 14).

(3) Verbal Similarity. Bornemann (1894: 473) already pointed out that the similarity of 1 and 2 Thessalonians went far beyond structure to include "sequence of thought, clauses, turns of phrase and expressions." Wrede (1903: 3–36) provided massive documentation by presenting the parallels in tabular form, by showing that every paragraph in 2 Thessalonians has a conceptually related section in 2 Thessalonians. He demonstrates that these significant parallels occur in the same order in both letters. (Many of the linguistic similarities are listed in the paragraphs above.) They are not dependent on a specific historical situation in the congregation addressed. Wrede finally concludes in an impassioned paragraph (pp. 29–30) that the coincidence of memory or historical situation is not adequate to explain the similarity.

(4) Lack of Personal Warmth. Commentators point to the striking difference in tone between 1 and 2 Thessalonians. 1 Thessalonians is written with warmth. Paul's affection for his readers is clear. He recalls their reception of the gospel in a time of great pressure (1 Thess 1:6) and their open announcement of the gospel to others (1 Thess

1:8) so that their faith was known throughout Achaia as well as Macedonia. When separated from them, he felt the loss, repeatedly striving (in vain) to visit them (1 Thess 2:17–18). His affection for them led him to send Timothy N from Athens so that he was bereft of companionship there (1 Thess 3:1–2). And when Timothy returned with the good news of their fidelity in faith and their enduring affection for him, Paul becomes lyrical in his joy (1 Thess 3:7–10). The tone of 2 Thessalonians is quite different. Bornemann (1894: 468; cf. Trilling 1972: 63) spoke of the letter's consistent impersonal, official tone, closer to prophetic speech than to a true letter. For example, in both thanksgivings 2 Thessalonians uses *opheilomen* with *eucharistein* ("we ought to give thanks," 2 Thess 1:3; 2:13). The opening thanksgiving is impersonal in tone. While *adelphoi* ("brothers") is found eighteen times in 1 Thessalonians, it occurs in 2 Thessalonians "only when it is part of a structural formula or when it is taken over from 1 Thessalonians" (2 Thess 1:3; 2:1, 13, 15; 3:1, 6, 13; Collins 1988: 222). 2 Thess 3:6 introduces the paraenesis with the verb "we order" (*paraggelomen*, cf. 3:4, 10, 12), not "we beseech" (*parakaloumen*), as in 1 Thess 4:1 (cf. 4:10; 5:11, 14). The relationship between writer and readers differs from that in 1 Thessalonians.

In short, while the structure and language of 2 Thessalonians are in many respects close to 1 Thessalonians, there are significant differences in vocabulary, rhetoric, and tone. Such differences call for explanation.

c. Theological Arguments. 2 Thessalonians introduces no new themes into the Thessalonian correspondence. But there are many differences in theological emphasis or nuance that suggest the writer differs from Paul in theological outlook and probably comes from a later age.

(1) Eschatology. 2 Thessalonians is the only Pauline letter in which eschatology is the major topic. Its eschatology, strongly apocalyptic in language and outlook (Giblin 1967), is a response to the persecution undergone by the readers (2 Thess 1:4). 2 Thessalonians exhorts the readers to fidelity and endurance by pointing out that God's justice (2 Thess 1:5) leads inevitably to the condemnation of the oppressors and the vindication of the faithful at the revelation of the Lord Jesus. Jesus will "execute vengeance on those who do not know God" (2 Thess 1:8–9), a point reinforced in 2 Thess 2:11–12. 2 Thess 2:1–12 reinforces the need to remain faithful by pointing out that a series of events must take place before the Parousia of Jesus can happen. The persecution will grow worse as the opposition develops in intensity. The "Man of Lawlessness, the son of destruction" (2 Thess 2:3) must appear first. He will be a parody of the Lord, whose Parousia, accompanied by false signs and acts of power and miracle, will deceive and lead to destruction all those who "do not receive the love of the truth in order that they might be saved" (2 Thess 2:9–10).

Paul elsewhere makes use of apocalyptic motifs and language, but without such a consistent apocalyptic schema of events. He speaks of the present age and the coming age (Gal 1:4) and sets out in 1 Cor 15:21–28 a periodization of events that lead to the resurrection of believers. In 1 Thessalonians he speaks of the Parousia of Jesus (1 Thess 2:19; 3:13; 4:15; 5:23) in a context strongly influenced by the ruler cult (*apantēsis, kyrios*), not apocalyptic. The "day of the Lord" in 1 Thess 5:2 is borrowed from prophetic, not apocalyptic, imagery. Krodel (1978: 84) points out that nowhere does Paul "use the idea of divine retribution to *comfort* believers in distress."

2 Thess 2:1–2 suggests that some of the readers expected the Parousia very soon. But Christians must be clear about the Lord's Parousia and their future gathering before him (2 Thess 2:1–2). Paul stressed the nearness of the Lord's Parousia in 1 Thess 4:15, 17; 5:1–5, while his later letters continued to say "The Lord is at hand" (1 Cor 7:29, 31; Rom 13:11–12; Phil 4:5). 2 Thessalonians stresses the opposite to reinforce the urgency of the need to stand fast and remain faithful (2 Thess 2:15) to the God who called the readers through the gospel (2 Thess 2:14; cf. Krodel 1978: 74–77). And both letters appeal to earlier teaching (1 Thess 5:1–2, explicitly rejecting time speculation; 2 Thess 2:5 affirms a sequence of events).

(2) Christology. 2 Thessalonians never mentions the death or resurrection of Jesus. Jesus is primarily the Lord (*kyrios*) in 2 Thessalonians (cf. 1:1, 7, 8, 12; 2:1, 8 [13?], 14, 16; 3:3, [5?], 6, 12, 16, 18), but the letter nowhere tells how he became the Lord. It does not cite earlier creedal formulas (1 Thess 1:9–10; 4:14; 5:10 does), does not talk of Jesus' death as sacrifice (as 1 Thess 5:10 does), or relate his lordship over the Thessalonians to baptism. There is nothing like "the word of the cross" (cf. 1 Cor 1:18) in this letter. In 2 Thessalonians Jesus, the Lord, does not have a past, but only a future, significance. At the Parousia he will punish the oppressors (2 Thess 1:8; cf. "righteous judgment," 1:5), while the faithful will be gathered before him (2 Thess 2:1). His Parousia will also be his revelation as Lord, i.e., as benefactor and vindicator. His major characteristic is power exercised in the destruction of the "Man of Lawlessness" (2 Thess 2:8). This contrasts strongly with other letters in the Pauline corpus, where the confession "Jesus is Lord" is tied to his resurrection and to baptism (1 Cor 12:3; Rom 10:9; Phil 2:11).

2 Thessalonians also diverges from Paul by using language about Jesus that Paul reserves for God. The term "Lord," referring to Jesus, occurs where Paul speaks of God. Thus 2 Thess 2:13 speaks of the "beloved of the Lord," while 1 Thess 1:4 speaks of the "beloved of God." 2 Thess 2:14 speaks of the "glory of our Lord Jesus Christ" (cf. 2 Thess 1:10, 12). Paul ascribes glory only to God (Rom 1:23; 3:7, 23; 4:20; 5:2; 6:4; 1 Cor 10:31, etc.); Jesus only reflects God's glory (2 Cor 3:18; 4:4, 6). Where 1 Thess 5:23 invokes the "God of peace," 2 Thess 3:12 calls on the "Lord of peace." The language of 1 Thessalonians is the normal Pauline expression (Rom 15:33, 16:20; 1 Cor 14:33; 2 Cor 13:11; Phil 4:9). 2 Thessalonians reveals a christological development that gives greater prominence to Jesus.

(3) Theology. God's acts in the past are the basis of the Christians' hope. He chose the Thessalonians as the "firstfruits" toward salvation (2 Thess 2:13), an election that is the basis for their conviction that they are "beloved by the Lord" and destined "for the sure possession of the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ." Because God called them, they are his assembly (*ekklēsia*, 1:4) that suffers for the royal rule of God (*basileia tou theou*). Suffering leads to the demonstration of the "just judgment of God" (2 Thess 1:5) because it leads to the public demonstration that God is just. Twice God is addressed as "our Father" (1:1; 2:16),

but never as "the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ" (cf. 2 Cor 1:3) or as the one who "raised Jesus from the dead" (Rom 4:24; 8:11; 10:9, etc.).

God's election and justice determine the content of the gospel in 2 Thessalonians. God will carry out his apocalyptic plans for them. "The gospel of our Lord Jesus" (2 Thess 1:8) describes how Jesus' Parousia executes judgment and gathers the faithful. God is responsible for all that happens: their election (2 Thess 2:13), their growing faith and love (2 Thess 1:3), his past love for them (2 Thess 2:16), the sanctification of the spirit (2 Thess 2:13), their past comfort and hope (2 Thess 2:16). It is not surprising that grace *(charis)* plays so small a role in this book. It occurs twice in stock formulas (2 Thess 1:2; 3:18). 2 Thess 1:12 relates grace to the Parousia of the Lord, while 2:16 ties it to God's love and the gift of comfort and hope in the past to pray that God exhort and establish them in the present. The familiar Pauline contour is absent.

(4) Tradition and Life. 1 Thess 3:8 urges the Thessalonians to "stand fast in the Lord." 2 Thessalonians urges its readers to "stand fast and hold on to the traditions" *(paradoseis,* 2 Thess 2:15; the singular is used in 3:6). By tradition 2 Thessalonians means the content of the letter itself, that is, the apocalyptic teaching that God will vindicate those faithful under persecution. Tradition is thus a criterion for action. Paul's work in order not to accept any money from the Thessalonians (2 Thess 3:8–9) is described in language reminiscent of 1 Thess 2:9. The imitation of Paul is a part of the tradition they must *(dei,* 2 Thess 3:7) keep.

Prayers in 1 Thessalonians pray for the survival of the readers in the Parousia (1 Thess 5:23), since the coming of Christ is the basis for comfort and encouragement (1 Thess 4:18; 5:11). 2 Thessalonians prays for a right action in word and deed (2:16–17), for "love of God and the endurance of Christ" (3:5), for a life lived in peace (3:16). The eschatology determines the content of the prayer. Thus it is not surprising that 2 Thessalonians urges the readers to proper action against those "who live [walk] without order" (2 Thess 3:6, 11), because of the imminent Parousia of the Lord Jesus (2 Thess 2:8). The Thessalonians themselves should not grow tired of doing what is good (2 Thess 3:13).

4. Reconstruction of Historical Origin. Apocalyptic eschatology flowered at the end of the 1st century, as Revelation and Matthew suggest. The last two decades (80–100 C.E.) was a time of persecution for the Church. The stress on authoritative tradition also suggests a later age in which Paul has become a revered figure. This dating also provides a good historical context for interpreting the reference to spurious Pauline revelation, theological argument *(logos),* or correspondence mentioned in 2 Thess 2:2. People were invoking Paul's name as authority for their teaching—and 2 Thessalonians does the same. The reference to Paul's handwriting in 2 Thess 3:17 is based on the earlier references in 1 Cor 16:21, Gal 6:11, and Philemon 19. Nowhere does Paul suggest it as a mark of authenticity; in Galatians it is a mark of his personal feelings for the addressees. 2 Thess 3:17 is the only place the handwriting is used as a mark of authenticity. (The word *semeion* elsewhere in Paul always refers to miraculous events or to evidence of the Spirit's activity.) Bailey (1978: 138) comments that 3:17 "makes more sense as the product of the pseudonymous author who wished by it to allay any suspicions of inauthenticity which his letter might arouse." Krodel's proposal (1978: 85), supporting the suggestion of Lindemann (1977: 35–47) that 2 Thess 2:2 might refer to 1 Thessalonians, now misinterpreted at this later date, is attractive, but not compelling. In short, 2 Thessalonians is the work of a late Paulinist who rethinks Paul in terms of apocalyptic eschatology and the Pauline tradition to reinforce the fidelity of persecuted Christians.

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THESSALONICA (PLACE) [Gk *Thessalonikeus, Thessalonikē*]. City mentioned in Acts 17:1–13; 1–2 Thessalonians; Phil 4:16; and 2 Tim 4:10. It was founded in 316 B.C.E. by Cassander, the son of Antipater, whom Alexander the Great had left in charge of Macedonia. It was named in honor of Cassander's wife, Thessalonike, a stepsister of Alexander and the last surviving member of the ancient royal family of Macedonia. Built at the head of the Thermaikos Gulf below the Hortiates mountains, the city rose steeply above its harbor.

It is possible that Thessalonica was constructed on the site of an earlier settlement, Therme. Remains of foundations and fragments of an archaic temple (ca. 500 B.C.E.) have been found in the W part of the city, but it has not been possible to ascertain the deity in whose honor it was erected or the structure's precise size and plan. A series of ancient Greek coins without a legend but bearing a Pegasus obverse type found at Thessalonica has been connected with Therme (Gaebler 1906). On the basis of the association, it has been suggested that Therme was a Corinthian foundation, colonized perhaps under Periander's rule (ca. 600 B.C.E.).

A. Hellenistic Thessalonica
B. Early Roman Thessalonica
C. Later Roman and Early Christian Thessalonica

A. Hellenistic Thessalonica

Aside from a number of tombs, some pottery, terracotta figurines, and smaller objects, surprisingly few Hellenistic remains have been discovered in Thessalonica. An inscription dated to 60 B.C.E. (*IT* [= Edson 1972] no. 7) found near the Roman forum makes mention of an agora. It is possible that this earlier Hellenistic agora was rebuilt later into the Roman forum, at least part of which has been excavated. Beneath the forum's pavement were found varieties of Hellenistic pottery and a late Hellenistic "Atlas" now on display in the city's Archaeological Museum.

Remains of a sanctuary of the Egyptian gods were discovered at Thessalonica. Unfortunately, the site could not be preserved. A scale model of one of the structures excavated, a small temple, is in storage at the Archaeological Museum. The temple, one of a complex of structures constituting the sanctuary of the Egyptian gods, consisted of a small anteroom which opened onto a larger hall. Directly opposite the opening of the anteroom, in the center of the far (N) wall was a niche, in front of which a stone bench was found. The walls were of simple Roman construction: rough stones and lime mortar alternating with successive horizontal bands of three layers of baked brick. Small irregular pieces of multicolored marble pavement decorated the floor in a simple geometric pattern.

Lying directly under the W portion of the anteroom and running some 4 m along its length to the E was an elongated vaulted room (1.6 by 4 m). Providing access to this crypt was a long tunnel-like corridor (1 by 10 m) which ran parallel to the W wall of the building above. Its outside opening terminated in a staircase beside the niche, though outside the temple proper. The corridor was connected to the crypt at the other end by an arched opening in the W extremity of the crypt's N wall. The entrance to the corridor was found sealed at the top with marble slabs, a fortunate result of which was that the corridor and crypt were preserved in their original state.

In the middle of the crypt's E wall there was a niche in which stood a small herm in archaizing style depicting a bearded Dionysos. The floor of the crypt, which was about 2.5 m below the floor level of the temple above, had no special covering. Unlike the corridor and the superstructure above, the crypt was constructed of simple mortar without lime. To the N and E of the temple other structures were found, consisting of small rooms probably belonging to the sanctuary complex. A few meters to the NW, the end of a small rectangular building (5 m wide) was found. The masonry of the building's substructure has been described as Hellenistic, but its walls clearly are Roman, constructed in alternating bands of brick and green schist.

The movable finds at the Serapeum, including some 69 inscriptions, were transferred to Thessalonica's Archaeological Museum. Of special note are a dedicatory epigram of the 2d century B.C.E. by the otherwise unknown poet Damaios (*IT* no. 108), the head of a statue of Sarapis and one probably of Isis, a small Roman statue of Harpocrates and one of Aphrodite-Harmony, a small headless statue of a seated goddess of the known Isis-Cybele type, a small Hekataion, the upper part of a statue of an initiate or priest, and a relief dedicated to "Osiris initiate" *(Oseiridi mystei)* of the late Hellenistic period depicting an altar (in a space surrounded by a templelike structure) around which are three figures, one of whom is pouring a libation (*IT* no. 107). Also of interest is a letter of Philip V dated 187 B.C.E. in which he prohibited the use of the Serapeum's funds for extracultic purposes and declared specific penalties for contraventions of the regulation (*IT* no. 3). The inscription attests to the early importance and power of the cult.

An inscription mentioning the gymnasium administration of 96–95 B.C.E. (*IT* no. 4) and two later Roman inscriptions referring to ephebes (*IT* nos. 236 and 237) were found near the basilica of St. Demetrios. Byzantine literary sources indicate the existence of a stadium also in the vicinity of St. Demetrios. Although it is not certain that the Hellenistic gymnasium complex included a stadium,

such an arrangement would not have been unusual. The most likely site for the gymnasium and stadium would seem to be immediately S of St. Demetrios and just N of the Roman forum.

Stretches of the early Hellenistic city wall of Thessalonica have been incorporated into the medieval fortifications visible today. Rows of large blocks of well-worked stone characteristic of Hellenistic masonry occur especially in the N wall, while reused marble slabs and porous rocks (perhaps belonging originally to the Hellenistic wall and gates) are apparent elsewhere. The walls preserved today, which are thought to follow substantially the Roman and Hellenistic fortifications, date primarily from the 4th to 5th centuries C.E. and later. Their circuit was about 7 km, while their height extended from 8 to over 10 m.

B. Early Roman Thessalonica

The Macedonian kingdom under Perseus unsuccessfully defied Roman interests in the E Mediterranean. After a decisive defeat in 168 B.C.E., Perseus was seized while claiming asylum on Samothrace. Under the Roman division of Macedonia, Thessalonica was the capital of the second of four regions. When an independence movement was crushed 20 years later (148 B.C.E.), the Romans deported to Italy the entire surviving Macedonian aristocracy, including military and civil officials. Although its most important industries and much of its trade were curtailed sharply and despite its isolated and extremely vulnerable position, Macedonia hardly stagnated.

Thessalonica appears to have been in the forefront of the Macedonian recovery. In 146 B.C.E., it was made the capital of the reorganized province of Macedonia and enjoyed the commercial and civic privileges (including the right to mint its own coinage) accorded the seats of provincial governors. Its proximity to the Via Egnatia, the main artery linking Rome and the East, and the major N-S trade routes further facilitated security and commercial prosperity.

There is some indication of local unrest and magisterial abuses at Thessalonica during the mid–1st century B.C.E. Late in 60 B.C.E., the Roman governor in Macedonia, C. Antonius Hybrida, returned to Rome on charges of misadministration (extortion) and *maiestas*. The proconsul was convicted and exiled.

Six months of Cicero's exile was spent in Thessalonica (May to November, 58 B.C.E.). In 18 letters written in Thessalonica, Cicero only twice refers to his environment: once to the *quaestorium* where he was lodged (residence of the province's financial officer; *Plan.* 99) and once to the Via Egnatia, where heavy traffic apparently made his own travel difficult (*Att.* 3.4). More instructive of Thessalonica's situation during the period is information gleaned from Cicero's speech *(Pis.)* on the alleged abuses of L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, governor of Macedonia from 57 to 55 B.C.E. Although some of the senator's charges may have involved complete fabrications and others probably reflected manipulation of information, there is little reason to doubt that during this period Thessalonica did not enjoy the Roman benefactions and attention to security it had realized in other times.

During the civil wars of the 1st century B.C.E., Thessalonica seems to have pursued a policy of neutrality, though Pompey and his retinue resided there for a time in flight from Rome (49–48 B.C.E.). Many of Rome's senators and knights of the equestrian order joined Pompey at Thessalonica, and the city became effectively a "second Rome" with the consecration of a site for the authoritative convening of the Senate. Following the defeat of Pompey at Pharsalus, Thessalonica was caught again in the crossfire of competing Roman powers. The city seems originally to have been supportive of the "liberators" Brutus and Cassius, who had been instrumental in the assassination of Julius Caesar. At some point before the second battle of Philippi (42 B.C.E.), however, Thessalonica must have withdrawn her support, since Brutus is reported to have promised his soldiers the sack of the city if they were victorious. The victors at Philippi, Octavian (later titled Augustus) and Antony, received lavish honors from the city. So extreme was Thessalonica's attachment to Antony, the new Roman ruler in the East, that the city inaugurated a local era in his honor. That this later proved problematic with Octavian's defeat of Antony at Actium is demonstrated by the erasure of dates on inscriptions from the period (e.g., *IT* nos. 83 and 109).

A profusion of honors granted by Thessalonica marks Octavian's ascendancy as sole ruler of the Roman Empire and bearer of the title "Augustus." In the last third of the 1st century B.C.E., the laureate head of Julius Caesar with the legend *theos* occupies the obverse of a series of coins minted at the city, while the reverse presents the bare head of Octavian with the inscription *Thessalonikeon.* An inscription (*IT* no. 31) refers to a temple *(naos)* of "Caesar" probably dating from this interlude in the Roman city's history. Blocks from the archaic temple (of Therme?) with later Roman markings indicating directions for reconstruction were found in proximity to fragments of imperial statuary. It is possible that the early temple was made over to accommodate honors for the emperor. From this period also dates the establishment of a "priest and agonothete of the Imperator Augustus 'son of god' " and a priest of "Roma and Roman benefactors." A group of "Roman benefactors" received honors at Thessalonica from at least 95 B.C.E.

Among the fragments of imperial statuary recovered in the W part of the city N of the Serapeum was an almost complete statue of Augustus. He is depicted in a standing heroized representation with his right hand upraised. At least five precut pieces were used in the composition of the statue, suggesting that it may have been produced elsewhere and transported to Thessalonica for assembly. The statue has been dated to the reign of Gaius ("Caligula") or Claudius, and it is one of the few objects recovered at the city which can be dated with certainty to the period of Paul's visit. It is perhaps in the context of so effusive an outpouring of honors for Augustus that one should understand Paul's condemnation of those who promote "peace and security" (1 Thess 5:3—a Julio-Claudian program of *pax et securitas*?).

An institution apparently peculiar to Thessalonica was the office of "priest and agonothete of god Fulvus." The Fulvus deified was the son of Marcus Aurelius who died at the age of four in 165 C.E. His divinization at Thessalonica may represent a case of local syncretism probably involving the Cabiros (a principal civic deity), perhaps Osiris, and

the devotional interests of the city's "youths" and ephebes. The office is attested for the period 206-70 C.E. but must have originated shortly after the youth's death (*IT* nos. 153–70 and 236). The priesthood was related intimately to other offices involving the "youths," ephebes, and the gymnasium but was not synonymous with the ephebarchate or gymnasiarchate (*IT* nos. 236, 180, 195–96). Nor did the office supersede or displace that of the civic agonothete (*IT* nos. 163, 171, 178).

On the basis of the archaeological record, the most important civic cults of the early Roman imperial period were those of "the gods" (for a time, the tutelary deities of the city), of the emperor, and of Roma and Roman benefactors. Official decrees of the city, made sometimes in concert with an official association of Romans *(Romaioi sympragmateumenoi)*, were dated to the terms of individuals holding these offices. Also important in the city's religious life in the 1st century C.E. was the cult of the Egyptian gods. An inscription (*IT* no. 255) records the divinely ordered diffusion of the cult from the sanctuary at Thessalonica to the Greek city of Opus. This is an indication, perhaps, of the "metropolitan" character of Thessalonica's Egyptian cult establishment and presents an interesting parallel to the diffusion of early Christianity from the city to which Paul may refer in 1 Thess 1:8. The cult of the Egyptian gods appears to have absorbed elements of Dionysos worship at the city (*IT* no. 259). A small herm of Dionysos recovered in the central niche of the Serapeum's subterranean crypt had a precisely worked hole for the apparent removal (and replacement?) of the statue's genitalia. The ritual reconstitution of the dismembered Osiris is known to have been practiced generally in Egyptian cults (Arn. *Adv. Nat.* 7.5.19.9–13). It is possible that at Thessalonica in Macedonia, an area famous for its devotion to Dionysos, the object of reconstitution may have been Dionysos, with whom Osiris was identified under the umbrage of the Egyptian cult.

Found near the Serapeum were 1st-century-C.E. dedications to the "highest god" *(theos hypsistos)*, one involving a vision on the part of the devotee (*IT* no. 67) and another indicating a cultic dining association (*IT* no. 68 and cp. 70). Devotion to Zeus "the highest" with the goddess Nemesis is also in evidence at the city, though in a slightly later period (*IT* no. 62, 2d or 3d century C.E.). Other divine objects of honor in early Roman Thessalonica include Herakles, the Dioskouri, a Hero for whom there is evidence of a temple, Apollo, and Aphrodite.

In the 2d and 3d centuries, Thessalonica's principal civic deity was the Cabiros, who figures prominently in this period of the city's numismatic record. According to legend, the Cabiros, a young prince, was murdered treacherously by his two brothers, who subsequently enshrined his remains at the foot of Mt. Olympos (Firm. Mat. *Err. prof. rel.* 11). Clement of Alexandria in the late 2d century C.E. identified the murderous brothers as those who had absconded to Tuscany with the chest in which Dionysos' *virilia* were preserved, suggesting another possible link between Dionysos and an important Thessalonican religious figure. From the 2d or 3d century C.E., there is epigraphic evidence of a priesthood of the divine Alexander at Thessalonica (*IT* no. 278 and cp. 275 and 276). Iconographic materials also attest the presence of devotees of Cybele and Mithras, and from the same period an association of Asklepiasts is known (*IT* no. 480).

The remains of Roman Thessalonica's forum complex now visible in the modern city date to the 2d century C.E., while the odeum to the E appears to have been built about a century later. The open area of the forum measured at least 65 m N-S by 100 m E-W. It was bounded by a portico on the S as well as the E. A Corinthian capital found at the site has been restored on a base in the outer colonnade. The E portico (running N-S) has a well-preserved mosaic floor of geometric design. On parts of its edge are preserved three steps leading down over a drainage channel to the open paved area. Beneath the portico running E-W is a cryptoporticus consisting of two vaulted passageways constructed of extremely well-dressed blocks and finely hewn smaller pieces. In addition to large circular covered openings occurring in the apex of the vaults at regular intervals, there is an extensive series of smaller arched openings along the top of the sides of the passageway. The E extremity of the excavated passage ends abruptly before intersecting the N-S portico. To the S, the cryptoporticus would have opened onto a lower level of the forum which was multitiered in construction.

The odeum features a marble-paved orchestra which is slightly elliptic. At a level considerably above it are preserved seven rows of seats. The height of the first row of seats may indicate that the structure was used for shows involving animals. In its original state, the odeum extended some 26 rows of seats beyond the seven preserved rows. The proscenium has eleven niches, alternately semicircular and rectangular, constructed in brick, faced with marble and flanked by stairs leading to the proscenium proper. Before it were found two headless marble statues of muses, identifiable by their attributes as Thalia and Erato. The scaena is paved with mosaic at the level of the orchestra floor in meander and interlace designs. Monumental doorways lead from it to vaulted lobbies under the lower seats. From these the orchestra is entered. The lower part of one of the broad stairways leading to the diazoma (a gallery or lobby giving access to the theater seats) has also been excavated. A number of rooms were found beneath the seats and there are two larger rooms presumably opening onto the portico which were adjacent to the odeum proper.

C. Later Roman and Early Christian Thessalonica

The Arch of Galerius at Thessalonica commemorates Roman victories over the Persians in the last years of the First Tetrarchy (270–300 C.E.). The original arch included two triple archways, only one of which is preserved at the W. The height of the arch is about 21 m. It is built of brick, like the Galerian palace, octagon, and rotunda, which all belong to the same complex. The middle piers bear stone sculpture, divided into four registers. The sculpture is typical of late imperial times in crowding together many forms in a narrow space and representing objects out of scale with one another.

As the central figures of honor, the tetrarchs Maximianus, Constantius Chlorus, Diocletian, and Galerius probably were represented by four statues in the four niches to the left and right above the pillars of the central passageway. Approaching the arch from W to E, one is presented

with a series of scenes epitomizing the Roman victory in the East (specifically, the war in Armenia and the second or punitive campaign in Assyria). The traveler approaching from the E first would have passed through the SE arch complex (which has not survived) and then proceeded through the second arch.

Of particular interest on the SE facade of the arch is the central register in the SW pillar. Here Diocletian is shown joining Galerius in a *nuncupatio votorum* (a public declaration of vows) at an altar of Zeus and Heracles. Galerius is in military attire on the right while Diocletian, wearing a toga, stands to the left. They present a sacrifice in thanksgiving for the victory over the Persians. Between the two is the altar, toward which Galerius extends his right hand. The two visible sides of the altar are ornamented with sculptural representations of Zeus, with whom Diocletian was associated, and Heracles, with whom Galerius was connected. In back of the altar are two female figures labeled *Oikoumene,* the inhabited world, on the left and *Eirene,* peace, on the right. The relief's propagandistic message is that peace has been established in the world through the exertions of Galerius and Diocletian and their divine supporters Heracles and Zeus.

The surviving portion of the palace of Galerius, built as his official residence around 300 C.E., consists of a court about 22 m square, surrounded on the E, S, and W by rectangular rooms and beyond them, corridors paved with mosaics or marble. Beyond the wall forming the E boundary of the corridor are the remains of a bath complex. Opening beyond the SE wall of this complex is a large semicircular exedra. A little over 40 m due W and S of this position is an octagonal structure excavated in the early 1950s.

The so-called octagonal building had a central area opening onto seven large apses. The eighth wall, facing SW, contained the entrance. Although six of the apses are identical, the one opposite the entrance is appreciably larger. Each of the apses is somewhat larger than a semicircle, appearing rather more like a horseshoe in plan. From the head of one apse to that of its opposite is about 30 m. The structure was furnished with an extremely elaborate marble floor (including well-preserved *opus sectile* compositions on display in the Archaeological Museum). Found on the floor were four marble pilaster capitals, apparently wall revetments. On each of them the centerpiece is a deity in high relief, either draped or nude. Deities represented include Jupiter, Cabiros, Dioscuros, and Hygeia. In the larger NE apse there is a cross with equal arms, each consisting of a single brick enclosed within a circle of rayed bricks. On each side there appears a brick-composed lateral design representing a branch or plant of some kind. It has been suggested that these are later Christian insertions (i.e., the cross flanked by branches), perhaps depicting Constantine's vision of a cross on the sun with the injunction "by this conquer." It also is possible that the piece is an iconographic acclamation of the "victory of the cross" purportedly realized in Galerius' edict of toleration of Christians.

Associated with the Galerius palace complex is a marble arch found near the octagonal building and now on display in the Archaeological Museum. Two medallions enclose the central subjects of the arch. The tondo on the right contains a bust of Galerius with details finished in paint, while the one on the left contains the bust of a crowned woman, probably representing the *Tyche* or *Fortuna* of Thessalonica. Supporting the medallions are two figures in Persian costume, while holding either end of the wreath are smaller winged figures thought to be *erotes.*

The presentation of Galerius with the *Tyche* of Thessalonica is an instance of a pattern of protector god or hero and city goddess which recurs in Thessalonica's religious history. At an early stage in legends surrounding the martyr St. Demetrios, regarded as the protector of the city, he was connected with the Lady Eutaxia ("good order") and in later legend and art, he was associated closely with the Virgin. Before St. Demetrios superseded him, the Cabiros had been the city's protector and was depicted in its coinage on the obverse with *Tyche* on the reverse. It appears from this arch that Galerius also may have assumed this role for a brief period in Thessalonica's history.

Springing from a kantharos at each end of the vault (soffit) of the arch is a complex vine with twin interlacing shoots bearing thick bunches of grapes and leaves. These rise on either side to a central medallion containing a bust of Dionysos wearing a heavy wreath. An almost identical design appears in the mosaic decoration of a soffit between the columns of the nave in the Basilica of the Holy Virgin *(Acheiropoietos)* in Thessalonica. From a kantharos flanked by two birds rises a twin vine, rich with bunches of grapes and leaves. Instead of the central medallion containing a bust of Dionysos, a four-armed Latin cross appears in a blue circular field. Excavations in the NE portion of the church have revealed a succession of mosaic-covered floors dating to the imperial period.

Immediately E of the Galerian palace are the remains of a bath complex which has been related to the hippodrome. According to the original plan, a colonnaded avenue led from the palace and hippodrome to the triumphal arch, then on to the rotunda. The rotunda originally may have been intended as a mausoleum. Though it dwarfs Diocletian's mausoleum at Spoleto, it closely resembles it in plan. The massive size of the Galerian structure is demonstrated by the dimensions: the wall is 6.3 m thick, supporting a dome about 24.5 m in diameter. Inside are eight vaulted openings in the wall, each decorated with a different mosaic design. The original entrance was from the S, where an elaborate approach flanked by stoas extended N from the arch of Galerius. With the conversion of the building for use as a Christian church about 400 C.E., the entrance was changed to the W, a nave was built to the E, an exterior corridor around the structure was built, and on the interior, the dome was decorated with mosaics, featuring portraits of saints and architectural constructions. The building was adapted for Moslem worship about 1590, and a minaret was added to the precinct.

Other important early Christian monuments at Thessalonica in addition to the Church of the Virgin *(Acheiropoietos)* and the Rotunda *(Hagios Georgios)* include the chapel of *Hosios David* and the Basilica of St. Demetrios. *Hosios David,* located in the central N portion of the modern city just below the acropolis, contains an apse mosaic of Christ *Pantocrator* from the 5th century C.E. The restored mosaic is remarkable not only for its stunning presentation of a young, unbearded Christ but also for its depiction of

scenes drawn from Ezekiel and perhaps Revelation. Preserved at the Basilica of St. Demetrios, just NE of the Roman forum, are a number of early Christian mosaics and architectural elements and a crypt complex adapted from an earlier martyrium for the saint.

A Samaritan-Greek bilingual inscription (*IT* 789) has been recovered at Thessalonica. The inscription consists of three elements: two lines in Samaritan characters (line 1, "Blessed be our Lord forever" and line 15, "Blessed be his name forever"); a biblical text, the benediction of the priests from Num 6:22–27 (lines 2–14) in a Greek translation that differs from the LXX, more closely approximating the Hebrew of the MT and the Sam. Pent.; and the dedication by one Siricius (lines 15–18), the donor, who along with his wife and children had the plaque set up. Siricius expressed good wishes to the city of Neapolis (Samarian Nablus?) and its friends (lines 18–20). The inscription, which bears no date, has been placed in the Byzantine period (ca. 4th–6th centuries C.E.). It may provide evidence for a Samaritan diaspora community at Thessalonica.

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THETA. The eighth letter of the Greek alphabet.

THEUDAS (PERSON) [Gk *Theudas*]. The leader of an unsuccessful Jewish rebellion in the region of Judea during the 1st century C.E.

Two sources from antiquity provide brief information concerning the rebellion of Theudas. The NT records a reference to Theudas in the speech of the rabbi Gamaliel at Acts 5:36. In his address to the Sanhedrin, Gamaliel argues that the Jewish religious leaders should assume a lenient posture toward the rise of the early Christian sect, since history and the will of God typically bring false religious movements to a quick end. The aborted efforts of Theudas and of Judas the Galilean are offered as evidence for this conclusion.

Josephus (*JW* 20.5.1 §97–99) provides a more detailed account of the rebellion. Theudas, to whom Josephus refers as an "imposter" (or "wizard"), was the leader of "the majority of the masses" (a number which is set at 400 men by Acts, perhaps to "minimize the extent of the movement"; Horsley and Hanson 1985: 166). As a self-proclaimed prophet, Theudas promised to separate the waters of the Jordan river in order to afford his followers easy passage upon dry ground. This sign probably was offered as a replication of the feat of Joshua, who led the wandering Israelites into Canaan over the dry riverbed of the Jordan (Joshua 3), or possibly in remembrance of the miracle of Elijah, who separated the waters in order to return to his destiny with God in the desert (2 Kgs 2:6–8).

The claims of Theudas quickly drew the attention of the Roman army, which managed to destroy the rebellion, to disrupt and capture many of the participants, and to behead Theudas himself.

The account in Acts places the rise of Theudas at a date that is prior to the rebellion of Judas, a figure whose revolt is associated with "the days of the census" (i.e., most likely the general taxation under Quirinius in ca. C.E. 6; Haenchen 1971: 257). Josephus, however, records the event almost half a century later, during the reign of the procurator Cuspius Fadus (C.E. 44–46). The escalation of tensions between Rome and the Jews immediately prior to the rule of Fadus suggests that the chronology of the respective movements may be confused in Acts.

The eschatological nature of the rebellion that Theudas led was characterized by his claims to authority, the implication that he regarded himself as the "prophet like Moses" (Deut 18:15–18), and his symbolic attempts to work miracles. These claims and actions suggest that ultimately he hoped to reunite the divided religious factions of Judaism and to overthrow the Roman occupation in Palestine (Aune 1983: 126–62). While there is no indication that the movement under Theudas was an armed revolt, there is little question that the insurrection was seen as an important event during the years of disorder that followed the death of Herod in 4 B.C.E.

Modern attempts to explain the accounts of Josephus and Acts as the records of two different individuals are based upon the arguments that Acts often is accurate historically and that the name Theudas was common during the Second Temple period. In addition, scholars have attempted to associate Theudas with other Jewish millenarian leaders who are known from the Second Temple period (Bruce *Acts* TNTC, 147). These arguments, however, have not proven to be convincing. The minor divergencies of dating and details between the two records of Acts and Josephus suggest instead that some difficulty with the historical details behind the revolt of Theudas occurs within the sources that were incorporated by the authors.

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CLAYTON N. JEFFORD

THIASOS. See ASSOCIATIONS, CLUBS, THIASOI.

THISBE (PLACE) [Gk *Thisbē*]. The N Galilean village from which Tobit was taken into exile by Enemessarus (RSV "Shalmaneser"), king of Assyria (Tob 1:2). The village is said to be located "south of Kadesh-Naphtali" (M.R. 200279) and "above/overlooking Hazor" (M.R. 203269; Gk *hyperanō Aser* [LXX A,B]/*Assōr* [Sinaiticus]; RSV translates "Asher"). This suggests a location somewhere near the E edge of the Alma plateau. Simons (*GTTOT,* 1614f) suggests that the Gk *ek Thisbē* be viewed much like "Tishbe" in 1 Kgs 17:1, as an original Heb **mittōšĕbê,* "from the inhabitants of." See also TISHBE (PLACE).

GARY A. HERION

THISTLE. See FLORA.

THOMAS (PERSON) [Gk *Thōmas*]. "One of the twelve" disciples of Jesus (John 20:24). Paired with Matthew, the name of Thomas appears in the middle of the list of the Twelve in the Synoptic Gospels (Matt 10:3; Mark 3:18; Luke 6:15). Paired with Philip, Thomas appears on the list of the Twelve given in Acts (Acts 1:13). None of these texts, however, attributes any specific role to Thomas.

A portrait of Thomas emerges with some clarity in the Fourth Gospel, where Thomas appears in four passages (John 11:16; 14:5; 20:24–28; 21:2). In three of these Thomas is "called the Twin" (*ho legomenos Didymos;* John 11:16; 20:24; 21:2). In Aramaic *tĕ'omâ* (Hebrew, *tĕ'om*) means "twin," but there is not much indication that this word was used as a proper name in the Semitic world. The Greek word for "twin," *didymos,* is a well-attested name and may be the name by which Thomas was known in Greek-speaking Christian circles. The Fourth Gospel tells us nothing about his twin, nor how Thomas came to acquire this name, leaving the 3d-century *Acts of Thomas* to suggest that Thomas was Jesus' twin and some Syriac manuscripts of John 14:22 to suggest that his real name was Judas (cf. *Gos. Thom.* 1).

In the epilogue to the Fourth Gospel the name of Thomas appears in second place among the disciples who benefited from the revelation of Jesus by the Sea of Tiberias (John 21:2). Thus, the epilogue identifies Thomas not only as a "disciple" (cf. John 11:16; 20:25), but also as a particularly significant witness to the risen Jesus. Thomas appears as a representative figure among the disciples in John 20:24–29, a scene which has merited for him the descriptive epithet "doubting Thomas." Prior to that narrative, the Evangelist had twice introduced Thomas into his gospel in scenes which have no parallel in the synoptic tradition. In John 11:16 Thomas is portrayed as a courageous leader among the disciples of Jesus, ready to go to death with him. His appearance heightens the dramatic intensity of the scene by linking the resurrection of Lazarus to the death of Jesus. In John 14:5 Thomas reappears, this time as some one who does not know where Jesus is going. In response, Jesus reveals himself to be "the way, the truth, and the life."

Bravado and misunderstanding continue to characterize Thomas in John 20:24–29, a thoroughly Johannine composition, without parallel in the synoptic tradition, and a literary doublet of John 20:19–23. Thomas has been chosen from among the Twelve to dramatize the disbelief of the group. The refusal of the disciples to believe the testimony of those who had seen the risen Lord is a common feature of the gospel tradition (Matt 28:17; Mark 16:11, 14; Luke 24:36–43); the fourth Evangelist alone has chosen Thomas to represent and symbolize this doubt.

According to his account, Thomas was not present when Jesus appeared to his disciples on Easter day (John 20:24,

cf. v 19). Those disciples tell Thomas that they have seen the risen Lord but Thomas demands a quasi-physical proof of the resurrection in order that he might believe (John 20:25; cf. 19:34; 20:27). He recognizes Jesus' death, but not his glory (cf. John 11:16; 14:5).

In a scenario which is a virtual repeat of the Easter day apparition (cf. John 20:26, 19), Jesus appears to the full complement of disciples. He satisfies Thomas' request for proof, but exhorts him: "Do not be faithless, but believing." Thomas responds with a solemn confession of faith, "My Lord and my God." Nonetheless, he is chided by Jesus, who then pronounces a macarism on those who have believed without seeing.

Thomas' confession is the only explicit confession of the divinity of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel. Influenced by liturgical usage, it represents the conviction of the Johannine confession that belief in the resurrection is belief in the divinity of Jesus.

The Evangelist's characterization of Thomas looks to the future as well as to the past. He is one who ought to have believed because he had heard the testimony of disciples who did believe in the risen one. Reproached by Jesus for demanding proof rather than accepting testimony, Thomas serves as a foil for those who believe without benefit of a visionary experience. Jesus' praise of them, "Blessed are those who have not seen and yet believe" (John 20:29), is the final word of Jesus in the main body of the gospel.

According to some later texts, especially the Coptic *Gospel of Thomas* and the *Apocalypse of Thomas*, Thomas was the beneficiary of secret revelations from the Lord. The 3d- (or 4th-) century *Acts of Thomas* tells of his evangelizing and being martyred in India, a tradition maintained by Syro-Malabar Christians today.

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RAYMOND F. COLLINS

THOMAS THE CONTENDER, BOOK OF

(NHC II,7). The seventh and last treatise in Codex II of the Coptic Gnostic Library from Nag Hammadi. It is a revelation dialogue between the resurrected Jesus and his twin brother Judas Thomas, ostensibly recorded by Mathaias (the apostle Matthew?) at a time just before Jesus' ascension. It is written in a rather standard Sahidic dialect of the Coptic language, and, except for partial damage to the bottom five lines of each leaf of the Coptic text (most of which is able to be restored), it is almost completely preserved.

The *Book of Thomas the Contender* is a literary expression of traditions native to Syrian Edessa about the apostle Jude, surnamed Thomas, the missionary to India. It was likely composed in the first half of the 3d century A.D. Two products of this tradition have been dated with fair certainty: the *Gospel of Thomas*, composed ca. A.D. 50–125, and the *Acts of Thomas*, composed ca. A.D. 225. Both seem to derive from the ascetic, pre-Manichean Christianity in the Osrhoëne (Eastern Syria, between Edessa [modern Urfu] and Messene). *Thom. Cont.* seems to occupy a median position between the *Gospel* and the *Acts* in (1) date of composition, (2) relative dominance of the role played by Thomas in these works, and (3) in terms of the development from a *sayings collection* preserved by Thomas *(Gospel of Thomas)* to an actual *dialogue* between Jesus and Thomas *(The Book of Thomas the Contender)* to a full-blown *romance* centered on the missionary exploits of Thomas *(Acts of Thomas)*. See also THOMAS, ACTS OF; THOMAS, GOSPEL OF. The present Coptic version was probably translated from Greek; the existence of the text is otherwise unattested in antiquity.

The subscripted title designates the work as the "book" of "Thomas the *athlētēs* [i.e., "one who struggles" against the fiery passions of the body] writing to the perfect," while the opening lines designate the work as "secret sayings" spoken by Jesus to Judas Thomas and recorded by Mathaias as he heard them speaking. The designation "sayings" does not really correspond to the genre of the work, which is a revelation dialogue. This type of dialogue is unlike the Platonic dialogue in which a conversational process of statement, counterstatement, and clarification leads step by step to the birth of knowledge. It is instead more related to the literature sometimes called *eratapokriseis* ("questions and answers") in which an initiate elicits revealed truth from a spiritual authority or revealer figure in the form of catechetical answers to topical questions. Such revelation dialogues are found in many pagan hermetic and gnostic Christian texts, including many from Nag Hammadi: *The Apocryphon of John* (NHC II,*1*), *The Sophia of Jesus Christ* (NHC III,*4*), *The Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth* (NHC VI,*6*), *The Dialogue of the Savior* (NHC III,*5*), and *The Letter of Peter to Philip* (NHC VIII,*2*). These dialogues are set at a time between the resurrection and ascension, when the Savior appeared on earth in his true divine form. Thus, both he and his teaching were available to select apostles in a form unclouded by the sort of materiality which was believed to obscure the spiritual significance of his rather parabolic and earthly preresurrection teaching. This special teaching might consist of enlightening commentary on his darker earthly teaching, or even new revelations to special apostles. As the Savior's twin, Thomas (= Aramaic *tāuma* = Greek *didymos*, "twin") had a claim to direct insight into the nature of the Savior and his teaching. By "knowing himself" Thomas would also know the "depth of the all," whence the Savior came and whither he was about to return, and thus become a missionary possessing the true teaching of Jesus.

This true teaching of Jesus turns out to be consistently ascetic. Its basic theme and catchword is "fire," the fire of

bodily passions that torment the soul, and its counterpart in the flames of hell: one shall be punished by that by which one sins. Around this principal theme are gathered a number of conceptual oppositions (divine light versus passionate and infernal fire, the wise man who understands the truth versus the ignorant fool who is guided by the fiery illusion of truth, as well as Platonic oppositions between the visible and invisible and the dragging down of the soul by the passions versus the wings by which the wise flee the bodily appetites). It is of course the presence of the Savior as the emissary of the light which serves to illuminate the eyes to see invisible reality within that which heretofore was only perceptually visible and thus illusory. The treatise thus evinces a Platonic dualism of a radically ascetic stripe, and may be properly considered broadly ascetic rather than gnostic. The gnostic myth of the creation of the world by a divine accident or evil power is neither mentioned nor apparently presupposed, and the dualism of the treatise is much more anthropological (body/soul) than cosmic (the above/below). A more appropriate designation for the doctrine of this work is Christian(ized) wisdom with ascetic application; the wisdom themes of seeking, finding, being troubled, resting, and ruling (cf. *Gos. Thom.* logion 2 etc.) are distinctly present and pressed into the service of an exhortation to the ascetic life by means of a Platonic dualism between the visible-passional-illusory and the invisible-spiritual-real.

There are presently two competing theories concerning the composition of *Thom. Cont.* The more recent one, developed by H. Schenke (1983), holds that its underlying source lay in a probably non-Christian Hellenistic Jewish wisdom treatise containing the above-mentioned doctrine pseudonymously designated as a letter from the patriarch Jacob as "the contender [with God] writing to the perfect." Subsequently, in the Christian orbit, this ascetic treatise was Christianized by the substitution of Jesus for the figure of the divine wisdom as the revelatory figure of the work, the addition to the title of the phrase "the Book of Thomas," and the attendant recasting of the whole from the genre of expository treatise into the genre of revelation dialogue. That is, the text was dissected into smaller expository sections placed upon the lips of the risen Jesus; these were recast as answers to fictitious questions put to him by the apostle Thomas which themselves were inserted into the text as pretexts for the ensuing answers of the Savior. The questions of Thomas thus presuppose and were composed on the basis of the answers of Jesus. For the existence of the ultimate source of the work in the form of an epistle of Jacob, Schenke appeals to the canonical Epistle of James, which, although it is not a dialogue, was considered by Arnold Meyer as an apocryphal Hellenistic Jewish epistle of Jacob with only superficial Christian interpolations. As an example of a similar conversion of an expository work into a dialogue found within the Nag Hammadi treatises, one may point to the *Sophia of Jesus Christ*, which is acknowledged to be a recasting of the non-Christian *Letter of Eugnostos* into a postresurrection dialogue between Jesus and certain trusted disciples.

The earlier theory, developed by the author of this article, began from the observation that the actual dialogue between Thomas and Jesus occupies only the first three fifths of the treatise (NHC II,138:4–142:21), while the remaining two fifths (NHC II,142:21–end) actually constitutes a long monologue of the Savior, in which Thomas no longer plays a role. This and the detection of a transitional editorial seam at 142:21 suggest that *Thom. Cont.* could have been compiled by a redactor from two separate works, the first three fifths from a dialogue between Thomas and Jesus, perhaps entitled the "Book of Thomas the Contender Writing to the Perfect," and the second two fifths from a collection of the sayings of the Savior gathered into a homiletical discourse perhaps entitled "The Hidden Words Which the Savior Spoke, Which I Recorded, Even I, Mathaias." A redactor later prefixed the dialogue to the sayings collection, prefaced the whole with the present opening lines augmented by the reference to Thomas as the recipient of the secret words and Mathaias as the scribe, but then appended a subscript title designating Thomas as the author of the whole. In its original form, the last two fifths would have existed as a late and decadent reflection of the literary genre of the sayings of Jesus, in which original sayings have been so expanded with interpretation that the original saying has been all but obliterated, leaving only vestigial Jesuanic formulas such as "Amen I say to you," "blessed are you who . . . ," "woe to you," "watch and pray," and one instance of a parable (144:21–36). On this hypothesis, *Thom. Cont.* fits into a natural interpretive development of the sayings of Jesus: original, relatively unadulterated collections of Jesus' sayings were gradually collected and expanded by means of interpretive material as in Q (the Gospel Source) or the *Gospel of Thomas*, and then later embedded in a larger interpretive frame story such as a postresurrection dialogue or a life-of-Jesus gospel concluding with a passion or resurrection narrative.

While a final decision between these two compositional theories is still awaited, there can be no question that *Thom. Cont.* displays the marks of a redactional history. On either view, it represents a new source for the form-critical investigation of early Christian literature and for the process by which ever new literary genres were adapted for Christian teaching. It also constitutes another instance in a growing body of Christian Wisdom Literature with its emphasis on seeking, finding, resting on, and ruling by the truth, and thus escaping the troubles of life.

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THOMAS, ACTS OF. Pseudepigraphic text which relates the adventures of the apostle Judas Thomas as he preaches an ascetical or encratite form of Christianity on the way to and from India. Like other apocryphal acts combining popular legend and religious propaganda, the work attempts to entertain and instruct. In addition to narratives of Thomas' adventures, its poetic and liturgical elements provide important evidence for early Syrian Christian traditions.

A. Language and Recensions
B. Date
C. Authorship and Provenance
D. Contents
E. The Hymns
F. Liturgical Elements
G. Theological Perspectives

A. Language and Recensions

The principle witnesses are in Greek and Syriac, although the *Acts of Thomas* also survive in Armenian, Latin, Arabic, Coptic, and Ethiopic. Among the various versions of this popular work there are several abridged recensions. The complete *Acts* is attested in only one Syriac and two Greek mss. Translation errors and other linguistic phenomena make it clear that the work was originally composed in Syriac and translated into Greek. The current Syriac version, however, has been heavily edited in an orthodox direction.

B. Date

The major Syriac witness (B.M. add. 14.645) dates to 936 C.E. The earliest Syriac witness to the text, a fragmentary palimpsest (Sinai 30), dates from the 5th or 6th century. The major Greek witnesses (Paris. gr. 1510 and Vallicel. B 35) date to the 11th century, although there are partial Greek witnesses dating from the 10th. Some form of the work was clearly in circulation by the end of the 4th century when testimonies begin. Epiphanius (*Anac.* 47.1 and 60.1.5) records its use by Encratites. Augustine (*de serm. dom. in monte* 1.20.65; *c. Adiamantium* 17; *c. Faustum* 14 and 22.79) attests its use by Manicheans, and allusions are found in the Manichean Psalms. Attestations continue sporadically until the 9th-century Byzantine patriarch Photius (*Cod.* 114) and the 11th-century archbishop, Nicetas of Thessalonica, who paraphrased the work. The original composition is probably to be dated in the first half of the 3d century, slightly later than the *Acts of Peter, John,* and *Paul,* which are attested in the 2d century. Some sections, particularly the originally independent *Hymn of the Pearl,* presuppose conditions in the Parthian period, which ended with the establishment of the Sassanian Empire in 226 C.E. It is likely that *Acts Thom.* underwent redactional development, including adaptation by Manicheans, in the late 3d or 4th centuries.

C. Authorship and Provenance

According to Photius, all the major apocryphal *Acts (Paul, John, Andrew, Peter, Thomas)* were the work of one Leucius Charinus. While there may be reason to connect this otherwise unknown author to the *Acts of John,* the other acts are independent and anonymous compositions. Earlier scholars conjectured some connection of *Acts Thom.* or of the *Hymn of the Pearl* (chaps. 108–13) with the Syrian theologian of the 2d century, Bardaisan, yet that connection, too, is unlikely.

The work is clearly associated with Syria, and particularly with the city of Edessa, where Thomas was traditionally venerated. The apostle's martyrdom (chaps. 159–70) records the translation of his relics from India back to the West, presumably to Edessa. *Acts Thom.* has parallels with other Thomas literature of probable Syrian provenance, including the *Gospel of Thomas* (NHC II,2) and *The Book of Thomas the Contender* (NHC II,7), discovered at Nag Hammadi, both of which rely on the notion that the apostle was Jesus' twin, and advocate a radical asceticism.

D. Contents

The Greek version consists of thirteen acts concluding the martyrdom. The first six are loosely connected episodes highlighting Thomas' miraculous powers. The first act (chaps. 1–16) begins with the distribution of mission territories among the apostles in Jerusalem. Since Thomas is reluctant to undertake his assignment to India, his master and twin, Jesus, sells him to an Indian merchant, Chaban, who seeks a skilled craftsman. Thomas submits to God's will and departs with his new owner. On the way to India they stop in a city—Sandrok in Syriac, Andropolis in Greek—where a royal wedding is in progress. At the banquet Thomas encounters a Hebrew flutist for whom he sings the Hymn of the Bride (chaps. 6–7). An insulting waiter soon meets a dire fate in accordance with the apostle's prediction. The prophecy brings Thomas to the attention of the king, who requires a nuptial blessing for his daughter. After Thomas prays for the bride and groom, Jesus appears to the couple and converts them to celibacy, to their parents' dismay. Before the king can react, Thomas departs.

In the second act (chaps. 17–29), Thomas, now in India, is interviewed by King Gundaphor, for whom the apostle undertakes to construct a palace. With the king's abundant supplies Thomas initiates a program of poor relief while preaching the Gospel. Gundaphor, on an inspection visit, discovers the truth about Thomas' activity. He imprisons the apostle with the merchant Chaban. While they languish in jail awaiting punishment, the king's brother, Gad, dies and goes to heaven, where angels show him various mansions. He requests to dwell in one but is told that it belongs to his brother. Gad obtains permission to return to earth to purchase the property, whereupon Gundaphor finally understands the sort of palace Thomas had been constructing. Both royal brothers are converted and seek initiation. In the first major liturgical passage, Thomas anoints the two royals, preaches, and celebrates the eucharist.

In the third act (chaps. 30–38) Thomas, instructed by a nocturnal vision, discovers the corpse of a youth. A lewd serpent claims responsibility and then sings of his diabolical lineage. At Thomas' command the serpent sucks his poison from the youth and dies. The youth then hymns his deliverance. All of this prompts a series of homilies from Thomas advocating an ascetical life and promising forgiveness to the youth and other bystanders.

In the fourth act (chaps. 39–41) Thomas is returned to

the city by a talking ass' foal who claims descent from Balaam's ass. Upon arrival, the animal dies and Thomas orders a proper burial.

In the fifth act (chaps. 42–50) Thomas, now back in the city, is confronted by a woman possessed by a demon. Thomas exorcizes the demon, who complains at length before being expelled. After an elaborate prayer Thomas baptizes the woman and celebrates the eucharist.

In the sixth act (chaps. 51–61) Thomas is told of a youth crippled at the reception of the eucharist. An inquiry reveals that the youth had tried to convince a beloved prostitute to embrace celibacy. Her refusal provoked him to kill her. Thomas prepares holy water to cleanse him, but he remains in despair. The apostle brings him to the victim's corpse, where, prompted by Thomas, the youth prays and revives the woman, who gives a graphic account of Hell and the punishments in store for the wicked (chaps. 55–57). Inspired by this vision, Thomas preaches repentance and conversion to Jesus, the fulfillment of Scripture. Prayers of praise and requests for divine aid close the section.

The second half of the acts is a more integrated composition with a number of interlocking episodes. Here the work displays a Christian version of erotic motifs at home in the Hellenistic novel. The dramatic tension increases as Thomas' ascetic gospel is accepted by two upper class women to the consternation of their powerful husbands.

In the seventh act (chaps. 62–68) Thomas encounters a character prominent in the rest of the work who will finally (chap. 169) be ordained a presbyter. He is a military commander, later identified as Siphor, who serves a King Misdai. He seeks assistance for a wife and daughter possessed by demons. The apostle departs with him, after praying for his flock and appointing a deacon in his place.

In the eighth act (chaps. 68–81) Thomas and Siphor travel together until their draught animals drop from exhaustion. Thomas sends Siphor to request assistance from a herd of wild asses who readily comply. One, like the ass in the fourth act, is endowed with speech. At the commander's city, Thomas prays and sends this ass to exorcise the demons who possess Siphor's wife and daughter. It does so, rendering the women unconscious. The demons try to strike a bargain with Thomas, but he rejects their offer. The asses then preach, urging the crowds to listen to the apostle. Thomas offers a lengthy doxology to Christ, restores the women to consciousness, and dismisses the helpful beasts.

In the long ninth act (chaps. 82–118) the romantic drama and Thomas' encratite theology become prominent. A noble woman, Mygdonia, wife of a high royal counsellor, Carish, comes to hear Thomas preach. After a sermon on chastity, humility, and related virtues, she asks to be baptized, and Thomas admonishes her to forsake the world. That night she refuses to eat or sleep with her husband, who has a symbolic dream about an eagle who snatches a partridge from him. Mygdonia hints at the interpretation of the eagle as Thomas and the partridge as herself. With a tense farewell, Carish goes to attend on the king, while Mygdonia seeks out Thomas. Later Carish confronts Mygdonia, and piteously entreats her to return to his bed and board. She instead prays to be delivered from him and flees. After a bitter soliloquy Carish complains to King Misdai, who summons Siphor. While Thomas questions Mygdonia about her husband, the king questions the commander, who explains how Thomas healed his wife and daughter. The king authorizes Carish to arrest Thomas, who is interrogated, scourged, and imprisoned. The apostle offers a prayer of thanksgiving that echoes numerous gospel texts. He then launches into a poetic reflection, the *Hymn of the Pearl* (chaps. 108–13). Carish returns home to find Mygdonia unkempt and in squalid attire. After emotional appeals to give up her religious folly, he finally tries to bargain Thomas' life for Mygdonia's love. She remains adamant. Still unbaptized, she yearns to see Thomas, takes money for bribes, and hides from her husband.

In the tenth act (chaps. 119–133) the conflict intensifies. While Mygdonia is in hiding with Marcia (or in Syr, Narkia), her nurse, Thomas comes to her. Marcia provides bread, water, and oil. Thomas blesses the oil, baptizes the two women, and celebrates the eucharist before returning to prison. Dawn finds Carish in a dramatic confrontation with Mygdonia while King Misdai again interrogates Thomas. The king advises and Carish implores Thomas to convince Mygdonia to return to her husband. Thomas accompanies Carish to his home and advises Mygdonia to obey her husband, but she refuses. Thomas returns to Siphor, who requests baptism. The apostle preaches, baptizes, then celebrates the eucharist with Siphor and his family.

In the eleventh act (chaps. 134–38) Thomas gets into deeper trouble. Misdai tells the story of Mygdonia to his own wife, Tertia, whom he urges to visit Mygdonia. Tertia complies, but Mygdonia preaches Thomas' gospel. Tertia, enthralled, visits Thomas, then tries to evangelize the king. An exasperated Misdai finds Carish and together they seek to arrest Thomas.

In the twelfth act (chaps. 139–49) Thomas continues to make important converts. Vizan, the king's son, assumes command of the soldiers guarding Thomas and the apostle preaches to him. Misdai tries to interrogate Thomas under torture, but the instrument of torture, a set of hot slabs, is miraculously neutralized by a sudden flood, which threatens to submerge the area until stopped by Thomas' prayer. Thomas then bids his followers farewell and prays.

In the thirteenth and final act (chaps. 150–171) Vizan asks Thomas to visit his ailing wife. Mygdonia, Marcia, and Tertia, miraculously freed from imprisonment, come and, like the friends of Socrates, seek to take Thomas into exile. Tertia explains how they came to the prison, guided by a divine visitation. Thomas leads his visitors in prayer and song. Vizan, sent to bring necessities, meets his wife, Mnesara, miraculously healed and guided to the prison. All assemble at Vizan's house, where Mnesara recognizes Thomas as her healer. Thomas prays, blesses the oil, then anoints and baptizes Vizan. Mygdonia baptizes Mnesara and Tertia. Thomas celebrates the eucharist, then returns to prison for a final farewell. After the guards report to Misdai the strange comings and goings of the night, there follows another dramatic encounter between Misdai and Thomas, reminiscent of that between Pilate and Jesus. The king orders Thomas to be removed and speared. Thomas compares his fate to that of Jesus, bids final farewell to his friends, and prays before being slain. After his death he

appears to several of his followers. Later still Misdai searches for Thomas' bones, with which to heal an ailing son. They have been taken west, but the king uses dust from the tomb area to good effect. After Thomas appears to him he is brought to Siphor, now a presbyter, and requests prayers. The work ends on this happy note, with the persecutor brought to the threshold of the persecuted community.

E. The Hymns

Considerable attention has been devoted to the two major poetic sections, the Hymn of the Bride (chaps. 6–7) and the *Hymn of the Pearl* (chaps. 108–113). In both pieces, which were probably independent poems adapted to *Acts Thom.*, the elusive symbolism has elicited a wide variety of readings.

The first poem, which in the Syriac is an allegory of the Church, begins with a description of a bride, the "daughter of light," who is "glowing with a radiant beauty." The imagery becomes surreal with the reference to her headgear consisting of "The King and Truth." That the bride has some cosmic significance is suggested by the descriptions of her neck which is "like the steps which the First Craftsman fashioned" and of her hands which "give signs and clues, announcing the dance of the blessed aeons." She has seven groomsmen and bridesmaids and twelve servants, all watching for the bridegroom, so that they might be admitted to the "banquet of the eternal ones." There they will put on royal garments and celebrate forever. In the meantime they have received his ambrosial food and wine and have glorified the "Father of Truth and Mother of Wisdom." The bride may indeed be meant to symbolize the community of the celibate faithful, although other readings are possible. She is probably related to the figure of Lady Wisdom (e.g., Proverbs 7 and Wisdom of Solomon 7), and to the Sophia-Pronoia of gnostic sources. If so, she could represent the insight or the faith which enables its attendants to enter the heavenly wedding banquet and put on the wedding garment.

The better known *Hymn of the Pearl* is introduced as a reflection by Thomas on his own fate. It tells of the quest by a prince who as a child is equipped and sent from an eastern kingdom to Egypt with a mission to acquire "the one pearl which is there with the dragon, the devourer." His reward is be to invested with a special garment. He travels to Egypt through Babylonia acquiring guides for the trip. In Egypt he disguises himself and takes an eastern prince as a companion. Although the prince warns his friend about Egyptian ways, he himself is overcome when the locals learn that he is a stranger. After tasting their food and drink, he enters the service of their king, forgetful of his mission. At home the royal council hears of his plight and dispatches a letter recalling him to his task. This letter issues a dramatic summons: "Arise and awake from sleep . . . and remember that you are a son of kings . . . Remember your garment woven of gold. Remember the pearl for which you were sent to Egypt." This sealed letter, which speaks and serves as an ambassador, evokes a response from the prince. He seizes the pearl and makes for home. At his approach, the promised royal garment appears. In it the prince perceives himself and is reunited with his former glory. Suitably clad he enters with the pearl to the presence of the king of kings.

Although the hymn is susceptible to various interpretations, many of which it probably received as it was adapted in successive contexts, it probably serves as an allegory of the fate of the soul. Represented by the prince, it is sent into the realm of materiality where it experiences oblivion of its heavenly origin and destiny. Impelled by a message of heavenly origin, it completes its mission. In the royal garment, which recalls the wedding garment imagery of the earlier hymn, the prince sees himself. Donning it apparently symbolizes reunion with the soul's heavenly counterpart or higher, pneumatic self. The poem reaches its climax when that salvific union is achieved. See HYMN OF THE PEARL.

F. Liturgical Elements

Initiation rituals, or impositions of the "seal," are described in several episodes (chaps. 25–27, 49, 121, 132, 157). The last three cases follow the common Syrian order of anointing before baptism. The brief reference in chap. 49 provides little information. In the first account Thomas' preliminary prayer (chap. 25) refers to washing before anointing. The ritual itself consists only of anointing and involves an elaborate epiclesis (chap. 26) on the oil which, in its Greek form, invokes the spirit, in good Syrian style, as "the merciful mother" and, unusually, as the "fellowship with the male." The initiation rite brings remission of sins, new birth, and participation in the spirit (chap. 132).

The apostle celebrates the eucharist on various occasions (chaps. 26, 27, 29, 49–50, 121, 133, 158). Wine is not regularly mentioned, appearing only at 158 and, at the request of Mygdonia, it is expressly excluded from the eucharist at 121, according to the Greek version. An epiclesis on the bread (chap. 50) repeats some of the unusual invocations of the earlier epiclesis on the oil. Participation in the eucharist, like baptism, secures forgiveness of sins and spiritual empowerment (chap. 158).

G. Theological Perspectives

While poems and liturgies have exotic elements, Thomas' explicit teaching is generally familiar early Christian material. The major focus is the Savior, Jesus Christ, who combines divinity and humanity (chaps. 48, 80), and who reduced himself to smallness (chaps. 15, 123) to enable humans to participate in the majesty of a new humanity (chap. 48). Through his prophetically proclaimed (chap. 59) suffering, death, and resurrection, he overcame the powers of death, entered Hades, and released its captives (chaps. 10, 143, 156). He has come as the revealer of saving truth (chap. 25) and is expected as eschatological judge (chap. 28).

Acceptance of Christ and his apostle brings salvation from inimical powers graphically portrayed in the exorcisms (chap. 32) and from the punishments of hell (chaps. 56–58). It also liberates the believer from ignorance and error (chap. 98) while providing knowledge of the origin and destiny of the self (chap. 15).

Conversion entails a life of rigorous asceticism, particularly in sexual matters. While the transitory world and all its allurements are to be rejected in favor of the world above (chaps. 36–37), the source of all other ills is clearly

sex and its use is to be rejected, even in marriage (chaps. 12, 28, 84, 126, 144). To be attached to Christ is to find the true bridegroom (chaps. 14, 124) and is the basis for entry into the heavenly wedding feast. Although ascetisicm is a feature of most of the apocryphal acts, the position of this work is extreme and probably represents the position of the encratite movement of which Tatian is the best known representative.

It is generally recognized that the classification of all the apocryphal acts as "gnostic" is an obsolete oversimplification. The *Acts of Thomas* does have some elements which are gnostic in a general sense, such as the awareness of (chap. 15) and eschatological union with (chap. 113, in the *Hymn of the Pearl*) one's true self. Yet it lacks the cosmogonic myths characteristic of Gnosticism in the strictest sense. The work basically represents the mixture of theology, liturgy, and ascetical piety characteristic of Syrian Christianity of the 2d and 3d centuries. For text, see *NTApocr* 2: 425–531.

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THOMAS, APOCALYPSE OF. A 5th-century apocryphal apocalypse that describes the events that are to occur before the end of the world. It is unlike other apocalypses, such as those of Peter and Paul, which provide visions of a future world. The *Apocalypse of Thomas* was known only through a reference in the *Decretum Glasianum* until 1908 when C. Frick discovered a citation in the Chronicle of Jerome of the *Codex Philippsianus No. 1829* in Berlin. Now it is found in two versions.

A longer version is attested by several manuscripts, such as the 9th-century Cod. Clm 4585 of Benediktbeuern; an 8th-century manuscript from the Library of the Chapter of Verona; Cod. Vatic. Palat. No 220; and an Old English version from the 9th-century Anglo-Saxon Manuscript of Vercelli. There are two parts to this longer version. The first part describes what is to occur before the last judgment, and includes a series of anathemas and cries of pain and woe that will come to those who live on the earth during these last days. It is usually identified as an interpolation. The second part corresponds to the shorter version. It is represented by the 5th-century Cod. Vindob. Palatinus 16, which is the oldest known witness to the original text of all the apocalypses, and it is known from Cod. Clm 4563 from Benedikteruern that dates from the 11th or 12th century (see Otero 1965: 798–99; Quasten 1962: 149; James 1924: 556–59; and also James 1910a and 1910b).

The shorter version is the oldest known witness to the original text of the *Apocalypse of Thomas.* However, it has also been subjected to numerous revisions, especially as it was influenced by Manichaeism and Priscillianism (Otero 1965: 799). Otero suggests that both versions provide indications that the *Apocalypse of Thomas* may be earlier than the 5th century (1965: 799). A multiplicity of variants in the Latin manuscripts leads some scholars to think that it may have originally been composed in Greek (*IDB* 4: 634; Quasten 1962: 149; Otero 1965: 799). English translations of both versions may be found in James; Otero provides a translation of the shorter version.

The shorter version of the *Apocalypse of Thomas* begins with a revelation to Thomas from the Lord, who identifies himself as "the Son of God the Father" and "the father of all spirits," about the "signs which will be at the end of the world" (Otero 1965: 799–800). These signs will take place over seven days. On the first day it will rain blood on the earth; on the second day smoke will cover the whole earth; on the third day pillars of smoke and the stench of sulfur will fill the earth; an earthquake will topple the idols of the heathens on the fourth day; darkness will cover the earth on the fifth day; on the sixth day people will hide from the righteous angels and the "bodies of the saints will rise"; on the seventh day angels will fill the air and make war among themselves and deliver the elect. On the eighth day the elect who believe in Jesus will be delivered, and they will rejoice over the destruction of the world.

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DANA ANDREW THOMASON

THOMAS, GOSPEL OF (NHC II,2). The *Gospel of Thomas* is an anthology of aphorisms, proverbs, parables, prophetic sayings, and community rules preserved in the name, and under the authority, of Jesus. It is thus a representative of the genre chreia collection: concise sayings aptly attributed to Jesus are listed seriatim in the form of direct statements made by Jesus or responses to questions asked of him. Whereas the colophon at the end of the text presents the anthology as a "gospel," the incipit provides the original designation for the genre as a collection of attributed "sayings." *The Gospel of Thomas* may therefore be regarded as a sayings gospel. The division of the text into 114 sayings is not given in any manuscript but has become a standard scholarly practice since that procedure was introduced in 1959 (Guillaumont et al. 1959: vi).

A. Text and Attestation
B. Authorship and Origins
C. Relationship to the NT
D. Literary Criticism
E. Theology and Social Formation

A. Text and Attestation

The Coptic text of *Gos. Thom.* is a translation of a lost Greek original. Although fragments of three different mss of the Greek text were discovered among the Oxyrhynchus papyri (*P. Oxy.*) and published in 1897 and 1904, the gospel is extant in its entirety solely in a Coptic translation. It survives as the second of seven tractates of Codex II of the Coptic Gnostic Library from Nag Hammadi, which was buried in the 4th century and unearthed in Egypt in 1945. The Coptic text is conserved in the Coptic Museum of Old Cairo. The three Greek fragments (*P. Oxy.* 1, 654, 655) are conserved, respectively, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford University; the British Library, London; and the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

The discovery of the Coptic text enabled scholars to identify the Greek papyri as fragments of *Gos. Thom.* and, in turn, assess the relationship of the Greek to the Coptic text. *P. Oxy.* 654 corresponds to the prologue and sayings 1–7 of *Gos. Thom.*; *P. Oxy.* 1 corresponds to *Gos. Thom.* 26–30, 77.2, and 31–33; and *P. Oxy.* 655 corresponds to *Gos. Thom.* 24 and 36–39. On paleographical grounds *P. Oxy.* 1 has been assigned a date shortly after 200 C.E.; the copying of the other two Greek fragments is estimated to date from various decades in the mid–3d century. Analysis of the handwriting of the Coptic text, which is well preserved, indicates that it was copied just before the year 350. According to the critical edition of the Coptic text by Layton (1989: 7), the admixture of Sahidic and Subakhmimic forms indicates that the language of this translation is "a literary language," apparently "written by a speaker" of Subakhmimic "attempting, artificially, to conform" to Sahidic. See LANGUAGES (COPTIC).

Substantial differences do exist between the Greek fragments and the Coptic text. These are best explained as variants resulting from the circulation of more than one Greek edition of *Gos. Thom.* in antiquity. The existence of three different copies of the Greek text of *Gos. Thom.* does give evidence of rather frequent copying of this gospel in the 3d century. According to the critical edition of the Greek text by Attridge (in Layton 1989: 99), however, even though these copies do not come from a single ms, the fragmentary state of the papyri does not permit one to determine whether any of the mss "was copied from another, whether they derive independently from a single archetype, or whether they represent distinct recensions." It is clear, nevertheless, that *Gos. Thom.* was subject to redaction as it was transmitted. The presence of inner-Coptic errors in the sole surviving translation, moreover, suggests that our present *Gos. Thom.* is not the first Coptic transcription made from the Greek. The ms tradition indicates that this gospel was appropriated again and again in the generations following its composition. Like many other gospels in the first three centuries, the text of *Gos. Thom.* must be regarded as unstable.

The one incontrovertible testimonium to *Gos. Thom.* is found in Hippolytus of Rome (*Haer.* 5.7.20). Writing between the years 222–235 C.E., Hippolytus quotes a variant of saying 4 expressly stated to be taken from a text entitled *Gos. Thom.* Possible references to this gospel by its title alone abound in early Christianity (e.g., Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.25.6). But such indirect attestations must be treated with care, since they might refer to the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas.* Parallels to certain sayings in *Gos. Thom.* are also abundant; some are found, according to Clement of Alexandria, in the *Gospel of the Hebrews* and the *Gospel of the Egyptians.* However, a direct dependence of *Gos. Thom.* upon another noncanonical gospel is problematic and extremely unlikely. The relationship of *Gos. Thom.* to the *Diatessaron* of Tatian is even more vexed, exacerbated by untold difficulties in reconstructing the textual basis of Tatian's tradition, and has not yet been resolved.

B. Authorship and Origins

The prologue of *Gos. Thom.* explicitly identifies Jesus as the speaker of its sayings and Didymus Judas Thomas as the one who recorded them in writing. Although the sayings' authority ultimately resides in the voice of the "living Jesus," attribution of those sayings to Jesus is said to be authenticated by Didymus Judas Thomas, who was revered in the early Syriac church as an apostle and twin brother of Jesus. The simple name Thomas is a transliteration of a Semitic surname, whose underlying meaning, like that of the accompanying Greek "Didymus," is the ordinary word for "twin." Judas is thus the original, given name of the pseudepigraphic author of the collection, the same person to whom the letter of Jude in the NT is also attributed. However, because the colophon identifies the text as *Gos. Thom.*, it has become customary to refer to the author by the derivative cognomen Thomas.

Attribution of authorship to Judas Thomas situates the text at a time in which appeals of authority were made to individual disciples or apostles by name, in order to secure the identity and guarantee the reliability of the tradition of those communities which looked to such individuals as their patron. Thus, though James is respected (saying 12; cf. Gal 1:19; 2:9, 12), his authority is succeeded in *Gos. Thom.* by that of Thomas (saying 13). And the contrasting of Thomas' authority with that of Peter and Matthew (saying 13; cf. Gal 1:18; 2:7–9, 11–14; Matt 16:15–19; John 21:15–23) may indicate further that *Gos. Thom.* was composed at a time in which collections of written traditions about Jesus were connected with the competitive

claims of authority under the names of individual followers of Jesus.

The fact that Judas "the Twin" was the apostolic figure particularly revered in Syriac-speaking churches is important evidence for the date and place of composition of the text. For as Koester (in Layton 1989: 39) has shown, *Gos. Thom.*'s identification of its author as Jesus' brother Judas does not presuppose a knowledge of the NT, but "rests upon an independent tradition." In addition, the peculiar, redundant name Didymus Judas Thomas seems to be attested only in the East, where the shadowy disciple named Thomas (Mark 3:18 par.; John 14:5) or Thomas Didymus (John 11:16; 20:24; 21:2) was identified with Judas in the Syriac NT and called Judas Thomas (John 14:22). The occurrence of variants of this distinctive name in the *Acts of Thomas* is especially striking, not only because the latter evidently shows acquaintance with *Gos. Thom.* 2, 13, 22, and 52, but also because it is widely held that the *Acts of Thomas* was composed in Syriac in the early 3d century. Other documents that invoke the authority of Judas Thomas by name are also of Syrian origin, such as the *Teaching of Addai*, the Abgar legend (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 1.13.1–22), and the *Book of Thomas the Contender* (NHC II,7).

Accordingly, the naming of Judas Thomas as the ostensible author of *Gos. Thom.* serves to locate the likely composition of the text in a bilingual environment in E Syria. Since Edessa was the capital city of the N Mesopotamian region known as Osrhoëne, whose church preserved the bones of Thomas as relics since the end of the 4th century (Layton 1987: 361), scholars have generally accepted it as the place of composition of the text. Another city in the same geographical provenance, however, would not be implausible. A bilingual culture is thought to be required for the production of a gospel extant in Greek and showing traces of Semitisms. Nevertheless, it is questionable whether *Gos. Thom.* was actually composed in Aramaic or Syriac and then translated into Greek and Coptic. There is no evidence for the text of *Gos. Thom.* other than that preserved in Greek and in a Coptic translation made from the Greek. If there ever were a Syriac version, it apparently has not survived.

Although the Coptic text of *Gos. Thom.* was copied in the 4th century, the Oxyrhynchus papyri establish a date of composition prior to the year 200 C.E. The original editors of the Greek fragments had proposed the year 140 as the latest likely date of composition for *P. Oxy.* 1 and 654 (Grenfell and Hunt 1897: 16; 1904: 25), and the year 150 for *P. Oxy.* 655 (1904: 44). Even though they preferred to date the collection ca. 100 (1897: 18), their terminus ad quem of 140 became widely assumed as the actual date of composition of the gospel (e.g., Guillaumont et al. 1959: vi; *NTApocr* 1: 305; Quispel 1975: 180, 194; 1981: 222–23). Determining a plausible date of composition is speculative and depends on a delicate weighing of critical judgments about the history of the transmission of the sayings-of-Jesus tradition and the process of the formation of written gospel texts. The earliest possible date would be in the middle of the 1st century, when sayings collections such as the Synoptic Sayings Gospel Q first began to be compiled. The latest possible date would be toward the end of the 2d century, prior to the copying of *P. Oxy.* 1 and the first reference to the text by Hippolytus. If *Gos. Thom.* is a sayings collection based on an autonomous tradition, and not a gospel harmony conflated from the NT, then a date of composition in, say, the last decades of the 1st century would be more likely than a mid-to-late-2d-century date. As such, this gospel would provide the earliest surviving evidence for the beginnings of Christianity in and around Edessa.

C. Relationship to the NT

The scholarly community is more sharply divided over the question of the relationship of *Gos. Thom.* and the writings of the NT than any other single issue. Since no fewer than 68 of the 114 sayings in the text have biblical parallels, establishing a connection between *Gos. Thom.* and the NT could have far-reaching consequences. The outcome would not be restricted to the narrow confines of source criticism or the extent of the Synoptic Gospels' influence on those texts which eventually were not accepted into the canon. Broader issues are at stake as well, including the significance of *Gos. Thom.* for the history of the transmission of the sayings-of-Jesus tradition, the place of this text in the intersection of cultures symbolized by the term "Christian beginnings," and the very designs of the gospel itself.

Scholars who argue that *Gos. Thom.* is dependent on the NT generally regard the former as a mid-to-late-2d-century gospel harmony, composed for the needs of a Christian gnostic community (e.g., Schrage 1964). Scholars who maintain that *Gos. Thom.* is independent of the NT generally consider this gospel a 1st- or early-2d-century sayings collection, based on traditions which are closely related to the traditions of the canonical gospels but which have undergone a separate process of transmission (e.g., Robinson and Koester 1971). An intermediate position is taken by those scholars who propose that an original core of chreiai, parallel to but independent of the NT, forms the basis of *Gos. Thom.*, which at some later stage in the development of the text was combined with sayings derived from the Synoptic Gospels (e.g., Wilson 1960).

The most distinctive hypothesis for *Gos. Thom.*'s dependence on sources but independence from the NT has been repeatedly advanced by Quispel (e.g., 1975: 3–16, 180–209; 1981: 218–66). Starting from the observation that Clement of Alexandria attributed variants of saying 2 to the *Gospel of the Hebrews* and saying 22 to the *Gospel of the Egyptians*, Quispel proposed that *Gos. Thom.* is a collection of sayings derived in part from those two noncanonical gospels. The presence of doublets in the text of *Gos. Thom.* is regarded as proof of its use of written sources. Where there are doublets, one member of the pair is said to reflect a more Jewish-Christian theology and the other a more encratite theology. The *Gospel of the Hebrews* (which Quispel frequently equates with the *Gospel of the Nazoreans*) is considered the source of the former; the latter member, it is argued, was reproduced from the *Gospel of the Egyptians*. In addition, a third source is provided for those sayings that have neither a Jewish-Christian nor an encratite theology: a hermetic gnomologium, comprising hellenizing sayings which speak about one's knowledge of the self (Quispel 1981: 259–66).

Quispel's arguments have not received the endorsement

of most scholars (Haenchen 1961–62: 162–69; Fallon and Cameron *ANRW* 2/25/6: 4216–19). He predicates his source-critical hypothesis on fragmentary texts of indeterminate content, tenuous attestation, and uncertain designation. Entire gospels are thus reconstructed from a handful of quotations preserved in early Christian writers, then put forward as the textual bases from which *Gos. Thom.* is supposed to have extracted some of its sayings while, simultaneously, eliminating all traces of their narratives. Quispel equates the presence of Jewish-Christian and encratite sayings in *Gos. Thom.* with the necessity of their stemming, respectively, from a single written source. But what he identifies as isolated sources are not coherent written texts, only sayings which apparently share a common heritage. Attempts to establish a direct dependence of *Gos. Thom.* on noncanonical gospels are very precarious indeed.

The question of the relationship of *Gos. Thom.* and the Gospels of the NT is still to be resolved. Arguments for dependence or independence ultimately must come to grips with two fundamental issues: the wording of the sayings in *Gos. Thom.* and the order in which they are presented in the text. Close analysis of a saying's wording seeks to establish whether or not individual words or phrases in *Gos. Thom.* and the NT are dependent on their respective parallel passages. Careful scrutiny of the sayings' order endeavors to account for the differences in the sequence of those sayings that are preserved in *Gos. Thom.* and the NT. Constructing an argument based on wording is compounded by the difficulties in determining whether specific terms that appear in *Gos. Thom.* and the NT show the distinguishing signs of redactional revisions of the other's sayings; indicate coincidental agreements that may be drawn from oral traditions or written texts shared in common; or attest to a process of intertextual composition, in which the authors of *Gos. Thom.* and the NT experimented with creative ways to integrate past reflections and present perceptions into novel literary performances, in order to make sense of the various junctures of their groups' histories. Constructing an argument based on order, on the other hand, is compromised by the fact that *Gos. Thom.* presents its sayings in a sequence totally different from that of any of the Synoptic Gospels, and does so with no discernible compositional pattern demanding such a rearrangement.

Those who argue that *Gos. Thom.* is dependent on the Synoptics not only must explain the differences in wording and order, but also give a reason for *Gos. Thom.*'s choice of genre and the absence of the gospels' narrative material in the text. To assert, for example, that *Gos. Thom.* erased the passion narratives because Gnosticism was concerned solely with a redeeming message contained in words of revelation (Haenchen 1961: 11) is simply not convincing, since the *Apocryphon of James* (NHC I,2), the *Second treatise of the Great Seth* (NHC VII,2), and the *Apocalypse of Peter* (NHC VII,3) all indicate that sayings of and stories about the death and resurrection of Jesus were reinterpreted by various gnostic groups. For any theory of dependence on *Gos. Thom.* or the NT to be made plausible, one must show that the variations in form and content of their individual sayings, together with the differences in genre and structure of their entire texts, are intentional modifications of their respective parallels, designed to serve a particular purpose.

There are only four instances in which *Gos. Thom.*'s order approximates that of sections of the NT:

(1)	saying 32	(Matt 5:14b)
	saying 33.2	(Matt 5:15 = Luke 11:33 = Mark 4:21 par.)
(2)	saying 43.3	(cf. Matt 7:16a, 17–18; 12:33 = Luke 6:43–44a)
	saying 44	(Matt 12:31–32 = Luke 12:10 = Mark 3:28–29)
	saying 45.1	(Matt 7:16b = Luke 6:44b)
	saying 45.2	(Matt 12:35 = Luke 6:45ab)
	saying 45.3	(Matt 12:34b = Luke 6:45c)
(3)	saying 65	(Matt 21:33–39 = Mark 12:1–8 = Luke 20:9–15)
	saying 66	(Matt 21:42 = Mark 12:10 = Luke 20:17)
(4)	saying 92.1	(Matt 7:7b = Luke 11:9b)
	saying 93	(Matt 7:6)
	saying 94	(Matt 7:8bc = Luke 11:10bc)

For those who argue that *Gos. Thom.* is independent of the Synoptics, these parallels present a problem that cannot readily be resolved according to current assumptions about documentary relationships. An intertextual model may prove helpful, for it enables texts to be understood as highly conscious authorial compositions, adapted and adopted from various encounters with groups and repeated engagements with texts that constituted the cultural tapestry of the times. The relationship of *Gos. Thom.* and the gospels of the NT may be imagined intertextually as a process of creative borrowing and reworking by all parties over time, in which original contributions were entertained and traditional materials recast to produce novel literary performances that addressed the concerns of socially autonomous Christian communities. In *Gos. Thom.* these particular sequences are arranged according to similarity in form, shared theme, and catchword association. Only saying 44 disrupts the proverbial features of these four sets—and it seems to have been inserted as a judicial threat, to warn the "disciples" (mentioned in saying 43.1) of the perils of misconstruing the identity of Jesus, manifest in his words. These chreiai do not function as a harmony of the gospels, but are grouped in units that express the labor invested in maintaining the fabric of an ordered society. By formulating insights essential for living astutely in the world, the collected sayings of *Gos. Thom.* offer the path of wisdom, described throughout the gospel, as the guiding perspective for the community counseled by the text.

Most discussions of *Gos. Thom.* and the NT have been conceived somewhat narrowly, couched chiefly in terms of *Gos. Thom.*'s possible dependence on the canonical Gospels as written sources. A broader perspective is called for, which not only inquires into a text's use of sources but also examines how the authors of a text appropriated everything that they used. Developing a method for controlling the ways in which *Gos. Thom.* may have inserted, deleted, transposed, or conflated its sources is an exceedingly intricate task. In a chreia collection, sayings could conceivably

be added or subtracted anywhere, at any time, to update the collection, take a position on issues of interest to the Jesus movements, and reflect on the development of a particular group's history. *Gos. Thom.* is a text that lays claim to formal authorship and renders critical judgments upon the patterns of practice of its times. It therefore must be considered the guiding religious statement of an autonomous Christian community.

Both that community and its gospel have their own rationales, patterns of discourse, and networks of social and textual relations. To be sure, there may be some evidence that the scribes who copied the Coptic text of *Gos. Thom.* were acquainted with the gospels of the NT. But a correspondence between the Coptic translations of the NT and the Coptic text of *Gos. Thom.* would prove some sort of relationship only at the stage of their translations, not at the compositional level of their Greek texts. And the Greek *Gos. Thom.* appears to be further from the NT than the Coptic text. Accordingly, *Gos. Thom.* is best understood as an independent sayings collection of a self-conscious scribal tradition, a gospel with its own compositional integrity, generic identity, and transmissional history. Most of the sayings in the gospel are preserved in forms more original than their parallels in the NT or reflect developments of more original forms of such sayings. *Gos. Thom.* thus continues the process of creative remembering. Its group has persisted in collecting, composing, and updating its heritage by acts of reinterpretation over the course of several decades of social history.

D. Literary Criticism

The fundamental literary feature governing the composition and interpretation of *Gos. Thom.* is its genre. As a chreia collection, the gospel comprises self-contained units arranged in no discernible order. Its chief organizing principle seems to be the linking of discrete sayings by catchword association. Although some chreiai have been grouped according to a similarity in form (e.g., proverbs in sayings 31–35; parables in sayings 96–98) or a shared theme (e.g., the "elect" in sayings 49–50), few display a compositional sequence structured according to antique patterns of rhetorical elaboration. It is possible that our present *Gos. Thom.* is based on an older collection of sayings which neither the Greek nor the Coptic version has preserved in its original form. However, no cogent literary arguments have yet been adduced for isolating such a collection, identifying its characteristics and contours, and indicating which sayings clusters may compose that earlier stratum and which a later recension.

A chreia collection imparts its own distinctive claim of authority. The teacher is regarded as present in the words that are selected for inclusion in written form. It is the task of the reader, on the other hand, to provide an interpretative context, and thus imitate or assimilate the virtues displayed by the teacher and offered in the text. Ascribing *Gos. Thom.* to Jesus, who is characterized as a sage with a distinguished reputation, presupposes that his counsel is endowed with special wisdom. By identifying him as "the living Jesus," moreover, the claim is made that his wisdom is invested with divine authority. Jesus' sayings are thus understood to be those of the voice of divine Wisdom manifesting herself. His authority resides not in the mythology of the risen Christ—a postresurrection setting is disallowed by the text—but is localized in sayings that offer contemporizing wisdom, made available through the gospel, for those who have ears to hear.

The designation of the text as "the secret sayings which the living Jesus spoke," whose interpretation will enable one not to "taste death," indicates that the discernment of the meaning of these sayings was thought to bring secret wisdom. As Kloppenborg (1987: 301) has shown, the sayings in *Gos. Thom.* have been "formulated so that they require interpretation in order to become efficacious." In fact, there is a direct correlation between the production of this text and the skill needed to interpret it correctly. According to the prologue, the secret sayings of the living Jesus are recorded in writing by his twin brother Thomas. Correspondingly, in saying 1, "the reader is to penetrate the opacity of the written word by means of a hermeneutical key which would unlock the secret of life." That key is proposed programmatically in saying 2, which describes by way of a sorites nothing less than "a process of 'sapiential research,' " in which "interpretation and salvation coincide" (Kloppenborg 1987: 305). Fundamentally, therefore, *Gos. Thom.* is an esoteric book whose explication, marked by insight and mastered by research, discloses one's origin, identity, and destiny (saying 50).

The majority of the sayings in *Gos. Thom.* are indicative of reflective activity pertaining to and characteristic of the phenomenon of wisdom. Proverbs (e.g., sayings 31–35, 45, 47, 94) clarify the world and one's situation in it. They conceptualize the sense to be made of the social order by identifying the skills and articulating the responses appropriate to exemplary, lived circumstances. Parables (e.g., sayings 8–9, 20, 63–65, 76, 96–98, 107, 109) express the discovery of one's identity and destiny in the words of wisdom that form the basis of a community. It is striking that the parables preserved in *Gos. Thom.* regularly refer to the labor requisite to cultivating the kingdom, and feature none of the elaborate allegorical interpretations attested in their parallels in the gospels of the NT (Cameron 1986: 3–39). Prophetic sayings (e.g., sayings 3, 18, 51, 113) announce that the arena for encountering the ethos of the kingdom is an ideal order, which must be recognized without and internalized within the imagination of the individual. Even those sayings formulated in the first person singular (e.g., sayings 17, 23, 28, 77, 90, 108) are pronouncements of heavenly Wisdom, not announcements of some role for Jesus as a savior who is to come. For *Gos. Thom.*, the kingdom is not projected into an apocalyptic future, but is made accessible and rendered intelligible through pondering the meaning of Jesus' words.

Community rules (e.g., sayings 6, 14, 27, 53, 104) present a critical assessment of traditional codes of religious etiquette. In marking the differences that define group membership, these rules direct the community's attention to the consequences of imitating the patterns of practice exemplified by Jesus and described in the text. The distinctive character of the conditions of discipleship comes to expression most personally in selected aphorisms (e.g., sayings 42, 49, 58, 82) in *Gos. Thom.* Individual no less than collective wisdom has been aptly ascribed to the figure of Jesus. Such a sapiential characterization indicates that Jesus

is not only sanctioned as the envoy of Wisdom; he is also the one through whom that divinely anchored order is maintained and manifest in the midst of the world. By presenting the entire gospel as a collection of attributed sayings, therefore, *Gos. Thom.* locates the realm of imaginative discourse as the social space for cultivating a sane and circumspect society made possible by the wisdom remembered in Jesus' name.

E. Theology and Social Formation

One of the most discussed issues in the literature on *Gos. Thom.* is whether or not this gospel is gnostic. Quispel (1975: 196, 198, 206; 1981: 219, 223, 234, 264) has consistently maintained that *Gos. Thom.* is not a gnostic but an encratite text, whose apparent gnostic features owe their appearance to the author's use of hermetic sources, thought, and lore. It is certainly possible that some gnostic sayings were interpolated into the text during the course of its transmission, and may well form the latest stage in the social history of the gospel. Nevertheless, no literary arguments have been adduced to indicate why such sayings were inserted in the text where they are. A majority of scholars have concluded that *Gos. Thom.* is a gnostic gospel, though it cannot be assigned to a particular sect or school. As the text now stands, it surely seems to be gnostic, for *Gos. Thom.*'s members acknowledge in the first person plural their origin and identity in the realm of light (saying 50), and where they preexisted (saying 19.1) and are destined to return (sayings 18, 49). This gospel thus bears witness to that widespread esoteric movement in antiquity which regarded insight as the means of attaining liberation, the recognition of one's own identity with the divine.

For some readers, a hidden clue to gnostic interpretations of other sayings may have been provided by finding what were regarded as allusions to a "myth of the heavenly origin, fall, incarnation, awakening, and return of the soul" (Layton 1987: 376) encoded in the otherwise "obscure" aphorisms in the text. The fact that Jesus' twin brother Thomas is the ostensible author of the gospel may therefore be especially significant. It is noteworthy in any case, for, as Layton (1987: 359) has shown, the motif of the twin "provided a profound theological model for the reciprocal relationship of the individual Christian and the inner divine light or 'living Jesus': to know oneself was to know one's divine double and thence to know god." Accordingly, whoever comes to recognize the essential identity of himself, the living Jesus, and the father is characterized in *Gos. Thom.* as a "solitary" (sayings 16, 49, 75) or "single" one (sayings 4, 11, 22, 23, 30, 106), who has broken the bonds that mark existence without integrity and been restored to a state of primordial unity. Jesus himself is the prototype of that oneness (saying 61); correspondingly, Thomas' recognition of his identification with Jesus (saying 13) discloses the profile of self-awareness that is mirrored through the text.

Becoming a solitary or single one is signified in *Gos. Thom.* by baptismal initiation. Sayings that focused on the disciples' stripping themselves naked, being without shame, treading on their garments, and becoming as little children (sayings 21.1–2, 22, 37) were elaborated in baptismal practices and attendant interpretations of the Genesis accounts of the creation and the fall (Smith 1965–66: 217–38). According to this tradition, the unity of the first human was disrupted by the creation of woman and subsequent sexual division. Redemption was imagined to be the replication of Adam and Eve's primordial state, the reunification of the sexes and transcendence of the world. *Gos. Thom.* thus presents baptism as a symbol of rectification, making paradise the paradigm for social relations in the community. Initiates were invited to take their place in that ideal new order identified as the kingdom. References to the solitary or single one that are appended to other sayings in *Gos. Thom.* (sayings 4.2, 16.2, 23) indicate that the language of baptism not only signified a ritual of initiation, but has also become a focusing lens for conceptualizing the difference that solidarity in the community makes.

As the guiding religious statement of an identifiable Christian community, *Gos. Thom.* is fundamentally concerned with questions of social self-definition. What the kingdom is like, to whom it belongs, how one is admitted, and what etiquette is proper were the burning issues that the sayings addressed to designate membership in that community. In addition to the function of baptism in *Gos. Thom.* as an elaboration of identification, table fellowship is also attested as a social setting for remembering the gatherings that Jesus occasioned. Sayings that refer to a member's place on dining couches at a banquet (sayings 61.1–2, 64) were told in the context of community meals, to demarcate one's belonging to the group and to assess the significance of invested loyalties (Cameron 1986: 16–19). Parables and other chreiai that were understood self-referentially may well have been produced on similar occasions.

Two of those parables are introduced with a question from or about the disciples (sayings 20, 21.1–2). Such attributions are particularly striking, since the "disciples" serve as foils in *Gos. Thom.* to underscore Jesus' identity and his consequence for the community (sayings 18, 24, 37, 43, 51, 52, 99, 113), and to inquire about the codes that constitute their activity (sayings 6, 53). The *Gospel of Thomas* is acquainted with the apocalyptic responses of other, threatened groups, but it rejects them by redirecting the disciples' queries about the future (e.g., sayings 18, 51, 113) with answers which employ the aphoristic imagination that was cultivated by the earliest Jesus movements. Accordingly, Jesus is neither presented as an apocalyptic preacher nor characterized as the coming "Son of Man" (*Gos. Thom.* 86 preserves a generic, nontitular usage). Instead, he is identified as the personification of Wisdom (e.g., saying 28), whose appearance made a difference in the way the social order would be established, sought, and found.

Moreover, *Gos. Thom.* does not interpret Jesus' death by means of a theology of the cross, but advances a christology in which such a proclamation was not necessary. When the disciples are aware that Jesus will pass away, they reflect on the implications of his departure in terms of group leadership (sayings 12, 13). Accordingly, there is no need to appeal to the cross and resurrection in order to imagine the origins of Christianity, for *Gos. Thom.* documents an alternative rationale sufficient to account for its beginnings, and presents a wisdom paradigm as a mythic precedent to reflect upon its subsequent history. Jesus' death is

conceptually linked to the life of the disciple, who bears his own cross in imitation of Jesus' stance of endurance (sayings 55, 101). For this gospel, therefore, the reciprocal relationship of Jesus and his followers is characterized as an ethos marked by self-identification, social solidarity, and personal integrity.

Gos. Thom. took Jesus seriously as a teacher who spoke with authority. It celebrated his memory by preserving sayings in his name that sanctioned the formation of a distinctive community. The gospel locates its group's position within the Christian tradition as an independent Jesus movement, which persisted over the course of several generations of social history without becoming an apocalyptic or kerygmatic sect. Authorized by interpreting the written legacy of Jesus, *Gos. Thom.* maintained its autonomy and distinct identity by acts of creative attribution. Jesus was characterized as the embodiment of Wisdom; his words, which could harness the very power of the universe, offered her path of "knowing" as an investment of the imagination. *Gos. Thom.* defines the role of its community in constructing the fabric of society as a process of sapiential insight and research. This gospel, therefore, charts the course of salvation as a study in interpretation, providing the elixir of life to those for whom the secret of the kingdom is disclosed in the interpretation of Jesus' words.

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THOMAS, THE INFANCY GOSPEL OF. The *Infancy Gospel of Thomas* (= *Inf. Thom.*) is a popular collection of novelistic miracle stories which purport to recount the miracles and sayings of the boy Jesus between five and twelve years of age. In terms of the development of the tradition sometime in the mid–2d century, *Inf. Thom.* represents the textualization of a cycle of orally transmitted folklore which was continually expanded by the still circulating oral tradition (Gero 1971: 56–57) and, at the textual level, by creative editors. The text is not to be confused with the sayings gospel *The Gospel of Thomas* (NHC II,2) from Nag Hammadi.

A. The Manuscript Tradition
   1. Syriac Manuscripts
   2. Greek Manuscripts
   3. Latin Manuscripts
   4. Slavonic Manuscripts
   5. An Irish Manuscript
   6. Arabic, Armenian, Ethiopic, and Georgian Manuscripts
B. Time and Place of Composition
C. The Story Line
D. Tradition and Redaction
E. Forgotten Sources for the "Hidden Years" of Jesus' Life?
F. Diverse Theological Elements

A. The Manuscript Tradition

The most noticeable and problematic feature of the ms tradition of *Inf. Thom.* is that the text is known in numerous recensions and translations (at least 13 languages; Mirecki 1983: 191–201). This is not surprising considering the popular and folkloristic nature of the narratives. Some of the earliest and most important mss have not yet been edited and studied, so that basic questions concerning the original language (Greek or Syriac [cf. Peeters 1911–14: i–lix, esp. xx; and the critique by Gero 1971: 48 n. 1]), the earliest written form of the narratives, and the time, place, and circumstances of composition still remain unanswered (for a useful stemma of the ms tradition, see Gero 1971: 56; my abbreviations for mss follow Gero's model [49–54] and references to texts in *Inf. Thom.* follow that of Cullmann *NTApocr* 2: 388–401).

1. Syriac Manuscripts. One of the most important mss dates from the second half of the 6th century and contains *Inf. Thom.* in the Estrangela script of Syriac (= *BMSyr*). Edited by Wright (1865: 6–11), the ms is in the British Museum and is considered by Gero (1971: 51, 55) to

represent the earliest known form of the text. There are two other Syriac mss but neither has been published. One is in Göttingen (= *Gött*) and dates from the 5th or 6th century (cf. Gero 1971: 51 n. 6); the other is a Vatican ms (= *Vat. syr.;* Bib. Vat. Syr. 159) dated to 1622–23, which Peeters (1911–14: xiii-xvi) suggests is at the base of all other recensions. The Syriac text of *Inf. Thom.* was incorporated into a later work of unknown date called the *Life of Mary* (Budge 1899: 1.65–70, 75–76; 2.70–82), which itself is known from a 13th- or 14th-century Syriac ms (= *BVM*).

2. Greek Manuscripts. In the modern period, *Inf. Thom.* is best known in the so-called longer recension (*GrA;* = Gero's A-type text), based on two Greek mss. One is dated to the 15th century and is currently in Bologna (= *Bonon*) and the other is dated to the 16th century, may be dependent on *Bonon,* and is in Dresden (= *Dresd;* Mingarelli 1764: 73–155; Thilo 1832: 275–315; Tischendorf 1876: xxxvi–xlviii, 140–57; Michel 1911–14: xxiii–xxxii, 161–89; Santos Otero 1984: 280–303). Two other mss of the longer recension are a fragmentary 15th-century ms in Paris (= *Par;* Bibl. nat. gr. 239), first edited by J. B. Cotelier in 1698 (repr. 1700 and 1724) and reprinted by J. A. Fabricius in 1703 (1.127–67), and a now-lost fragment from Vienna (= *Vind;* Tischendorf's discussion [1876: xliii] is derived from Thilo [1832: lxxv, 275–81]). Also of the longer recension and demonstrating significant agreements with the Latin and Slavonic versions is a 15th-century ms in Athens (= *Ath;* Athens bibl. nat. gr. 355), edited by Delatte (1927: 264–71). Finally, the longer recension in Greek is preserved in an important and unedited 14th- or 15th-century ms in the library of Vatopedi Monastery on Mt. Athos (= *Athos;* cod. 37), a little-known ms which has so far received only brief notice beginning with R. Lipsius in 1890 (24). A shorter and possibly secondary recension in Greek (*GrB;* = Gero's B-type text) is known from a 14th- or 15th-century ms at Mt. Sinai (= *Sinai*). This text was edited by Tischendorf (1876: xliv, 158–63) and shows similarities with the late Latin infancy gospel *Pseudo-Matthew* (see below). The shorter recension is generally understood to be a selective abbreviation of the longer recension (Gero 1971: 49) but McNamara (1971: 42–66) argues that the shorter (also known in an Irish version, see below) is prior to the longer and so preserves an earlier "short form" of the text.

3. Latin Manuscripts. A late and undated Latin ms (= *Vat*) in the Vatican library (Vat. Reginae Sueciae 648 [cf. Gero 1971: 50 n. 2]), edited by Tischendorf (1876: 164–80), begins with the story of the flight to Egypt when Jesus was two years old (as does *Ath*). Another of our earliest unedited mss is a damaged Latin palimpsest in Vienna (= *Lat palimps.*) which Tischendorf (1876: xliv–xlvi) dates to the 5th century. The Latin text of *Inf. Thom.* was incorporated into a larger work sometime during or before the 9th century (Gero 1971: 51 n. 1), known as the infancy gospel of *Pseudo-Matthew* (= *Ps-Matt*). At least four mss of *Ps-Matt* are extant from the 14th and 15th centuries (for discussion of *Ps-Matt* follow the reference to the work of Sanchez [1968] in Gero 1971: 51 n. 2). Select episodes from the Latin versions of *Inf. Thom.* were incorporated into other medieval Latin infancy gospels, and the most striking is a 13th-century ms in Paris (= *Lat. Par.;* Paris Bibl. nat. lat. 11867), which transmits the story of the boy Jesus riding on a sunbeam also found in other mss, including Codex B of *Ps-Matt* (Gero 1971: 51 nn. 3–4; 57).

4. Slavonic Manuscripts. At least fourteen mss dating from the 14th through 19th centuries in five Slavonic languages are extant. They generally conform to Gero's A-type text and may derive from more than one early translation into Old Slavonic from Greek (see bibliographies in Gero 1971: 53–55; Lüdtke 1927: 490–508; Santos Otero 1984: 284). Following Gero, we have a Russian ms (= *S*) from the 16th century edited by Speranskij in 1895; three Serbian mss, the first (= *X;* the Chudlov ms) from the 14th century edited by Popov in 1872, the second (= *N*) also from the 14th century edited by Novakovic in 1876, and the third (= *L*) from the 16th century edited by Lavrov in 1899; a Middle Bulgarian ms (= *J*) from 1337–55 edited by Jacimirskij in 1899; a Croatian ms (= *Cr*) from the 15th century, in Glagolitic script, translated into Serbo-Croatian by Grabar in 1969; and finally eight Ukrainian mss from the 18th and early 19th centuries published by Franko, Adrianova, and Speranskij.

5. An Irish Manuscript. A 17th-century ms (= *Ir*) contains an Irish translation of *Inf. Thom.* into verse. The ms was edited by J. Carney (1958: 1–43), who argues that the translation into Irish was made about the year 700. The text represents Gero's Greek B-type text (the shorter recension) and demonstrates affinities with the Syriac versions and the Latin *Ps-Matt.* Gero does not discuss the ms, while McNamara (1971: 42–66) argues against the consensus that the shorter recension, shared only by *Ir* and *Sinai,* is prior to the longer and so preserves an earlier "short form" of the text. The issue is yet to be decided but the burden of proof is on McNamara's position.

6. Arabic, Armenian, Ethiopic, and Georgian Manuscripts. We have already noted the incorporation of *Inf. Thom.* into later infancy gospels in the case of the Syriac version used as a source for *BVM* and the Latin version used as a source for *Ps-Matt.* An Arabic infancy gospel, using several episodes in chaps. 36–53 from the Greek and Syriac *Inf. Thom.*, was first published in 1697 by Sike on the basis of a poor and now lost ms (= *Arab* or *S;* text available in Thilo 1832: 63–158). Another ms (= *Flor. arab.*) of the Arabic infancy gospel is in the Medici Library in Florence (Codex Laurentianus orientalis 32) and is dated to the year 1299, but does not employ the episodes from *Inf. Thom.* (Thilo 1832: xxxi; Peeters 1911–14: viii). An Armenian infancy gospel of the 12th century, employing episodes from *Inf. Thom.* in chaps. 18–20, is extant in several Armenian mss (= *Arm;* Peeters 1911–14: xxx, 199–220). Chap. 8 of the Ethiopian *Miracles of Jesus,* a 15th-century compilation of various traditions in Ethiopic, contains materials from *Inf. Thom.* The Ethiopic text was published by Grebaut (1919: 565–66, 625–42) on the basis of five Ethiopic mss which derive from either the Arabic or the Syriac (Gero 1971: 53 n. 4). An 11th-century Georgian ms (= *Geo;* Codex A95) in the Museum in Tiflis, containing what Gero describes as homiletic and hagiographic texts, includes a mutilated Georgian version of *Inf. Thom.* breaking off at chap. 7. Gero suggests that *Geo* is the second oldest textual witness to *Inf. Thom.* after *BMSyr,* with which it shares a close relationship (discussion and literal Latin translation in Garitte 1956: 511–20).

B. Time and Place of Composition

Although nothing definite can be said about the place of composition, the high value ascribed to the early Syriac mss, the traditional association with the Syrian Thomas tradition, and the possibility of shared traditions with the *Gospel of Thomas* (cf. *Inf. Thom.* 10:2 and *Gos. Thom.* logion 77) all suggest Syria as the place of composition (but Gero is probably correct in suggesting that the ascription to Thomas, as we have it, is medieval [1971: 58–59]). Data for the time of composition include both ms evidence and patristic testimonies. The ms evidence takes us back to the 5th century at the earliest (*BMSyr* and *Gött*), leaving us merely to surmise how much earlier the time of composition might have been. The most relevant patristic testimony comes from Irenaeus (ca. 180; *Haer.* 1.20.1) where we find the well-known Alpha-Beta logion, found twice in *Inf. Thom.* (Irenaeus' form of the logion is closer to that in *Inf. Thom.* 14:2 than in 6:3), giving us a date in the second half of the 2d century at least for this logion. Irenaeus does not specify whether he quotes it from an infancy gospel, but he does contrast his source for the logion with "the true scriptures," suggesting he knew it as part of a text which some (the gnostic Marcosians) apparently considered as authoritative. He also introduces the saying by summarizing its narrative context (a context which is essentially, but not exactly, the same as that in *Inf. Thom.*), further suggesting that he knew it already as part of a narrative story (apophthegm? infancy gospel?) rather than as an independent oral saying. Other sayings' parallels or patristic allusions are either references to the *Gos. Thom.* or else are not explicit enough so that identification can be made (Hippo. *Haer.* 5.7; Origen, *Hom. I in Lc.;* Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.25.6; Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.* 4.36 and 6.31). Another, but less objective, evidence for dating is provided by comparative analysis with the datable canonical infancy narratives (discussed in section D below).

C. The Story Line

The contents of the text are presented below in the order of the episodes as they are presented in the Greek A-type text (*NTApocr* 392–99): (1) prologue in which Thomas speaks in the first person; (2) when Jesus is five years old, he cleans the pools of water and brings twelve clay sparrows to life; (3) Jesus strikes dead the son of Annas the scribe; (4) Jesus strikes dead a young boy who bumps into him; (5) Joseph rebukes Jesus, who then strikes his detractors blind; (6) Zacchaeus attempts to teach Jesus the alphabet, but Jesus responds with the abstruse Alpha-Beta logion and so confounds his teacher; (7) confounded, Zacchaeus speaks to the people and praises Jesus' power; (8) Jesus laughs, speaks as a heavenly redeemer, and then heals those he struck blind; (9) Jesus' playmate Zenon dies from a fall and Jesus raises him from the dead; (10) a young man cuts his foot with an ax, Jesus heals him, and speaks logion 77 of *Gos. Thom.;* (11) at six years of age, Jesus saves the spilt water from a broken pitcher; (12) when he is eight years old, he sows a single seed and reaps one hundred measures; (13) Jesus stretches a piece of wood which Joseph cut too short; (14) Joseph takes Jesus to another teacher to learn the alphabet, but Jesus again responds with the Alpha-Beta logion and strikes the teacher unconscious; (15) a third teacher tries to teach him, but Jesus teaches the Law and heals the other teacher; (16) Joseph's son James is bitten by a viper and Jesus heals him; (17) a child dies and Jesus raises him from death; (18) a workman dies and Jesus raises him from death; (19) at twelve years of age Jesus and his parents go to Jerusalem for the Passover feast (= Luke 2:41–51); and (20) a brief editorial conclusion.

D. Tradition and Redaction

The impetus behind the creation and transmission of the stories of the words and actions of the boy Jesus was already at work in the canonical infancy narratives in Matthew 1–2 and Luke 1–2. What we observe in *Inf. Thom* is the continuing response to the still active interest in the so-called "lost years" of Jesus' life. By the time these stories were circulating orally, the canonical infancy narratives were no longer providing answers and were instead the sources which generated new questions, questions which the stories now in *Inf. Thom.* attempted to answer. This would give us a date ranging from the late 1st to early 2d centuries for the origin of these traditions, but some could date from as early as the period of the formulation of the canonical infancy stories (pre-80 C.E.?).

Most of the stories appear to be form-critically discrete traditional units which most likely existed independently of each other and were secondarily clustered together into a rather loosely structured narrative framework. Irenaeus was, as we have seen in the case of the Alpha-Beta logion, one of the tradents who confirms the independent nature of these stories. Typical editorial devices, emphasizing sequences of time and place, help create a narrative structure which only barely gives the impression of an integrated and functional story line. There is really no narrative plot, no cohesive theological framework (gnostic or otherwise), and no moral to the story except to focus on the sensational nature of the precocious child's activities and his gradual maturation. The sensational nature of the miracle stories is primarily related to the desire at the popular level for entertaining descriptive stories about the boy Jesus (Brown 1977: 28–29 speaks of a popular "curiosity"; cf. Gero 1971: 47 n. 1), rather than to the propagandistic needs of the movement as Cameron has stressed (1982: 122–23). It seems *Inf. Thom.* like the many apocryphal acts of the apostles (MacDonald 1986: 1–6), was among the popular novels of the early and late medieval Church, and so was not read as a serious theological tractate. If the text makes any theological statement, it is that a high christology can be applied successfully to the childhood period (Brown 1977: 29) to offset adoptionist tendencies or beliefs that his power was somehow diminished during his prebaptismal earthly life.

E. Forgotten Sources for the "Hidden Years" of Jesus' Life?

Simply because the secondary narrative framework over the traditional stories frames all events between Jesus' fifth through twelfth years, we need not assume that all of the stories now incorporated into *Inf. Thom.* were originally understood to have occurred during those years. It is quite probable that some of the stories were originally understood to have been stories about Jesus' activities as a young man after the age of twelve and right up to his involvement

with the Baptist. The complete absence from early Christian literature of any stories about these "hidden years" of Jesus' life after the age of twelve is unusually striking and yet has received no comment from researchers. The "absence" of such stories can be explained by the thesis that they did in fact exist and survived only after they were gathered together at the textual level and subsumed under the secondary framework of infancy narratives. The standard infancy narrative was an acceptable textual framework for the retrojection of such traditions in virtue of its precedence in the canonical gospels. Further, the silent period of Jesus' life after age twelve then acquired a numinous quality (still in effect today) so that Luke 2:52 (= *Inf. Thom.* (19:5b) could function as the final word on the now silenced and mysterious "hidden years". The entire tradition is carefully placed into the (seven-year?) childhood period between Luke 2:40 (the end of the infancy period) and 2:41–51 (the visit to Jerusalem at age twelve). In like manner, retrojected elements from the canonical stories that depict activities in the period of Jesus' ministry have influenced, if not generated, in *Inf. Thom.*, both stories (cf. Mark 5:22–24, 41–42a and *Inf. Thom.* 18:1–2a) and editorial comments (cf. Mark 3:6 and *Inf. Thom.* 2:5). From another angle, scholars have not yet asked whether any of the traditional stories or sayings in the canonical or other gospels were originally associated with the period of Jesus' childhood or his young adult life before his contact with the Baptist, and were only later projected into the period of his postbatismal life (cf. *Inf. Thom.* 10:2 and *Gos. Thom.* logion 77; also cf. *Inf. Thom.* 15:1–2 and Luke 4:16–22).

F. Diverse Theological Elements

The presence in the text of a large number of diverse theological elements and the absence of any cohesive and unifying theological framework suggest the text's primary audience was not among the theologically astute, but rather among the masses who found such stories about the wonder-working child to be entertaining (Cullmann *NTApocr* 2: 392). The text presents an almost frivolous and carefree story rather than a theologically precise rhetorical argument requiring an existential commitment or ideologically correct response from the reader, as in the sayings and narrative gospels.

The most popular misconception about the text's theology is that it is gnostic. See GNOSTICISM. The most influential early statement, although not well argued, was by Tischendorf (1876: xlvi–xlvii), who set the agenda by focusing on perceived gnostic christological elements. All such statements employ a misunderstanding of Gnosticism and focus too narrowly on a perceived docetic christology (see also Michel 1911–14: xxxi). More balanced is Gero's critique (1971: 51 n.3) which emphasizes the child's physical and emotional characteristics in tandem with a high christology which need not be docetic (as in Johannine theology).

The broad range of diverse christological elements can be seen in the following list (references follow the numbering for sections in the GrA-type text in *NTApocr* 2: 392–401): (1) diverse christological titles and confessions in 7:2, 4; 9:3; 10:2b; 17:2; 18:2; (2) a vague numinous christology (cf. Mark 4:41) in 3:3; 4:1b; 5:2, 6:1b; 7:1–4; 14:3b; 15:3; 19:4–5; (3) the boy Jesus is worshiped in 9:3, 10:2b; 18:1; (4) he speaks as a heavenly redeemer in 8:1; (5) he has a special relation with God as Father in 19:3 (= Luke 2:49); (6) he has divine insight in 6:3–4; 15:1–3; and 19:2, 4–5; (7) he gives life to inanimate objects in 2:4; (8) he smites people at will in 5:1b; 14:2; (9) he freely takes human life in 3:2–3; 4:1a; (10) he raises people from death in 9:1–3; 18:1; (11) he heals people in 8:2; 10:1–2; 15:4; 16:1; and (12) he performs nature miracles in 11:1–2; 12:1–2; 13:1–2.

Finally, the overall theological effect of the redaction is that as the boy Jesus matures from his fifth through twelfth years, he seems to take on a more responsible attitude concerning the divine powers at work in him. By the end of the story he has gradually become obedient to his parents and has ceased the irresponsible use of divine power. The theological understanding behind this development is that the divine power within him was almost alien to him until he gradually, over seven years, came to realize what it was. It is this divine-human conflict in the child, and the gradual process of psychological development leading to a genuine self-recognition, that lends itself to a docetic understanding, despite the incarnational interests of the compiler (Gero 1971: 51 n. 3).

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THORN. See FLORA.

THOUGHT OF NOREA. See NOREA, THOUGHT OF (NHC IX,2).

THRACIA (PLACE) [Gk *Thrakia*]. THRACIAN. Country E of Macedonia which lay between the Danube and Strymon rivers. Ancient Thrace (to use the more common term) was located in the E half of the Balkan peninsula which presently is part of NE Greece, S Bulgaria and European Turkey. Ramsay (1890) notes that the term "Thrace" was often used imprecisely and at times even the Macedonians were referred to as a "Tribe of Thrace" which meant, more or less, the land N and NE of Greece. The geographical boundaries of Thrace, however, were not always constant. There is evidence that before 1300 B.C. the Thracian tribes retreated from the Adriatic to the Axius. In 480 B.C., the Macedonians forcibly annexed all Thracian territory W of the Strymon river. Thracian S territories were lost to Philip II of Macedon in 342 B.C. After considerable struggle, in A.D. 46, Thrace became a Roman province.

Thracian social structure consisted of a confederacy of patriarchal tribes, each with a feudal aristocracy and a serflike peasantry. Thracian religion was organized around Dionysos, the vegetation god who was worshiped ritually. Though the Thracians developed culturally somewhat, especially in their poetry and music, their barbarism was infamous in the world of civilized Hellenism. The Thracians developed this reputation based upon the practice of human sacrifice, the wearing of unseemly tattoos, the abuse of alcohol, and a most inhumane treatment of fellow human beings. Beyond this savagery, the Thracians were known as fierce warriors and were sought as mercenaries. Before the Roman era, the boundary between Thrace and Macedonia was seen as the boundary between civilization and barbarianism. The land of Thracia, like the Thracians, was rugged. It included the forested mountainous territory of Haemus, the Dobrudja steppe region, and the fertile Hebrus valley.

Neither Thrace nor the Thracians are mentioned or alluded to in the NT. There is, however, a reference in 2 Macc 12:35 in which a Thracian soldier is identified as the one who rescued Gorgias, whom the text identifies as the governor of Idumea (some scholars reject "Idumea" in favor of "Jamnia"). Since Thracians were used as mercenaries, this account is not impossible. There is no record of Christianity having reached Thrace in the NT period. Moreover, the identification of Thrace with Tiras (Gen 10:2) by some scholars is nothing more than conjecture.

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THREE STELES OF SETH. See SETH, THREE STELES OF (NHC VII,5).

THREE TAVERNS (PLACE) [Gk *Treis Tabernai*]. A station in Latium located along the Appian Way, about one day's journey or 33 Roman miles (30 U.S. miles) S of Rome (*CIL* X.685). It was between the towns of Arica and the Forum of Appius, which were 16 and 43 Roman miles S of Rome, respectively. Three Taverns became a convenient stopping point because it was located at the intersection of the Appian Way and the road from Antium to Norba. The ancient site, while not precisely located, is near the modern town of Cisterna (42°35'N; 12°51'E). Two groups of Christians from Rome set out to meet Paul when news arrived that he had landed in Italy at the harbor city of Puteoli. The first group greeted him at the Forum of Appius and the second met him at Three Taverns (Acts 28:15).

The NT contains a transliteration of the Latin *Tres Tabernae*. The Latin term *Tabernae* is neither identical nor as limited in meaning as the English word "tavern." Rather, it denotes any shop, booth, or inn. The Three Taverns may have been a group of inns where travelers could rest, eat, and spend the night. This group of inns could have provided a suitable name for this crossroad station.

Three Taverns was only 6 miles from Tripontium, the point where the Appian Way entered the Pontine marshes. Horace traveled down the Appian Way through Three Taverns and he then went by canal barge through the marsh area (Horace *Sa.* I.v.3–6; cf. Strabo V.3.6). Cicero mentions Three Taverns several times in his letters (*Att.* i.13; ii.10, 12–13). See PW 4: 1875.

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THRESHING. See AGRICULTURE.

THRESHOLD. Two synonymous Hebrew nouns—*sap* (occurs 24 times) and the less common *miptan* (8 times)—belong to the architectural vocabulary of ancient Israel and denote an essential component of an entrance, whether gate or doorway. In the Hebrew Bible, that component is always the threshold, with the one exception of Ezek 40:6–7, where a gate chamber may be indicated.

In other ancient Semitic languages, the terms equivalent to *sap* can denote parts of a doorway other than its threshold. For example, Akkadian *sippu* can indicate "doorjamb" or "door-hinge stone" or a composite of these elements (Salonen 1961: 62–66). This variety of legitimate meanings results from the great variation in the design of entryways over time in Mesopotamia and also from the difference in type and size of the buildings involved in the use of the terms.

The more straightforward biblical usage probably re-

flects the consistent use of one kind of doorway and gateway construction in ancient Palestine (see Dever and Paul 1973: 35–36). The threshold was the bottom horizontal component of the door frame, the other parts being the two jambs (the vertical components) and the lintel (the top horizontal component). Although the jambs and lintel could be made of wood or of stone, the threshold was probably always stone. Usually it consisted of one large stone block, wide enough to extend the full width of the door frame; but sometimes it was made of two or more smaller blocks fitted together. Most thresholds were slightly higher than the floor level inside the building and the street or courtyard level outside. Presumably this helped to keep water from rushing in during the rainy season.

Depending on the width of the door or gate, a socket was cut on one or both sides of the threshold, near the jambs, to accommodate the doorpost or gatepost projecting from the door leaf or gate leaf. Wide entryways had double-hung doors or gates, meaning a socket at each end of the threshold. Small square indentations cut into some thresholds provide evidence of the bolting of doors by metal bars sliding down vertically. The threshold, and the lintel above it, were frequently cut with ledges, often several inches high, to prevent the inward opening doors from swinging outward. See also HOUSE, ISRAELITE.

"Threshold" appears in the Bible mainly in the Prophets (five different prophetic books) and in the Former Prophets (in all but Joshua); and it also occurs several times in Chronicles and twice in Esther. Most of the biblical usages are in reference to the entrance of a temple building, usually the temple in Jerusalem; but the threshold of a pagan temple, the house of Dagon at Ashdod, also appears (1 Sam 5:4, 5). In at least three passages the threshold is that of a royal building (Est 2:21; 6:2; 1 Kgs 14:17; and perhaps Zeph 2:14), and two occurrences involve private dwellings (Judg 19:27; Ezek 43:8).

In addition to being an integral structural element in public or private buildings, the threshold as boundary between domains of activity has clear symbolic significance. At its most basic level, the threshold represents the border between the inside, domestic world (whether of ordinary people, royalty, or gods) and the outside world. As a sort of neutral territory between domains, it marks transition and is often associated with magic or religious rites that accompany passage over the threshold (van Gennep 1960: 15–25). Entryways were sacred zones, which had to be controlled so as to protect the goods and people inside from what lurked without. Sometimes special sacrifices were made or deposits buried at the threshold of a building.

For these reasons, the three "keepers of the threshold" (*šōmrê hasap*; e. g., Jer 35:4; 2 Kgs 27:4) were among the major cultic functionaries in the priestly hierarchy of the Jerusalem temple. They appear as leading figures, following the chief priest and the second priests (see Jer 52:24 = 2 Kgs 25:18). Their involvement in the temple renovation projects of Josiah (2 Kgs 22:4; 2 Chr 34:9) and Jehoash (2 Kgs 12:10) and also in Josiah's purge (2 Kgs 23:4) also testifies to their important administrative and religious roles. There were probably three threshold officers because of the three major gateways (north, south, west) to the temple precinct (Ezek 40:6, 24, 35); each gateway had its own threshold official to oversee the flow of temple business and visitors.

In addition to these high-ranking officials, a lower order of levitical servants were called gatekeepers (*šō<arê-hasap*). They functioned as porters or entry guards (1 Chr 9:22; 2 Chr 23:4; and probably 1 Chr 9:19) and numbered in the hundreds in the postexilic period.

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THRONE, HALL OF THE (PLACE) [Heb *>ûlām hakkisē>*]. See JUDGMENT, HALL OF (PLACE).

THUNDER, PERFECT MIND, THE (NHC VI, 2). Among the gnostic texts of the Coptic Nag Hammadi Library, discovered in 1945, few can match *The Thunder, Perfect Mind (Thund.)* in philosophical inscrutability. *Thund.* consists entirely of a monologue by an unnamed female revealer ("I am the utterance of my name"). Most conspicuous are, indeed, the recurring sections of "I am" statements, which alternate with teachings, exhortations, and pleas. The self-proclamations include antitheses, such as "I am the honored and the scorned one. I am the whore and the holy one," and paradoxes, for instance, "I am the bride and the bridegroom, and it is my husband who begot me. I am the mother of my father and the sister of my husband, and he is my offspring."

The speaker is one yet many, earthly as well as heavenly: "I am the one below, and they come up to me." Universal, she declares herself to belong to Greeks, Egyptians, and barbarians. She is intimately connected to her devotees and identifies herself with the faculty of understanding and devotion in them. *Thund.* emphasizes the believers' obedience toward the revealer—a trying relationship because the goddess appears and acts in oppositional terms. The speaker retains her identity despite—and, paradoxically, because of—her antithetical traits.

After debating the first part of the document's title (*nebront* vs. *tebronte*), scholars now spend more effort on the problem of recognizable contexts, both *of* the text and *in* it. H.-G. Bethge (1973), representing the *Berliner Arbeitskreis*, notes a possibly underlying gnostic "fall of Sophia" myth, and M. Tardieu (1974) draws attention to the Jewish "divine voice" traditions, for instance in *1 En.* On the other hand, the late G. MacRae, who first translated *Thund.* into English, finds scarcely any Jewish (or Christian) influences in it (see MacRae and Parrott 1977).

Ties to the Isis religion may be relevant, for Isis' sexual, wifely, and motherly aspects resemble those of the female speaking in *Thund.* Isis' self-descriptions in universal imagery are known from, e.g., Apuleius' *Golden Ass*, Book 11. However, as MacRae observes, the contrasts and paradoxes, so characteristic of *Thund.*, do not occur in the Isis

mythologies or aretalogies (cf. Bergman 1968). B. Layton (1986) suggests parallels to Greek riddles, and, along with other scholars, points to the gnostic Eve traditions, where some striking similarities appear (see, e.g., *Orig World* [*NHC* II,5] and *The Gospel of Eve*, as attested by Epiph. *Pan.* 26. 2–3). One might also compare a part of *Megalē Apophasis*, transmitted in Hipp. *Haer.* 6. 17.3, to *Thund.* Another gnostic female that shows certain affinities with the one in *Thund.* is the Mandaean Ruha ("Spirit") (see Buckley 1980).

Thund. is a well-preserved document; damage is limited to the first few lines at the top of each page. Like the rest of the *NHC* documents, *Thund.* was originally written in Greek, subsequently translated into Coptic. The text's language is Sahidic, with some sub-Achmimic aspects. Suggested dates for *Thund.* range from the 1st to the 4th century C.E. However, these data are of scant help in determining the text's provenance, readership, and spiritual home. *Thund.* singularly testifies to a style not found in other documents of Late Antiquity, and it cannot be neatly fitted into any known system, gnostic or otherwise. Philosophically sophisticated, the text calls for new levels of interpretations in religious speculations and salvation systems of Late Antiquity. For instance, *Thund.* insists on a positive evaluation of oppositional elements and of paradoxes. Such lack of negativity regarding antitheses merits serious scholarly consideration, particularly in view of traditional interpretations of gnostic dualism. Thus, one cannot ascribe to *Thund.* a clear ethical message of "dos" and "don'ts." The goddess speaking in this text does not fit the patterns of the more familiar, pedagogical biblical Wisdom figure found in Proverbs and Wisdom; neither do the "I am" statements in John seem immediately relevant. However, these as well as other OT and NT traditions will no doubt continue to be consulted in future research on *Thund.*

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THUTMOSE (PERSON). See EGYPT, HISTORY OF (NEW KINGDOM [18th–20th DYNASTY]).

THYATIRA (PLACE) [Gk *Thyatira*]. City in Lydia, in W Asia Minor, at the junction of roads between Lydia and Mysia, on the plain of the river Lycus (modern Akhisar; 38°54′N, 27°50′E).

Very few architectural remains have been found at the site, but inscriptions show an active civic and social life from the 2d century B.C. until the 3d century A.D. They mention shrines to Apollo Tyrimnaeus and Artemis Boreitene, to Helius, and to Hadrian; three gymnasiums full of statues; stoas and shops; and a portico of 100 columns in which the gerousia met.

Thyatira was an important center of the wool trade. A guild of wool workers is mentioned in an inscription (*IGRR* 4: 1252), and others name several dyers and fullers in and around Thyatira, as well as the neighboring cities of Laodicea, Hierapolis, and Colossae (Broughton 1938: 818–22).

This recalls Lydia of Thyatira, who is known to us from Paul's visit to Philippi (Acts 16:14–15, 39) as a well-to-do householder engaged in the trade in luxury purple dye. (An inscription from Thessalonica also tells of a resident there from Thyatira, Menippus, who deals in purple dyes [Broughton 1938: 819]).

Thyatira also appears as one of the seven churches of Asia Minor in the Apocalypse (Rev 1:11; 2:18, 24). The account mentions the blazing eyes and brass feet of Jesus, and this has been interpreted as an allusion to a cult statue of Apollo or Helius (both of whom appear on the city's coins).

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TIAMAT (DEITY). In the Babylonian liturgical text Enuma Elish the goddess Tiamat appears as one of a pair of primordial deities, with her consort Apsu. Since the first publication of the text it has been understood that this goddess represented the "seawater" from which the name derives *(tiamtu);* it also was posited that Tiamat was the primordial chaos and that the Mesopotamian myth had influenced the P account of creation in Genesis, where *tĕhôm* was seen as derived from her name (Smith 1876: 64). The battle which is presented in the Babylonian myth sets younger gods, and especially Marduk (Ashur in the Assyrian version), against the primordial couple. Apsu is slain and Tiamat responds with the creation of monsters, but to no avail. Marduk slays her and creates from her carcass a dome for the sky. A reference from this action to that of God dividing the waters in Genesis and creating a dome to separate them has been posited, along with a notion that Tiamat's body also was used to create the earth (Heidel 1951: 116).

There is scant evidence for the recognition of this goddess outside of the Enuma Elish itself (Lambert 1963: 189–90; Tsumura 1989: 48–49), and such references may be related to the myth. Within the myth Tiamat is the mother of all the divine world and hesitant to engage in their destruction. She provides for the story both the

original creation and the opposition to further creation, embodying both chaos and the source of life (May 1955: 18–21; Wakeman 1973: 21–22). For the creation of the rule of Marduk she represents the chaos which must be controlled each year in the Akitu festival (Bottéro 1985: 160).

The relation of "Tiamat" to the biblical *tĕhôm* has been satisfactorily discounted since the Heb noun is clearly a Northwest Semitic common noun referring to the cosmic waters (Lambert 1965: 293; Day 1985: 7, 50–51; Tsumura 1989: 47–48, 51–52). The possibility of Genesis using the Babylonian text as a primary source has now been generally abandoned (Rapaport 1979: 13; Day 1985: 50–51; Tsumura 1989: 158–59). The mythological content of the narrative, however, remains a central concern for biblical scholars. It is clear that the battle between Marduk and Tiamat liturgically presents both the order made of chaos in nature and the order of the social and political world, reaffirmed in the cult (Stolz 1970: 20–21; Day 1985: 19; Grønbaek 1985: 29–30). This divine battle for rule and order may be found in several biblical passages which do not, however, refer to Tiamat.

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TIBERIAS (PLACE) [Gk *Tiberias*]. A city founded on the W coast of the Sea of Galilee (M.R. 201242) in A.D. 20 by Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee, as a new capital city to replace Sepphoris. The city is mentioned only once in the Bible, and then only in a passing reference to boats from Tiberias carrying people in search of Jesus (John 6:23; but cf. John 6:1; 21:1).

A. Location and Establishment

According to Josephus, Tiberias was built "in the best region of Galilee" near hot springs (*Ant* 18.2.3 §36). The city lay between steep hills to the W and the Sea of Galilee (Lake Tiberias) to the E. Magdala-Taricheae lay two miles to the N and Hammath one mile to the S. The region was famous for its wine, figs, and wheat, and wheat and barley were sold in separate markets at Tiberias (*Eccl. Rab.* 1.12; *j. B. Qam.* 6d; *Gen. Rab.* 79; *Midr. Ps.* 1). In Jewish tradition, Rakkath of Josh 19:35 was identified with Tiberias (*j. Meg.* 1.1); however, it is now usually identified with Khirbet Qunaytirah, N of modern Tiberias. The hot springs of Tiberias are mentioned in Pliny (*HN* 5.15), and the Mishnah (*Šabb.* 3.4; *Makš.* 6.7) described them as hot enough to cause injury (*Neg.* 9.1). The rabbinical sources indicate that the springs (Hammath) were one Roman mile from Tiberias (*t. Meg.* 4.3). See HAMMATH (PLACE).

During the construction of the city, tombs were discovered, which rendered the site unclean for Jews (*j. Šeb.* 9.1). Therefore, Antipas was forced to settle the city with a mixed population of Jews and gentiles, including landless people and freed slaves (*Ant* 18.2.3 §36; *b. Šabb.* 33b). Antipas named the new city in honor of the emperor Tiberius, and immediately began minting coins at the city. The earliest extant coins show a reed and an inscription in Greek, "Of Herod the Tetrarch." The reverse displays the name Tiberias written in Greek letters within a wreath. The earliest date is "Year 24" (of Herod Antipas), which corresponds to A.D. 20. All subsequent dates in Tiberias were calculated from this founding date.

B. Government and History

The city was governed as a Hellenistic *polis* by a council of 600, headed by an elected archon. The administrative details were under the control of royal appointed *hyparchs* (governors) and an *agoranomos* (market overseer; *Life* 12 §64; 34 §169; 55 §285; *JW* 2.21.6 §615). The city also had a Council of Ten (*JW* 2.21.3 §9; *Life* 27 §134; 54 §278). Tiberias, like Magdala-Taricheae, was the head of a toparchy (*JW* 2.13.2 §252), of which there may have been five in Herodian Galilee.

Antipas built at Tiberias a stadium, a forum or market, baths, and a royal palace on the hill that overlooked the city (*JW* 2.21.6 §618). He adorned the palace with animal statuary, which was so offensive to Jews that it was the first building to be destroyed in the First Revolt against Rome (*Life* 12 §65–67). There was also a Jewish place of prayer (a *proseuchē*, a "large edifice" in *Life* 54 §277; cf. Acts 16:13). A city wall apparently existed, since one was destroyed in the First Revolt (*JW* 3.10.1).

When Herod Antipas fell from the emperor's favor and was exiled in A.D. 39, Caligula granted Tiberias and other territories, along with the title of king, to his good friend Herod Agrippa I, grandson of Herod the Great and Mariamne (*Ant* 18.7.2 §252; *JW* 2.9.6 §183). Agrippa had previously been a market overseer in Tiberias. In spite of his Jewishness, Agrippa depicted himself and Caligula on his coins, which were struck at Tiberias. Five years later,

when Agrippa suddenly died, Tiberias and the rest of the Jewish kingdom reverted to rule under the Roman procurators, who resided in Caesarea.

In A.D. 61, Nero granted Tiberias to Herod Agrippa II, son of Agrippa I (*Ant* 20.8.4 §159; *JW* 2.13.2 §252), and the title "king" appears on his coins. Agrippa II ruled his father's lands, including Tiberias, through the First Revolt of A.D. 66–70 to the end of the century. At the outbreak of the First Revolt, most inhabitants of the city favored the revolt, among whom was Justus ben Sapphias, archon of the city and leader in the revolutionary party (*Life* 12 §66; 27 §134; *JW* 2.21.3 §599). During the revolt, Josephus used Tiberias as a headquarters of his Galilean command. He set up a court, or synedrion, of 70 elders in Tiberias to decide cases of capital punishment (*JW* 2.20.5).

When Vespasian arrived at Tiberias with his armies, the city offered no resistance, but threw open its gates and begged for mercy. Vespasian spared the city and returned it to Agrippa, though he breached its S wall (*JW* 3.9.7–8 §445–61). Vespasian, however, ordered 12,000 refugees from Taricheae to be slaughtered in the stadium of Tiberias, while 6,000 were sent to build Nero's canal at Corinth, and 30,400 were sold as slaves (*JW* 3.10.10 §539–40). The city retained its importance, as inferred from the fact that the city received the toparchy of Magdala-Taricheae after the First Revolt. Tiberias then administered a territory which extended 15 miles S of the lake, 8 miles W to the border with the city-territory of Sepphoris, and to a point 5 miles N of Capernaum and Lake Tiberias.

Municipal coinage of Roman Tiberias begins in A.D. 100, during the reign of Trajan, which marks its change to an autonomous city attached to the Provincia Judea. On these coins the title of the city is "Tiberias Claudia" in honor of the emperor Claudius, who must have granted some political favor to Tiberias. Later coins depict the Greek deities Zeus, Tyche, Sarapis, Hygeia, and Poseidon.

During the reign of Hadrian, a Hadrianeum (i.e., a temple to Hadrian) was built but not completed (Epiphanius, *Panarion* 30.12.1). Coins of the city dated to A.D. 119/120, the year of the emperor's visit to Judea, show a temple to Zeus, possibly the Hadrianeum. Tiberian coins were occasionally overstruck by the Jewish rebels of the Second Revolt. Hadrian abolished Jewish municipal government in the province of Judea in retaliation for the Second Revolt of A.D. 135. This affected Tiberias directly, even though the city had not participated in the Second Revolt. During this revolt the Romans made a fortified patrol line between Tiberias and Sepphoris 18 miles to the W (*t. ʿErub.* 4.11; *j. ʿErub.* 5.22b). This road may have been patrolled as far W as Acco-Ptolemais.

In spite of the Second Revolt, and perhaps because of the expansion of its territories, successful commercial connections extended from Tiberias to Rome, as inferred from two inscriptions attesting to a guildhall in Rome which had been erected by merchants of Tiberias (Cagnat 1911: 132). In these inscriptions the city is called "Claudiopolis in Syria Palestina" and "Tiberias Claudiopolis in Syria Palestina." The official Roman name of the city by A.D. 170 was "Tiberias Claudia in Syria-Palestina," as evidenced by its coins. According to a Talmudic legend, Tiberias was granted the title of a colony by the emperor "Antoninus," who is represented to be in dialogue with the patriarch Judah I (Judah ha-Nasi; see *b. ʿAbod. Zar.* 10.71). In fact, coins of Tiberias from the reign of Elagabalus (A.D. 218–22) bear the title "Colonia." The city wall was rebuilt, perhaps during the reign of Septimus Severus (A.D. 192–211), increasing the municipal tax burden.

Tiberias was known to be a fishing center, and its fishermen are mentioned frequently in ancient sources (*j. Pes.* 4.2). The city was also known for its textile production of rough cloth and reed mats (*b. Sukk.* 20b; *Gen. Rab.* 79), as well as for its tanners (*Shir. Rab.* 1.4). The glass which was manufactured at Tiberias was famous for its clarity (*Gen. Rab.* 96).

Although there is sparse Talmudic evidence of Jewish followers of Jesus in Tiberias in the 2d and 3d centuries (*j. Sanh.* 25d; *j. Šabb.* 14d), Tiberias sustained a long, predominantly Jewish tradition. A synagogue of Tiberias is mentioned in the Mishnah (*ʿErub.* 10.10), while 13 are mentioned in later sources (*b. Ber.* 8a, 30b). Following the Second Revolt, Rabbi Simeon bar Yohai declared Tiberias to be pure (*j. Šeb.* 9.1), and by the 3d century A.D., Rabbi Yohanan ben Nappaha and the Sanhedrin moved to Tiberias. During the time of Judah I, the city council was composed of Jews, as was the board of strategoi (municipal executives?) which then ruled the city (*j. ʿAbod. Zar.* 4.4). The Jewish presence was strong enough in the middle of the 3d century that Yohanan bar Nappaha could order the destruction of statues in the baths of Tiberias, and see the decree carried out (*j. ʿAbod. Zar.* 4.4). Rabbi Yohanan presided over a famous rabbinical academy at Tiberias that included Rabbi Simeon bar Lakish, Rabbi Ammi, and Rabbi Assi (the third generation of the Amoraim) and their successors. The tombs of these sages are still venerated in Tiberias.

Even though the economic trend of Tiberias took a downturn in the 3d century, the leadership among Palestinian Judaism was not diminished. Rabbi Yohanan said, "Tiberias is the lowest of all [cities of the Sanhedrin] . . . and salvation shall come from there" (*b. Roš Haš.* 31b). Taxation grew so severe that rich men sought to evade service on the city council (*j. Ber.* 5.1), yet Tiberias became perhaps the greatest intellectual center of ancient Judaism. It had its own community of Babylonian Jews with their own synagogue and a synagogue for Jews of Tarsus (*j. Yoma* 7.1), as well as a special synagogue of the city council (*j. Šeqal.* 7.4). Indeed, in the 4th century Eusebius of Caesarea could refer to Tiberias as a "famous city" (*Onomast.* 16.1).

The first mention of a Christian church in Tiberias occurs during the early 4th century. It was built, using the still unfinished Hadrianeum, by Count Joseph of Tiberias with the permission and intervention of Constantine, since Tiberias was still largely Jewish (Epiphanius, *Panarion* 30.12; 30.10.10).

A few years later, in 351, Tiberias joined with Sepphoris in revolt against Consantius Gallus. For their participation in the revolt, Tiberias and Lydda were punished by Roman forces (Aur. Vict., *Caes.* 42.9–12; Jerome, *Chron.* 24). Tiberias recovered swiftly, though some rabbis had fled the city during the revolt (*Gen. Rab.* 31.11; *j. Ketub.* 11.1).

Shortly afterward (A.D. 361–63), the Christian citizens of Tiberias received a letter from the emperor Julian "the Apostate" urging them to return to the old Roman religion

(*Juliani epistulae et leges* 154, 209). However, in 383, when Eugeria made a pilgrimage to Tiberias, she saw a church on the spot where the house of James and John had stood (Peter the Deacon, 6.2).

A strong Jewish presence persisted in Tiberias. The so-called Jerusalem Talmud or Palestinian Talmud was composed largely at Tiberias by the 5th century A.D. During the 5th century Jerome brought from Tiberias to Bethlehem a Jewish "doctor of the law" to assist him in translating the book of Chronicles into Latin. By A.D. 429 the Roman authorities had abolished the patriarchate (*Cod. Theod.* 16.8.22), though Jews everywhere continued to recognize Tiberias as the center of Jewry in Palestina Secunda. In 520, Mar Zutra, the posthumous son of the executed exilarch in Babylon, dared to move to Tiberias and became head of its academy (*Rosh ha-Perek*). The successive heads of the academy can be traced for ten generations (Mann 1970: 58).

After Justinian's accession to the imperial throne in A.D. 527, a law was enacted which banned Jews from municipal government (*Nov.* 45), so the city administration of Tiberias passed to Christians. Justinian also renewed the city wall of Tiberias (Procop., *Aed.* 5.9 §358).

At this time the Jews of Tiberias were in communication with the kings of the tiny nation of Himyar on the E shores of the Red Sea. The Byzantines saw this connection as a betrayal of Christian interests. In 614, at the hour of the Persian invasion of Palestine, the Jews of Tiberias regarded the invasion as potentially a rescue from Christian oppression and at first assisted the Persians. The Jewish leader was Benjamin of Tiberias (Theophanes a.m. 6120). The Byzantine emperor Heraclius met with Benjamin and other Jewish leaders of Galilee at Tiberias in 629 after his final defeat of the Persians. Heraclius pardoned the leaders and spared Tiberias. Even though Benjamin accepted baptism, Heraclius later rescinded the pardon and tried and executed the Jewish leaders of Tiberias, among others. This event may be contemporary with the emergence of Palestinian liturgical poetry (*piyyut*), which is identified with Tiberias.

In the spring of 636, the Arab forces under the command of Shurahbil ibn Hasanah occupied Galilee and Tiberias. The inhabitants of the city surrendered peacefully, only asking that their churches (including synagogues?) and houses be spared (Marmardji 1951: 129). Archaeological evidence suggests that the city had already expanded S to include Hammath. Tiberias became the capital of the province of al-Urdun (Jordan), and was especially famed for its spa built around the hot springs. During the same century Tiberias became a center for the Masoretes, who developed what became the standard vocalization system of the Hebrew text of the Bible.

C. Archaeological Investigations

The archaeology of Tiberias is largely unpublished, except for the synagogue at Hammath-Tiberias (*EAEHL* 4: 1178–84; Dothan 1983). However, the excavations at Hammath-Tiberias have disclosed an area of Seleucid and Hasmonean public structures associated with the springs. These were followed by a building of A.D. 20–135 that was either a gymnasium or a palaestra. In the first half of the 3d century, the first synagogue was built on the site. This synagogue was superseded by the synagogue of Severos, the major donor, who is recognized in the large Greek inscription in the floor as "disciple of the most illustrious patriarchs." This synagogue includes a splendid floor with a zodiac, the four seasons, Helios driving his chariot, a detailed representation of a holy ark, and two menorahs standing left and right of the ark with other Jewish symbols. This building is dated A.D. 325–83. It was remodeled and used continuously for several centuries. The final building dates to the Early Arab period and apparently was also a synagogue.

Weights with the names of *agoranomoi* of Tiberias, written in Greek, have been found at Yodefat N of Sepphoris. The S city gate with two round towers and the remains of the main N–S road have been excavated, as well as the 5th–century city walls, which were built against the 1st-century gate and its towers. These walls have been traced from the shores of the lake for more than a kilometer.

Some synagogue remains from Tiberias proper date from the 5th century and include inscriptions written in Greek and Aramaic. A 5th- or 6th-century panel from a synagogue chancel has been found, which is carved in open lattice work in white marble with an inscribed menorah. Baths and a basilica, both of the Byzantine period, are known from salvage excavations.

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TIBERIUS (EMPEROR). Tiberius succeeded Augustus as the second Roman emperor, ruling from 14–37 C.E. He was born the son of an aristocrat, whose name he bore, and Livia Drusilla in 42 B.C.E. Tiberius' parents divorced when he was four, shortly before the birth of his younger brother Nero Drusus. His mother Livia married Octavian, the future Augustus.

From 20 B.C.E. to 12 C.E. Tiberius pursued a successful military career, despite an eight-year voluntary exile to Rhodes beginning in 6 B.C.E. In 20 B.C.E. he campaigned with Augustus in the east against the Parthians. Between 12 and 9 B.C.E. Tiberius brought Pannonia into the Roman Empire and he fought in Germany from 9 B.C.E. (the same year Nero Drusus died) to 7 B.C.E. and later from 4–6 C.E. From 7–9 C.E., he suppressed uprisings in Pannonia and Illyricum and was subsequently sent to reclaim the Rhine frontier after the humiliating decimation of Varus' three legions by Arminius the Cheruscan in 9 C.E.

After the death of Agrippa, Augustus' chief lieutenant, in 12 B.C.E., Tiberius was compelled to divorce his wife Vipsania and to marry Julia, Augustus' daughter and Agrippa's widow. Julia was exiled in 2 B.C.E. for adultery. Although Tiberius was granted tribunician power in 6

B.C.E., he retired to Rhodes in indignation because Augustus was making overtures to prepare Gaius and Lucius, the emperor's grandsons, for the imperial throne.

When those two grandsons died in 4 C.E., the aging emperor reluctantly adopted Tiberius along with the ruler's surviving grandson, Agrippa Postumus, who was later exiled. Tiberius was reawarded tribunician power for a ten-year period and was commissioned to a special command on the Rhine. When Agrippa Postumus was exiled, Tiberius was simultaneously ordered to adopt his own nephew Germanicus. Tiberius' succession was confirmed in 13 C.E. when he was made coregent by a special law. The following year Augustus died and at the age of 56 Tiberius was named emperor of Rome.

Tiberius' reign was a bridge between the idiosyncratic rule of Augustus and the formally established imperial system. Tiberius, whose father was an unpopular republican, was reticent to preempt senatorial authority by assuming too much of an outward show of dictatorial power. At the same time, Tiberius harbored deep suspicions (bordering on paranoia) against many of the senators. Tiberius cautiously consolidated his authority while continuing the earlier policies of Augustus.

At the beginning of his reign, the armies in Pannonia and Germany mutinied. Tiberius' son, Drusus the younger, dealt efficiently with the problem in Pannonia but Tiberius' adopted son, Germanicus, was less effective with the disturbance in Germany. Germanicus, however, enjoyed great popularity, particularly with the soldiers, and led an expedition to reclaim the territories lost when Varus was defeated by the Germans between the Rhine and the Elbe. Although the expedition ended in failure, Germanicus was awarded a triumph and given an enthusiastic reception in Rome.

Drusus the younger was given charge over the Danubian forces and Germanicus was placed in command of a similar post in the east. The thorny question of their ultimate succession never arose because in 19 C.E. Germanicus died. His death was probably the result of natural causes, despite the protests of his widow Agrippina the elder. In 23 C.E. Drusus the younger also died and the emperor excluded from his presence all of Drusus' friends (which included Agrippa I), for fear of awakening painful memories. By 29 C.E. Agrippina the elder and two of her sons were murdered. The heir apparent was the sole surviving son of Germanicus and Agrippina the elder, Gaius (CALIGULA).

The greatest tragedy of Tiberius' reign was the appointment of Sejanus, a Roman of nonsenatorial rank, as the emperor's personal adviser and co-worker. A number of incidents enabled Sejanus to enjoy a brief ascendancy to a position of unequaled authority until his assassination in 31 C.E. The emperor authorized Sejanus to recall nine praetorian cohorts to Rome, which were previously distributed between Rome and other Roman towns, greatly increasing Sejanus' power. Sejanus also used treason trials to eliminate his own personal enemies. Tiberius withdrew to his Villa of Jupiter on the island of Capreae to get away from the domineering influence of his mother and to escape from the burdens of the empire. Sejanus used Tiberius' isolation to enhance his own position back in Rome. Tiberius' isolation gave occasion for a number of reports about his alleged (yet unverifiable) sexual exploits on the island (see Suet. *Tib.*).

By Sejanus' bidding, Agrippina the elder and two of her sons were executed. When Sejanus was implicated in a plot to assassinate Gaius (Caligula), the emperor transferred the praetorian command to Macro, another one of Tiberius' close friends. Sejanus was arrested and swiftly executed by order of the senate. When Tiberius drew up his last will, Gaius and Gemellus (the son of the emperor's dead brother Drusus the younger) were named as joint heirs. It was evident, however, that Gaius would be the next emperor. The 78-year-old emperor died at the Villa of Lucullus at Misenum of natural causes in 37 C.E. Contemporary ancient sources write favorably about Tiberius' reign (Velleius Paterculus 2; and Valerius Maximus *Praef.*) while later senatorial sources seem to accentuate the emperor's faults (Tac. *Ann.* 1–4; Dio Cass. *Hist.* 46–48; and Suet. *Tib.*).

Tiberius had little tolerance for foreign cults and expelled all the Jews from Rome in 19 C.E. (Jos. *Ant* 18.3–5), allowing them to return later in his reign. In 18 C.E. Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee, founded the city of Tiberias, which was named in honor of the emperor. Ironically, the city would later become one of the four holy cities of Israel and a center for Jewish learning.

Tiberius is the Caesar of the Gospels (except Luke 2:1) and his regnal years are used to fix the date of John the Baptist's ministry and the baptism of Jesus (Luke 3:1). It was during the reign of Tiberius that Jesus ministered in Galilee and was subsequently crucified in Jerusalem under the Judean procurator Pontius Pilate. Pontius Pilate was appointed by Tiberius to rule Palestine in 26 C.E. and was removed from office by the same ruler in 36 C.E. Early Church sources claim that Pilate sent to the emperor a report of the trial and execution (Just. *Apol* 1.35; Tert. *Apol* 26; and Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 2.2). The silver denarius mentioned in the NT (see Matt 22:15–21; Mark 12:13–17; Luke 20:20–26; 23:2) bore the image of Tiberius with the inscription "Tiberius, son of the divine Augustus."

SCOTT T. CARROLL

TIBHATH (PLACE) [Heb *tibḥat*]. A city, in what is today NE Lebanon or Syria, belonging to Hadadezer, the Aramean king of Zobah, whose domain stretched from the fertile central Lebanese Beqaʿ valley as far N as the upper Euphrates river. It was from this place that David, after his victory over the Arameans (1 Chr 18:8), brought to Jerusalem large supplies of bronze later used in the construction of Solomon's temple. The place is called Betah in the parallel passage (2 Sam 8:8), and is possibly associated with Tebah (Gen 22:24). Tebah was the nephew of Abraham, and the ancestor of an Aramean tribe. Some scholars identify him as the founder of this city. The city is thought to have been located in the country of Amurru in an area between Tunip and Baalbek; its precise location is unknown.

RAY L. ROTH

TIBNI (PERSON) [Heb *tibnî*]. A rival of Omri for the throne of Israel (1 Kgs 16:21–22). In the 27th year of Asa

of Judah (886/4 B.C., *IJH*, 682), Zimri conspired against and killed Elah son of Baasha, the king of Israel. The troops besieging Gibbethon acclaimed their general, Omri, as king and marched on Zimri in Tirzah. Zimri set the palace on fire and died in the conflagration after a reign of only seven days (1 Kgs 16:8–20).

At this point the Israelites were divided into two factions—one that favored making Tibni son of Ginath king, the other for Omri. The fact that there was no prophetic designation of a successor to Elah caused a crisis in government. The rivalry lasted four years. In that time the people following Omri grew stronger *(wayyeḥĕzaq)* than those with Tibni. Finally Tibni died. There is no explicit reference to any fighting. It may be that Omri's cause gradually gained popular support and Tibni died of natural causes. However, the LXX statement that "Joram his brother died at that time" may indicate a violent death for both at the instigation of Omri. Regardless, "somehow, somewhere Tibni died, and then Omri ruled without a rival" (DeVries *1 Kings* WBC, 200). Omri was finally acclaimed king by the people in the 31st year of Asa (882/0 B.C., 1 Kgs 16:23; cf. Gray *Kings* OTL, 365–66; *HHI*, 202; Miller 1968: 392–94; *NHI*, 229).

It has been suggested that the movement Tibni led manifested the Israelite religious community's opposition to the power of the professional army (though surely the Deuteronomist would have given more detail if the rivalry had been of religious significance) or was a protest of the older, more conservative elements against the younger officers of the army who aspired to the throne (Gray *Kings* OTL, 366). There is not enough evidence to be able to know with any certainty. That the movement was of major import is clear, however, from the length of time that the rivalry endured, from its broad impact on the people of the nation, and from the LXX statement that Omri "reigned after Tibni" (v 22, apparently counting the four years as Tibni's reign, though MT accredits them to Omri; cf. Thiele 1977: 33–35).

The brief mention of Tibni in 1 Kings is important in several respects. First, the silence of Kings regarding such a long and probably significant rivalry shows how the book was compiled with intentions other than to be a full secular history. Second, the sequence of events from Elah to Omri is a reminder of the clash between antidynastic traditions of charismatic leadership and a desire for dynastic stability. Third, the story indicates the power of the army in Israel at that time. Also of note are the unique literary features of the end of v 22—*wayyāmāt tibnî wayyimlōk ʿomrî* ("Tibni died and Omri became king")—assonance of the *y* and *m* sounds, the repetition of *way-* at the beginning of each verb, and the rhyme at the end of both names.

The name Tibni has been paralleled to the Akk "Tabniea" ("May Ea give a son") or possibly the Phoenician "Tabnith." These affinities are suggested by the fact that LXX and Josephus have the name with *a* rather than *i* (Tabni, Thamni). "Tibni" might then be a parody of the name, meaning "man of straw, scarecrow" (KB 1018; Gray *Kings* OTL, 365; *IPN* 232). He is called the "son of Ginath." Ginath appears to be the name of his father. However, the feminine ending may indicate that it is a place name, i.e., his home. Gray *Kings* OTL, 365–66; cf. *LBHG*, 434) suggests that this is En-gannim in the territory of Issachar, Gina in the Amarna texts and modern Kh. Beit Jann.

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KENNETH H. CUFFEY

TIDAL (PERSON) [Heb *tidʿāl*]. King of Goiim, one of the allies of Chedorlaomer (Gen 14:1, 9). The original form of the name can be reconstructed as **tadġal*, with the voiced pharyngeal *ġ* which had not yet merged with *ʿ* in the pronunciation of Hebrew at the time of the LXX translation (*r* instead of *d* in LXX and Syr is due to the virtual identity of the two letters in the Aramaic square script, and the reduction of *a* to *i* in an unstressed closed syllable followed the rule of Masoretic vocalization). When the publication of the Babylonian "Chedorlaomer texts" (see CHEDORLAOMER [PERSON]) revealed royal names reminiscent of those of the four E kings in Genesis 14, Tidal was compared with ^{m}*Tu-ud-ḫul-a* son of ^{m}GAZ.ZA [. . .], who "plundered Babylon, the glorious city, led water over Babylon and Esagil (temple of Marduk, principal sanctuary of Babylon); his son, with the weapon of his hands, smashed his skull." As noticed by Pinches (1897: 74), *Tudḫula* apparently meant "The Evil Offspring" (TUD.ḪUL.A) in Sumerian. Böhl (1916; 1924: 151) equated Tudḫula, hence also Tidal, with one of the Hittite kings named Tudḫaliyaš (incidentally, in an Assyrian letter of the 13th century found at Ugarit and published by Lackenbacher 1982, this name is spelled even closer to its form in the "Chedorlaomer texts": ^{m}*Tu-ud-ḫu-li-ia*). Böhl's identification was widely followed. However, none of the Tudḫaliyašes plundered Babylon or even waged war against Babylonia. Astour 1966: 88–90 thought that the name Tudḫula was substituted for that of another Hittite king, Muršiliš I, who had indeed sacked Babylon in 1531 B.C. (low chronology) and carried away the statues of Marduk and his consort Ṣarpanitum. But why the substitution was made remained unexplained; besides, even though Muršiliš was assassinated after his return from Babylon, the murderer was not his son but his brother-in-law. A simple and convincing identification was proposed by Tadmor (*EncMiqr* 8: 435–36). He took the meaning of *Tudḫula* as "The Evil Offspring" not as an intentional pun with *Tudḫaliya(š)*, as understood by Astour 1966: 89, but at its face value—as a derogatory pseudonym for Sennacherib, whose father Sargon I was killed in battle—hence the patronymic ^{m}GAZ.ZA, ideographic writing for *dâku*, "to kill" and its derivatives. In 689 B.C., Sennacherib captured Babylon and systematically destroyed it, razing to the ground its houses, walls, temples, and temple towers. In his own words (*LAR* 2: 341), "through the midst of that city I dug canals, I flooded its site with water, and the very foundations thereof I destroyed. I made its destruction more complete than that by a flood . . . I completely blotted it out with water and made it like a meadow" (cf. also Esarhaddon's relation of the same event, *LAR* 2: 642, 649). Sennacherib also carried away to Assyria the statue of Marduk. In 681, Sennacherib was murdered by his son Arda-Mulišši, whose name was miswritten in 2 Kgs 19:37

as "Adrammelech" (Parpola 1980). Nabonidus later recalled, without naming him, Sennacherib's "evil intentions" against Babylon, his destruction of the city and carrying away the statue of Marduk, for which that god made his own son murder him (*ANET*, 309). At the same time, a new destruction of Babylon by water was anticipated by the authors of Isa 14:23 and Jer 51:42.

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MICHAEL C. ASTOUR

TIGLATH-PILESER (PERSON) [Heb *tiglat pil'eser*]. Var. TIGLATH-PILNESER; PUL. An Assyrian king who invaded N Israel twice, once intervening on behalf of Judah (2 Kgs 15:19–20, 29; 16:5–18; Tiglath-Pilneser [Heb *tiglat pilnĕ'eser*] in 1 Chr 5:6, 26; 2 Chr 28:16–21). In Assyrian the name is spelled *Tukultī-apil-ešarra* and means "my trust is in the firstborn of the shrine Ešarra." The phrase "the fistborn of the shrine Ešarra" refers to the god Ninurta who was the son of the god Ashur, since Esharra was the shrine of Ashur. Three kings in Assyrian history bore this name and two of them were outstanding monarchs, Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076 B.C.) and Tiglath-pileser III (744–727 B.C.). For a fuller treatment of their reigns see MESOPOTAMIA, HISTORY OF (ASSYRIA). Only Tiglath-pileser III is mentioned in the Bible, where he is sometimes called Pul (Heb *pûl*), a form of his nickname Pulu (an abbreviation of the element *apil* in his name), which is attested in cuneiform records.

It is known from the royal inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III that Samaria, together with other major cities such as Damascus and Tyre, paid tribute to Assyria as early as 738 B.C. That the kingdom of Israel was submissive to Assyria in the reign of Menahem is confirmed by the biblical narrative in 2 Kings (cf. *ANET*, 282–83). Certainly by 734 B.C. Tiglath-pileser was able to march right through Palestine without opposition and capture Gaza in the S. This was part of Tiglath-pileser's attempt to establish an Assyrian trading center on the border with Egypt.

This attempt in S Palestine and the Sinai was frustrated, however, by a major rebellion in the years 733–732 B.C. The leader of the rebellion was Rezin (*Rahianu* in cuneiform sources) of Damascus. Rezin was supported, among others, by Samaria, which was now ruled by Pekah. In 733 the Assyrians defeated Rezin's army and laid siege to Damascus. But when the city had not fallen after 45 days, Tiglath-pileser III gave up the attempt and returned to Assyria, carrying many people from the surrounding regions into exile. In the following year, 732 B.C., Damascus was once again attacked and this time captured.

According to the narrative in 2 Kgs 16:5–18, Tiglath-pileser III launched a campaign against Rezin of Syria because he together with Pekah of Israel had laid siege to Ahaz, king of Judah. Ahaz appealed to the Assyrian king for help and accompanied the appeal with a bribe. After the fall of Damascus Ahaz went there to pay homage to Tiglath-pileser. The biblical narrative continues to describe how Ahaz was impressed by Assyrian religious practices and tried to institute them in Jerusalem.

Pekah, king of Israel, who had been in league with Rezin of Damascus, was a target of Assyrian vengeance during this period. According to Assyrian records Pekah's army was defeated and various regions such as Gilead and Galilee were captured and their people taken back to Assyria in exile. Samaria, however, remained free and was not captured until the time of Shalmaneser V. Some time after the Assyrians defeated Pekah he was assassinated and replaced by Hoshea as king of Israel, who became an Assyrian vassal. See *CAH* 3/2/22.

A. KIRK GRAYSON

TIKVAH (PERSON) [Heb *tiqwâ*]. **1.** The father-in-law of Huldah the prophetess, who authenticated the temple scroll found during the reign of Josiah (2 Kgs 22:14). In the parallel text of 2 Chr 34:22, he is named Tokhath; however, that involves only a minor difference in the consonantal Hebrew text (*tqwh* versus *twqht*). Noth takes the spelling of 2 Chronicles to be original and argues that the name is non-Semitic (*IPN*, 260). Wilson (1980: 223) believes that Tikvah's son, Shallum, is the same Shallum identified as Jeremiah's uncle (Jer 32:7). If he is correct, Tikvah was also the father of Hilkiah, the grandfather of Jeremiah, and a member of a priestly family in Anathoth—a family long conjectured to be descended from Abiathar and possibly Eli (see 1 Kgs 2:26–27). Further, if Hilkiah the priest mentioned here is also the father of Jeremiah, then we can infer that he brought the temple scroll to his sister-in-law for verification of its authority. However, both "Shallum" and "Hilkiah" are relatively common names; therefore, these possible identifications must remain uncertain.

2. The father of Jahzeiah, who was one of the few opponents of Ezra's procedure to dissolve the marriages between Judean men and foreign women (Ezra 10:15; 1 Esdr 9:14). Noth considers the name to be a modification of *tāwqhat* and considers it to be non-Semitic (*IPN*, 260). For the discussion, see JAHZEIAH (PERSON).

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JEFFREY A. FAGER

TILON (PERSON) [Heb K *twlwn*, Q *tilôn*]. The son of Shimon, belonging to the tribe of Judah (1 Chr 4:20). The

MT records a variation in spelling of this name between what was written and what was spoken (preserved in the margin).

DAVID CHANNING SMITH

TIMAEUS (PERSON) [Gk *Timaios*]. The father of the blind beggar Bartimaeus of Jericho, to whom Jesus restored sight (Mark 10:46). The preservation of the name of Timaeus and his son is limited to Mark and is one of only two instances in which Mark gives a name within a healing story (cf. 5:22). Such detail may indicate the later influence of Bartimaeus within the Church. This common name is shared by the famous dialogue of Plato, the *Timaeus*.

JOANN FORD WATSON

TIMNA (PERSON) [Heb *timnā*^{c}]. **1.** A sister of the Horite chief Lotan (Gen 36:22; 1 Chr 1:39); she became the concubine of Eliphaz (a son of Esau) and the mother of Amalek (Gen 36:12). A few scholars assume that two different persons are described in these passages: Lotan's sister and Eliphaz' concubine (see, for instance, Douglas in *NBD*, 1200). Most, however, accept that the Timna of Gen 36:22 and 1 Chr 1:39 is the same person as the Timna of Gen 36:12. Some feel that the identification of a Horite as a concubine rather than a wife is meant to convey information concerning relations among various groups. According to Wilson (1977: 180), for example, assigning Timna the status of a concubine indicates not only that social mixing had taken place between Horites and Edomites (whose eponymous ancestor was Esau), but also that the Horites were assigned an inferior status among the Edomites. Sarna (1989: 250) adds that the purpose of Timna's status as a concubine is to draw attention to the Amalekites not being genuine Edomites. This becomes important when one considers that whereas the Israelites were to consider Edomites as kinsmen (Deut 23:7–8), the Amalekites were to be punished for their treatment of Israel (Exod 17:8–16; Deut 25:17–19).

2. A clan chief of Edom (Gen 36:40; 1 Chr 1:51), apparently listed in 1 Chr 1:36 as a son of Eliphaz. This suggests that Eliphaz had a concubine and a son each named Timna. Scholars have offered other possibilities. Keil and Delitzsch (1986: 323) noted that the wording of 1 Chr 1:36 is "and Timna and Amalek," and claimed that this is simply a concise way of saying "and from Timna, Amalek." Williamson (*Chronicles* NCBC, 44) claims that the names Timna and Amalek in 1 Chr 1:36 were loosely attached to the preceding list and that the Chronicler was relying on the reader's knowledge of Genesis to make sense of the reference. Several scholars, however, suggest that the "Timna" of Gen 36:40 and 1 Chr 1:36, 51 was not a person at all. Rather, it was a geographical designation of the territory inhabited by the Edomite clan (see, for example, Hicks in *IDB* 4: 649).

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DAVID SALTER WILLIAMS

TIMNA^{c} (PLACE). A valley at the S end of the Arabah, and some 30 km N of the Gulf of Aqabah. The valley has been the center of intermittent copper mining and smelting activities for over six millennia, and dozens of sites in the valley yield remains attesting to this activity. Consequently, for precision, map-reference (M.R.) numbers in this entry are not rounded off to the usual six digits.

A. Geographic Setting and Nature of the Site
B. History of Explorations
C. Results of the Excavations
  1. The Copper Installations
  2. The Shrines
D. Questions and Observations from the Excavations

A. Geographic Setting and Nature of the Site

Timna^{c} consists of a semicircular valley covering ca. 70 km^{2} and is drained by four wadis. The valley opens toward the E into the Arabah, and the N, W, and S walls of the valley are protected with formidable cliffs ca. 500–700 m high. In the center of the valley is a large mountain rising 453 m above the surrounding area. The erosion of the predominantly sandstone cliffs of this mountain has left an array of geologic formations, among which is one called "King Solomon's Pillars." The exposed stone throughout the valley encases veins of high-concentration copper-bearing ores which have been exploited from the Chalcolithic period to the modern operation run by Israel's Timna Copper Mines, Ltd.

B. History of Explorations

Timna^{c} was first noted by the British explorer J. Petherick in 1845 (1861), who identified the presence of copper smelting slag. A. Musil in 1902 noted the remains of buildings in the area (1907). In 1934, F. Frank (1934) identified seven copper smelting sites; N. Glueck in 1935 claimed to have identified Iron Age I and II sherds in the area, and as late as 1970 attributed the mining operations in part to Solomon (1970: 91–92, 120; however see discussion in C.1.c below). B. Rothenberg began a systematic investigation of the region in 1959–60, which resumed annually in 1964. For this study he assembled an international and interdisciplinary team combining archaeologists with specialists in metallurgy, extractive metallurgy, mineralogy, and chemistry.

C. Results of the Excavations

1. The Copper Installations. The copper installations consist of areas devoted either to one or a combination of operations—copper mining, ore preparation, smelting, and casting. While the region has been exploited intermittently over a long period of time, this summary will concentrate on those operations that occurred during four major periods—the Chalcolithic, the EB, the LB–Iron Age I, and the Roman.

a. The Chalcolithic Period. Site #39 (M.R. 14909183) consists of two areas—"a" and "b." At the bottom of a hill

is Site 39a, which was a preparation site for mixing ores and fluxes. These were then probably smelted at Site 39b on the top of the hill some 30 m higher. A building (ca. 4 × 5 m) with rounded corners and an entrance on the W was excavated at the bottom of the hill and apparently was a dwelling in which some of the ore was processed. Site 39b, on the top of the hill, yielded an array of Chalcolithic flints and ceramic remains *in situ*, and of special importance was the smelting installation, which consisted of a primitively constructed bowl furnace (ca. 45 cm in diameter and ca. 30 cm deep; *EAEHL* 4: 1186–88).

The copper ores were gathered during the Chalcolithic period by a combination of trenching and pitting, essentially a pit-mining process. There is some tentative evidence of shaft-and-gallery underground mining (Site 42), but this has not been fully investigated (Rothenberg 1972: pl. 2, 3; 1978: 1). The evidence from the Timnaʿ valley constitutes the earliest evidence of a metal production complex in the ANE (Rothenberg 1978: 4).

b. The Early Bronze Period. Several sites yielded remains of copper operations from the EB period. The EB I is represented by a fully developed underground mining system (in Area T) consisting of shaft-and-gallery networks. The tunnels were dug and the ores extracted by means of stone tools. Examples of these tools were discovered in the tunnel system, along with a typical EB I lamp. There are several smelting sites in the area which may date to the EB I, but these have not been fully investigated (Rothenberg 1978: 1–2).

While there is no evidence of copper mines in the Timnaʿ valley itself during EB II; several sites have been located just a few km N of the valley—Sites 144, 167, 168, 201, and 231. Site 201a (M.R. 15109175; ca. 3 km N of Timnaʿ in the Arabah), along with some of the others, has produced pottery and flints of the EB II, as well as a smelting furnace built of stone. These installations are particularly significant because they are the first evidence of tapping the slag out of the furnace during the smelting process (Rothenberg 1978: 2). The earlier process had involved mixing the fuel and ore, after which the slag and copper were allowed to cool. The mass was then broken up and the copper nodules removed for further processing (1978: 28–29).

Evidence for copper metal mining and processing during the rest of the EB is lacking, although it is possible that some activity occurred during the EB IV (inferred from the discovery of EB IV remains in the S Arabah; Rothenberg 1978: 1). Such activity might be expected in view of the appearance of copper ingots at several EB IV sites in the N Negeb—e.g., Beer Resisim (Cohen and Dever 1980) and Yeruham (Kochavi 1969)—and also at Lachish (Tufnell 1958: 39–43, 75).

c. The Late Bronze–Iron Age I. A gap appears in the mining/smelting operations at Timnaʿ during the MB, but it commenced again in LB II. A large operation was found at Site 2 (M.R. 14489107) and showed evidence of several steps of the processing operation. One area (B) had a furnace for smelting and casting as well as a facility to produce charcoal from acacia wood. In another area (D–K), a 400 m² building seems to have been used to house some of the personnel and to store and process raw materials for smelting; this was built around an 8 × 11 m courtyard in which were storage pits and stone platforms where ores were crushed (inferred from grinding tools and crushed ores found *in situ*). In the N of this area was a casting workshop with remains of charcoal, wood ash, copper pellets, and slag (*EAEHL* 4: 1188–90). There was also an area that appears to have been a *bamah* W of the site (see 2.b below).

Site 30 (M.R. 14479093) is a large, 40 × 80 m walled smelting area, which had three strata. Strata 3–2 showed evidence of rather extensive use and several rectangular buildings—probably a combination of workshops, dwellings, and storage facilities. The predominant smelting technique was the more tedious process of allowing the slag to cool, from which the copper nodules were picked. The open areas in the compound were used to store raw materials, or to discard broken slag. The ceramic repertorie consists of a combination of black, handmade Negeb ware (Negebite ware), along with Midianite and Egyptian ceramics which appear to be generally Iron Age I. Stratum 1 did not encompass as large an area, but the metallurgical process was more sophisticated than in the earlier strata, as shown in the larger, more durable furnaces, and the reintroduction of tapping the slag. The ceramics of this stratum were almost exclusively Iron Age I (*EAEHL* 4: 1199–1201).

In spite of Glueck's claim that Solomon engaged in copper mining activity in this area (1970: 91–92, 120), there has been no evidence to indicate any such activity during the Iron Age IB, much less any activity attributable to Solomon. Instead, there is a gap in mining/smelting operations from the mid–12th century B.C. to the Nabatean period. The texts, on the other hand, indicate that Solomon's copper/bronze resources were in large part secured by David as a result of his military exploits (cf. 1 Chr 18:8, 10; 22:3, 14). There are no textual nor archaeological indications that Solomon sponsored mining activities in the area of Timnaʿ, or anywhere else.

d. The Roman Period. Site 28 (M.R. 14829032) appears to have been a major center for Roman copper extraction, and Rothenberg suggests that it was associated with the presence of the Third Legion Cyrenaica (*EAEHL* 4: 1199). The site has remains of smelting furnaces which incorporated the slag tapping procedure, in addition to casting workshop areas (*EAEHL* 4: 1198–99).

2. The Shrines. a. The Chalcolithic Period. A shrine has been inferred in Site 191 (M.R. 14979166), which rests next to one of the cliffs in Timnaʿ valley. It consists of a semicircular enclosure against the face of the cliff, in which there is a narrow fissure. The enclosure was littered with Chalcolithic sherds and flints and inside the fissure is an apparently ancient rock drawing/carving depicting two beings (a male and female?) along with four abstractly executed ostriches. Rothenberg suggests that the female figure is reminiscent of the Ghassulian fresco and suggests that the two figures may represent the deities worshiped at the site (1972: 53–62).

b. The Late Bronze–Iron Age I. Area F at Site 2 (see C.1.c above) is located about 70 m W of the main smelting area and has what appears to be a *bamah*. It is on a ridge which connects a 20-m-high hill to the adjoining lower intermediate valley walls. The *bamah* is an oval tumulus measuring 4.8 × 3.1 m and about 22 cm high (*EAEHL* 4:

1190; Rothenberg 1972: 114–16). In association with the structure along with the black Negeb ware were found numerous decorated Midianite sherds; various small precious items such as beads of carnelian and faience; stone, glass, and copper needles and spatulas; Red Sea shells, ostrich eggshells; several goat horns; and evidence of metallurgical activities. Rothenberg suggests that this site may be where some of the copper implements associated with the worship at the nearby Hathor shrine were produced (*EAEHL* 4: 1190).

A series of cup marks next to a deliberately leveled area, 3 × 3 m, were found on a high plateau (M.R. 14509090) in association with another copper site (Site 34). This installation apparently dates to the LB II period (Rothenberg 1972: 66). The site, which Rothenberg suggests is a *bamah*, rises 10 m above the plateau and has a series of steps leading up to it which shows signs of tool marks (1972: 117). The platform has engraved on its surface a small representation of a human sitting on a one-hump camel.

Site 199 (M.R. 14579094) is nestled deep within a series of crevices associated with the so-called King Solomon's Pillars. The presence of human skeletal remains enclosed within a number of the crevices implies a burial place. In association with these were ceramic goods dating to the LB–Iron Age period, including an ornate Midianite jug. About 50 m S of this funeral area is a sheltered area which was created when a large piece of sandstone fell and formed an artificial cave. In this cavity (Site 198) was a platform on which was a rounded *maṣṣebâ* stone (55 cm high and 30 cm wide) with a shallow cup mark (libation bowl?) beside it. Rothenberg suggests (1972: 118–19) that these were associated sites, and infers from the slag, tools, and charcoal remains in the cave that perhaps this area was used for ritual casting.

The most complex shrine is Site 200 (M.R. 14579090), also known as the Hathor Temple, which is built against the face of the "Pillars," and is centrally located. The remains were located in a mound measuring ca. 15 × 15 m and ca. 1.5 m high. Excavations revealed 5 strata ranging from the Chalcolithic to the Roman periods, although the primary activities were concentrated in the LB–Iron Age I (strata 4–2).

The Chalcolithic period (stratum 5) was represented by flints and sherds and had some sparse remains of buildings and fireplaces (*EAEHL* 4: 1190).

Strata 4–3 are dated to the LB II–Iron Age I period and were associated with the 19th–20th Dyn. of Egypt, who were exploiting the copper of the region.

The stratum 4 shrine consisted of a 9 × 7 m courtyard in which was a *naos* measuring 2.7 × 1.7 m. The raised *naos* was built of imported white sandstone and rested against the red sandstone cliff, in which had been carved a large niche; the niche probably accommodated the representation of a deity. Two square foundation stones were located flanking the *naos*, where probably stood two large squared pillars depicting Hathor. Such pillars were found in clear secondary use in the shrine (*EAEHL* 4: 1190–92). It seems that stone lintels (i.e., architraves) bridged from the Hathor columns to the back of the shrine into holes that had been dug into the cliff to support the end (Rothenberg 1972: 130). Some of the small finds associated with stratum 4 include incense altars and offering tables (*EAEHL* 4: 1192); otherwise, because of the disturbed stratigraphy of the site, many of the small finds for strata 4–2 are grouped together (Rothenberg 1972: 152–53). Rothenberg suggests (*EAEHL* 4: 1190) that the shrine was built sometime during the reigns of either Rameses II (ca. 1304–1237 B.C.) or Seti I (ca. 1318–1304 B.C.; the later is the date given in 1972: 129–30). Because of the extreme obliteration of the architectural remains, it appears that the shrine was deliberately destroyed, but by unknown agents (Rothenberg 1972: 131).

Stratum 3 was built after the lapse of about a generation, at which time the courtyard was enlarged to ca. 9 × 9 m and paved with a layer of crushed white stone. The *naos* also was renovated with a layer of lime plaster and with the installation of a special area, a *pronaos*, just in front of it (measuring 3 × 3 m). From the inscribed objects found in this stratum (e.g., a faience ring stand with a cartouche inscription; *EAEHL* 4: 1195), it appears that the new shrine may have been rebuilt during the reign of Rameses III (ca. 1198–1166 B.C.). Further corroborating this conclusion is the outline of a rock stele (ca. 90 cm high and 55 cm wide) carved into the face of the cliff above the shrine. The stele shows Rameses III, identified by two of his cartouches carved into the stone, offering gifts to Hathor (Ventura 1974), who was the Egyptian goddess of mining. That the shrine was devoted to the worship of Hathor, at least in these earlier strata, can be inferred from the stele depicting Hathor, the presence of the Hathor-faced square columns, representations of the cat which is associated with Hathor (and especially a leopard; Rothenberg 1972: 166), and the discovery of an inscribed bracelet fragment which reads: "Hathor, Lady of the Turquoise," and another similar inscription on a sistrum handle (Rothenberg 1972: 166). The monumental elements of the stratum 3 shrine were almost exclusively Egyptian in character. The shrine was probably destroyed by an earthquake (Rothenberg 1972: 149), and if the shrine were associated with Rameses III, it would have been in the first half of the 12th century B.C.

The shrine of stratum 2, however, takes on a different character (*EAEHL* 4: 1193–96)—a room was added outside, but attached to the E side of the shrine and against the cliff, stone benches were built flanking each side of the entrance into the shrine, and a series of *maṣṣebôt* were placed along the W wall, most of which consisted of earlier Egyptian elements in reuse (e.g., one of the square Hathor columns, which had been defaced and was placed upside down). Rather large quantities of animal bone fragments were found in this stratum, and especially around the *maṣṣebôt* (Rothenberg 1972: 176). Perhaps most surprising was the discovery, along both side walls of the shrine, of fairly large pieces of red and yellow heavy fabric into which beads had been woven. The material was a combination of flax and wool, and from the discovery of strategically placed postholes, it is inferred that these were the remains of a tent covering (Rothenberg 1972: 151; *EAEHL* 4: 1196). In the *naos* was found *in situ* a copper snake, measuring ca. 12 cm. with a gilded head which depicted two eyes (Rothenberg 1972: 152, 173).

Stratum 2 appears to have more of a "Semitic" character. Because of the Midianite ceramic motifs, some of the non-

Egyptian motifs at the site, and the apparently contemptuous regard for some of the Egyptian elements (e.g., the defacing and inversion of the Hathor column, and yet its retention as a religious artifact: the effort to eradicate the obvious hieroglyphic elements at the site), one can infer that the Midianites, or at least groups who were more indigenous to Canaan, were probably the predominant group working the sites. The non-Egyptian motifs include the copper serpent; a copper figurine of a sheep; copper jewelry resembling the geometric designs on the Midianite pottery; a very stylized copper figurine with outstretched arms, a phallus, and almost a "beak face" head; and another cast copper figurine of a phallic image [Rothenberg 1972: 172–76]).

The small finds from strata 3 and 2 consist of those with Egyptian motifs: the fragment of a small sphinx (which Rothenberg says resembles the figure of Rameses II; 1972: 132), faience beads, bowls, animal figurines, scarabs, wands, alabaster vessels, and Hathor figurines (*EAEHL* 4: 1196); and those of more local origin (cf. the listing above). While Rothenberg is unwilling to attribute these artifacts specifically to either stratum 3 or 2 because of the disturbed nature of the site and the resulting stratigraphic problems (*EAEHL* 4: 1196–98; 1972: 152–53)—and it is necessary to respect these factors—one nevertheless wonders if the artifacts should generally be divided to correspond to the respective character differentiations of the site's monumental remains. This shrine came to an end about the middle of the 12th century B.C.

c. The Roman Period. Part of Site 200, the shrine, was briefly reoccupied during the Roman period and was used as a casting workshop (Rothenberg 1972: 177–79).

A possible shrine of some kind was found at site 28 (M.R. 14829032). It consists of a somewhat rectangular area (7.5 × 5.5 m), outlined with large slag pieces that had been embedded into foundation trenches. On the S side was an "apse." Rothenberg hints that it might have been a symbolic Christian church from the Roman period (1972: 221–22).

D. Questions and Observations from the Excavations

The transition from the predominantly Egyptian nature of the copper activities of the LB–Iron Age to the more Semitic character is intriguing: what was the relationship between the Semitic elements and the Egyptian? Rothenberg (1972: 183) and Kenyon (1987: 45–46) think that the Semitic peoples collaborated with the Egyptians in the copper-extracting processes (1987: 45–46), while Singer (1978: 20) hints that there was perhaps coerced labor: "Egyptians . . . more likely directed, imported Midianite and Amalekite laborers." Regardless of this relationship, a change of attitude apparently occurred among the Semitic elements as implied in the contemptuous treatment of the exposed hieroglyphs, the defaced Hathor columns, and especially the apparent deliberate inversion of one of the columns while retaining it in the shrine context. Somewhat peculiarly, there is no evidence to infer an armed conflict, but with the destruction of the Hathor shrine by an earthquake (during the reign of Rameses III?), the Semitic elements appear to have gained the supremacy.

Perhaps the Egyptians decreased their presence at Timna^{c} to redirect their manpower in the face of the Libyan threat on their W border, and because of conflicts with the Sea Peoples (cf. *CAH* 2/2: 371–78). Additionally, one benefit of military campaigns (to the victors) is the spoils, which could diminish the need to extract raw materials. Perhaps the earthquake, then, was simply coincidental to the "ethnic" shift, or perhaps the earthquake was perceived as a convenient time to diminish the operation in view of the time and energy needed to "retool." The answer to this question remains elusive.

The appearance of the copper snake in the *naos* of the Hathor shrine easily recalls the episode of Moses and the serpents in the wilderness, and in particular Moses' construction of a bronze serpent which he placed on a pole (Num 21:6–9). This relic, which was called "Nehushtan," is that which Hezekiah is said to have destroyed as part of his reforms (2 Kgs 18:4). It is unclear whether the word *nĕhuštan* is derived from the root meaning "copper, bronze," or from the root for "serpent" (cf. BDB, 639), but either way, the name is appropriate. While no claim is made to connect directly the Timna^{c} serpent with either of these traditions, its presence corroborates a wider cultural veneration of the serpent among those who became Israel's neighbors (as do also various ceramic representations of serpents on cultic vessels; e.g., the cult stand from Beth-shan, stratum 5).

The discovery of the fabric which covered the Hathor shrine, while by no means duplicating the description of the tabernacle (cf. Exodus 26, 36), shows the antiquity of the practice on at least a "permanent" structure.

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DALE W. MANOR

TIMNAH (PLACE) [Heb *timnâ*]. **1.** A town on the N border of the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:7), between Beth-shemesh and Ekron (probably Tel Miqne). According to Josh 19:43, it was originally assigned to the tribe of Dan. Alt (*KlSchr* 1: 193–202) has persuasively argued that the border list of Joshua 15 is derived from an ancient legal document delineating the territorial claims

of the tribes during the period of the judges. Despite these claims, for a time Timnah was in the hands of the Philistines, for it was here that Samson's famous misadventure with his Philistine wife took place (Judges 14). The fact that Timnah was taken by the Philistines during the time of Ahaz (2 Chr 28:18) indicates that it came under Israelite control for a time, perhaps as a result of Uzziah's campaign against the Philistines (2 Chr 26:6).

A majority of scholars accept the identification of ancient Timnah with Tell el-Batashi (M.R. 141133), a large mound in a broad section of the Nahal Sorek approximately 9 km WNW of Beth-shemesh and 5.5 km E of Tel Miqne (Ekron). Extensive excavations have demonstrated a close correspondence between the history of ancient Timnah and this most impressive mound, including a substantial Philistine occupation during the Iron I period and clear evidence of Israelite reoccupation during the 8th century (Kelm and Mazar 1985). When combined with this archaeological evidence, the ideal geographic location of Tell el-Batashi with respect to other known points on Judah's N border makes this identification difficult to question. See also BATASHI, TELL EL- (M.R. 142132).

2. A town situated in the S hill country of Judah (Josh 15:17), within the same district as Maon. This settlement is included in the list of towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:21–62). The theory that this list is derived from an administrative roster compiled under the Judean monarchy (Alt 1925) has been widely accepted, although controversy continues over the precise makeup of the districts, the proper context of the town lists of Benjamin and Dan, and the period of the monarchy to which the original roster belongs (*Joshua* AB, 64–72). Given the tentative identifications of neighboring towns such as Maon with Tell Ma'in, Carmel with Khirbet el-Kirmil, and Juttah with modern Yatta, the hill country Timnah is no doubt located in the same region, 10 to 15 km SW of Hebron. However, no satisfactory candidate within this region has yet been identified.

3. A town in S Canaan (Gen 38:12). It was on his journey to Timnah that Judah is said to have mistaken his daughter-in-law Tamar for a ritual prostitute (Gen 38:12–19). The lack of detailed geographical clues makes it difficult to provide a firm identification. Many scholars (eg. Gold in *IDB* 4: 649) equate it with Timnah of the S Judean hill country (#2 above), although its identification with Timnah/Tell el-Batashi seems equally probable in geographic terms. The discovery that Tell el-Batashi was a major city during the Bronze Age (Kelm and Mazar 1985) lends considerable strength to the second of these associations. Given that Timnah is a relatively common place name, it is entirely possible that a third location is referred to in these verses.

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WADE R. KOTTER

TIMNATH (PLACE) [Gk *Thamnatha*]. Listed in 1 Macc 9:50 as one of the cities of Judea fortified by Bacchides in his battle with Jonathan. While the major mss of the Greek text read *Thamnatha Pharathōn*, as if the two terms comprise the name of a single location, Abel has rightly pointed to the readings of the Vulgate, Syriac versions, and Josephus (*Ant* 13.15), all of which place a *kai* between the two words (1925: 206–7; Goldstein *I Maccabees* AB, 386).

The location of this city has been the subject of some debate. The discussion is rooted in the various references to *timnāh* in the Hebrew Scriptures, all of which do not designate the same location. See TIMNAH (PLACE). While Aharoni and Avi-Yonah identify the city in 1 Macc 9:50, also called Thamna, with a site SW of Jerusalem (*MBA*, 197), Abel considered it to be at the location of Joshua's tomb, the modern Khirbet Tibnah (M.R. 160157), also known as TIMNATH-HERES or Timnath-serah (1925: 206–7; *GP* 2: 481–82). There is also a Timnah now identified with the modern Tell el-Batashi (M.R. 141132) in the Sorek valley E of Jerusalem, even though that site has also been the subject of debate (Aharoni 1958: 27–30). Goldstein is probably correct in asserting that the fortifications erected by Bacchides would have been to the N of Jerusalem (AB, 386), the primary base of the Maccabean insurgency (AB, 236), thereby arguing for the Khirbet Tibnah site located about 12 miles NE of Emmaus. This is probably the same city reduced to servitude by Cassius (*Ant* 14.275).

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JOHN KAMPEN

TIMNATH-HERES (PLACE) [Heb *timnat-ḥeres*]. Var. TIMNATH-SERAH. A toponym that denotes the portion allotted to Joshua as a personal possession (Judg 2:9). The initial problem presented by the biblical evidence is the variation in the name between Judges (2:9; Timnath-heres) and Joshua (19:50; 24:30; Timnath-serah [Heb *timnat-seraḥ*]). Though most scholars have accepted "Timnath-heres" as the original form (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 469), they do not share the same unanimity in their interpretations concerning the difference between the renderings in Judges and Joshua. Some suggest that the name "Timnath-heres," "Portion of the Sun," indicates the presence of a cult center, dedicated to the sun deity (cf. *IDB* 4: 650). Therefore the change in Joshua may represent an attempt by the redactors of Joshua to remove any hint of idolatry on the part of Joshua.

Another suggestion by van Selms (*ISBE* 4: 856) maintains on the basis of etymology that the change was due to the geographical location of the settlement. If Timnath-heres is part of the S slopes of Ephraim (see below), then it is located in the most rugged portion of the whole territory of Ephraim (Finkelstein *AIS*, 128). According to van Selms (*ISBE* 4: 856), the change from *ḥeres* to *seraḥ* was due to "spontaneous metathesis" and the new form should be translated "overhang." This etymology would seem to be a logical referent for a town built in an area of steep incline.

The third interpretation suggests that the metathesis is due to popular etymology. In contrast to van Selms, Boling proposes that "Timnath-serah" means "leftover portion" (*Judges* AB, 72). Therefore the name is an inference gleaned from the fact that Joshua received his allotment from what was left after all the other tribes had been given their inheritance. The interpretation of van Selms is difficult to sustain because *serah* is never used to describe mountain formations, but rather to describe the "excess" such as cloth that overhangs the edge of the top of a tent. It is that surplus which is "left over." In summary, the evidence is not sufficient to make a definitive resolution of the problem, although the third suggestion seems most likely.

All three references to Timnath-heres/-serah locate Joshua's inheritance within the geographical boundaries of his own tribe, Ephraim (Num 13:8). However, the city appears to belong exclusively to Joshua and not to the tribe of Ephraim. The suggestion that Joshua had a private city (like David with Jerusalem and Omri with Samaria) bears further study (cf. van Selms *ISBE* 4: 856). In this connection, it should be noted that Caleb also receives a special inheritance of Hebron in the tribe of Judah.

Timnath-heres has been predominantly identified with Khirbet Tibnah (M.R. 160157) among the S slopes of Ephraim (Finkelstein *AIS*, 121, 169). The site, 24 km SW of Shechem, was occupied as early as MB II. However, during the LB Age it was mostly abandoned (Boling and Wright AB, 469). In contrast, during Iron I, the site was a rather large village of 35–40 dunams. The abundance of pottery also indicates active occupation in Iron II. There is evidence of occupation down until the Early Arab and medieval periods. The archaeological evidence would seem to support that the settlement was extensively rebuilt during Iron I and may be the source of the tradition that Joshua rebuilt the settlement (Josh 19:50). It is clear that this site was part of the early settlement of the hill country of Ephraim that would finally emerge as Israel. See TIMNATH (PLACE).

HARRY R. WEEKS

TIMON (PERSON) [Gk *Timōn*]. Timon appears only in Acts 6:5, where he is one of seven gifted leaders "of good repute, full of the spirit and of wisdom" (Acts 6:3), who were chosen to look after the needs of the Hellenistic Jewish-Christian widows who had been neglected in the "daily distribution" (Acts 6:1). Since all seven had Greek names and only one of them, Nicolaus, is explicitly called a proselyte, it is probable that the other six, including Timon, were either Jews born in the Diaspora or Palestinian Jews with Greek names (as would be the case with Jesus' disciples Andrew and Philip). The work of two of them, Stephen (Acts 6:8–8:2) and Philip (Acts 8:5–40; 21:8), makes it clear that the seven did not limit themselves to "serving tables" (Acts 6:2) but functioned for the Hellenists in the way that the Twelve did for the Hebrew Christians (see Simon 1958: 7).

Tradition holds, according to Schermann (1907: 302–3, 348), that Timon was one of the 70 appointed by Jesus (Luke 10:1), later became bishop of Bostra in Arabia, and was eventually martyred by fire in Basrah at the instigation of heathen Greeks.

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JON PAULIEN

TIMOTHY (PERSON) [Gk *Timotheos*]. A missionary associate, fellow worker, and trusted emissary of Paul over an extended period of time. Timothy is mentioned after Paul in the prescript of various Pauline letters as a cosender of those letters (1 Thess 1:1; 2 Cor 1:1; Phil 1:1; Philemon 1; cf. also 2 Thess 1:1; Col 1:1). He is variously identified as "our brother" (1 Thess 3:2; 2 Cor 1:1; Philemon 1), as "fellow worker" (1 Thess 3:2; Rom 16:21), and as Paul's "beloved and faithful child in the Lord" (1 Cor 4:17; cf. 1 Tim 1:2) who enjoys a special relationship with this apostle (Phil 2:20–22; cf. 1 Tim 1:2, 18; 2 Tim 1:2; 2:1). Many interpreters also see the phrase "apostles of Christ" (1 Thess 2:6) as including Timothy along with Paul (and Silas).

According to Acts Timothy was a native of Lystra in Asia Minor (16:1, 2), the son of a Jewish woman and a Greek father (16:1). Because of the matrilineal principle of descent, Timothy would have been considered a Jew, although the applicability of this principle in the 1st-century Diaspora has been questioned by Cohen (1986: 251–68). The author of 2 Timothy, preserving what is probably historically reliable tradition, names his mother as Eunice and his grandmother as Lois, both of whom are described as Christian believers (1:5). Timothy's mother did not have him circumcised (Acts 16:3). This together with her marriage to a (nonbelieving?) gentile suggests that Timothy, living in the Diaspora, did not grow up in a pious or strictly observant Jewish home (although see 2 Tim 3:15).

At Lystra during Paul's second missionary journey, Timothy is chosen by Paul to accompany him, probably because "he was well spoken of by the brethren" of that area (Acts 16:2–3). The reason for his good reputation remains unknown. At this time Timothy was already a Christian. Although there is no indication in Acts or Paul's letters when Paul first encountered Timothy, nor is there reference to the person who brought Timothy to the Christian faith, it is usually assumed that Paul and Barnabas met and converted him during their first missionary journey to that area. In accord with Jewish legal observance, Paul had Timothy circumcised, thus regularizing his religious status and hence making him fully acceptable and more effective as Paul's co-worker to the Jews of his native area and elsewhere (Acts 16:3). The noninterference of Timothy's father with the circumcision leads to the assumption that he was deceased at this time.

Timothy along with Silas (= Silvanus) accompanied Paul through Asia Minor to Troas and then went over to Macedonia. At Philippi they became involved in conflict (Acts 16:6–40; 1 Thess 2:2); however, Paul and Silas are the only ones mentioned as having been brought before the magistrate. Timothy may have been spared because he was half Greek. Afterward the missionaries passed through Am-

phipolis and Apollonia, eventually arriving at Thessalonica, where opposition was also encountered (Acts 17:1–9). The sources offer different accounts about what happened next. According to the author of Acts, Paul, Silas, and Timothy left by night for Beroea, where Timothy and Silas remained, while Paul set sail for Athens (17:10–14). From Athens Paul sent word that Timothy and Silas were to join him in that city "as soon as possible" (17:15). Yet, according to the narrative, they do not meet Paul until he is in Corinth (18:5). According to Paul in 1 Thessalonians, Timothy (and Silvanus?) had joined him in Athens from where Paul, anxious about the newly established community at Thessalonica, sent Timothy to them (3:2). Since Paul was closer to the events related, his account merits priority.

The decision to send Timothy may have been collaborative (cf. "*we* sent . . . ," 1 Thess 3:2), with Timothy taking an active part in the determination that Paul remain in Athens, while he (and Silvanus?) went back to Thessalonica. Timothy's task included the following: to establish the Thessalonians in their faith and to encourage them (3:2), to assess how the community was faring so that he could report back to Paul (3:5), and probably to tell them of Paul's longing to see them personally and to explain why Paul himself could not come (2:17). At the time the Thessalonians were suffering afflictions from their neighbors, just as Paul had told them would happen (3:3–4). Already known to the new converts, Timothy undoubtedly had Paul's confidence that he was quite capable of the mission entrusted to him. Timothy's close collegial relationship to Paul is underscored by the words "our brother" (3:2), his commitment to service by the phrase "God's fellow-worker [*synergos*] in the gospel of Christ" (3:2), and the divine origin of his call by the title "apostle of Christ" (2:7, assuming that the "we" in this section includes the cosenders mentioned in 1:1). Although Paul calls others "brother," this designation is used characteristically for Timothy, and brings to mind, along with the other titles, the common ministry he shared with Paul.

After his mission to the Thessalonians, Timothy returned to Paul in Corinth (cf. Acts 18:5), bringing a report of successful missionary work. He informed Paul about "the good news" of their "faith and love," and related how the believers remembered the apostles always and longed to see them (1 Thess 3:6). Such news was a source of comfort to Paul amid his own distress and afflictions (3:7). It also appears that Timothy brought a list of questions from the new converts about, for example, the fate of those who died before the Parousia (4:13–18), and concerns about "the times and seasons" (5:1–11). One wonders whether Timothy himself gave some response to these concerns while he was with the Thessalonians. Whatever the case, Paul, Silvanus, and Timothy find it necessary to send their reply by means of a letter (1 Thessalonians).

While in Corinth, Timothy was active in establishing the community of believers there, for he, along with Paul and Silvanus, preached "the Son of God, Jesus Christ" (2 Cor 1:19). It is uncertain, however, how long Timothy remained in Corinth after his Thessalonian mission. Was it for 18 months, the duration of Paul's stay (ca. 51–52, cf. 2 Cor 1:19; Acts 18:11)? Also unclear is Timothy's path over the next few years.

At some point Timothy joins Paul during his Ephesian stay of the third journey (ca. 54–57). Having heard disturbing reports about the Corinthian community, Paul decides to send Timothy from Ephesus to Corinth as well as another letter (the canonical 1 Corinthians; cf. 1 Cor 7:1 regarding a previous letter) to resolve the situation. The sending of Timothy is indicated by the verb *epempsa* in 1 Cor 4:17, which may be translated in two ways. As a regular aorist the sense is "I sent . . . Timothy," implying that he was sent before the letter (note that he is not mentioned in the prescript in 1 Cor 1:1, suggesting that he was not present when Paul wrote it). The verb may also be read as an epistolary aorist, "I am sending . . . Timothy," indicating that he was sent at the time of the letter, and possibly that Timothy himself brought the letter with him to Corinth. If the sending of Timothy is the same as that referred to in Acts 19:22, then he was accompanied by Erastus and together they traveled to Macedonia first before Timothy continued on to Corinth.

In any case, Timothy's mission was to serve as an apostolic reminder, recalling for the Corinthians Paul's ways in Christ (1 Cor 4:17). As his "beloved and faithful child in the Lord" (4:17) Paul counted on Timothy to remind the Corinthians of his own teaching. However, it appears that Paul was apprehensive about the kind of reception Timothy would receive. At the close of the letter Paul gives them a threefold instruction when Timothy arrives: "See that you put him at ease among you," as if Timothy was nervous and easily intimidated; "let no one despise him," as if he had been rejected previously by them or as if the sentiment against Paul would overflow toward Timothy; "send him on his way in peace," as if he had left without their support earlier (16:10–11). Did Paul have doubts about Timothy's effectiveness as a leader, or was Paul fearful that the Corinthians would complain, believing they merited the personal presence of Paul himself? The last instruction, "send him on his way [*propempsate*]" has been interpreted as meaning to equip Timothy with all the resources he needed for the journey, including some financial outlay (cf. 1 Cor 16:6; 2 Cor 1:16).

There is no indication in Paul's writings how Timothy's troubleshooting visit turned out. Although Timothy is mentioned as a cosender of 2 Corinthians, Titus becomes Paul's main emissary at the time of this letter. This may indicate that Titus was a stronger personality than Timothy, that Timothy was too closely involved in the conflict, or it may simply mean that Titus was appointed by Paul from the start to handle the collection, a major concern of this letter. It is not necessary to conclude that Timothy was incapable of the task at hand or a persona non grata. For, not too many months later when Paul himself was again in Corinth for three months, a period when Romans was written, Timothy was (still?) there and is the first whose own greetings are included (Rom 16:21). Identified as "*the* fellow-worker" of Paul *(ho synergos mou)*, meaning the "well-known co-laborer," Timothy remains highly regarded by Paul.

When Paul left Corinth, bound for Jerusalem and with plans to go on to Rome and Spain, Timothy was among those who started out with him and went at least as far as Troas (Acts 20:4). It is unknown whether Timothy contin-

ued on with Paul to Jerusalem, or intended to travel farther with him.

Timothy is mentioned as the cosender in the prescripts of three letters Paul wrote from prison (Phil 1:1; Philemon 1; cf. Col 1:1). None of these letters implies that Timothy was also imprisoned. In Philippians the imprisoned Paul plans to send to them Timothy, about whom he says: "I have no one like him, who will be genuinely anxious for your welfare. . . . Timothy's worth you know, how as a son with a father he has served with me in the gospel" (2:20–22). Paul leaves no doubt about Timothy's selfless devotion to him.

The significance of Timothy is underscored by his being named as the recipient of two pastoral letters. These letters allegedly written by Paul are usually taken to be pseudonymous. Timothy is portrayed as a youthful, inexperienced protégé of Paul, intimidated by strong opposition, requiring the encouragement and instruction of his mentor on both personal and Church matters. The letters also pick on the theme of the uniquely close relationship between Paul and Timothy, who is referred to variously as "true child of the faith" (1 Tim 1:2; cf. 2 Tim 1:2), and "my son" (1 Tim 1:18; 1 Tim 2:1). The first letter suggests a situation in which Paul, freed from prison and having returned to work in the east, had appointed Timothy to remain at Ephesus (1 Tim 1:3). This implies that Timothy was in Ephesus after Paul's death. Timothy is also said to have received a gift "by prophetic utterance" (1 Tim 4:14). The second letter suggests a somewhat later period, which presents Paul as having been arrested and taken off to Rome a second time. It includes the tradition that Paul asked Timothy to come to him in his imprisonment soon, before winter, and to bring Mark along with his cloak (2 Tim 4:9, 11, 13, 21). If Timothy did go to Rome and was imprisoned while he was there, this visit should be connected with the mention of Timothy's release from prison by the author of Hebrews (Heb 13:23).

According to later tradition preserved by Eusebius, Timothy, the disciple of Paul, was the first bishop of Ephesus (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.4).

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TIMOTHY AND TITUS, EPISTLES TO.

The Pauline letters to Titus and (1–2) Timothy, in recent centuries, have been treated together as both a theological and a literary unity and have been called the "Pastoral Epistles" (hereafter PE). This phrase originated in 18th-century German NT studies, although Thomas Aquinas had already characterized 1 Timothy as "a rule for pastors." The three short letters are "pastoral" in the sense that they are concerned with "shepherding" the Church. Already in the late 2d century, the Muratorian Fragment justified their position in the Christian canon because of their contribution to ecclesial discipline in the Church universal; this case is made in the name of Paul. Additionally, they are concerned with what believers *do*. These letters, however, have no time for speculative thinking or theoretical research and they do not appreciate Christians who pursue such activities (Titus 3:9; 1 Tim 1:4; 2 Tim 2:14; 3:7). They are *pastoral* because they are *practical:* they are ordered to a Christian *praxis*, to the activities of believers.

A. Summaries of the Pastoral Epistles
B. Documents and Data
C. Literary Form and Sources
D. Data Referred to in the Pastoral Epistles
E. Hypotheses to Explain the Data
   1. Who Wrote the Pastorals?
   2. Where Were the Pastorals Composed?
   3. To Whom (or Where) Were the Pastorals Sent?
   4. Why Were the Pastorals Written?

A. Summaries of the Pastoral Epistles

The PE consist of three individual "letters" and are part of a small group of Pauline letters (including Philemon) that were addressed to *individuals*. These stand together in the NT after a larger collection of Pauline letters that were addressed to Christian *congregations* or *churches* (Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians). In the current order of the NT collection, eight additional letters (Hebrews, James, 1–2 Peter, 1–2–3 John, Jude) follow the Pauline collection. Altogether the epistles constitute a third of the NT.

1. The Epistle to Titus. The PE come to us as a collection of correspondences that opens with a letter under the name of Paul, to his collaborator, Titus. The individual, personal relationship of the apostle to his co-worker is the frame within which is sketched a Pauline policy and program for predominantly Jewish-Christian congregations, of which the churches in Crete are paradigms.

The long, solemn greeting and blessing for Titus which serves to open not only this letter but also the whole correspondence contains a descriptive definition of the apostolic task divinely imposed on Paul (Titus 1:1–4).

The body of the letter (1:5–3:11) then articulates the apostle's commission to the colleague who shares in and carries out the Pauline apostolate, as a man's son carries on the name and work of his father. The first series of orders from Paul (1:5–16) centers on the establishment of presbyter-bishop ministers in the towns of Crete. The qualifications of candidates for this work are sketched through catalogs of vices and virtues (1:5–9). The list concludes pointedly with the requirement that these men be responsible, convincing teachers. The description that follows (1:10–16) offers the reason for that insistence: certain Jewish-Christian teachers are perverting the consciences of their fellow believers; the new Pauline presbyter-bishops must stop them.

The second series of orders in the body of this letter (2:1–3:11) again addresses Titus explicitly, giving him Pauline directives for the whole people of God. A domestic code (2:2–10) supplies the grid for instructing various

groups within the Jewish-Christian congregation: older men and women, younger women and men (including Titus himself), the Christian slave. The visibly good and attractive lives of God's household are a revelation to all their fellow men of the blessing that the crucified Savior has in store for those who put their faith in him (2:11–14). Titus must confront the present Jewish-Christian troublemakers (2:15–3:11), with their disobedience and the reminder that they have relapsed into the evil life that preceded baptismal rebirth. That event, as it was interpreted by the Pauline teaching, is to be the center of gravity in Titus' instructions. His time is to be spent on encouraging the faithful to live out what they believe; he is to waste no time on theological quibbles.

As the composition closes (3:12–15a), an introduction appears for the pair of missionaries who bear the letter, commending their cause to the support of their fellow Christians in Crete. Titus is summoned to meet Paul at Actium (Nicopolis) as soon as his replacement from the Pauline entourage appears.

The plural address of the final prayer (3:15b) directly refers to all the Cretan Christians. Paul's commission to one of his collaborators is intended to be "overhead" by the Cretan churches.

2. The First Epistle to Timothy. The second unit of the Pastorals has the form of an epistolary diptych directed to Timothy. 1 Timothy constitutes an epistolary commission for this Pauline co-worker (2 Timothy is an epistolary testament to Timothy in the name of the apostle—see below).

Just as the letter to Titus had the cities of Crete and Jewish Christians principally in view, 1 Timothy is concerned with the metropolis of Ephesus and Christian converts that come mainly from paganism. The letter opens (1:1–2) with a brief apostolic greeting and blessing for Timothy, another of Paul's true children in Christian belief.

The body of the letter is arranged with respect to a core of prophetic texts, hymnic and oracular (3:14–4:5), which are proposed and interpreted for Timothy by Paul, for the benefit of the Church conceived of as God's household. Apostolic commissions for Timothy are then arranged both before this core (1 Tim 1:3–3:13) and after it (4:6–6:21a).

The former Pauline commission opens with the address to Timothy in the singular (1:3) in a series of apostolic commands about Judaizing heterodoxies in applying the Law among the converts from paganism. These errors have occasioned the decision to put Timothy in charge at Ephesus (1:3–7). The true Pauline teaching about the function of the Law is complemented by the apostle's thanksgiving prayer to the risen Jesus for his conversion and vocation (1:12–17). This section of commands closes with an emphatic repetition of the singular address to Timothy in the charge of 1:18–20. Then the figure of Timothy sinks out of view as Paul delivers a series of apostolic exhortations on the public worship of believers (2:1–3:1a) and the ministers who serve them (3:1b–13). The section on public worship employs an already traditional Christian order to community prayer which opens with a description of the universal scope of Christian liturgical prayer and the reasons (practical as well as theological) for this catholic inclusiveness (2:1–7). Then the church order turns to the praying community as such, dealing first with the dispositions appropriate for the men in the assembly, then for the women (2:8–10). Public teaching by a married woman in the liturgical assembly poses a special problem because of her prior commitment to her husband and children. The order proposes a solution grounded on the liturgical charge which a bride heard in her Christian marriage (2:11–3:1a).

Finally the order turns to the qualifications and dispositions required in those who minister to the liturgical assembly. The ministerial offices have the Pauline titles of bishop and deacon. In the first place, the ideal bishop is described with a catalog of the virtues to be sought in him and the vices that disqualify a candidate (3:1b–7). Secondly, the order submits catalogs of the qualities to be investigated in another cadre of ministers, male and female. The former are titled deacons; the latter receive no formal title (3:8–13).

The lengthy church order concludes at the central core of prophetic and hymnic texts (3:14–4:5). At this point Timothy again appears as Paul, in the first person, addresses him. This singular address, relatively rare in the preceding apostolic commission, dominates the development of the second commission, which occupies the last half of 1 Timothy.

The second commission (4:6–6:21a) is divided into three sections. It may presuppose metropolitan house churches with stronger Jewish ties than the former commission. The first section addresses Timothy personally as a Pauline teacher, faithful to the apostolic instruction that he has received, putting it into practice for his own sake and for the sake of his fellow Christians, to whom he reads out the OT and whom he teaches in the assembly for public worship. For this task he has received a charism ("gift") through a presbyterial laying on of hands (4:6–16).

In the second section of the commission, Timothy appears as an apostolic supervisor of the orders of the church. A domestic code is used to frame this section (5:1–2 and 6:1–2). The implication is that the household was conceived of as the primary unit in the local church and that this was to be Timothy's primary concern. The orders of presbyters and widows suggest a more Jewish structuring of the congregations envisioned in this section than earlier. Timothy's supervision of an order of widows is described in terms of an already traditional church order (5:3–16). His relationship to an order of presbyters is delineated next, again using traditional materials (5:17–25).

The third and final section of the Pauline commission, after a brief polemic against heterodox opponents (6:3–5), turns to the problems which wealth occasions among believers (6:6–10, 17–19). In the middle of this exposition (vv 11–16) appears a traditional ordination charge that serves here to hearten the apostolic co-worker as he deals with the rich and thus the powerful and influential members of the Christian congregation.

1 Timothy closes with a summary warning to avoid speculative adventures and to adhere to the content of the preceding apostolic commissions (6:20–21a). The blessing prayer which closes many manuscripts of 1 Timothy (6:22b) may not be part of the original composition.

3. The Second Epistle to Timothy. The epistolary diptych directed to Timothy closes with a second paraenetic letter which assumes the form of an epistolary testament in the name of Paul on the eve of his death to Timothy as his child and heir. In 2 Timothy, the apostle is no longer conceived of as in transit (as in Titus and 1 Timothy) but as under arrest in Rome (1:16–17; 2:9). Thence he writes to summon Timothy from Asia Minor (probably from Ephesus), where the previous letter had left him (2 Tim 1:16, 18; 4:9, 11–12, 19).

2 Timothy opens with a brief apostolic greeting and blessing for Timothy (1:1–2), which corresponds closely (but not exactly) with the opening of 1 Timothy. A lengthy prayer of thanksgiving (vv 3–14) immediately follows, reminding one of the regular practice in the rest of the Pauline corpus but not of the other PE. The prayer rehearses Timothy's faith-history as a basis for his present courageous stand with Paul, who is suffering for being herald, apostle, and teacher of the Gospel.

The body of the epistolary testament (2:1–4:8) has been inserted between two personal notes (1:15–18 and 4:9–22), which can be read together. A similar preexisting envelope appears to have been used in composing the Epistle to Titus in its present form. The notes here not only transmit news about what has happened to Paul since his arrest, transfer to Rome, and imprisonment; they also provide instructions for Timothy to join him, and include a greeting for the house churches in Ephesus.

The testament within this framework falls into three major sections: the first, devoted mainly to the testator, Paul himself (2:1–13); the second, to those whose teachings and lives are a threat to the validity of the proposed will (2:14–3:9); the third and final section, to the legitimate heir, Timothy (3:10–4:8). It is Paul himself who is depicted as mandating the transmission of his apostolic teaching and his gospel. Timothy and those he picks to carry on this apostolic work must be ready to suffer as Paul. The second section of the testament prepares Timothy to withstand those who would overthrow the Pauline heritage, particularly by evacuating the reality from the final resurrection and the accompanying judgment. The third and final section of the testament turns to the legatee, Timothy, in his relation to the legator, Paul. Three subdivisions are marked in Greek by a recurring *sy de*, "You, however . . ." (3:10, 14; 4:5). The first recalls Paul's apostolic life and sufferings from the first days when Timothy witnessed them in Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, and Lystra. Then Timothy is urged to continue living out the faith he had received through Paul and through Timothy's mother and grandmother, a faith fully grounded in the Scriptures of Israel. With this heritage he has to prepare for the Lord's judgment by indefatigable proclamation of the Pauline word to erring Christians. The closing section turns from Paul's heir to the apostle himself, who is about to die to this life, but who is alive with hope in and love for "the upright judge, the Lord" (4:8), who will recompense him.

After the personal notes mentioned previously, 2 Timothy ends in 4:22 with a double prayer, first for Timothy and then for all believers who have been privileged to overhear the extended conversation between Paul and his child that has occupied 1 and 2 Timothy.

B. Documents and Data

The Greek text of the PE, like the rest of the NT, has been transmitted in numerous ancient codices, i.e., on leaves of papyrus or parchment bound together into what we call a "book." However, before 100 C.E. practically all Hellenistic literary compositions were copied on rolls or "scrolls" (Roberts and Skeat 1983). It was during the latter part of the 1st Christian century in Rome that secular authors began to experiment with the codex for literary compositions (although Julius Caesar may have used a codex notebook before this for his letters to the Roman Senate [Suet. 1.56.6]). The innovation was attractive to late-1st-century Christians and, by the end of that century, they (in distinction from their Jewish and pagan contemporaries) had transferred their sacred literature (the Greek OT) from the rolls on which it had been originally copied into codices or books. The very earliest scraps of Christian documents, including a papyrus page of the Epistle to Titus (P^{32}), are already in "book" form. This innovation gave a visible identity to the Christian writings; it was also, in every sense, a pastoral (i.e., practical) measure that met a need in the 2d-century churches: the codex was an efficient way of gathering several compositions under one cover for easy consultation in public reading or private study.

Every manuscript of the PE is in codex form. Yet the Greek text of the PE was originally composed, in all probability, on one or more rolls (depending on whether the letters were originally written together as a collection or whether they were composed and dispatched separately). The reconstruction of the intervening process has its repercussions for every hypothesis about the origin and purpose of these letters. Certain features of the process can be discerned in the arrangement of the compositions within the extant NT codices; thus the gospels and Acts are always separate from the epistolary literature and, within the latter, a Pauline collection can be distinguished from a collection of seven other epistles (or eight if Hebrews is included). Within these epistolary collections the length of an individual letter appears generally to have determined its place within the collection (thus among the Paulines, Romans is first and Philemon last; see Frede 1966).

The PE appear to mark a new beginning within the extant Pauline codices because 1 Timothy is notably longer than 2 Thessalonians. This marks, in all probability, the seam where two 2d-century collections of Pauline letters were joined: a collection of letters to churches (at times including Hebrews, as in P^{46} and the archetype of B) and a smaller collection of Pauline letters addressed to individuals (also arranged in almost every extant codex with the longest first and Philemon, the shortest, last [Quinn 1974; Roberts 1979: 60, 62]). An alternate and perhaps even earlier order which is attested in the Muratorian Fragment and the 4th-century Latin commentary on the Paulines (Ambrosiaster), reads Titus before 1–2 Timothy.

The Greek text of the PE (*NovTG*[26] and Aland et al. 1983) has been transmitted in many manuscripts since the 4th century (see especially A, C, D), and P^{32} may be as early as 200 C.E. (Aland 1976: 253; van Haelst 1976: 189, 534; E. Turner 1977: 147). The absence of the PE from B still provokes questions (Skeat 1984: 464–65). J. K. Elliott

(1968) studies every significant variant in the PE. The PE are alluded to or cited by many ancient Christian writers, and for the 2d century alone, *Biblia Patristica* (Allenbach et al. 1975: 1.507–18) offers about 450 references. In the mid–2d century, Marcion refused the PE a place in his canon (according to Tertullian) and Tatian rejected Timothy while retaining Titus (according to Jerome). Polycarp, however, perhaps as early as 120 C.E., almost certainly cited the Epistles to Timothy in his *Letter to the Philippians.* Whether Ignatius and *1 Clement* knew the text of the PE is more problematic but seems more likely now than a generation ago (Spicq *Pastorals* EB, 162–63; Hagner 1973: 236–37; Quinn 1978b).

The language of the PE (their actual vocabulary, syntax, and style) is homogeneous over the small corpus and notably different from the rest of the Paulines (including the other "private" letter, to Philemon [see the tables assembled and revised by Harrison 1921; 1964]). As A. D. Nock noted, "It is clear that as we pass from the Pauline Epistles to the Pastorals . . . there is an approximation to the phraseology of the world around, a lessening of the feeling of isolation, and an increase in intelligibility to the ordinary contemporary man, had he happened upon these books" (1972: 342–43). Roughly one out of three words in the PE (names of persons and places aside) do not appear in the other Paulines; almost one out of five do not appear elsewhere in the NT (although the overwhelming majority of these do appear in Greek documents that predate 50 C.E., including Philo and the LXX). The language of the PE has notable resemblances to that of Luke–Acts (Strobel 1969; Quinn 1978a; Wilson 1979; Marshall 1981; Moule 1982a: 264–65, 281–82; 1982b: 113–32). Moreover, in their narrow compass, the PE coin about half a dozen terms (N. Turner 1974: 149–50) and use some terms in a quite unusual sense (thus *themelios,* "treasure," in 1 Tim 6:19). Such coinages are not only "spontaneous and unconscious creation," but they also "may represent an attempt to convey ideas which seemed to need new expressions" as well as devices for "stylistic emphasis or dramatic effect" (Nock 1972: 642–43).

Computer analyses of linguistic data from the PE have become available (Aland *VKGNT;* Friberg and Friberg 1981; Morton et al. 1982). With their aid, it is feasible to analyze in precise detail the use and distribution of the Gk particles and the length of the words and sentences in these compositions. Such studies appear to confirm that the PE are homogeneous among themselves and different from the rest of the Paulines; the relatively limited word pool in the individual letters, however, limits the certitude of such observations and the inferences that can be drawn from them (N. Turner and Moulton 1976: 102–4).

The large number of terms that are peculiar to the PE in biblical Greek already alert the reader to their affinities with the more literary traditions in Hellenistic Greek. Their vocabulary generally is less biblical (i.e., Septuagintal) than Paul's, though there are notable contacts with sapiential and other ethical compositions of Hellenistic Judaism (e.g., *4 Maccabees; Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*) as well as some language typical of the popular Epicurean, Cynic, and Stoic philosophers (e.g., Philodemus of Gadara; Epictetus; see N. Turner and Moulton 1976: 102). The language of Greek drama, particularly the language of the tragedies of Euripides and the comedies of Menander, had its effect on ordinary people and their speech, and consequently on the PE, which sought to address such people.

The 55 proper nouns and adjectives of the PE belong to the total working vocabulary of the author: some of them are unique to these letters (thus "Jewish" in Titus 1:14); some occur in the other Paulines ("Luke" in 2 Tim 4:11 and Col 4:14; Philemon 24); still others are found elsewhere only in the Lukan corpus (thus "Crete," and "Antioch, Iconium, Lystra," and the double name "Pontius Pilate"). The 17 cities mentioned suggest the geographical world presupposed by this correspondence. Of the personal names none occurs more often than that of Jesus; thus is signaled the christological concerns of these compositions.

In two areas, the vocabulary of the PE already reflects specialized patterns of use. The first falls in the area of Christian conduct or ethics, and the terminology is that used for distinguishing good from bad acts. The second area reflects particular Christian ministries, and the vocabulary is that used for designating those who shoulder specific roles in the service of the body of believers. In both areas, the PE share some of their emerging technical vocabulary with other 1st-century Christian documents (such as the terminological clusters around faith and love or apostle and presbyter). Other terminology is almost unique to the PE (the term "widow"; the clusters of words built around *sōphrōn* ["sensible"] and *eusebēs* ["godly"]).

The second major consideration regarding the language of the PE is the syntax—the way in which the words are ordered into sentences; their patterns in the use of coordinating and subordinating particles (note computer analyses above); their characteristic ways of employing the Gk moods and tenses (thus the optative, a mood rarely used in the NT, appears several times in 2 Timothy). The influence of the LXX, Hellenistic Judaism, and Latin surfaces in these areas. A syntactic phenomenon in the PE is the periodic breakdown of syntax, ranging from inordinately abrupt transitions (thus Titus 2:6–8; 1 Tim 3:1a–b) to inexplicable shifts in the inflection of verbs (1 Tim 1:3–7). All this belongs to the individual character of the PE as Gk compositions.

With the question of the style of the PE one is beyond questions of vocabulary (see N. Turner and Moulton 1976: 101–72). When the text is read aloud in Greek, the author's use of sound to accent his thought is often notable. The reader hears alliteration, assonance, rhyme, paronomasia, polysyndeton (for abundant expressiveness), asyndeton (for a vivid impassioned effect; see *BDF* 460 and 1 Tim 3:16; 2 Tim 2:11–13). The prose at times has a distinctly poetic rhythmic structure, particularly when prayers are alluded to or cited (thus 1 Tim 1:12–17). A predilection for unusual, even unique, terminology has been observed above. By and large, the style of the PE is Hellenistic rather than Hebraic, and lacks the versatility which characterizes other parts of the Pauline Epistles; their style is paraenetic, the author urging his points rather than arguing them (Quinn 1981a).

C. Literary Form and Sources

Compositions in epistolary form represent the oldest surviving Christian literature. The form was a borrowing

from the contemporary 1st-century world where the letter already had a long history in Roman, Hellenistic, and Semitic cultures. See LETTERS (GREEK AND LATIN). The epistolary form was used infrequently for literary composition in Palestinian Judaism (although note 4QEn^{g} and 4QMMT); but the popularity of the form in Greek-speaking Judaism appears in the LXX epistolary compositions cited in LXX Esther, Baruch, and Maccabees, not to mention the pseudepigraphical books *Enoch*, the *Letter of Aristeas*, and the *Apocalypse of Baruch*.

Current studies of epistolary theory in the ancient rhetoricians (Malherbe 1977a and 1977b/1983; White 1984) and the innumerable texts which the ancient world called "letters" or "epistles," are making clearer early Christians' expectations when a composition was read or heard in an epistolary form. The Christians did not look for a technical, scientific treatise; rather the letters were considered to be a limited, inadequate substitute for personal, face-to-face communication (see 1 Tim 3:14; 4:13). In ancient rhetorical schools, letters were written as exercises in which famous persons, mythical or historical, were characterized (see Ovid, *Heroides*). Just as an ancient author of a history composed speeches that certain persons might have given, so letters were written to depict the personality and character of a philosopher or statesman or literary figure (see the Cynic Epistles [Malherbe 1977a] and Horace, *Epistles*, passim).

When an ancient Christian began to read a letter "To Titus" or "To Timothy," he thus expected to hear a Pauline conversation in writing which conveyed Paul's heartfelt personal care as well as his teaching, directives, and requests. The reader expected this regardless of whether or not the letter was a piece of private correspondence originating before Paul's death or a "characterization" composed after his martyrdom (or a combination of these).

The PE have not come down as separate letters. They are an epistolary collection, already distinct from the collection of Pauline letters to churches in the 2d century, when they were being read in the order Titus, 1 Timothy, 2 Timothy. A letter collection itself is a literary genre which enjoyed a limited popularity in Greek philosophical circles and came into its own in Roman political life (see Carcopino 1951: 4–37). Thus, collections of the "letters" by persons as diverse as Cicero, Augustus, Horace, Ovid, Seneca, and Pliny were published (or in Augustus' case available in the archives; see Suet. *Aug.* 71, 76; *Claud.* 4), whether they were in prose or poetry, on personal or literary matters, on political or philosophical questions, edited by themselves while they were still alive or published by others after their deaths. The premise of these collections is that they contain letters that are worth saving for the education and instruction and enjoyment of the next generation of individuals and groups to whom the letters were not originally addressed.

The epistolary genre was used not only for letters, but also was incorporated into other genres. Sometimes a letter or an epistolary collection is prefixed to another work (i.e., the seven letters which open the book of Revelation, the letter from Cyrus opening Ezra, and the pair of letters which open 2 Maccabees). Sometimes they are found within the composition (i.e., the correspondence with the exiles in Jeremiah 29; 1 Macc 10:22–45; 12:5–23; the Greek Esth 3:13^{a-g}; 8:12^{a-x} [RSV 13:1–7; 16:1–24]; Acts 15:23–29; 23:25–30). Also they are added to the end of the composition (examples in Quinn 1978a: 68–69; see the Greek Esth 10:3^{l} [RSV 11:1]; additions to Justin, *Apology* 69–71). The appearance of epistolary compositions within a larger work of history signaled the authenticity, the credibility, and the authority of the narration. Letters within a narrative also served to satisfy questions in a particular community about outstanding and yet controversial personalities whose past teaching and acts were still being appreciated.

Accordingly, the PE were read as a collection (regardless of whether the letters had an individual preexistence). The collection offered an authoritative message from the past, a message from a significant personality, a message containing (at least in the judgment of the collectors) observations whose significance was meant to transcend the setting presupposed in their text. The collected letters thus came as a "prophecy" from the past to a new generation (see Pliny citing M. Cato's letter in *HN* 7.51.171; 29.7.14; Ovid occasionally describes his letters *Ex Ponto* as containing prophecies). The original addresses of such correspondence tend to sink below the historical horizon while the author (genuine or putative) remains the polestar around which a new public revolves. Thus Titus and Timothy in the PE are less actual historical individuals than paradigmatic persons, models with which the new public is expected to identify (Fiore 1982). "The essence of the epistolary genre, both in antiquity and the Middle Ages, was not whether the letter was actually sent but whether it performed a representative function" (Constable 1976: 13). The PE aim *to represent* Paul as herald, apostle, and teacher (1 Tim 2:7; 2 Tim 1:11), who instructs and directs the men sharing his apostolate. These men, in turn, as Paul's true "children" (Titus 1:4; 1 Tim 1:2) and heirs, transmit his directives to "God's house, which is the church of the living God" (1 Tim 3:15). They also see that this household has managers (Titus 1:5) who are the presbyters, bishops, and deacons and whose lives and teaching represent Paul (note also the "faithful men" of 2 Tim 2:1–2).

Other recent studies have more closely specified the paraenetic and hortatory character of the PE as the ancient world understood paraenesis (Perdue 1981): as ethical exhortation, universally applicable to individuals, and addressed to a paradigmatic audience (Quinn 1981a). Such letters do not expect answers but action from the recipients. The epistolary form of 2 Timothy has attracted special attention because it has many characteristics of the testamentary genre in the ancient world (Nordheim 1980). Paul becomes the dying patriarch, leaving his goods, his wisdom, and his wealth to his children who carry on his name, his plan, his hopes. A will is paraenesis par excellence because no one can argue effectively with it.

In the PE quotations of and allusions to compositions appear that served as sources for this paraenetic epistolary. Greek versions of the OT are quoted (1 Tim 5:18a) as well as an oracular line from a pagan poet (Titus 1:12); there is a saying in 1 Tim 5:18b which Luke 10:7 places on Jesus' lips. An allusion to an apocryphal composition about Jannes and Jambres appears in 2 Tim 3:8 (see *OTP*, 427–42). There are citations of archaic Christian hymns (1 Tim

3:16; 2 Tim 2:11–13; see Stenger 1979; Quinn 1979) and prophecies (1 Tim 1:18; 4:1; Quinn 1979) and possibly some short dispatches that originated at the end of Paul's life (Titus 1:1, 4–5; 3:12–15; 2 Tim 1:1–2, 15–18; 4:9–15). Although the case has been argued (Hanson 1981), there is no convincing evidence, aside from Romans, that the PE quote from the other Pauline letters.

If the foregoing compositions were already in relatively fixed texts, there appear to be sources cited in the PE that were in more plastic form and open to redactional activity. Such are the Christian domestic codes *(Haustafeln)* of Titus 2:2–10 (see Sampley 1971: 18–30; Verner 1983) and 1 Tim 5:1–2 (to be read with 6:1–2). Similarly, there are many lists that specify good and bad ethical qualities (e.g., Titus 1:6–10; 2 Tim 3:2–5). The lists of bad qualities use more archaic, catechetical materials that aim to identify the Christian in contrast to the unbeliever; the lists of virtuous qualities are not addressed to the whole believing community but to particular classes of believers. Specific conduct is demanded, often with an apologetic if not a missionary goal. See also HAUSTAFELN; HOUSEHOLD CODES; VIRTUE/VICE LISTS.

Also among the more plastic materials cited by the PE are those materials classified as church orders, which contain directives for the Christian life, particularly liturgical worship. They occupy 1 Timothy 2–3 and 5:3–25. The former, perhaps from a congregation of predominantly gentile origin, begins with directives for the public prayer of the church. Then it treats the liturgical conduct of men and women (with an added note on the role of the Christian wife in public teaching, 1 Tim 2:11–15). Finally it turns (1 Tim 3:1) to the qualifications and regulations for the specific ministries of men (bishop, deacons) and women (a group without a title who are parallel with the deacons; 1 Tim 3:11). The other church order of 1 Timothy, perhaps from a house church of predominantly Jewish origin, is enclosed within a household code (5:1–2; 6:1–2) and deals with widows (1 Tim 5:3–15) and presbyters.

Prayers abound in the PE. The briefest are in the opening and closing epistolary blessings (twofold in 2 Tim 4:22; there originally was probably no blessing in 1 Tim 6:21b). Other prayers also appear, both brief ones (thus 2 Tim 1:16–17) as well as long ones (thus 1 Tim 1:12–17; 2 Tim 1:3–14). Flexible as these compositions are, they often appear to contain traditional elements and to move formulaically from an opening address to the body of the prayer, which then concludes in a doxology. Another type of prayer that verges on the credal is the acclamation preserved in 1 Tim 2:5–6 (Quinn 1981b).

Of the materials cited or redacted by the author of the PE the most difficult to bring into precise focus are those that may be characterized as ecclesial paraenesis (as distinct from the epistolary paraenesis noted above). An authoritative teaching office seems to be presumed that articulates Pauline apostolic doctrine through creed, cult, and catechesis received in faith. Compositions of various types, cited under the rubric *pistos ho logos* ("this is the Christian message meant to be believed"; indicated with an asterisk[*] among the following references) also belong to this kind of paraenesis (Knight 1968).

Credal formulas in the PE are relatively rare, brief, and closely identified with Paul's gospel and his prayer (1 Tim 1:15*; 2 Tim 2:8). The paraenesis characteristic of the public worship of believers—the sacramental cult including liturgical orations and homilies—appears more frequently in the PE (see Titus 2:4–5 for a citation from a marriage charge; 2:11–14 for a baptismal confession; 3:4–8a* for a didactic baptismal oration; 1 Tim 2:13–15* for another citation from a marriage homily; 1 Tim 6:11–16 for an ordination charge; the previously noted hymn of 2 Tim 2:11–13* may have been used in a baptismal liturgy). Various types of ethical catechesis also appear to be drawing on previously existing materials and redacting them in an authoritative way for a particular purpose: Titus 2:7 adapts the household code which demands certain qualities of various ages and classes of believers and makes it apply to the apostolic minister himself; in 1 Tim 4:8–9*, the teaching on godliness is applied to the figure of Timothy; in 1 Tim 6:6–10, 17–19, the wealthy believers are the object of what seems to be at least a partially traditional exhortation.

D. Data Referred to in the Pastoral Epistles

After surveying the texts of the PE, their literary form, and the previous compositions upon which they drew, one approaches the methodologically delicate task of disengaging from these materials a sketch of the world—both geographical and social—to which the PE refer. The places and the persons, named and unnamed, which figure explicitly in the text suggest materials for a societal profile of ecclesial life as the PE conceive it, i.e., the ways in which believers are to relate to their God, to one another, and to those who do not share their faith.

Titus and 1 Timothy profess to come from Paul en route to Macedonia and Nicopolis in NW Greece; 2 Timothy comes from Rome (Quinn 1980a). The island of Crete is the destination for Titus, while Ephesus, the metropolis of Asia Minor, is the destination for Timothy. In the whole correspondence, a total of almost 20 places is mentioned from modern Italy and France to Yugoslavia and Greece and into central Turkey. Within these letters one encounters almost 41 persons by name, a few of whom belong to OT traditions (Adam and Eve, Moses, Jannes and Jambres, David). In the "present" that the PE presuppose, Paul and more than a dozen of his current and past co-workers, as well as some members of the churches, are explicitly named and, more surprisingly, some opponents of the apostle and his mission are also noted by name (1 Tim 1:20; 2 Tim 1:15; 2:17; 4:14). Beyond these names, the reader gets a glimpse of other "brothers," the "faithful" of the Christian generation (1 Tim 4:3, 10, 12; 4:6; 6:2; 2 Tim 4:21), as well as unfaithful and unnamed opponents of the Pauline teaching, some of whom are Jewish Christians (Titus 1:10, 14–16; 1 Tim 1:3–7). A secular society and its rules and rulers are in the author's peripheral vision (see Titus 1:12; 3:1; 1 Tim 1:9; 2:1–2; 6:15), and he senses their pressure upon Christian marriages and ministries (Titus 2:5, 8; 1 Tim 3:7) and upon the conduct of Christian slaves (1 Tim 6:1).

The social description presupposed by the PE indicates a stratified social structure within the ecclesial communities. The author models this structure after the concept of the extended family in the Hellenistic and Roman world

and perceives it as the household of the living God (1 Tim 3:15; Verner 1983), i.e., the family to which God as Father gives life. Within this extended family are old and young, male and female, free and slave, married and single (including the widowed), parents and children, rich and poor, Jewish and pagan—all who have accepted faith in Christ and worship the one God through him. The faith and the worship it engenders are the keys for understanding the life of the Church as presented by the PE.

The rule of faith in the PE is rooted in the liturgical acclamation and confession of the one and only God of Israel, "who wills that all human beings be saved" (see 1 Tim 2:3–7; Quinn 1981). God is seldom called Father in the PE (only in the opening blessing of each letter), and Jesus is never called the Son. What differentiates the faith in the PE from normative forms of Judaism is its attitude toward Jesus, who is "risen from the dead, from the line of David" (2 Tim 2:8) and who receives the titles usually attributed to God, "our Savior" and "Lord" (thus Titus 1:3–4; 1 Tim 1:18); also Jesus is addressed directly in prayer (1 Tim 1:12; 2 Tim 1:18). In Titus 2:13 he is, almost certainly, "our great God" (Harris 1980). No name occurs more often in the PE (32 times) than "Jesus Christ" or "Christ Jesus" ("Christ" alone in 1 Tim 5:11).

From faith in "the human being, Christ Jesus, who gave himself as a ransom for all" (1 Tim 2:5–6) derives the vision of the mission of the Church in the PE and their intense concern for prayers by believers for the unbelieving society around them (1 Tim 2:1–2; 4:10). In this setting of ecclesial prayer and mission, a doctrine about the Holy Spirit has begun to take shape (Quinn 1979). The Spirit appears to be involved in the words of prophecy (1 Tim 1:18; 4:1, 14), and especially in the inspiration of the sacred written words of all Scripture (2 Tim 3:15–16). The only person to receive the title "prophet" is the pagan poet Epimenides (Titus 1:12). The liturgical actions of baptism and ordination are linked with the Spirit (Titus 3:5; 2 Tim 1:6–7; Quinn 1982). Fragmentary citations of compositions that may have originated from liturgies of marriage, reconciliation (2 Tim 2:25–26), and possibly even the Eucharist (1 Tim 4:4–5; Hanson 1968: 97–109) witness to the inclusive ecclesial vision that inspired the liturgical texts of the PE, even though they contain no reference to the Spirit.

This ecclesial vision includes an eschatological aspect which the Spirit also reveals: these days are the last days (1 Tim 4:1; 2 Tim 3:1). The Paul of these letters and his prayers set hope on life eternal, which has begun in this last age (Titus 1:2; 1 Tim 4:8) but which will reach its consummation on "that Day" (2 Tim 1:12, 18; 4:8) when Jesus appears in glory (Titus 2:13; 1 Tim 6:14) as "judge of the living and the dead" (2 Tim 4:1). Paul prays for the Lord's mercy on that judgment day upon a fellow Christian, apparently deceased, who had been kind to him (2 Tim 1:16–18; 4:1; see 4:19); he also leaves a coppersmith called Alexander to the Lord to be judged "according to his works" (2 Tim 4:14–15). Belief in the final judgment is closely linked to the judgment in the final resurrection (cf. Titus 3:5 with 2 Tim 2:17–19), although the PE do not emphasize the latter as such. Eternal life will consist in living with Christ, sharing his reign (2 Tim 2:10–12), and receiving "the crown of the upright life" (2 Tim 4:8) from him.

The PE have passing references to the angelic orders (1 Tim 3:16 may refer to the apostolic "messengers" of the resurrection). "The elect angels" of 1 Tim 5:21, loyal to God, stand in contrast to spirits and demons, who inspire false doctrines (1 Tim 4:1). The devil is perceived as implicated in certain activities for which believers face condemnation (1 Tim 1:20; 3:6–7; 5:15; 2 Tim 2:26).

This rule for faith expresses itself in the order for public worship presumed by the PE. A strong sense of community pervades the correspondence (first person plural pronouns are frequent) and the directives about assemblies for worship emphasize the groups involved. Thus the men are distinguished from the women in 1 Tim 2:8–10, and the wives are distinguished from women in general in verses 11–15. Various groups of ministers can be discerned (see below). The place for worship, however, is not described. One infers from the paraenesis addressed to well-to-do-believers (1 Tim 6:6–10, 17–19) that the wealthy man or woman, married or widowed, offered his or her house for the liturgical assemblies (and perhaps hospitality) to itinerant apostolic ministers as well as to some indigent Christians (Titus 3:13–14; 1 Tim 5:10, 16; 2 Tim 1:18; 4:13, 19). Such a "house church" might be limited to one (extended) family; it hardly could accommodate an assembly of more than a few dozen persons for worship. As numbers increased, more homes would be the sites for separate assemblies. It is conceivable that a group of believers who were wholly of Jewish origin might have retained their own Jewish building for prayer *(proseuchē)*, for their liturgical assemblies as Jewish Christians.

If the place for worship, as the PE envisions it, is elusive, the setting in time is irrecoverable. There is no evidence for the hour of the day or the day of the week which these congregations favored for their public worship, although the silence could be taken as a willingness to tolerate worship on the Sabbath (since other Jewish practices are explicitly criticized). "The widow proper . . . continues in entreaties and prayers night and day" (1 Tim 5:5) is a phrase which suggests the Jewish ways of reckoning the day from sunset to sunset. A hint at a ritual order for worship in 1 Tim 4:13 evinces no concern that it be observed by all congregations. The only ceremonial observance that the PE state as specific to their (Pauline) practice is that a wife does not teach or direct her husband in the liturgical assemblies (1 Tim 2:12).

The practical, day-to-day conduct of all believers is, for the PE, an integral part of their faith and worship, to such an extent that "the rule for praying" is the rule for action. The faith that expresses itself publicly in worship to God also expresses itself publicly in "fine works," *erga kala*, i.e., not simply good deeds (*erga agatha;* 1 Tim 2:10) but visibly and attractively good actions (Titus 2:7, 14; 3:8, 14, etc.). From these actions unbelievers can get a glimpse of the power of the gospel and its grace, delivering one from bad acts (Titus 2:11–12; 3:3–7), and enabling the believer to take his share in the suffering and death of Jesus (2 Tim 1:8; 2:11–12) and "to live in a sensible, honest, godly way in this present age" (see Quinn 1982). There is an emphasis upon the exemplary conduct of the baptized as "a people of his [God's] very own, enthusiastic for fine deeds"

(Titus 2:14). The household codes demand certain types of action from various age groups, according to their sex as well as according to their legal status as slave or free (Titus 2:2–10; cf. 1 Tim 5:1–2; 6:1–2). Similarly, the conduct of the prebyster diaconate and the widow is prescribed with a view of each order in mind. In contrast, the qualifications for the candidate for bishop are always in the singular and envision him as an individual (1 Tim 3:1–7 and perhaps Titus 1:6–9).

The ethical conduct urged on believers (whether addressed as individuals or as members of the orders or classes of persons within the community) is an essential part of their missionary witness to the Hellenistic world. Ethical questions attracted popular interest in this society, and philosophers lectured on the streets and in the baths about moral issues. The ancient Greek drama had a powerful popular influence often overlooked in this regard: the plays, particularly those of Euripides and Menander, kept ethical debates constantly before the eyes of the populace. Thus, when the PE observe "that law is not laid down for an upright person" (1 Tim 1:9), they are not only speaking the language of the Greek philosophical tradition but also that of the Greek New Comedy (Quinn 1982: 236). The list of vicious persons that follows (1 Tim 1:9–10) reminds the reader not only of the Decalog but also of the acts that destroy the characters in Greek tragedy.

Finally, for the PE, "the rule for praying" is the rule for leadership. The approach of these letters to the conduct of apostolic ministers is typological. It is significant that in this typology, persons precede what we call "office" or "function." Paul is a "model of" and a "model for those who are going to believe in . . . [Jesus] for eternal life" (1 Tim 1:16; see 2 Tim 1:13). His individual teaching, his experience of the will of Christ, his sufferings, his way of living, define what it means to be an apostle. He does not fit an *a priori* abstract definition of an apostle; he personally defines what the term signals. As Paul is the apostle for the PE, so he is the teacher of one coherent teaching which explains how the believer lives according to the word of God. The PE understand the plurals "teachers" and "teachings" (2 Tim 4:3; 1 Tim 4:1) in a negative sense (Quinn 1980a). There is no evidence that the author of the PE remembered (much less tried to perpetuate) a tripartite local leadership of apostles, prophets, and teachers (1 Cor 12:28).

Titus and Timothy are in a true sense Paul's "children" (see Titus 1:4; 1 Tim 1:2, 18 etc.), and the dying patriarch directs his last will and testament to the latter as his heir. He who shared Paul's ministry during Paul's life will continue to do so after Paul's death. For the PE, Titus and Timothy are paradigmatic persons who furnish the pattern (Titus 2:7; 1 Tim 4:12) of this continuing Pauline apostolate. They are models of Paul and models for believers as they are designated to carry on the apostle's work, carry out his commands, imitate his sufferings, teach his gospel and practice it themselves, preside at the liturgy, receive material support for their ministerial work, and choose other men who will in their turn share their apostolic ministry (see Titus 1:5; 1 Tim 1:3–6, 18–19; 4:12–16; 6:11–14; 2 Tim 1:6–14; 2:1–8; 3:10–17; 4:2–5).

Even the opponents envisioned by the PE (Karris 1973) have a typological character, for to the extent that they are "anti-Paul" they are also "anti-Christ" (2 Tim 4:14); to the extent that their doctrines are opposed by the Holy Spirit they belong to unholy demons (1 Tim 4:1–2). The designation of some of the opposition by name (1 Tim 1:20; 2 Tim 1:15; 2:17; 4:14) is an unusual phenomenon in ancient Jewish and Christian polemic, which regularly demurred at granting acknowledgment of the existence of the opponents (see Ign. *Symrn.* 5.3); this underscores the typological function of the opponents in the PE. The Pauline cadre of ministers and their teaching contrast sharply with the mob of competitors who have been making inroads on the house churches, perhaps particularly through wealthy patronesses (see Titus 1:11; 2 Tim 3:6–7), who shared their strong Jewish interests in "myths and endless genealogies" (cf. 1 Tim 1:4 with 1:14; 3:9) as well as their quite un-Jewish rejection of marriage (1 Tim 4:3). Interests in emancipation from the constraints of domestic life seem to have played their part (see Titus 2:3–5; 1 Tim 2:11–15; 5:13–14). However, the key contention of the opponents is "that the resurrection has already occurred" (2 Tim 2:18), i.e., a collapsed eschatology in which the future resurrection of all believers has been simply identified with Jesus' resurrection. A form of this eschatology was already apparent in Corinth in the 50s (1 Cor 15:12).

Behind the figures of Paul and Titus and Timothy in the PE stand the unnamed leaders of the churches, leaders whose prerequisite qualities, particularly in verifiable good conduct, are spelled out in lists of vices and virtues. Presumably the congregation participates in verifying such conduct and presenting suitable candidates to Titus and Timothy; then the apostles designate them for a Pauline ministry as they once were themselves designated (see Titus 1:5; 1 Tim 5:22; 2 Tim 1:6; 2:2). Prophetic oracles appear to have been traditional in the liturgical action surrounding some appointments (1 Tim 1:18; 4:14). Those appointed lead the worship of the community, teach, care for the temporalities, provide for the needy (see Titus 1:7–9; 1 Tim 3:2–10, 12–13; 5:17). Unmarried women (1 Tim 3:11) and widows (1 Tim 5:3–16) have their own qualifications to collaborate in some of these ministries. From the two church orders in 1 Timothy the names of four groups or classes of ecclesial ministers appear (a representative of each in the Roman church may be sending a greeting in 2 Tim 4:21). A hint of the archaic Jewish-Christian origins of the ministers ("widows" and "presbyters") is that they are expected to receive financial support from believers, whereas the sources for the income of "bishop" and "deacons" are ignored (although they are not to be money-minded [1 Tim 3:3, 8; Titus 1:7] like the teachers who belong to the opposition [Titus 1:11]; see Theissen 1982: 27–67).

Titus envisions the establishment of Pauline ministers in Crete, perhaps combining the titles "presbyter" and "bishop" in order to designate them (no deacons or widows are mentioned). They are God's stewards (see Titus 1:7) for communities that appear to be small, independent house churches, dispersed throughout the many towns of the island (but not in the rural areas; Titus 1:5). If their members were of predominantly Jewish origin with strong Jewish ties and interests, the enticements of anti-Pauline teachers "from the circumcision" (Titus 1:10) with conse-

quent controversies about the function of the Mosaic Law in Christian life become understandable (Titus 3:9). Perhaps one should think of these congregations as typologically as one does "Titus" and the "presbyter-bishop." They represent in this construction the more archaic, Jewish-Christian congregations of the Christian movement being updated according to a Pauline model.

1 Timothy envisions its text being read in the large metropolitan center, Ephesus (Tim 1:3). Apparently a significant number of the congregations are of predominantly gentile origin, since Paul in the first church order in this letter (2:1–3:13) is emphatically "the gentiles' teacher in faith and truth" (1 Tim 2:7; contrast 2 Tim 1:11). A bishop with deacon and female assistants presides over a house church with this background. However, the second church order of 1 Timothy (5:1–6:2) envisions house churches of predominantly Jewish origin, in which the registered widows and ordained presbyters are key ministers. The abuses that have risen in these orders and the set procedures for dealing with them give the impression that the Jewish-Christian house churches have been in existence somewhat longer than the predominantly gentile congregations (although these also have their members of long standing; see 1 Tim 3:6). Again, like Crete, Ephesus may be understood typologically as any large, Greek-speaking metropolis of the latter 1st century in which more or less established congregations of Jewish and gentile Christians live close to one another. I Timothy proposes a Pauline symbiosis for the different ways in which these groups of believers received their guidance from those who direct their worship and works of charity.

E. Hypotheses to Explain the Data

The PE, even in translation, differ notably from the other ten letters of the Pauline collection in the NT in their vocabulary and style, in their subject matter, in the development of their thought, and in the settings presupposed. The other Pauline letters appear to be earlier, some of them much earlier, than the PE. If, however, the PE are approached from the ecclesial world of Clement, of Ignatius and Polycarp, of Hermas, the same documents appear to be very close indeed to the other Pauline letters (thus Barrett 1963 versus Kelly 1963; but contrast Brox [*Pastorals* RNT] versus Jeremias [*Timothy/Titus* NTD]). The PE tend to resist questions about their background and origin and inquiries about when they were composed, and by whom. The historical-critical method gives these questions an urgency for modern commentators that was not always the case. All scholars of the PE draw inferences from practically the same concrete data, analyzing the linguistic, historic-sociological, and theological components of the correspondence. Yet these data have provoked dramatically different explanations about the origins and purposes of the PE. Basically, these scholars have asked four questions, each of which must be examined in detail.

1. Who Wrote the Pastorals? According to the text of the letters themselves, Paul is as much the author of them as he is of the other ten letters which begin with his name (thus Bernard *Pastorals* CGTC; Guthrie *Pastorals* TNTC; Spicq *Pastorals* EBib). Yet the language of this correspondence is notably different from the rest of the Paulines. On this basis, some have proposed that these letters were actually written by a member of the Pauline entourage and dispatched under Paul's authority at various times in the 50s and early 60s (thus, in various forms, Jeremias *Timothy/Titus* NTD; Kelly *Pastorals* BHNTC; Holtz *1–2 Timothy, Titus* THKNT; Fee *1–2 Timothy, Titus* GNC; see also the special studies by Dockx 1976/1984; Lestapis 1976; Reicke 1976; Metzger 1976). When an interest in gathering Paul's correspondence began at the end of the 1st century, the PE were copied into a codex of Paul's letters addressed to individuals (which also included Philemon, a letter with considerable similarities to other Pauline texts but few to the PE). In this construction, Paul is *author* of the PE because they were *authorized* by the apostle during his own ministry.

Other students of the PE submit that this hypothesis does not adequately account for the church orders and domestic codes cited in Titus and 1 Timothy or for the ministerial orders discussed in the correspondence (not to mention the differences of language). Such phenomena seem to presume that a generation of Christian development and reflection has intervened between Paul's time and that of the PE. The ancient conception of authorship was rather wider than ours. Even the epistolary genre and particularly the genre of the letter collection were not always taken as written by the person whose name stood at the head of these compositions. If the origin of the PE before the death of Paul cannot be defended, then it is conceivable that the letters were written in the second (70–100 C.E.) or even the third (100–130 C.E.) Christian generation.

Hypotheses have been advanced for each time frame. W. Bauer (1971: 222–24) has even argued that the PE were written as a riposte to Marcion (see also Gealy *1–2 Timothy, Titus* IB). A date in the third Christian generation is proposed (or presupposed) by Harrison (1921), Easton (1947), Campenhausen (1951), Barrett (1963), Dibelius and Conzelmann (*Pastorals* Hermeneia), Hanson (*Pastorals* NCBC), and Hultgren (*1–2 Timothy, Titus* ACNT). Thus there is a tendency to favor the turn of the 1st Christian century. The ecclesial ministries envisioned by the PE appear less clearly organized and rather less developed than those in 2d-century Christian documents. Moreover, at least some of the other Pauline letters had been collected and were for the first time being cited as such by the authors in this third generation (beginning with *1 Clement* in 96 C.E.). If the PE originated in the 2d century, it is striking that they, intent on transmitting the Pauline heritage, do not quote Paul's own words. One reads in several places two or three words running which appear to be slogans from a Pauline tradition; none of these slogans is a proper citation of one of his letters. Thus Titus 1:16 states, "For the clean, all things are clean"; this is cited as if it were a proverb already in Rom 14:20.

The years from about 70 to 100 C.E. offer a time frame that allows for post-Pauline ecclesial developments as well as some linkage with the Paul of history and his apostolate (including perhaps short dispatches that he had sent to his co-workers; thus W. Lock [*Pastorals* ICC, xxii, "between 60 and 90 is probable"]; see Falconer 1937).

Some authors have been impressed by the linguistic and theological links between the PE and Luke–Acts (Moule 1982b: 112–32; 1982a: 281–82; Strobel 1969; Quinn

1978a; Wilson 1979 with critique by Marshall 1981). These links might reflect two different authors for PE and Luke–Acts, both drawing on common first- and/or second-generation traditions; or it may be, depending on the date assigned to Luke–Acts, that the author of the PE had access to Luke–Acts (or vice versa). Some scholars have hypothesized that one author was responsible for both Luke–Acts and the PE. Others suggest that the author of Luke–Acts was Paul's amanuensis for the PE (e.g., Lock *Pastorals* ICC, xxix). Another argues that they are quite separate compositions of the same author, written well into the second Christian generation (Wilson 1979). Still another has submitted that the PE were written by the author of Luke–Acts as the "third roll," intended to be read after the two volumes of Luke–Acts as an epistolary appendix that carried the narrative up to Paul's death (Quinn 1978a).

Those positing an author for the PE in the second Christian generation point to a variety of data. The emphatic apologia for Paul offered by the PE fits the decades immediately after his execution. The apostle had died as a Roman citizen subject to Roman law. There was an understandable tendency among believers, due to the shame of his end as a criminal, to play down the person of the apostle, his ministry, and his teaching (which had been controversial in the first place). Whoever wrote the PE wants to counter that tendency. Moreover, for the PE, Jewish Christianity is still a live option. House churches are still being established for Jewish Christians and are growing. Their relation with the Pauline apostolate and doctrine must still be worked out in practice. By the end of the 1st century large-scale conversion from Judaism had dwindled and Jewish-Christian house churches were withering.

Still, if this correspondence was composed in the second generation, why are there three letters? One might have sufficed. The genre of letter collections suggests the answer. Various churches in the second generation knew they had received letters from Paul. This correspondence was yet to be collected (Dahl 1962). The PE as a collection would have been received and read not as individual letters from the Paul of history but as a "characterization" of the great apostle and his teaching for the new generation.

The original order of the letters within the collection is probably Titus first, followed by 1 Timothy and then 2 Timothy. The elaborate 66-word epistolary prologue of Titus 1:1–4 sounds like a preface to the collection rather than to the short letter which follows. On the other hand, 1 and 2 Timothy complement each other and a final position for the epistolary testament of 2 Timothy is evidently appropriate (Quinn 1978a: 63–64; 1980b: 291–92). Titus does more in its initial position than introduce, on a small scale, the themes that 1 Timothy then expands at length. The house churches envisioned by Titus take first place in this collection not because they are small and relatively isolated but because they are predominantly Jewish Christian. The Pauline proclamation of the gospel in the previous generation had been "to everyone who believes," but that universal proclamation involved a divinely willed priority, "to Jew first and to Greek also" (Rom 1:16; see 2:9–10). The PE preserve this priority in their positioning of Titus before 1 Timothy (where the house churches appear to be of predominantly pagan origin and Paul is explicitly "the Gentiles' teacher" [1 Tim 2:7]).

2. Where Were the Pastorals Composed? Titus and 1 Timothy profess to have been sent while Paul was on a journey from the island of Crete to Ephesus, with Macedonia and eventually Nicopolis in Epirus as his goal; 2 Timothy claims a Roman setting. If the letters originated as a collection in the second Christian generation, the data admits of several reconstructions. Some have proposed that Asia Minor, and specifically Ephesus, the destination which Timothy proposes, was actually the place of origin of the letters (most recently Hanson [NCBC] and Hultgren [ACNT]). This hypothesis postulates that an Ephesian leader with a deep attachment to the Pauline apostolate of the previous generation wrote the PE in the name of Paul to the Ephesian Christians. It is significant that in this reconstruction, the author of the correspondence proposes that this collection comes not only from Paul but from Rome.

It is also possible that the PE actually derive from the Roman church, where an author composed the collection to rehabilitate Paul, the apostle martyred in that city of which he was legally a citizen. In addition, the author may be proposing him as a teacher for the urban churches of the whole central Mediterranean area, whether the congregations were Jewish or pagan in origin. This proposal emphasizes the elements in the PE which reflect the archaic, Jewish-Christian organization of the Roman church, its Greek language, and its interests as they are documented from Romans and Acts through *1 Clement* and Hermas (see Brown and Meier 1983; Penna 1982–83; 1984). The Pauline apostolate had been an urban mission, not a rural one (Meeks 1983: 9–50). The roads that he had traversed all led to the city of Rome, whose influence was palpable in every other city of the empire. If the imperial city had executed Paul, the Roman Christians were determined to keep his apostolate alive. It is appropriate in this hypothesis that Rome was the place where letter collections had become popular and the codex had its origin.

3. To Whom (or Where) Were the Pastorals Sent? Assuming that the PE were written before Paul's martyrdom, the recipients of these letters were the same Titus we know from Galatians and 2 Corinthians and the same Timothy whom we encounter in the rest of the Paulines as well as in Acts, individuals who were, respectively, on the island of Crete and in Ephesus.

However, if the PE appeared after Paul's death, then the places to which the letters are addressed have a typical or representative function (see above). Thus the many small congregations on "Crete" are conceived to be comparatively new Jewish-Christian churches. "Titus" transmits and represents what Paul has to contribute to the organization and formation of such congregations. In 1 Timothy, Paul is emphatically "a herald and apostle—it is a fact though it sounds incredible—the Gentiles' teacher in faith and truth" (2:7). In this perspective, "Ephesus" stands for the result of the great Pauline mission in the metropolis of Asia Minor; some of these metropolitan congregations have a majority of members who are of pagan origin, others are predominantly Jewish-Christian house churches; "Timothy, [Paul's] true child in faith" (1:2),

visibly joins these groups of large urban-centered congregations with the Pauline family of churches. In the Pauline last will and testament of 2 Timothy, the addressee is heir to the apostolic inheritance, the "deposit" (1:11–12) of Paul's teaching as well as his mission to "all the Gentiles" (4:17). Possibly the Christian congregations in Rome, those of Jewish as well as of pagan origin, were the actual models for the paradigmatic congregations of the PE.

4. Why Were the Pastorals Written? Whether these letters originated at the end of the first Christian generation or at the beginning of the second generation, they aim at providing continuity in the apostolic and ecclesial mission of bringing *all* persons—Jew and Gentile, slave and free, male and female, old and young—to faith in and worship of Jesus. They emphasize the links of Christians with their past, with the Scriptures of the OT, with Jewish ethics and family practices, with the Pauline apostolate and its teaching, and with the Hellenistic and Roman culture. The letters also emphasize the links between Christians and the symbiotic unity which they believe should characterize believers. They also urge a common Pauline faith and worship, a Pauline ethic, and Christian ministries that accord with Pauline precedents. The PE in addition prepare Christians for the future, a future which found the "catholic church" and the catholic canon of Scripture pitted against the gnostics and the followers of Marcion. The PE focus as well on a present Christian continuity with another "future." "Godliness is useful for everything, since it contains the promise of a life that is now and that is going to be. This is the Christian message, meant to be believed and worth welcoming wholeheartedly" (1 Tim 4:8–9).

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JEROME D. QUINN

TIPHSAH (PERSON) [Heb *tîpsaḥ*]. See TAPPUAH (PERSON).

TIPHSAH (PLACE) [Heb *tipsaḥ*]. Toponym mentioned twice in the OT.

1. The name of a city which marked the far NE boundary of Solomon's kingdom (1 Kgs 5:4—Eng 4:24). Tiphsah (35°54′N; 38°10′E) was an important city located on the main trade route connecting Mesopotamia with the W. Its inclusion in 1 Kings 5 indicates the extent of Solomon's control of the trade routes in Transjordan (Aharoni *LBHG*, 276–77). Tiphsah was located in N Syria on the W bank of the Euphrates at its great W bend. The town, which lay about 75 miles S of Carchemish, was known as "Thapsacus" in classical times and is mentioned by Xenophon as a crossing point for major military campaigns (*Anab.* 1.4.11). During the Seuleucid period, it expanded to cover both sides of the river and was called Amphipolis. Now known as "Dibseh," the site remains a major crossing point on the Euphrates. The question of whether Solomon actually controlled the far N territory represented by Tiphsah or whether the inclusion of Tiphsah represents a late idealization of his rule is controversial (DeVries *1 Kings* WBC, 72).

2. According to the MT, a town in which Menahem, king of Israel (ca. 749–738 B.C.E.), executed a brutal military action, slaughtering even the pregnant women (2 Kgs 15:16). The location of this town is quite uncertain. If Tiphsah on the Euphrates is intended, many view Menahem's involvement in a campaign this far N as impossible (Haran 1967: 284–90). Since a Greek manuscript substitutes "Tappuah" (Gk *taphōe*), most scholars have viewed Tiphsah as a copyist's error and prefer Tappuah (so RSV), a town on the N border of Ephraim (M.R. 172168; Josh 17:8), which would agree with a location near Tirzah referred to in 2 Kgs 15:16 (Gray *Kings* OTL, 622–23). However, Hobbs (*2 Kings* WBC, 197) argues that Tiphsah is at least as likely as Tappuah, since Jeroboam is said to have expanded the N kingdom (2 Kgs 14:28).

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TIRAS (PERSON) [Heb *tîrās*]. Tiras, according to the Table of Nations in Gen 10:2 and the parallel genealogy in 1 Chr 1:5, is one of the seven sons of Japheth, who himself was a son of Noah. No other mention is made of the name or of any of his descendants in the Bible.

Due to the lack of more specific information concerning Tiras, it is difficult to locate him and his descendants geographically. His siblings, Gomer, Magog, Javan, Tubal, and Meshech, as far as they can be located, are associated with Asia Minor and the area stretching E toward the S shore of the Caspian sea. This could well indicate that Tiras also is located somewhere in this general region.

Among the Sea People who descended upon Egypt and were repulsed by Merneptah in 1232 B.C. were the *Trš*, or Turša (Gardiner 1947: 196*; *CAH*³ 2: 361). Since the Sea People apparently originated in the Aegean and in Asia Minor, some have sought an etymological link between the Turša and some of the peoples from this area. A common identification has been with the Etruscans *(Tyrsenoi)*, who were forced out of the area of Phrygia before 1000 B.C. (*CAH*³ 2: 361, 367). The link between the Turša and the Etruscans is only circumstantial, but the biblical tradition apparently linking Tiras with Asia Minor needs also to be brought into consideration. Some suggest that by the 8th century B.C. the Etruscans had migrated W to Sicily and Italy (see *CAH*³ 2: 368), where Aharoni and Avi-Yonah locate Tiras (*MBA*, map no. 15). It is not impossible that only part of the original group went to each of the new areas. The location in Asia Minor seems to explain the various strands of evidence better.

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TIRATHITES [Heb *tirʿātîm*]. A clan which belonged to the Kenite tribe and dwelt at Jabez (1 Chr 2:55). Family members evidently included scribes *(sōpĕrîm)* or else were connected with a group called Siphrites *(siprîm)*, i.e., residents originally of the town Kiriath-sepher. Several different interpretations have been offered for the word "Tirathites": singers (or something related to sacred music), gatekeepers, or descendants from an unknown individual Tira (Curtis and Madsen *Chronicles* ICC, 98). The association of the Kenites, who seem to have been an ancient nomadic or seminomadic group, with Judah, especially at the time of David, is well known (1 Sam 30:29), but there is no reference to them afterward. Whether the Hammath from which these people came was a person or a place or both is conjectural. Braun (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 43) records the suggestion that Hammath is to be identified with the village of that name in Naphtali along the Sea of Galilee (Josh 19:35), near which, at Kedesh, one Heber the Kenite also settled (Judg 4:11, 17). The genealogies of I Chronicles 1–9 do contain personifications of place names, and perhaps a city may be viewed as the "father" of its inhabitants.

EDWIN C. HOSTETTER

TIRHAKAH (PERSON) [Heb *tirhâqâ*]. King of Egypt of Sudanese origin and third member of the 25th Dynasty (690–664 B.C.; 2 Kgs 19:9; Isa 37:9). He was the son of Piye (Piankhi; ca. 735–712) and possibly—though not certainly—the brother of his predecessor, Shebitku (ca. 697–690). The name is Eg *Thrk* (often "Taharqa," from the original Nubian) and in Greek reads *Tarkos/Tarakos.* Tirhakah first appears among the "goodly youths," siblings of the royal house, whom Shebitku summoned from Napata to Thebes to form his court shortly after his accession (Kitchen 1983: 246, 249–52). Later, at 20 years of age, he accompanied Shebitku N to the Delta, leaving his mother (the queen mother Abala) behind in the S (Kitchen 1973: 158–61). His overinsistence in his inscriptions on divine favor and his brother's love casts a shadow over the legitimacy of his own accession upon the death of Shebitku in 690, in which year he underwent a coronation at Memphis. In both 2 Kgs 19:9 and Isa 37:9, he is listed as the king of Ethiopia (cf. Kitchen 1973; 1983).

Tirhakah proved an energetic and strong ruler and an able administrator. For the first time in five centuries Egypt experienced a building boom of major proportions. City walls were restored as population expanded, and temples were refurbished, enlarged, or rebuilt. Substantial endowments were lavished on the cults, and the personnel of the temples increased. Although Tirhakah resided in Memphis, it was Thebes and Napata, which were centers of Amun worship, that received the lion's share of the building funds; and Tirhakah maintained the traditional worship of Amun which was the heritage of the Sudanese royal house. An especially high inundation in his 6th year (684 B.C.), which flushed out the Nile valley and brought a bumper harvest, was taken as a mark of God's favor, and was commemorated all over the land in inscriptions (Leclant 1965; Meeks 1979; Moussa 1981; Parker, Goyon, and Leclant 1979).

Tirhakah did not drastically alter the administration of Egypt. He preferred to rule through the Libyan family dynasties which for centuries had dominated the townships of Lower and Middle Egypt, although he obliged them to send daughters and/or wives S to serve as priestesses and maidservants in the temples of Nubia. The Thebaid from Asyut to the First Cataract he maintained under the control of the Divine Adoratress of Amun, the titular "high priestess" of Amun in Thebes, who at the time was his own sister Shepenwepet II. Before the close of his reign, Shebitku had adopted her niece, Amenirdes (II), daughter of Tirhakah, as Adoratress-in-training. See Gräfe 1981; Gräfe and Wassef 1979.

In foreign affairs Tirhakah ran the gamut from success to failure. From ca. 683 to 680 B.C., he seems to have actively campaigned in Libya and the Levant (probably up the coast of Palestine), to judge from dedications in the inventories of the temple of Kawa in Nubia (MacAdam 1947); and in the process to have allied himself with Baʾlu of Tyre and Abdi-milkutte of Sidon, implicitly against the threat of Assyrian attack (Spalinger 1978). The latter materialized in 679 when Esarhaddon (681–669 B.C.) dispatched troops against a recalcitrant sheikhdom at Arsia, S of Raphʾa, with the added purpose, perhaps, of fortifying S Philistia against Tirhakah. With Egypt in check, Esarhaddon in 677 turned suddenly against Sidon, captured and destroyed the city, and executed Abdi-milkutte. Baʾlu of Tyre eventually came to terms and signed a treaty with Assyria, while Esarhaddon tightened his grip on all the kingdoms of the S Levant, including Judah. The expected advance on Egypt came in February 674, but the Assyrian forces were defeated on the E frontier of the Delta and driven back; and pursuant to their retreat Tirhakah was able to secure the Philistine plain around Ashkelon. See Dion 1988; Goossens 1947; Spalinger 1974.

Preparations for a renewed attack came to fruition in 671. While Tirhakah had in the early spring of that year constructed a road in Nubia (in expectation of a defeat?), he seems not to have been prepared in the N. Esarhaddon and his troops with the help of friendly Arab tribes negotiated the difficult terrain across the N Sinai, keeping to an inland route away from the coast; and appeared suddenly before the walls of Migdol in the E Delta. The Assyrians had penetrated SW to the region of modern Fakus before Tirhakah could muster enough troops to oppose their advance. Three weeks of hard fighting brought Esarhaddon to Memphis, which fell to the Assyrian siege machinery within a day. Tirhakah fled S to Thebes, abandoning his wife and family and his war chest to the invaders.

In the aftermath, in spite of Esarhaddon's attempts to hold the Delta by appointing Necho of Sais as governor, Tirhakah had little difficulty in reentering Memphis and exerting his authority over the N once the Assyrian army had departed. He offered no opposition when, under Ashurbanipal, Esarhaddon's successor, another Assyrian expeditionary force invaded Egypt in 666; but in spite of his precipitous flight to the Sudan in the face of enemy

columns, his authority continued to be acknowledged throughout Egypt. He died in 664 in Napata, and was succeeded by his nephew Tanutamun. See Leclant 1981–82; Parker 1960.

As a general Tirhakah was competent though not brilliant. His personal bravery is commented on by the Assyrian sources, though Esarhaddon proved far superior to him as a strategist and tactician. The Sudanese army, renowned for its stamina and running ability, was simply surprised and outmaneuvered. See Leclant *LÄ* 6: 156–84.

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DONALD B. REDFORD

TIRHANAH (PERSON) [Heb *tirḥānâ*]. A child of Caleb by Maacah, his concubine (1 Chr 2:48). While it is most likely that the child was a son, it cannot actually be determined whether this proper name is masculine or feminine in gender. Noth (*IPN*, 260) considers it to have been a tribal name. Tirhanah was apparently part of a subordinate branch of Calebite families. It is probable that an early tradition dealing with the area of Calebite settlement was broken up even before the composition of the sources available to the Chronicler. Since vv 42–55 center mainly on Hebron, with several of the settlements lying beyond the borders of the postexilic province of Judah but coinciding with the earlier situation, a date during the united monarchy or shortly thereafter for this original tradition seems plausible (Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 54–55). The Babylonian vocalization of the OT text has the form *tarḥannâ* for the name Tirhanah (KB, 1041).

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TIRIA (PERSON) [Heb *tîrĕyâ*]. One of the sons of Jehallelel (1 Chr 4:16).

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TIRZAH (PERSON) [Heb *tirṣâ*]. Daughter of Zelophehad, son of Hepher of the tribe of Manasseh (Num 26:3; 27:1–11; 36:1–12; Josh 17:3–6; cf. 1 Chr 7:15). Zelophehad's five daughters petitioned to inherit their father's land since their father had no sons. Their petition was granted but a proviso was added that they marry within their father's tribal clan in order that the ancestral land stay within the tribe that originally inherited it. Tirzah and her sisters followed the divine ruling on their case and married cousins on their father's side. Hence their inheritance remained in the tribe of Manasseh. See also TIRZAH (PLACE).

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TIRZAH (PLACE) [Heb *tirṣa*]. A city in the mountains of Manasseh, and the third of Jeroboam's homes (i.e., capitals; after Shechem and Penuel; 1 Kgs 12:25) following his accession as king of Israel (1 Kgs 14:17).

A. Tirzah in the Bible
B. Identification and Location
C. History of Explorations
D. Results of Excavations

A. Tirzah in the Bible

Joshua is attributed with killing the king of Tirzah when Israel entered Canaan (Josh 12:24), but the city is not mentioned again in historical narrative until the time of Jeroboam. Jeroboam is not explicitly described as having reigned from Tirzah, although it is implied in the text in connection with the death of his son (1 Kgs 14:1–18). It is more clearly implied to be the capital of the N kingdom after Jeroboam's death; all of his immediate successors—Baasha (1 Kgs 15:21, 33), Elah (1 Kgs 16:8), Zimri (1 Kgs 16:15), and Omri (1 Kgs 16:23–24)—reigned there until Omri moved the capital to Samaria. Tirzah was the home of Menahem, who later killed Shallum and seized the throne of Samaria (2 Kgs 15:14–16). The Hebrew word for the city is derived from the root *rṣh*, meaning "pleasure" or "beauty" (BDB, 953), and it is used in the Canticles (6:4) by the bridegroom to describe his beloved: "you are beautiful as Tirzah, my love," which must allude to the beauty of the city of Tirzah, since it is paralleled with "comely as Jerusalem."

B. Identification and Location

The identification of Tirzah has been a matter of some discussion and even now is not certain. On linguistic grounds, Robinson (*BR* 3, 302) identified it with Tulluza,

which is located ca. 6 km N of Shechem. Another possibility based upon the same reasoning was to identify it with Teyasir, further NE of Tulluza (*ISBE* [1929 ed] 4: 2987). Albright, however, affirmed that the identification with Tulluza was "based on a fancy similarity of name, and lacks archaeological support" (1931: 244). His reason for rejecting the other site is unclear except that he states that it "has nothing to commend it, toponymically or archaeologically" (1931: 244).

Albright's strategy for identifying the location of the city was based upon several lines of reasoning, which involved a process of elimination. He concluded (1931: 241–42) that for strategic reasons, the city was probably located NE of Shechem to protect against incursion from the N (Damascus) and from the E (Ammon), but would still need to be somewhat centrally located to deal with problems that might arise from the W (Philistines and Phoenicians). Further information is inferred from the Samaria Ostraca, which mention several clans (or districts) of Samaria, one of which is Hepher. Hepher was subdivided into subclans and included Noah and Hoglah, who also are mentioned in the ostraca. According to the biblical texts, Noah and Hoglah were sisters (cf. Josh 17:3), who had another sister named Tirzah. He assumed that it would be reasonable for the territories associated with these related subclans to be contiguous (or at least in close proximity). Through a process of elimination in locating the areas of the other major clans, he finally concluded that the territory of Hepher and its subclans was NE of Samaria, and that Tell el-Farʿah "falls necessary [sic] into the region of Hefer, and the identification of it with Tirzah is imposed because of the lack of any other archaeological possibility in this region" (1931: 251). Albright identified sherds of the EB, MB, LB, and Iron Age I and II, with the most from Iron Age I (1931: 246).

The subsequent excavations at Tell el-Farʿah have uncovered no written evidence to identify the site with Tirzah, but have revealed a stratigraphic profile that mirrors what is known about Tirzah from written sources. It is generally accepted that Tell el-Farʿah (M.R. 182188) is the best candidate to identify with Tirzah.

The only extrabiblical reference to Tirzah was suggested by B. Mazar (see 1986: 145–46). In 1947, he attempted to clarify the route of Shishak's raid into Palestine after Solomon's death, and had reconstructed the reading of one of the cities (No. 59 on the record of Shishak's campaign preserved at Karnak) possibly to be Tirzah (although he states that the reading is doubtful, see 1986: 146, n. 13). Aharoni appears to have accepted the identification, but suggested a different route for the campaign (*LBHG*, 325–29).

Tell el-Farʿah (North; to be distinguished from Tell el-Farʿah [South] in the Negeb, which is known also as Sharuhen) is in the mountains of Manasseh on a hill between two springs—ʿAin el Farʿah on the NE and ʿAin el Daleib on the SW—at the head of the fertile wadi Farʿah, which accommodates one of the more copious rivers of W Palestine (*LBHG*, 34). The hill is fairly easily defensible with slopes falling away on the N, E, and S, and a saddle connecting it to the mountains to the W. It furthermore commands the strategic N-S route from Shechem to Beth-shan, a branch of which leads into the Transjordanian plateau crossing the Jordan river at the fords of Adam (*LBHG*, 57–60). The site would have been a strategic location in Jeroboam's attempt to establish and maintain control of the fledgling kingdom.

C. History of Explorations

Tell el-Farʿah (ca. 600 × 300 m) is larger than Megiddo and would naturally draw the attention of scholars who have tried to identify it with a biblical site. G. Dalman (*PJ* 8: 31–32) and A. Alt (*PJ* 23: 36–37; 28:40–41) identified it with Ophrah, the home of Gideon (Albright earlier thought the same; 1931: 247). F.-M. Abel (*GP* 2: 268) identified Tell el-Farʿah with Beth-barah of Judg 7:24. Albright (1931) surveyed the site in 1930, and argued for its identification with Tirzah. R. de Vaux, assisted by A. M. Steve, began systematic excavations in 1946, conducting nine seasons of excavations which ended in 1960.

D. Results of the Excavations

1. Neolithic Period. The Neolithic is poorly represented, but has yielded meager remains, primarily floor surfaces and hearths on virgin soil. The small finds include various flint and basalt tools. The remains represent the Pre-Pottery Neolithic B period and are similar to the materials found at Jericho.

A later phase of the Neolithic is represented and is the same as Pottery Neolithic B (sometimes also called the Early or Middle Chalcolithic). The pottery is handmade and is decorated with raised, incised, or impressed bands; painted decoration is rare. The wares, which are poorly fired, are similar to materials at Beth-shan XVIII and Jericho VIII. From an isolated tomb, de Vaux (1956: 127; 1957: 553–56) identified wares which he believes are contemporary with the PPNB materials, and which are identical to sherds from Horvat Abu Matar near Beer-sheba. From this he infers "communities of people belonging to different ethnic and cultural groups existing side by side and even intermingling" (*EAEHL* 2: 397). The Abu Matar assemblage, however, is usually identified as Late Chalcolithic, and it is probable that the materials that de Vaux identified with them were not contemporary with the PPNB wares, and hence that there was not the comingling that de Vaux postulated.

2. Late Chalcolithic Period. The Late Chalcolithic period has the first evidence of "architecture," in the form of pit dwellings (ca. 2.0–4.5 m diameter and 0.8 m deep) over which mud and rubble superstructures were built. The ceramic repertoire consists of the common gray-burnished ware and red-burnished pottery similar to many of the examples at Megiddo XX–XIX and Meṣer I–II. Tombs were caves, either natural or artificial, and were communal (many of which were reused in later periods). From what appears to be a contemporaneity of Chalcolithic and EB ceramics at Tell el-Farʿah, de Vaux suggested that there was a lag in development in the central hills after the S part of the land had already progressed into the full EB culture; he attributes the change in the S to the arrival of new peoples (1956: 128).

3. Early Bronze Age. De Vaux contends that during the first phase of the EB development, the inhabitants built a defensive wall constructed of mud brick on a stone foundation. Over 125 m of this wall, which has towers along its

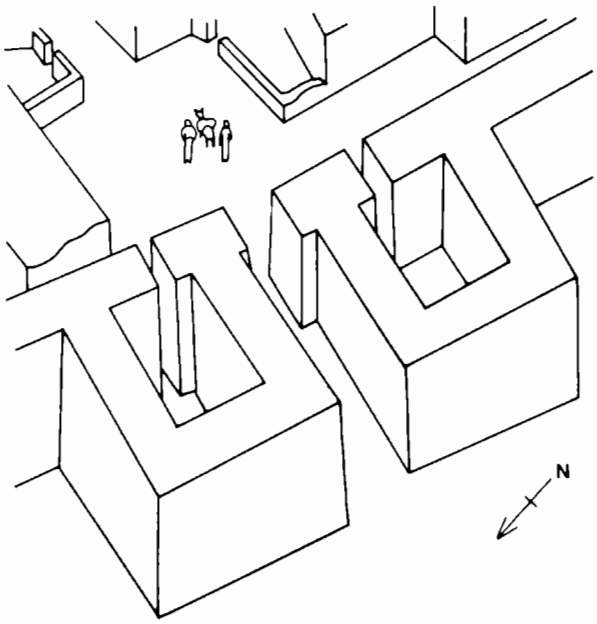
course, have been exposed along the W side of the town. The wall measures over 9 m thick, and along the W course of the wall is a city gate, flanked by two huge towers (preserved to a height of 4 m) in which there were steps providing access to the top. See Fig. TIR.01. The gate was a direct access plan, but had a passage which narrowed from ca. 4 m to ca. 2.5 m. The gate went through several phases and eventually was replaced with one at a higher level which in turn was blocked up.

In phase 3, a stone wall was built, which in places was added to the mud-brick wall while in others it replaced the earlier wall, sometimes following a slightly different course. While there is some question of the date of the initial construction of the wall fortifications, they appear to have been some of the earliest in the country and date probably to the very beginning of the EB II (although de Vaux attributes it to the EB IB phase; *EAEHL* 2: 399).

Inside the town, the houses were arranged according to a plan with distinct streets (some of which had drainage systems), and at least one street was 2 m wide. The houses were rectangular and along the central axis had column bases on which pillars were placed to support the roofs. The houses were built of mud brick, which usually was founded on two courses of stone.

A building which appears to have been a sanctuary was located in phase 1, and consists of a long room with benches along the walls and which opens to the E. An enclosed cella is in the back of the building. The building continued through phase 3.

Of special significance was the discovery of two potters' workshops. The first workshop (from phase 2; de Vaux 1961: 579–82) was found near the sanctuary, and among its ruins were tools to shape, scrape, and finish the wares.



TIR.01. Reconstruction of city gate at Tell el-Far^{c}ah (Tirzah)—EB. *(Redrawn by G. Herion from de Vaux 1962: 223, fig. 1)*

Quartz and fine red sand temper were also found along with red and yellow ocher, all probably used for paint. From the next phase (de Vaux 1955: 558–59), but in the same area as the earlier workshop, was found a two-chambered kiln. The top of the kiln (the enclosed oven) was missing, but the furnace section was well preserved with a number of vertical flue openings from the lower furnace chamber into the upper oven. The technology of the kiln design remained essentially unchanged, at least to the Roman period.

The EB town continued through three more phases, and although the remains are poorly preserved, there seems to have been no major alterations. The inhabitant apparently abandoned the site about the end of EB II, inferred in part from the total absence of the distinctive EB III Khirbet Kerak Ware. De Vaux suggests (1967: 374) that the desertion of the site may have been connected with the occasional outbreak of malaria which is endemic in the region.

4. Middle Bronze Age. The first settlement in MB I was poor and small, and relied on the decaying EB fortifications. No public buildings or fortifications unique to this period have been located; hence the MB I should not be considered an urban phase.

Around 1700 B.C. a new stone fortification wall was built, which varied in thickness from ca. 1.8–6.0 m. The wall followed the course of the EB wall except on the E, where it excluded part of the earlier EB settlement. Supplementing the fortifications in some places was a glacis and in other places a glacis with a revetment. What appears to have been a citadel was on the NE corner and a new gate was built N of the old EB gate. The new gate had a well-constructed, covered sewage drain exiting the town beneath the roadway.

Somewhat common for this period, infants were buried in jars under the floors of houses. These should not be inferred as evidence for child sacrifices, but simply burial practices. Adults and older children were buried in tombs outside the town, some of which were reactivated Chalcolithic tombs.

In the area just inside the gate was a special basin constructed of several flat slabs of stone, which de Vaux suggests was used for ritual purposes (*EAEHL* 2: 400).

In the SW quarter was what appears to have been a subterranean sanctuary, which de Vaux believes probably had an upper level (1957: 565). It had heavy walls, but no traces of plaster to indicate use as a cistern. Further excavation revealed what may have been a favissa in one corner, and the burials of a pig fetus and a suckling pig, one which had been placed in a jar and the other which had ceramic wares buried with it. These finds, in conjunction with the votive vessels that had been left on the bench, led the excavators to infer that the building was an MB temple.

The MB gate and stratum 5 show burn destruction, which may be attributed to the raids into Canaan by the Egyptians in their expulsion of the Hyksos (ca. 1550 B.C.).

5. Late Bronze Age. The LB (stratum 4) is poorly preserved and the plan of the town cannot be traced. But over the earlier MB shrine were remains of a building which de Vaux suggests might have been a temple (the sanctity of a temple or shrine location often retained its status over

long periods of time). The plan of this "temple" (de Vaux 1957: 574–77, fig. 8) resembles the common four-room house of the Iron Age. It had an entrance into a central area and was flanked on each side by an aisle separated by a series of four columns; at the far end was a slightly elevated "holy of holies," which was reached by steps. An additional room was attached to the front of the building on the SW corner. Inside the structure was an exquisitely crafted female figurine cast of bronze with silver leaf. The statue stands about 10 cm and appears to represent the goddess Hathor. She is clothed to her ankles and a hole in the top of her head was probably intended to hold the horns of her headdress. De Vaux suggests that her form is derived from Syrian craftsmanship rather than Egyptian (1956: 132; 1957: 576–77). In the process of analyzing the materials and plans for final publication, after de Vaux's death, A. Chambon reassigned the "temple" to the early Iron Age I. He also reassessed the function of the building to be simply a domestic four-room house in which was found a cultic artifact (the statue) belonging to the domestic cult (1984: 20).

The end of the LB settlement is unclear, especially with the paucity of remains, but de Vaux suggests that the town lasted until the end of the 14th century B.C. and perhaps as late as the middle of the 13th (*EAEHL* 2: 400). He notes, but offers little comment on, the reference to the Israelites killing the king of Tirzah in Josh 12:24 (1967: 375).

6. Iron Age I. Stratum 3 was built directly on the remains of the LB, from which de Vaux seems to infer fairly immediate reoccupation of the site (the stratigraphic relationship seems to be the more critical evidence in his conclusion than the ceramic evidence). The plan of the Iron Age stratum is generally clear, and consisted of regularly arranged four-room houses along parallel streets.

The fortifications followed the MB and included a citadel on the NW corner, which was separated from the interior of the city by a fosse. The city gate was a modified form of a bent access, necessitating a right-hand turn into the city through the gate.

As was the case with the MB city, just after passing through the gate into the open area inside the city was a basin, which had been carved from one stone. Next to it was a stone pedestal on which stood a *maṣṣebâ*. De Vaux believes the two items to have been part of a "gate temple" (*EAEHL* 2: 401).

Stratum 3 had a long life, from the beginning of the Iron Age to the beginning of the 9th century B.C. The houses and features passed through several phases of repair and minor alterations and the long uninterrupted occupation is indicated by the eventual rise of the street level (ca. 45 cm) in relation to the courtyards and doors of the houses.

The end of stratum 3 apparently came as the result of the move of the capital of Israel from Tirzah to Samaria during the reign of Omri. The incomplete construction of one of the more monumental buildings is interpreted by de Vaux to indicate Omri's abandonment of the site in favor of Samaria (*EAEHL* 2: 403). However, T. McClellan (1987: 85–86), based upon the detailed publication by Chambon (1984), argues that the "incomplete structure" was not connected with Omri, but belonged to the later flourishing of Tell el-Farʿah during stratum 2 (Iron Age II).

Several terra-cotta model shrines were discovered at Tell el-Farʿah (Chambon 1984: 77–78). See Fig. TIR.02. The model has no animal or human representations on it, but probably was designed to accommodate some sort of representation of a deity. Several other examples have been discovered in the Levant, and most, if not all, were apparently associated with the worship of Astarte/Asherah (Weinberg 1979: 44–46).

7. Iron Age II. After the desertion of stratum 3, and before stratum 2, there is what de Vaux calls an interim stratum (1955: 583–86; *EAEHL* 2: 403). It consists of walls which were located in area II, near the gate, but which belong neither to stratum 3 nor 2. The sherds associated with this "level" are of the 9th century B.C.

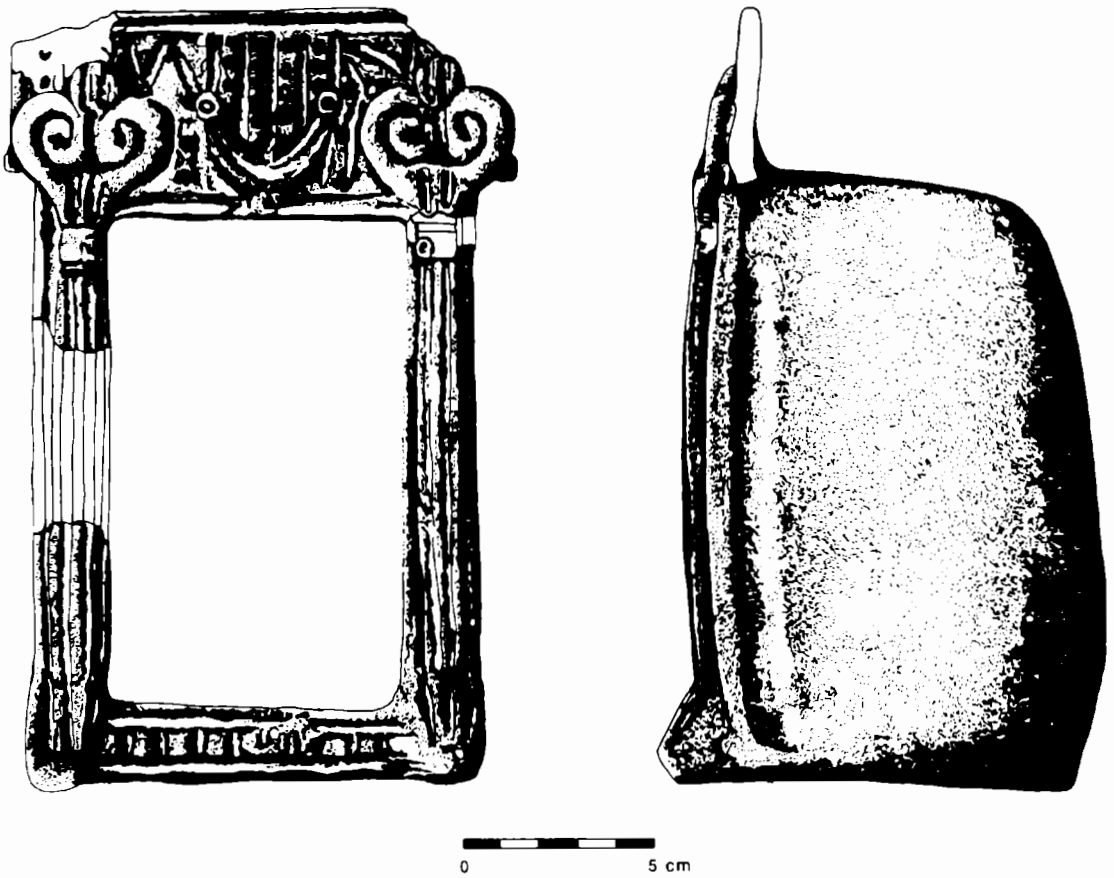
Stratum 2 presents a resurgence of urban life at Tell el-Farʿah. The houses tend to be larger and better constructed than those of stratum 3 and have carefully dressed wall faces. The city gate has a bench along the inside, and the "gate temple" with its basin and *maṣṣebâ* continues in the open area just inside the gate. The basin is again a stone-slab construction, replacing the single block of the earlier period.

South of the gate are the remains of a large building that de Vaux interprets as an administrative complex. This is inferred from the size of the building (ca. 440 m^2), its different layout compared with the other buildings of the stratum, and its proximity to the gate (de Vaux 1951: 412–13; Chambon 1984: 44).

Immediately S of the administrative building are several large and well-constructed four-room houses which de Vaux (1952: 566) and Chambon (1984: 43–44) describe as houses of the patricians of the city. These are solidly built and laid in straight courses, usually with fairly wide walls that consist of two rows of stones which served as the foundation for the mud-brick superstructure. Just S of these larger buildings are other buildings which by comparison are poorly built, having narrow walls of only one stone width, and which are often poorly aligned. Both de Vaux and Chambon describe these as houses of the poor people. De Vaux (1952: 566; 1967: 378) infers from these differences in quality and construction techniques that there were two levels of social stratification at Tell el-Farʿah, and that this inequity is evidence of the kind of social injustice that Amos (5:11), Hosea (8:14), and Isaiah (9:8–9) were decrying. McClellan (1987: 86), however, disputes the basis of his interpretation by suggesting that the comparatively poorer buildings belong instead to stratum 3, which had essentially the same quality standards. He furthermore affirms that neither the elevations nor the ceramic repertoire precludes such a reassignment.

Stratum 2 is dated to the 8th century B.C. and was apparently totally destroyed by the Assyrian campaign in 723 (*EAEHL* 2: 404).

Stratum 1 appears to have been built fairly soon after the end of stratum 2, and has poor remains. The fortifications seem to have gone out of use, but the "gate temple" continued in use with the *maṣṣebâ*, which was found inside a square enclosure (*EAEHL* 2: 404). The ceramics have a distinctively non-Palestinian appearance—in clay, execution, and shape—and similar wares have been identified in



TIR.02. Terra-cotta model shrine from Tell el-Far^{c}ah—Iron I. *(Redrawn from Chambon 1984: 241, pl. 66)*

the Assyrian fortress at Tell Jemmeh, and in Samaria, in addition to the palace of Sargon in Nineveh (de Vaux 1967: 378; *EAEHL* 2: 404). By about 600 B.C., the city was deserted, and de Vaux attributes part of the reason to another outbreak of malaria (de Vaux 1956: 135).

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TISHBE (PLACE) [Heb *tōšābê*]. The putative place of origin of the 9th-century Israelite prophet Elijah (1 Kgs 17:1). See ELIJAH. This identification, which is followed in many modern translations, is based on a traditional

reading of the problematic Heb *mn-tšby*. Doubtless influenced by the preceding gentilic, *hattišbî* ("the Tishbite"), early witnesses (LXX, Lucian, Josephus [*Ant* 8.13.2]) read the consonantal text as a corresponding place name, *mintišbê*, "from Tishbe." See TISHBITE. The specifying phrase, "of Gilead," would distinguish this place from a similarly named site in Galilee, the *thesbē* mentioned in Tob 1:2. See THISBE (PLACE). However, a "Tishbe in Gilead" is mentioned nowhere else in biblical or nonbiblical literature.

An early attempt to identify this Tishbe with Tisiya, S of Busra, founders on philological disparities between the names (Thenius 1873). The frequent and traditional identification with El-Istib, 8 miles N of the Jabbok in Transjordan, is equally unsatisfactory, since the earliest evidence of settlement at El-Istib does not predate Roman times. Glueck (1946: 170) proposed to emend the word to "Jabesh," a well-known Gileadite city in the Jordan valley not far from Abel-meholah (cf. I Kgs 19:16); but the several appearances of the gentilic "the Tishbite," all of which would then require similar emendation, make this unacceptable. If *mn-tšby* in 1 Kgs 17:1 refers to Elijah's place of origin, we must admit that we know nothing of it beyond its location "in Gilead."

Other readings of the consonantal text have been proposed. The NT vocalizes the text *min-tōšābê*, which is itself an anomaly. It is usually emended by scholars to *min-tōšēbê*, "one of the settlers." This is also the reading of the Targum Jonathan *(mtwtby)*. Elijah, then, would be not a native of Gilead, but a permanent settler there (as opposed to a *gēr*, a temporary resident alien). Cohen (*IDB* 4: 653–54) agrees with this reading and proposes further that the gentilic *tišbî* (revocalized *tōšēbî*) specifies not a place of origin but "settler" *(tôšāb)* as a social class. He argues that the settlers from whom Elijah stemmed were the Kenites, nomadic smiths whose work on the royal chariots would have earned them the sobriquet *rēkābîm*, "Rechabites" (cf. 1 Chr 2:55). The Rechabites appear in our texts as fanatical Yahwistic traditionalists (2 Kings 10; Jeremiah 35). See RECHABITES, HISTORY OF. Simons (*GTTOT*, 359–60), on the other hand, rejects the phrase "the settlers of Gilead" as syntactically impossible, and prefers to emend *tšby* to *yšby*, "one of the inhabitants." In short, while almost all scholars are agreed that Elijah belongs to Gilead, whether as a native or as an adoptive son, it is less certain that his roots are to be sought in a site named "Tishbe."

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JEROME T. WALSH

TISHBITE [Heb *tišbî*]. A descriptive cognomen of the 9th-century Israelite prophet Elijah (1 Kgs 17:1). It is used frequently of him, but occurs in no other context. In form it is a gentilic, and probably refers to a group or place of origin. Most scholars derive it from a place name "Tishbe"; this, however, is not without problems. See TISHBE (PLACE). The Targum reads it as specifying a place of origin, but vocalizes the place name quite differently: some mss read *dmtšwb*, "from Teshub," others read *dmtwšb*, "from Toshab."

JEROME T. WALSH

TISHRI [Heb *tišrî*]. The seventh month of the Hebrew calendar, roughly corresponding to September and October. See CALENDARS (ANCIENT ISRAELITE AND EARLY JEWISH).

TITANS [Gk *titanes*]. The phrase "sons of the Titans" appears in the song of Judith celebrating her victory over Holofernes (Jdt 16:7). In Greek mythology, the Titans are the children of Uranus and Ge, who battle with Zeus for control of the cosmos. The phrase is thus very strange on the lips of the devout Jew Judith. However, the term is occasionally used in the LXX to translate the Hebrew "Rephaim" (2 Kgs 5:18, 22). Here it should be noted that this passage in Judith is poetic, and "sons of the Titans" occurs in parallelism with "tall giants." The Greek word *gigantes* can be used to translate the Hebrew terms "Rephaim," "Nephilim," and "Anakim." If, as is generally supposed, the book of Judith had a Hebrew original, it seems clear that we have two Hebrew words in parallelism, probably "Rephaim" and "Nephilim" (it should be noted in support of this view that Josephus uses *titanes* and *gigantes* as *varia lectia*, in *Ant* 1.174; 7.71.299, 301, 304). "Rephaim" has two definitions. The first, which is also the meaning in Ugaritic, refers to some sort of inhabitant of the Underworld. This meaning is not applicable here, since it is not parallel with the meaning of "Nephilim." The second meaning is an ethnic term designating some of the inhabitants of Canaan before the Israelite conquest. These inhabitants were said to be of gigantic stature (see Deut 3:11 for the size of the bed of Og, the king of Bashan). This would seem to be the meaning required by the passage in Judith. The Nephilim, usually translated, as here, by *gigantes*, were the offspring of the (illicit) union between divine beings and human women, as told in Gen 6:1–4 (see also *1 Enoch*). They too had gigantic stature. The Anakim (another possibility for the translation *gigantes*) were also inhabitants of pre-Israelite Canaan, said to be gigantic in size (Num 13:28, 33). Thus it seems clear that Judith is referring to mythic beings familiar from both the OT and the literature of the Second Temple, whose chief characteristic was their gigantic stature.

SIDNIE ANN WHITE

TITHE [Heb *ʿāśar* (verb), *maʿăśēr* (noun); Gk *apodekatoō*, *dekatoō* (verbs), *dekatē* (noun)]. The religious act of giving a tenth for the support of a religious purpose.

A. Old Testament

The first reference to the tithe in the OT appears in Gen 14:17–20, where Abram (Abraham) gives a tithe of the spoils of his recent battle to Melchizedek, king of Salem and priest of God Most High *(ʾel ʿelyôn)*. This passage is extremely difficult to date but would appear to be preex-

ilic. It is known by the author of Psalm 110. The next reference to the tithe in the OT and probably the earliest reference chronologically is Gen 28:18–22, where Jacob, while making the shrine at Bethel, promises a tithe to God. This passage is from the E source (ca. 850 B.C.E.). While these two passages set the tithe in the patriarchal period, they cannot be accepted as historical. Gen 28:18–22, however, does establish that the tithe goes back at least as early as the period of the divided monarchy. This is confirmed by a reference to tithes in Amos 4:4 (ca. 750 B.C.E.).

Substantial information on the tithe comes from the D source (ca. 650 B.C.E.), almost surely "the Book of the Law" discovered by the high priest Hilkiah in the Jerusalem temple in 621 B.C.E. during the reign of King Josiah (2 Kgs 22:3–20). Chapters 12, 14, and 26 of Deuteronomy provide extensive regulations for tithing. The people are instructed to tithe the following resources: seed, grain, wine, oil, and firstlings of herds and flocks (Deut 24:22–23). They are to consume the tithes of grain, wine, oil, and firstlings as a sacrificial meal in a place chosen by God. Since the discovery of the Book of the Law generated a reformation of Israelite worship on the part of Josiah, and since one of Josiah's major reforms was the centralization of worship in Jerusalem, it appears certain that he understood the place chosen by God for the bringing of the tithes to be Jerusalem. The family or extended family is to eat the meal together. The family is also to invite a Levite from the family's town to eat the meal with them, since the Levites possess no land and thus have no tithes of their own to bring (Deut 14:27). If the distance to the place for the sacrificial meal (i.e., Jerusalem) is too great for the family to be able conveniently to bring all their tithes, the tithes are to be sold for money and the money brought to the place for the meal (Deut 14:24–26). The family then uses the money to buy whatever food and drink they desire for the meal. The family is to use their tithes for a sacrificial meal for two consecutive years out of every three. On every third year the tithe is to be kept within the town and given to the Levite, the sojourner, the orphan, and the widow, because they do not possess land (Deut 14:28–29; 26:12).

Two passages from the P source of the Pentateuch discuss tithes. Lev 27:30–33 states that tithes come from the seed of the land, the fruit of the trees, and every tenth animal of the herds and flocks. The owner is simply to take every tenth animal that passes under the herdsman's staff without any inquiry as to whether it is a good animal or a bad animal, and he is not to exchange it for another. But if he exchanges it for another animal, both it and the animal for which he exchanged it become part of the tithe. Animals that are a part of the tithe are considered sacred. If an owner wishes to redeem any of his tithes for money, he may do so, but only if he adds an extra fifth of the animal's full monetary value. The priest makes the valuations (Lev 27:23).

The second Priestly passage dealing with tithes is Num 18:20–32. The central subject of this passage is the role of the Levites in Israelite society. Since the Levites do not possess any land and therefore cannot readily produce their own food, they are given the agricultural tithes of the people for their sustenance and as reward for their service in the tent of meeting. The Levites are to present to the Lord a tithe of the tithes given them; that is, they are not to consume but to sacrifice a tenth of the tithes they receive. This tithe of the tithes is given by the Levites to the priests and is presumably used to support them. One marked difference in the P source's understanding of tithes from that of the D source is that the former regards *all* tithes from the people as going for the support of the Levites, not just the tithes of every third year. Another difference from D is that P does not stipulate any tithes going to sojourners, orphans, and widows. These differences reflect the sociological viewpoints of D and P. D is a "popular" writing concerned with the whole of Israelite society: it could not easily ignore the plight of the poor. P, on the other hand, was more concerned with the status of the priestly class and less with that of the masses, who were perhaps expected to fend for themselves.

It should be noted that in both D and P tithes are by no means the only offerings of the people of Israel. Other offerings included peace offerings, sin offerings, guilt offering, wave offerings, heave offerings, etc. See also SACRIFICE AND SACRIFICIAL OFFERINGS.

Tithes are also mentioned in the oracles of the prophet Malachi, who protested that the people were robbing the Lord by not bringing their full tithes into the temple storehouse in Jerusalem (3:6–11). He insisted that if the people would bring in their full tithes, God would pour down upon them "an overflowing blessing" and bless their fields with protection from ravaging insects.

In 2 Chr 31:2–12 the Chronicler attributes to Hezekiah (715–687 B.C.E.) the appointment of the divisions of priests and Levites, to whom the people then bring in abundance their tithes. What the priests and Levites cannot use immediately, they store. The Chronicler understands that the people bring their tithes to both the Levites and the priests, unlike the P source, in which the Levites give to the priests tithes out of the tithes they had received from the people. In Neh 10:32–39 the Chronicler writes that the Levites went into all the rural towns of Judah to collect the tithes from the people. They then brought the tithes to the temple storehouse in Jerusalem. In this passage as well as in Neh 12:44–45 it is clear that all tithes go for the support of the priests and Levites.

B. New Testament

Tithes receive very little mention in the NT. In Matt 23:23 (= Luke 11:42) Jesus rebukes the Pharisees for their meticulous tithing on the one hand while on the other neglecting "the weightier matters of the law," namely justice, mercy, and the love of God. In the parable of the Pharisee and the tax collector (Luke 18:9–14) the Pharisee thanks God for his own moral virtue in comparison to the tax collector's sinfulness. Part of that moral virtue is that the Pharisee gives tithes of all that he gets (Luke 11:12).

The only other reference to tithes in the NT is in Hebrews 7:4–10, and here the reference is to tithes in OT times. The author notes that Abraham gave a tithe of the spoils of battle to Melchizedek and that the Levites were authorized by the Law to take tithes from the people. These references are a part of the author's larger purpose of comparing Jesus to Melchizedek.

C. Early Judaism and Christianity

In both early Jewish and early Christian exegesis of the scriptural references to tithes the Deuteronomic sacrificial meal is forgotten. Another characteristic common to both early Jews and early Christians is generalizing of the tithes. Whereas in the OT tithes apply to specific agricultural products, rabbinic and patristic exegesis tends to include all agricultural products and eventually all forms of income as subject to the tithe. In the Mishnaic tractate on tithes (*Maʿaśerot*) is the statement, "Whatsoever is used for food, and is kept watch over, and grows from the soil, is liable to Tithes" (1:1), not just grain, wine, and oil. Later extensive lists are drawn up of every agricultural product subject to the tithe, including even relatively insignificant herbs such as thyme and mustard. This generalizing tendency can already be seen in the 2d century B.C.E. in the book of Tobit: "Of all my produce I would give a tenth to the sons of Levi who ministered at Jerusalem; a second tenth I would sell, and I would go and spend the proceeds each year at Jerusalem, the third tenth I would give to those to whom it was my duty" (1:7–8). Very early in the history of Christianity tithes are extended to include money. This occurs for the first time in *Didache* 13:7 (late first or early 2d century C.E.), then in all subsequent Christian writing on tithes. Despite this generalizing tendency virtually all references in early Judaism and early Christianity are to *tithes* (plural) not to *the tithe*. *Tithes* do not become *the tithe* until much later in the history of Christianity.

Another widespread tendency of early Christianity is the identification of the OT Levites, the principal beneficiaries of the tithes, with Christian priests. Origen writes, "God orders the priest-Levite who possessed no land himself, to live together with an Israelite who possesses land. And the priest-Levite should receive those earthly things which he does not have from the Israelite; and the Israelite should correspondingly receive the heavenly and divine things from the priest-Levite. The priest should be completely free to devote himself exclusively to the service of God. He should be supported just as we provide oil for a lamp so that it can give light" (*Homilies on Joshua* 17:3, quoted in Vischer 1966: 27). The Apostolic Constitutions carry this tendency a step further by equating the OT priestly order with church order. The bishops are the equivalent of the high priest; the elders, of the priests; the deacons, of the Levites (ANF 7:410).

Two different lines of interpretation of the OT commandments on tithing may be discerned in the writings of the Church Fathers. Many of the earlier fathers and especially the early monastic writers regarded the OT commandments on tithing as superseded by the teachings of Jesus. The Hebrews were to give a tenth, but Jesus told the rich young ruler to sell all that he had to give to the poor (Matt 19:21 = Mark 10:21 = Luke 18:22). Irenaeus writes that the Jews "had indeed the tithes of their goods consecrated to Him, but those who have received liberty set aside all their possessions for the Lord's purposes, bestowing joyfully and freely" (*haer.* 4:18 in ANF 1:485). Nonetheless Christians did not give all that they had; most did not even give a tithe. The sermons of fathers such as Cyprian and Chrysostom occasionally rebuke Christians by implying that those who do not tithe are inferior to the Jews. Chrysostom writes, "Someone told me with great amazement that so-and-so gives a tithe. How shameful it is that what was taken for granted among the Jews has now become an amazing thing among Christians. And if nonpayment of the tithe puts a man in jeopardy with God then, consider how many are in such danger today" (*Homilies on the Epistle to the Ephesians*, chap. 2; quoted in Vischer 1966: 16). A second line of patristic interpretation, more characteristic of the post-Nicene period, sees the OT tithes as an acceptable, though minimal, standard of giving for Christians. Augustine was the chief spokesperson for this viewpoint.

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TITLES, DIVINE. See NAMES OF GOD IN THE OT.

TITUS (EMPEROR). Titus (Titus Flavius Vespasianus), elder son of the emperor Vespasian, was born on Dec. 30, A.D. 39 and became emperor on June 24, 79. Because of the Flavian family's prominence during Claudius' reign (41–55), Titus was granted the unusual honor of an education at the imperial court, where he was brought up as the constant companion of Claudius' son, Britannicus. Not long after his twentieth birthday, he served with distinction as military tribune in Germany and in Britain (Tacitus *Hist.* 2.77; Suetonius *Titus* 4.1). Returning to Rome, he married Arrecina Tertulla, upon whose death (ca. 63) he married Marcia Furnilla, whom he divorced because of her family's involvement in the Pisonian conspiracy against Nero (65). Arrecina was probably the mother of Titus' only child, Julia.

Late in 66, Vespasian was sent by Nero to crush a rebellion in Judea. What was unusual was the appointment of Titus to control one of his father's three legions; not only was he too young (most legionary legates were over thirty), but it was unprecedented for a son to command a legion in his father's army. Titus was prominent in four sieges during 67 (Jotapata, Japha, Tarichaeae, and Gamala; Josephus *JW* 3.7.3 §142–4.1.3 §11) and was in sole command of the attack on Gischala (*JW* 4.2.1 §84 ff.). He does not appear in Josephus' battle records of 68, apparently spending much of that year in negotiations with Mucianus, the governor of the neighboring province of Syria, with whom Vespasian was quarreling. Titus' skill in diplomacy brought about a reconciliation (Tacitus *Hist.* 2.5). On Nero's death (June 9, 68), Titus' diplomatic expertise was once again in demand. He was sent to Rome on a delicate mission, ostensibly to pay his respects to Galba, but in fact to assess his family's standing with the new emperor. However, on reaching Corinth, he heard of Galba's death, openly advocated that his father seize power (Tacitus *Hist.* 2.10), and returned to Judea. His role in Vespasian's ultimate success (he was first proclaimed emperor on July 1,

69) was again essentially diplomatic, involving constant negotiations with Flavian supporters in Egypt, Judea, and Syria. As a reward, he was made consul in absentia and replaced Vespasian as supreme commander of the Jewish war. Victory came quickly: by July 70 the Antonia had fallen and in August the temple was taken and destroyed (Josephus *JW* 6.7.2 §237 ff.). The rebels were not completely defeated, however, until 74 when the fortress of Masada was taken.

On Titus' return to Rome in June 71, Vespasian granted him powers so extensive that he was almost coruler. But he soon acquired a reputation for ruthlessness, extravagance, and licentiousness. As commander of the praetorian guard, he was "somewhat arrogant and tyrannical" (Suetonius *Titus* 6.1), crushing any opposition. Executions were his responsibility, hence the fate of the conspirators Eprius Marcellus and Caecina Alienus (Dio 65.16.3–4; Suetonius *Titus* 6.2). When the Jewish princess Berenice came to Rome ca. 75 (Dio 65.15.3), Titus lived openly with her but was soon forced to dismiss her. Men feared that on his accession, he would be a second Nero (Suetonius *Titus* 7.1).

Their fears proved groundless, according to our sources. On becoming emperor, Titus dismissed Berenice when she returned to Rome (Dio 66.18.1), executed no senators or anyone else (Dio 66.19.1), and declared that a day when he had conferred no favors was a day wasted (Suetonius *Titus* 8). Clearly, he intended to project an image of moderation, affability, and generosity. The truth is far harder to disentangle. His administration was sound and, at times, innovative, as his employment of easterners in posts of military significance suggests. His foreign policy was one of cautious advance, particularly in Britain, where his army was under the control of Tacitus' father-in-law, Agricola. But the eruption of Vesuvius (August 79), the resulting destruction of Pompeii and Herculaneum, a severe epidemic soon after (Suetonius *Titus* 8.3), and a fire that ravaged Rome imposed enormous burdens on the treasury, as did Titus' extensive building program that included the Flavian amphitheater (later called the Colosseum). Yet his fiscal policies must have been sound, for he had received from his predecessor and bequeathed to his successor a balanced budget.

After a brief reign of twenty-six months, Titus died suddenly on Sept. 13, 81, apparently of natural causes, and was immediately deified. Suggestions that he was murdered by Domitian seem unfounded. For Suetonius, Titus was "the darling of the human race" (*Titus* 1), a view shared by non-Jewish writers of antiquity. Brave and intellectually capable, he gathered all the accomplishments of a highly educated Roman noble of his time. His bland charm and diplomatic skill served to conceal both his efficiency and his ruthlessness. His reputation was enhanced by his early death.

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TITUS (PERSON) [Gk *Titos*]. Titus was a gentile Christian (Gal 2:3) and one of Paul's chosen travel companions (Gal 2:1) and fellow workers (2 Cor 8:23). He was also Paul's trusted emissary for the Corinthian community (2 Cor 12:18) and one who assisted with the collection for the church in Jerusalem (2 Cor 8:6). In addition, Titus is the intended recipient of the NT pastoral letter bearing his name (Titus 1:4). See TIMOTHY AND TITUS, EPISTLES TO.

In the autobiographical section of Galatians, Paul identifies Titus and Barnabas as his chosen companions for his journey, originating presumably from Antioch and ending at Jerusalem (this journey has been variously identified with either the famine visit narrated in Acts 11:27–30 or the visit regarding the circumcision question related in Acts 15:2). Occurring 14 years after his first visit there with Cephas (Gal 1:18), the second visit (2:1–2) had as its purpose to present to the Jerusalem leaders the gospel that Paul was preaching to the gentiles. The choice of Titus, identified as a Greek (Gal 2:3), that is, a gentile according to the Pauline usage, reflects the wisdom of Paul's strategy.

As a gentile, Titus becomes a prototype for the Galatians and a test case for the entire gentile mission of Paul. For though he was a Greek, Titus "was not compelled to be circumcised" (2:3). The ambiguity of this phrase lends itself to two conflicting interpretations: (1) the circumcision of Titus did take place, although there was no compulsion, either at his own initiative or by the suggestion of Paul, as a conciliatory gesture to the more conservative Jewish Christians. (In support of this alternative there is the reading in some mss [one Western text and Marcion] that Paul "did yield for a moment" [2:5] to the pressure, and allowed the circumcision to take place.) (2) False brethren (2:4–5) put strong pressure upon Titus (and Paul) for the circumcision, but they did not submit, as Paul emphatically affirms: "To them we did not yield submission even for a moment" (2:5). The first option is highly unlikely, since the circumcision of Titus, if it did in fact take place, would surely have become known publicly, particularly to the Galatian Judaizers who opposed Paul's gospel. To permit this would have compromised Paul's mission. It is more likely that Titus left Jerusalem as an uncircumcised gentile, and as such, served as a powerful witness that a gentile could participate in God's salvation without accepting this prescription of the Torah.

This takes us to the Corinthian situation. Titus figures prominently as Paul's strong right arm in his relationship with the Corinthian community after his founding visit there, as is attested by 2 Corinthians. That there is no mention of Titus in 1 Corinthians, either in the prescript or the rest of the letter, suggests that he became involved with them just after that letter was written, although by this time he had already been one of Paul's co-workers for a number of years. It is also possible that Titus was assigned (by Paul?) to manage the collection from the begin-

ning, and that is why he figures so prominently in 2 Corinthians.

After Paul's initial visit to Corinth and his first letter (cf. 1 Cor 7:1), word came to Paul while he was in Ephesus that at least some Corinthians had turned against him. Rather than go himself (perhaps because of the demands of the pastoral situation in Ephesus, and not because Paul wanted to avoid conflict or could not subdue the revolt), Paul looked to Titus, a co-worker with proven pastoral skill, to travel to Corinth and mediate the difficult situation. Part of his task was to remind the Corinthians of their obedience to the founding apostle (2 Cor 7:15). Surely Titus was no less anxious than Paul about this mission, both of them wondering how Titus might be received and what the outcome might be.

Before Titus was sent, Paul had evidently prearranged to meet him on his return trip in the district around Troas (2 Cor 2:12), probably at the port of Troas, where Titus would arrive by sea. For some reason (Titus' longer than expected stay in Corinth or difficult travel experiences?) Titus did not make this rendezvous. This caused no small disturbance to Paul, who reflects: "My mind could not rest because I did not find my brother Titus there" (2:13). Rather than continue to wait longer, Paul, perhaps thinking that Titus had missed the last sailing of the summer season, headed north by land to the Hellespont, hoping to encounter Titus en route overland. If the shipping lanes were closed by this time for the winter season, Titus would have had to travel this route.

There was no little concern in Paul's mind about meeting Titus, for Paul describes himself as "afflicted at every turn—fighting without and fear within" (7:5). In Macedonia the reunion with Titus finally occurred. Besides the joy brought by seeing his trusted fellow worker again, Paul was further comforted by the news Titus brought. The Corinthians had evidently received Titus as well as his mediating efforts without hostility. The conflict they were experiencing gave rise to grief and their grief produced "a repentance that leads to salvation" (7:10). The Corinthians not only were a comfort to Titus, they also expressed their zeal to see Paul once again (7:7). Paul's so-called severe letter (written between 1 and 2 Corinthians), indeed in the mission of Titus had its desired effect.

No sooner had Paul met Titus than he promptly decided to send Titus back for the specific purpose of assisting in the collection for the saints in Jerusalem (8:6). Since Titus was "very earnest" to go of his own accord (8:17), Paul did not have to use much persuasion. The collection had been announced earlier (1 Cor 16:1–4) and was already under way (2 Cor 8:6, 10–11) as something willingly accepted by the community. Titus was to complete this work.

Sent with Titus were two other companions about whom we know something of their character, if not their names. One is a brother who was "famous among all the churches for his preaching of the gospel" (8:18). He was recognized not by Paul alone, but had been "appointed by the churches" to travel with Paul in the work of the gospel (8:19). The other brother is one whom Paul and his fellow missionaries had "often tested and found earnest in many matters" (8:22). Both of these emissaries are called "apostles" of the churches (8:23); Titus alone is designated as Paul's partner and fellow worker. In light of the strong recommendation Paul has given to this trio, the question has been raised whether Paul had some misgivings about the Corinthian collection effort. Was Paul's strategy for completing the collection by sending others, one a noncircumcised gentile (Titus), a sign of the craftiness of which Paul was accused (12:12–16)? Paul even asks rhetorically whether he or Titus or the brother (now only one is mentioned) took advantage of them (12:17–18). Beyond this nothing further is known regarding Titus' efforts for the collection, although it appears that Paul eventually brought the collection to its intended recipients, the church in Jerusalem (see Acts 24:26).

Two later references to Titus are found in the NT. The author of 2 Timothy reports that Titus had gone to Dalmatia (4:10), and there is a letter addressed to Titus, who is referred to by the reputed author, Paul, as "my true child in a common faith" (1:4). Some commentators interpret this verse to mean that Titus was one of Paul's converts. According to this same letter, Titus has been left at Crete to correct a deteriorating pastoral situation and to appoint elders. The final instructions urge Titus to join Paul at Nicopolis (3:13), where he has decided to spend the winter. Soon after the letter is received, Titus is to be replaced by either Artemas or Tychicus (3:12).

Somewhat surprisingly, there is no mention of Titus in Acts, although some attempts have been made to identify him with Titius Justus (Acts 18:7). And there is a 9th-century Latin ms that refers to Titus in Acts 13:1. Various possible explanations have been offered for Acts' silence about Titus: he was not well enough known to be included; he may have been a relative or very close friend of Luke, and hence omitted as was the author's name; he may have been Luke's eyewitness for sections of the book. Also it has been argued that any mention of Titus was omitted by the author of Acts because he was involved in the more controversial events of Paul's life, including the circumcision question, the stormy situation with the Corinthian community, and the collection for Jerusalem (Walker 1981: 232–33).

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TITUS MANIUS (PERSON). See MANIUS, TITUS (PERSON).

TITUS, EPISTLE TO. See TIMOTHY AND TITUS, EPISTLES TO.

TIZITE [Heb *tîṣî*]. An adjective used to describe one of David's mighty men, Joha, the brother of Jediael the son

of Shimri (1 Chr 11:45). In all probability, this gentilic adjective (see GKC, 240 §86h) is a geographical designation and refers to a place in Transjordan. The gentilic occurs in the unparalleled supplement (1 Chr 11:41b–47) to the larger synoptic list (2 Sam 23:8–39 = 1 Chr 11:10–41a) of military personnel supportive of David's rise to kingship in Israel. Of the eight gentilics contained in this brief supplement, four are demonstrably to be located in Transjordan ("the Reubenite," "the Asherathite" [NEB "from Ashtaroth"], "the Aroerite" [NEB "from Aroer"], and "the Moabite") (1 Chr 11:42, 44, 46b), and two are often placed there by textual emendations (thus, "the Mahavite" of 1 Chr 11:46a often becomes [Curtis *Chronicles* ICC, 194] "the Mahanite" or "the Mahanaimite," i.e., from Mahanaim, or "the Meonite," from Beth Meon; and "the Mezobaite" of RSV 1 Chr 11:47b [KJV "the Mesobaite"] is commonly replaced by "the Zobathite," i.e., "from Zobah" = NEB). But the remaining two gentilics, "the Mithnite" (1 Chr 11:43b) and "the Tizite" (1 Chr 11:45b), have resisted explanation and location, in spite of the interesting textual variations in the LXX tradition of the former (Codex Alexandrinus *ho matthani;* Vaticanus *ho baithanei;* Sinaiticus *ho bethanei* = "the Bethanite") and of the latter (Codex Vaticanus *ho ieasei;* Alexandrinus *ho thōsaoi* = "the Thosaite").

ROGER W. UITTI

TOAH (PERSON) [Heb *tôaḥ*]. An ancestor of Heman, of the levitical line of Kohath (1 Chr 6:19—Eng 6:34). The meaning of the name is uncertain. Noth (*IPN,* 221), following others, derived it from the Akk *taḫû,* meaning "child." The previous list (1 Chr 6:1–15—Eng 6:16–30) records Nahath as a descendant of Elkanah in place of Toah (1 Chr 6:11—Eng 6:26). Rudolph (*Chronikbücher* HAT, 54) suggested that "Nahath" in 1 Chr 6:11 should be read as either "Toah" with v 19 or "Tohu" with 1 Sam 1:1. Two pieces of evidence, however, suggest that perhaps "Nahath" should be read in both 1 Chr 6:11 and 6:19. First, the list in 1 Chr 6:1–15—Eng 6:16–30 is apparently the primary list (Curtis and Madsen *Chronicles* ICC, 134–35). Second, the genealogical list in 1 Chr 6:16–33—Eng 6:31–48 gives Samuel as a descendant of Toah, making Samuel of levitical lineage. In 1 Sam 1:1, Samuel is listed as of Ephraimite lineage and Tohu is listed as one of his predecessors. The text in 1 Chronicles 6 probably represents either an attempt by the Chronicler to give levitical lineage to Samuel, or an attempt to give prophetic heritage to Heman (cf. 1 Chr 25:1–5, which describes Heman as a seer). Whatever the reason for the inclusion of Samuel in the list, it appears that when Samuel was introduced into the list, Toah was introduced to replace Nahath, perhaps on the basis of the tradition in 1 Sam 1:1.

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TOB (PLACE) [Heb *ṭôb*]. Usually taken as the name of a Gileadite city, whose Jewish population had been slaughtered by the gentiles around them (1 Macc 5:13; Gk *Toubion*). Aharoni and Avi-Yonah (*MBA,* map no. 189) and Simons (*GTTOT,* section 257) identify the site as eṭ-Ṭayibeh (M.R. 266218), SE of the city of Der'a. Simons claims further that the city was the capital of a larger area with the same name. Scholars often identify the site with the city of Tob (Heb *ṭôb;* Gk *Tōb*), mentioned in Judg 11:3, 5; 2 Sam 10:6, 8; and even the city *t-b* in the city list of Thutmose III (*CTAED,* 190–91).

Building on the work of Mazar (1957), Goldstein (*1 Maccabees* AB, 298–99) understands the term as a reference to the Tubias (Tobias) family. Their territory lay well S of the River Jabbok, i.e., outside of Judas' sphere of activity in Gilead. The Tubian Jews of 1 Macc 5:13 would have been separated from their home city. The Greek text of 1 Macc 5:13 is actually somewhat difficult since the noun is obscure which ends the phrase "who were in Tubias' _____." "Places" or "region" is a typical reading, but, based on the use of the military term *chiliarchion* at the end of the verse, Goldstein argues that the text probably referred to Tubias' "troops." Nor is the issue clarified by 2 Macc 12:17, which also speaks of Tubiad Jews (Gk *Toubianoi*). See TOUBIANI. Goldstein (*2 Maccabees* AB, 439–40) thinks that these Jews also belonged to the Tubiad troop and that they held a fort or "palisaded camp" (Gk *charaka*) rather than dwelling in the city of "Charax" or Dathema.

It is not clear, then, whether 1 Macc 5:13 refers to a geographical place (city or region) or a group. Either way, the referent must have been situated in Gilead near the other persecuted Jews in the cities of Dathema, Bozrah, Bosor-in-Alema, Chaspho, Maked, and Carnaim (1 Macc 5:24–26). It is even less clear how the people mentioned in 1 Macc 5:13 related to those mentioned in 2 Macc 12:17. If both verses refer to the same Tubiad group, which seems likely, 1 Macc 5:13 was incorrect in reporting that all of the Tubiad Jews had been slaughtered and some had escaped. On the other hand, there could have been two or more groups of Tubiad Jews. The similarity in names would seem to rule out the last possibility, namely that they were completely separate groups.

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TOBADONIJAH (PERSON) [Heb *ṭôb ʾădônîyāh*]. Ostensibly one of the levitical teachers commissioned by Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, to instruct the people in the Law (2 Chr 17:8). The name was probably a scribal addition due to two errors of the eye. Although there is no grammatical or exegetical problem with the presence of the name in the list, the LXX, Syr and Ar versions of the Hebrew Bible omit it. The Ar version is too late to have much significance for this problem, while the Syr version had been revised under the influence of the LXX, making the two witnesses one (Würthwein 1979: 81). The clear consensus of the LXX tradition is in favor of the omission and explains the variant readings. Evidently the scribe reduplicated (dittography) the first parts of the previous two names, *ṭôbîyāhû* and *ʾădônîyāhû,* and omitted the final syllables because of their similarities (homoeoteleuton).

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KIRK E. LOWERY

TOBIAH (PERSON) [Heb *ṭôbîyāh*]. Var. TOBIJAH. Name of several (possibly related) men who were influential in Judean internal and regional affairs, especially during the Second Temple period.

1. A member of the exiled community (520 B.C.E.) with a special role in Zechariah's symbolic crowning of Joshua as high priest (Zech 6:9–15, esp. 9–10 and 14). Although it has not been determined whether Zechariah depicts an actual ceremony, the message concerning Tobiah is relatively clear; Tobiah should bring silver and gold for the crown and should also be mindful of the crown in the temple (Zech 6:14). Tobiah (RSV reads "Tobijah," reflecting the Heb name *ṭôbîyāhû*, whereas MT reads "Tobiah," Heb *ṭôbîyāh*), who appears with no patronym, was presumably an affluent returnee from exile. It has been proposed that he represents Yahwist factions from outside the small province of Judah (hence related to the later Tobiads from the Ammonite region; see below) and thereby affirms a widespread commitment to the restoration of the temple and its priesthood (Meyers *Haggai and Zechariah* AB, 343).

2. Head of a family that returned with Zerubbabel and Jeshua from the Babylonian Exile but could not prove its Israelite ancestry (Ezra 2:60; Neh 7:62; 1 Esdr 5:37). The list in Ezra 2 implies that this return took place immediately in response to Cyrus' declaration in 538 B.C.E. But 1 Esdras places this return in its more probable date at the time of King Darius (522–520).

The family of Tobiah, along with that of Delaiah and Nekoda, included 652 persons (642 in Neh 7:62), who came from Babylonian sites which can no longer be identified. They were unable to demonstrate their Israelite descent. Their plight draws attention to the importance of genealogy in the restored community; it also serves to underscore, by way of contrast, the authentic Israelite background of all the other returnees. Although the list of names does not specify the consequences, it is conceivable that the uncertain genealogy of these families forms the backdrop for the later tensions. The recurrence of some of these names as Nehemiah's opponents suggests such a possibility: Tobiah (see below), Sanballat (whose son's name is Delaiah) and Shemaiah son of Delaiah (Neh 6:10–14).

3. An opponent of Nehemiah who plays a major role in the intrigue surrounding Nehemiah's work in Jerusalem (445 and 433), Tobiah could have been either an Ammonite who (through marriage and money) rose to prominence in Jerusalem or a Judean (even Jerusalemite) who rose to prominence in Ammon.

Nehemiah himself implies that Tobiah was a foreigner engaged in several heated confrontations with Nehemiah and the Judeans. Nehemiah introduces Tobiah as "the Ammonite Servant" who, with Sanballat the Horonite and Geshem the Arab, scorns Nehemiah's intention to restore Jerusalem's walls (Neh 2:19). Nehemiah seems to suggest that "Ammonite" refers to Tobiah's ancestry, to be contrasted with "the children of Israel" (Neh 2:10).

According to Nehemiah's memoirs, Tobiah and his associates harass Nehemiah and his supporters at every step. They accuse Nehemiah of rebellion (2:19), demoralize the builders with taunts (Nehemiah 3), militarily threaten the Judean community (Nehemiah 4), further allege rebellion (Neh 6:6), and conspire with prophets (false prophets, according to Nehemiah) to entice Nehemiah to sin by violating cultic precepts (Neh 6:10–13). Once Nehemiah's wall is complete, the opponents' tactics change: Tobiah seems to seek rapprochement even as, according to Nehemiah, he also threatens (Neh 6:19). At this point the reader discovers how well connected Tobiah is to the Judean community: "for many in Judah were bound by oath to him, because he was the son-in-law of Shecaniah the son of Arah; and his son Jehohanan had taken the daughter of Meshullam the son of Berechiah as his wife" (Neh 6:19). We last hear about Tobiah when Nehemiah ejects Tobiah's belongings from the temple precinct. Tobiah apparently had gained a foothold in the temple precinct with the help of the priest Eliashib (to whom he is related) during Nehemiah's temporary absence 12 years later (Neh 13:4–9). By prefacing this expulsion with a remark on the need to separate from Ammonites and other foreigners (Neh 13:1–3), Nehemiah or the editor suggests again that Tobiah is a foreigner.

Obviously Nehemiah regards Tobiah as a political and religious threat. He implies that Tobiah, like Sanballat, was a foreigner meddling in Judean affairs against Jerusalem's welfare. The actual historical situation is not altogether clear. Tobiah could have opposed Nehemiah because Nehemiah's role as governor of a new and strengthened Judean province encroached upon the neighboring powers such as Samaria and Ammon. The leaders of these provinces (Samaria in particular) may have objected to losing what had been under their control prior to Nehemiah. Such are the implications of Nehemiah's memoirs.

But the conflict could have also been primarily an inner Judean one. Many modern scholars take the "Ammonite servant" to be Tobiah's title as a Persian official over the Ammonite region. As such, Tobiah was a counterpart to Sanballat in Samaria and Nehemiah in Judah. He may have been a Jew who rose to power in the Persian Empire, and a member of a distinguished Jerusalem family connected to the priesthood (Blenkinsopp *Ezra, Nehemiah* OTL, 219). His Yahwist name ("Yahweh is good"), his son's Yahwist name (Jehohanan), and his familial ties with Jerusalem's aristocracy (e.g., Neh 6:18) as well as with the high priest Eliashib (Neh 13:7), all point in that direction. Williamson (*Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC), however, maintains that the adjective "Ammonite" refers to Tobiah's origin and considers Tobiah a junior partner of Sanballat, possibly even identical with the "Tabeel" (an Aramaic form of "Tobiah") of Ezra 4:23.

If this Tobiah is a descendant of the earlier Tobiah of Ezra 2:60 (see #2 above), the uncertain status of his ancestors could explain both his appointment over Ammon and the ensuing conflict with Nehemiah. The converse, however, is also plausible: the later conflict between this Tobiah and Nehemiah may have led to casting doubt on the earlier genealogy.

Several extrabiblical sources testify to an important Tobiah family or families which have been linked with Nehemiah's Tobiah. The Lachish Ostraca (6th century B.C.E.) refer to a Tobiah, the servant of the king. More prominent are the Tobiads of the 3d century B.C.E., named after a Tobiah in the Zeno Papyri and Josephus' *Ant* (11.4). These Tobiads were powerful Jewish landowners in the Ammonite region of Transjordan. According to Josephus, they were connected to the priesthood and wielded power in Jerusa-

lem. They were the supporters of the Ptolemies. Joseph, a leading member of the Tobiad family and nephew of the high priest Onias, was granted tax-collecting privileges. As tax collectors, the Tobiads' economic influence extended as far as Syria and included Samaria and Judah in addition to Ammon (*Ant* 12.4. §4). They were later embroiled in the civil strife leading to the Maccabean revolt in the 2d century (see 2 Macc 3:11 and *Ant* 12.5 §1; see also 1 Macc 5:13 and 12:17 for a possible connection).

These famous Tobiads have been connected with the remains of the "Fortress of the Servant" (Qasr al Abd) in Transjordan (the Ammonite region). This association has been based on the title "servant" and, more importantly, on the large, 3d-century inscription of the word "Tobiah," which is carefully engraved into the cliffs at the entrance to the fortress's caves. The location of the fortress corresponds to Josephus' account of the Tobiads' residence.

Mazar (1957) places all of the references to a Tobiah in a single genealogical chain from 590 (Lachish Ostraca) to 200 B.C.E. He even postulates an earlier link with an 8th-century Tabeel in Isa 7:8 and traces a branch of the family to Nippur during the postexilic era. Most other scholars hesitate to connect all these persons but grant a likely relation between Nehemiah's Tobiah and the later Tobiads of Ammon. The two hundred years' gap in our sources precludes certain identification. See Blenkinsopp *Ezra, Nehemiah* OTL; Meyers *Haggai and Zechariah* AB; Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC.

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TOBIAS (PERSON) [Gk *Tōbias*]. **1.** The son of Tobit and a major figure in the book of Tobit (Tob 1:9 and passim). The book of Tobit is a fictional work in which a number of the names attributed to the relatives of Tobit are wordplays (Nickelsburg 1981: 40, n. 37). "Tobias," meaning "God's goodness" or "my good is Yahweh," was probably also selected on the basis of its symbolic significance (*IDB* 4: 658).

2. The grandfather of Hyrcanus (2 Macc 3:11; cf. *Ant* 12.4.6–11 §§186–236), Tobias was a landowner and the commander of a garrison in Transjordan. Married to the sister of the high priest Onias II, he is identified as the founder of the influential Tobiad family, notorious for its role as "tax farmers," first for the Ptolemies and later for Antiochus III (Bartlett *Maccabees* CBC, 4–5; Goldstein *2 Maccabees* AB, 207–8).

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TOBIEL (PERSON) [Gk *Tōbiēl*]. The father of Tobit (Tob 1:1). Tobiel is a "theophoric" variation on the name *ṭôbîyāh* ("Yahweh is good"; see Zimmermann 1958: 44). Like the names of other characters in the book, "Tobiel" may have been selected for its symbolic significance (Nickelsburg 1981: 40, n. 37). In restoring Tobit's blindness and in freeing Sarah from the demon Asmodeus, God will manifest his goodness; and it is that goodness which reinforces the writer's appeal for obedience in the face of senseless suffering (Nickelsburg 1981: 34).

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TOBIJAH (PERSON) [Heb *ṭôbîyāhû*] Var. TOBIAH. **1.** A Levite sent by Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, along with a team of five secular leaders, seven other Levites, and two priests to teach in the towns of Israel (2 Chr 17:8). The context implies that their mission was to instruct the people in their religious duties as well as their civic ones as a part of the king's religious reforms (Myers *II Chronicles* AB, 99; de Vaux *AncIsr* 2: 344, 394). His name means "Yahweh is my good," rather than "Yahweh is good" (against *HALAT*, 357), since there is no other explanation for the presence of the connecting *-î-* of *ṭôbî-* except as the first-person-possessive suffix.

2. An exile from Babylon (Zech 6:10, 14). See TOBIAH (PERSON) #1.

KIRK E. LOWERY

TOBIT, BOOK OF. The Greek book of Tobit (Gk *tōbeit[h]*), named after its alleged author, a Jewish exile living in "the Assyrian capital of Nineveh[!]" in the late 8th and 7th centuries B.C., is regarded as noncanonical or "apocryphal" by Jews and Protestants and, since the decrees of the Council of Trent in 1546, is termed "deuterocanonical" by Roman Catholics.

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A. Summary of the Story

Writing in Nineveh, where he had been in exile since the days of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser (V, 727–722 B.C.), Tobit son of Tobiel, a native of Thisbe in Naphtali, tells how he, unlike most Israelites of the N kingdom, had been a righteous and observant Jew, worshipping in Jerusalem as prescribed by the law of Moses. Raised by his grandmother, Tobit married Anna, who was also of his tribe, and by her had a son, Tobiah.

In Nineveh, Tobit had continued to follow God's Law, observing the laws of *kašrût* and doing such charitable acts as feeding the hungry, providing clothing for the naked, and burying Jewish corpses exposed by the king. God rewarded him for all this by making him Shalmaneser's purchasing agent.

But when Sennacherib (705–681 B.C.), Shalmaneser's son and successor, expressly prohibited the burial of those executed by the state, Tobit ignored the edict. His defiance discovered, Tobit's property was confiscated by the crown and, had he not fled for his life, he would have been executed. Two months later, Sennacherib was murdered and succeeded by his son Esarhaddon (681–669 B.C.), who promptly appointed Tobit's nephew, Ahikar son of Anael, as his chief financial minister. Through the latter's intercession Tobit was reinstated (chap. 1).

Sending Tobiah out to invite some poor compatriot to share their festal meal of Pentecost (i.e., Feast of Weeks), Tobit learned from him of another Jewish corpse in the marketplace. Only after Tobit had rescued the corpse did he finish his dinner. Then he buried the man, much to the amusement of his neighbors, who knew that such conduct had once almost cost him his life. Though Tobit had bathed, he spent that night outside by a courtyard wall, where sparrow droppings fell in his eyes, making him completely blind. Provided for by Ahikar until he moved to Elymais, Tobit was reduced to having Anna support them by doing women's work. So depressed was Tobit by his wretched situation that once he actually accused Anna of stealing a kid from her employers. Whereupon she angrily pointed out to him that *his* righteousness and good deeds had gotten him nowhere (chap. 2). Stung to the quick, Tobit prayed that God would take his life.

That same day, Sarah, daughter of Raguel, a Jewess living at Ecbatana in Media, was also praying for death. Married seven times, she was still a virgin, the evil demon Asmodeus having killed each of her bridegrooms just before the consummation of the marriage. Sarah would have committed suicide but for the distress and disgrace it would bring to her father, who had no one except her and her mother. Insisting that she was undeserving of her marital misfortunes, Sarah begged God to take her life. Fortunately, God heard the prayers of Tobit and Sarah and sent the angel Raphael to help them (chap. 3).

Still on that same day, Tobit, convinced that he was dying, remembered some money he had left on deposit with Gabael at Rages in Media. After admonishing Tobiah to treat his mother and his compatriots well, to stay always with his own people and, like his ancestors, not marry outside the tribe, and to be law-abiding and ever generous and considerate toward those less fortunate than himself, even to the point of pouring wine on the graves of the righteous, Tobit then told his son about the money (chap. 4).

Sent out to find a guide who knew the way to Rages, Tobiah quickly came upon the angel Raphael, who was disguised as one Azariah, son of Hananiah of Naphtali, who assured Tobiah that he knew the way to Gabael's house. In his job interview, "Azariah" not only convinced Tobit that he was of pious, Jewish stock but even assured Tobit that he would soon recover his sight. They then agreed on Raphael's wages as a drachma a day, plus travel expenses and a bonus.

Ironically, while Anna was crying and begging Tobit not to send their only child on such a trip, Tobit tried to reassure her by saying that their son would succeed because "a good angel" would go with him (chap. 5).

Tobiah, accompanied by his dog, left home with "Azariah." By nightfall they were encamped beside the Tigris, where Tobiah hauled in a huge fish that had attacked his foot. On Raphael's instructions, he gutted it, saving its gall, heart, and liver. Only later did Raphael explain that the fish's heart and liver could make a smoke that drove away demons, and that the gall cured blindness.

Nearing Ecbatana, the angel proposed that Tobiah marry the brave and beautiful daughter of Raguel, a relative with whom they would be spending the night. That way, Tobiah would be fulfilling his legal and filial duties as next of kin. At first Tobiah demurred, having heard of what had happened to Sarah's previous husbands. Moreover, he was genuinely concerned about how his elderly parents would ever get along without him should he die. After reminding Tobiah of his father's instructions to marry only within his own people, Raphael explained how Tobiah could escape the fate of Sarah's previous bridegrooms, first, by smoking the demon out of the bridal chamber and, then, by praying to the Lord. Comforted by this information and assured by the angel that their marriage had been made in heaven, Tobiah fell in love with Sarah, sight unseen (chap. 6).

Tobiah and Raphael were received most cordially by Raguel and his family. During dinner Raguel learned of Tobiah's desire to marry Sarah. Genuinely liking the young man and, in principle, willing to agree to the marriage, Raguel dutifully reminded them of the terrible fate of his previous sons-in-law. But at Tobiah's insistence, Raguel wrote out a marriage contract, just as the law of Moses required. But as Edna prepared her daughter in the bridal chamber, both of them were crying (chap. 7).

As soon as Tobiah and Sarah entered the bridal chamber he burned the fish liver and heart, their smoke driving the demon Asmodeus to the most remote part of Egypt. That done, the happy couple prayed to the Lord, thanking him for the institution of marriage and asking that theirs be a long and happy marriage, one based not upon lust but upon friendship and love. Meanwhile, Raguel had his servants secretly dig Tobiah's grave. But on learning that the young man was safe and sound, Raguel praised the Lord and had it filled immediately.

The next morning, Raguel lovingly promised that in fourteen days, Tobiah and Sarah could return to Nineveh,

taking half of his property with them, the rest due after he and Edna were dead (chap. 8). To save time, Tobiah had Raphael to go to Gabael's house at Rages to collect the money. A just and righteous man, Gabael not only handed it over but even came to Ecbatana to celebrate the wedding (chap. 9).

Meanwhile, Tobit was very worried about his son, while Anna, convinced that he was dead, found little comfort in Tobit's efforts to reassure her. Yet every day she would go out and look down the road for Tobiah.

True to his word, Raguel gave the newlyweds a royal send-off, giving them exactly what he had promised. Raguel and Edna each counseled the bride and groom separately, charging them to be devoted to one another, to be kind to their respective in-laws, and to raise a fine family (chap. 10).

When the entourage neared Nineveh, Raphael and Tobiah, still accompanied by his dog, went on ahead. When Anna saw Tobiah, she greeted him as if he had returned from the dead. In his joy and excitement, blind Tobit also ran toward them, stumbling and tripping as he went. No sooner did Tobiah apply the fish gall to his father's eyes than the white patches peeled off so that Tobit could see perfectly. Tobit praised the Lord that now he could actually see his son.

Later that day, Tobit welcomed his new daughter-in-law almost as warmly as he had received his son. The Ninevites were amazed at what God had done for Tobit, and all the Jews, including Ahikar and his nephew Nadab, shared in his happiness (chap. 11).

Only after Tobit had agreed to Tobiah's suggestion that in appreciation for services rendered, "Azariah" should be given half of all that Tobiah had brought back, did Raphael reveal his true identity. He explained how, after bringing the prayers of Tobit and Sarah to the Lord, he had been sent to test and help them. After assuring them that they would suffer no danger in his presence and that the entire time he had been but a vision, Raphael instructed them to write down their story for others (chap. 12). Thus, Tobit composed a hymn of thanksgiving, praising the Lord for his mercy and kindness toward the righteous as well as for his punishment of the wicked. Although the Jews were now scattered, Tobit was certain that God would look after them and would eventually reclaim Jerusalem and rebuild his temple (chap 13).

Tobit, who at age 62 was struck with blindness, lived to the ripe old age of 112, continuing to the end to be very kind and charitable. On his deathbed and convinced of the truth of the prophets' dire predictions, especially those of Nahum against Nineveh, Tobit urged his son to take the family to Media. There, Tobit assured him, they would be safe until the time when God, true to his promises, would restore his people to their land and all nations would worship the one, true God. Meanwhile, one should serve God faithfully and give alms generously and sincerely. After all, Ahikar was saved from Nadab's treachery because of his almsgiving. Having said that, Tobit died and was given a fine funeral.

After his mother's death, Tobiah took his family to Ecbatana and settled there, taking loving care of Raguel and Edna. A very wealthy and charitable man until his death at the age of 117, Tobiah lived to see the destruction of Nineveh by the Median king Ahasuerus as well as the satisfying spectacle of Assyrians being brought prisoners to Ecbatana (chap. 14).

B. Some Preliminary Observations

From this rather detailed summary several points should be evident. First, although the story is quite interesting, its plot has little or no suspense, the reader being assured of the deliverance of both Tobit and Sarah as early as 3:16–17, and then being told *how* this would be accomplished even before the story is half told (6:6–8). This loss of suspense, however, is compensated by increased opportunities for irony, a major literary feature of the book (see below).

Second, the personalities of the six main characters (Tobit, Anna, Tobiah, Raguel, Edna, and Sarah) are not merely two-dimensional but are clearly and individually developed. Despite their individual shortcomings, they are basically good but ordinary people who in no way have the heroic stature or prominence of other exilic characters such as Daniel, Esther, or Judith:

> The Book of Tobit unfolds *the drama of two little people* [italics added], Tobit and Sarah, pitted against a system of apparent fate and a seemingly disinterested God (Craghan, *Esther, Judith,* . . . OTM 16: 129).

Third, the influence of a number of OT stories, themes, and images are clearly evident in the book: the patient suffering of Job (Job 1:1–2:10; 42:10b–17), the betrothal scenes of Isaac and Jacob (Genesis 24, 29), the Joseph story (Genesis 37, 39–50), and the theology of Deuteronomy, to name but a few.

Finally, the story contains certain "details of fact"—or rather, geographical and historical errors (see below)—that argue against the story's being essentially historical, although it may very well reflect actual living conditions of Jews of the Eastern Diaspora (Gowan 1980: 152, 354).

What will not be evident to everyone reading the summary of the tale is that its author utilized, in varying degrees, several secular tales that were well known throughout the ancient world, notably, "The Grateful Dead," "The Monster in the Bridal Chamber," and "The Story of Ahiqar."

C. The Story's Fictional Character

Starting with Martin Luther, who characterized the book as "a truly beautiful, wholesome, and profitable fiction" (his preface to the book), biblical scholars have increasingly regarded it as edifying fiction, although a few Roman Catholic scholars of the 20th century have continued to argue for some kernel of historicity (Miller 1940: 8; Clamer 1949: 395; Deselaers 1982: 265–66, although Deselaers, like the Protestant Pfeiffer [1949: 46–52; 264–65], does not see that as the story's raison d'être).

The book's errors of "fact" have been a major reason for scholars denying its historicity: to wit, the tribe of Naphtali was taken into exile by Tiglath-pileser III (745–727 B.C.; so 2 Kings 15:29), not Shalmaneser V (so Tob 1:2); Sargon II (722–705 B.C.), not Sennacherib (so Tob 1:3–22), was the successor to Shalmaneser V (although 2 Kings 17:1–6 and 18:9–13 make the same error); the trek between

Rages and Ecbatana, which Tobiah did in "two full days" (Tob 5:6), is actually a distance of about 185 miles; leaving Nineveh and going eastward, Tobiah and Raphael arrived in the evening at the Tigris river (Tob 6:1–5); yet Nineveh was actually situated *east* of the Tigris unless, of course, a different "Nineveh" is intended (e.g., Seleucia [so Torrey 1922; 1945: 86]).

And while 20th-century scholars are less likely to believe in Persian demons like Asmodeus (Pers *Aeshma-Dawa,* Marshall *HDB* 1: 172–73; Grintz *EncJud* 15: 1185; but see Pfeiffer 1949: 271) or angels in disguise like Raphael, even these elements have not been the principal reason for modern scholars regarding the story as fictional. Moreover, such details as bird feces causing blindness or fish-gall curing it represent, at worst, the primitive medical science of the day and, conceivably, an effective folk remedy for a certain condition of the eye (Lundsgaard 1911; von Soden 1966; Gamer-Wallert 1970).

The recognition by 19th-century scholars that the Tobit story utilized older secular folktales finally persuaded most scholars that the story was not historical.

D. Possible Secular Folktale Components

Part of the continuing appeal of Tobit is explained by the very fact that its author utilized, in varying degrees, several time-tested themes or folktales.

1. The Grateful Dead and the Bride of the Monster. It is frequently argued that the author adapted a tale combining the universal themes of "The Grateful Dead" (i.e., the story of how a man who goes to great expense to bury a corpse is subsequently rewarded by the deceased [Simrock 1856: 131f.; Thompson 1955–58: 2.364]), and of "The Bride of the Monster" (Gerould 1908: 47–75), a variant of "The Dangerous Bride" (although Huet [1915] regards them as separate and distinct).

In contrast to most scholars, who see both tales integrated prior to the author of Tobit utilizing them, Ruppert (1972) would make "The Grateful Dead" the basic tale for Tobit while Deselaers (1982: 280–91) regards "The Bride of the Monster" as primary. Although Miller (1940) and Clamer (1949) think "The Grateful Dead" folktale may be based on Tobit, most scholars disagree and either follow Gerould (1908: 46–47) or conclude that Tobit's relationship to the folktale cannot be established (Grintz *EncJud* 15: 1186; Vermes 1986: 226). The experiences of the hero in "The Grateful Dead" have obviously been divided between Tobit and his son.

2. The Story of Ahiqar. This story was the third secular folktale used by the author of Tobit (Charlesworth 1981: 76), who either modeled his Ahikar after it (Dancy *Tobit* CBC, 6) or, more likely, assumed his reader's familiarity with it (Cazelles 1951: 134; Greenfield 1981: 331). An Aramaic wise man, Ahiqar was an actual person in the Assyrian court of Esarhaddon (van Dijk 1962: 43–52); and his checkered career and proverbs, the latter originally separate and independent (Lindenberger 1983: 17–19), were well known throughout the ANE. See also AHIKAR/AHIQAR (PERSON).

Although the Ahiqar story has not survived in its original form, a number of later versions have survived (for translations of some of them, see Conybeare et al. 1898; Harris et al. 1913; for the Aramaic text and English translation, see Cowley [1923] and Lindenberger [*OTP* 2: 494–507], respectively).

Even if the story of Ahiqar was not well woven into the text (Dancy *Tobit* CBC, 6–7; Ruppert [1976: 232–37] regards Ahikar as the creation of a later redactor), its influence is clearly present (Tob 1:21–22; 2:10; 11:18; 14:10). It is also evident in passages where there is no mention of Ahikar; compare, for example, Tob 4:17 of *Sinaiticus* and Ahiqar 2:10 ("My son, pour out your wine on the graves of the righteous, rather than drink it with evil men"). Compare also Tob 4:10; 4:12, 15, 17, 18 with the Syriac Ahiqar 8:41; 2:5–6, 43, 10; 2:9–11, respectively. However, Ahiqar, unlike Ahikar (Tob 14:10), was not known for his almsgiving. Moreover, Tobiah and Nadab (= Nadin, Ahiqar's nephew and adopted son) are a study in contrasts, the latter serving the former more as a foil for narrative and didactic purposes (Greenfield 1981: 331). See also NADAB.

3. The Tractate of Khons. It is uncertain (Vermes 1986: 226), if not unlikely (so Pfeiffer [1949: 271] and Glasson [1959: 276]; but "probable," according to Schneider 1910: 638 f.; Simpson *APOT* 1: 187–88; and Wikgren *IDB* 4: 16) that the author of Tobit also utilized a well-known Egyptian folktale entitled *The Tractate of Khons* (for English text, see *ANET,* 29–31). This tale, dating to the 5th century B.C., tells of a princess in *Bkhtn,* Egypt, who, possessed by a demon, was exorcised by Khons, an agent of the Healing God of Thebes. In Tob 8:3, however, Upper Egypt appears to be a most far-distant land rather than the setting for the exorcism (see M below).

4. Others. Although the author of Tobit wove his various folktales together quite skillfully, their seams are occasionally detectable in certain loose or incompatible "threads." For example, his gratuitous mention of Tobiah's dog (Tob 6:1; 11:4), an animal held in low esteem in the Bible, strikes many readers as a vestigial remnant, or "detail of fact," from some other tale. (Zimmermann [1958: 7–12] explores several possibilities, including the theme of the Dragon Slayer; Glasson [1959], who believed the author of Tobit was dependent primarily upon the legend of Admetus, thought Tobit's dog reminiscent of that of Odysseus, while Surburg [1975] regarded it as "reminiscent of the dog who in Zoroastrianism attends Srasha" [p. 105].) And as noted earlier, Tobit's injunction to his son to pour his wine on the graves of the righteous (4:17), which is contrary to biblical teaching, *is* included in the counsels of the nonbiblical Ahiqar. Most improvable, however, is the suggestion of Nowell (1983: 59, n. 19) that a fish's attacking Tobiah is borrowed from the Egyptian folktale entitled "The Two Brothers," for in Egypt the entrails of certain fish were believed to have medicinal qualities (Gamer-Wallert 1970). In any event, Eissfeldt (1965: 584) has rightly observed that the author of Tobit has taken all "this alien material" and filled it with the spirit of Jewish legal piety.

E. Literary Genre

1. Romance. If the secular folktales noted above are the basic materials out of which the author of Tobit created his story, exactly what *kind* of fiction is it? The centuries-long popular allegorical method of interpretation (where Tobiah's safe return to Tobit foreshadows Israel's ultimate

return to the Church [Scholz 1889]) is no longer in vogue (Miller 1940: 4–5; Priero 1963: 18–19).

Rather, to such nouns as "tale," "novel," "fairy tale," or "romance," scholars have prefixed a wide variety of adjectives, including "short," "religious," "romantic," "diaspora," "didactic," "sapiential," "Jewish," and the like.

All things considered, however, the book of Tobit best fits the genre of a "romance" (Perry 1967: 44–45):

> an extended narrative . . . which relates—primarily or wholly for the sake of entertainment or spiritual edification, and for its own sake as a story, rather than for the purpose of instruction in history, science, or philosophical theory—the adventures or experiences of one or more individuals in their private capacities and from the viewpoint of their private interests and emotions.

More specifically, this particular romance takes the form of *the successful quest,* where the perilous journey for money and the even more dangerous quest for a bride result in a deadly struggle and then complete success (i.e., wealth, a bride, and recovered vision).

2. Biblical Elements. A clue as to the proper adjective to modify "romance" when describing the genre of Tobit is to be found in Zimmermann's observation (1958: 12):

> In the loom of the Tobit tale, the woof comes from the folklore of mankind, and the warp and the pattern, the vitality and the color from the religious experience of the Jewish people.

That is, regardless of the extrabiblical sources used by the author of Tobit, biblical ideas and themes and stories permeate his tale, especially as they are reflected "in the needs and preoccupations of the second-century Diaspora" (Nowell 1983: 76).

Tobit's plot and structure were influenced not only by the plot and details of the Joseph story (Ruppert 1972) and the betrothal scenes of Isaac and Jacob, but also by many other elements in the book of Genesis, including its ideals of marriage, the concept of God's providential care, parent-child relationships, the concept of hospitality (Nowell 1983: 254–59), and, especially, burial of the dead as a charitable act (Abrahams 1893; Griffin 1982: 8–10).

It is, however, the book of Deuteronomy (Di Lella 1979), especially with its doctrine of retribution (i.e., God ultimately rewards the just and punishes the wicked [Deuteronomy 28 and 30]), that provides the basic theology for the book of Tobit in general and for Tobit's farewell discourse in particular (Tobit 14). Ultimately, the happy outcome for Tobit, Tobiah, Sarah, and their families (and eventually, for Israel; 13:9b–18; 14:5–8) represents God's rewarding the righteous while his earlier punishment of Israel (3:3–4; 14:4) and his subsequent destruction of Nadab (14:10) and of Nineveh and its kings (Tob 1:18, 21; 14:4, 15) represents God's judgment on the wicked.

Deuteronomy's "concept of God's plan for the nation, and the virtuous life expressed in the relationship between parents and children, respect for women, care for the *personae miserabiles* among kindred, observance of the cultic laws, and the practice of prayer" are also strong influences on the book of Tobit (Nowell 1983: 259–71). With some justice, Craghan (*Esther, Judith,* . . . OTM 16: 132) characterized the book of Tobit as "Deuteronomy Revisited," inasmuch as the story of Tobit reflects the living out of the covenantal implications of Deuteronomy, although legal concerns in Tobit (e.g., Tob 1:6–8 and 2:1 and 9) are based upon other pentateuchal books as well (Gamberoni 1977).

Prophetic influences on Tobit include the Minor Prophets (Amos is mentioned by name [Tob 2:6], as are Nahum [*Sinaiticus*] and Jonah [*Vaticanus*] in 14:4) as well as Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah, especially with reference to Israel's Exile (1:3–10; 3:1–5; 14:3–4) and return (Tobit 13–14).

The author of Tobit was strongly influenced by the Wisdom books, notably Job, both in its basic problem and imagery, and Proverbs (Nowell 1983: 276–282). As for the correspondence between Tobit and Ben Sirach's Ecclesiasticus (Tob 4:3 = Sir 3:12; Tob 4:7 = Sir 14:9 f. and 4:4 f.; Tob 4:10 = Sir 3:48; Tob 4:17 = Sir 12:1–7; and Tob 4:21 = 21:6b; for a fuller list, see Wikgren *IDB* 4: 661), it is problematic whether one author borrowed from the other or both independently drew upon a common source or mood (Simpson *APOT* 1: 193; Oesterley 1914: 362–64; Zimmermann 1958: 13). All things considered, then, Tobit's literary genre is best described as a short Jewish romance.

F. Integrity

Given the book's mixture of secular and religious elements, one should not be surprised that its integrity had been strongly questioned as early as Ilgen (1800) and as recently as Deselaers (1982), especially with reference to chapters 13 (an eschatological psalm [Flusser 1984: 556]) and 14 (Wikgren *IDB* 4: 661; Rost [1976: 62–63]; while Zimmermann [1958: 24–27] dated both chapters after A.D. 70, a view now discredited by their presence at Qumran).

Most scholars, however, have regarded Tobit as the product of just one author. Moreover, the shift from first-person narrator to third (3:7) is prompted by literary considerations, i.e., the narrator had to describe actions and thoughts to which he was not privy at the time of the action. Finally, the rhetorical analysis of Tobit by Nowell (1983) has shown that despite the book's diverse secular and religious elements, it is the product of one author.

G. Purpose

The author's adaptation of various secular folktales and his pronounced biblical patterns and content clearly indicate that broadly speaking, he intended to entertain and to edify his readers. But scholarly efforts, early and late, to restrict the author's primary purpose to a more specific intention such as advocating the burial of the dead (Grätz 1879), posing the question of theodicy (Rosenthal 1885: 104; Nickelsburg 1981: 32–33), or providing a model or paradigm for the Diaspora (Ruppert 1972: 117), have not gained general acceptance.

H. Ironic Character

A major literary technique employed by the author to entertain his audience is irony. In narratives, irony is often at the price of suspense (Booth 1961: 255; on irony in the OT, see Good 1965). Thus, on the one hand, from Tob 3:16 on the reader knows that there will be a happy ending

for Tobit, Sarah, and Tobiah; and by 6:6–8 the reader even knows how. On the other hand, the reader (but not the characters in the story!) can appreciate the book's general irony and, in particular, such passages as 5:21 and 8:9b.

Like its author's name, Tobit (= *ṭôbî*, a Semitic hypocoristic for "God/Yahweh is my good"), the entire book—its plot, characters, and message—is profoundly ironic in character (Nowell 1983: 192–200). It was Tobit's good deeds, especially his burying the dead—which should protect one from evil (so 4:10)—that brought his blindness and poverty upon him. Yet he continued to trust in God (5:10). Likewise, the generous nature of the noble Ahikar (Tob 1:22; 2:10; 11:18) was, at least for a while, successfully exploited by Nadab (14:10–11). Moreover, Tobit's most useful *human* guide during his quest turned out to be the supernatural "Azariah."

Then too, it is Raphael who was sent to cure Tobit and Sarah (3:17), but it is Tobiah who was the willing but indispensable means, willingly obeying his father to undertake a difficult, if not dangerous, journey (5:1–2, 16), willingly following "Azariah's" suggestions (6:2–8, 11–17), and bravely confronting the demon Asmodeus (7:8–12; 8:1–9). A Proppian analysis of the story argues the same conclusion (so Blenkinsopp 1981: 38). However, Sandmel (1978: 61) views Tobit as the "chief attraction of the story," while Alonso-Schökel (1973: 56) is virtually alone among scholars in viewing Tobiah as being ever passive, almost "an antiperson."

The names of most of the characters, especially at the height of their particular anguish, are also ironic: Tobiah ("Yahweh is my good"), the sharp-tongued Anna ("Grace"), and the beleaguered Raguel ("Friend of God"). The virtuous and lovable Sarah ("Mistress") hardly seems in control, plagued as she is by a demon and thoughts of suicide; and her mother Edna ("Pleasure") seems anything but happy. Even the name of Tobit's father, Tobiel ("God is my good"), is ironic inasmuch as both he and his wife died while Tobit was just a child (1:9).

In fact, *only* the supernatural "personages" have appropriate names throughout, namely, Raphael ("God heals"), Azariah ("Yahweh is merciful"), and the demon Asmodeus (meaning, if the name is Hebrew, "The Destroyer" [from Heb *šmd*, so Midrashim], or, if Iranian, as seems more likely, *Aeshma Daeva*, the Persian demon of lust [Marshall *HDB* 1: 172–73]). By the end of the tale, however, the theological affirmations in all the names are quite appropriate.

Comedic elements of an ironic character are also present in Tob 2:11–14; 8:9b–10, and, depending upon one's sense of humor, also in 2:10 and 8:8–9a. For a discussion of comedy in general, see Corrigan 1965; also Miles 1975.

I. Religious Ideas

Notwithstanding the very strong emphasis on cultic concerns at the beginning of Tobit in regard to tithes and worship at Jerusalem (1:3–13), and at its end with a vision of a new and greater Jerusalem and temple (13:9–18; 14:5–7), the book's primary emphasis is on noncultic matters, i.e., on the everyday practical, moral, and sapiential aspects of being and doing good (Dancy *Tobit* CBC 9; Gamberoni 1977). In Tobit, true religion is centered in the heart and home, in the day-to-day faith and pious living of the families of Tobit and Raguel (1:16–17; 4:3–19; 12:6–14). Feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, giving the condemned a decent burial, preserving dutiful and loving relationships between parents and children—these are the author's primary concerns.

Even if suffering is not *the* problem in Tobit (but so Nickelsburg 1981: 30), the author does address himself to it, showing that while a person can be free of sin and yet suffer (as in the case of Sarah) or can even bring suffering upon oneself through a charitable and courageous act (as in Tobit's burial of the corpse) so, in God's providence, man's cooperation with God (in this case, Tobiah's obedience to his father and his courageous following of the advice of Raphael) can bring the matter to a successful resolution. Jewish faith and courage can be of either an active or passive character: that of Tobit and Sarah consisted of passively accepting their suffering, Tobiah's involved actively confronting the demon Asmodeus.

There is also a *heilsgeschichte* colorization to the book. For as God has looked out for these individuals, so, the author argues, will he respond to the present suffering of his dispersed people (Tobit 13–14): "The author . . . seeks to embody the history of Israel in the lives of these two principal characters, Tobit and Sarah. He traces salvation history in the ups and down of these committed people" (Craghan *Esther, Judith,* . . . OTM 16: 134).

The book of Tobit represents a major step in the evolution of the biblical understanding of demons and, especially, of angels (on angels, see Bamburger et al., *EncJud* 2: 956–71, and Talbert 1976; for demons, see Kohler, *EncJud* 4:514–20 and Rabinowitz, *EncJud* 5: 1522–28). Here, in Tobit, are mentioned for the first time two supernatural creatures who will figure quite prominently in subsequent Jewish and Christian traditions: the archangel Raphael and the demon Asmodeus. Raphael, who is proof that Israel's transcendent God is with Tobit and Sarah and who is described in Tobit as one of the seven most important angels (Tob 4:16–17; 12:12–15, 19–20), will loom even larger in intertestamental (e.g., Enoch 9:1, 10:4; 20:3; 40:9) and Talmudic (*Yoma* 37a) literature.

As for Asmodeus, he also appears in intertestamental (e.g., *Jubilees*), Talmudic (e.g., *Git.* 68a–b; *Pes.* 110a), and Christian literature (e.g., *T. of Sol.* 5:1–13 [Whittaker 1984: 735, 741–42]). On the magical use of the names of Yahweh, Raphael, and various demons among Jews, Christians, and Mandaeans in late antiquity, see Montgomery 1913; also Naveh and Shaked 1985.

The author effectively used within his relatively short narrative a wide variety of contemporary literary forms to express his religious ideas: monologue (e.g., 1:3–2:14; 3:10) and dialogue (2:13–14; 5:9–22; 6:6–17); prayers (3:2–6, 11–15; see Mayer 1970–72: 19–24) and hymns of thanksgiving (8:5–9, 15–17; 11:14b–15a; 13:1–18); biblical quotes (Amos 8:10a in Tob 2:6) and wisdom sayings (4:2–21; 12:6–10); demonology (3:8; 6:13–17; 8:1–3) and angelophany (3:16–17; 12:11–22); and deathbed testimony (14:3–11). In her rhetorical analysis of Tobit, Nowell (1983) has effectively shown the nature and inner-relatedness of these various literary forms.

J. Original Language

With the discovery of one Hebrew and four Aramaic copies of Tobit in Cave 4 at Qumran (Milik 1966: 522), the

century-long debate as to whether Tobit was originally composed in Greek (Fritzsche 1853: 8; Nöldeke 1879: 61; André 1903: 181; Löhr 1921: 136) or a Semitic language has now been settled in favor of the latter (Doran [1986: 296–97] seems less than convinced; Deselaers [1982: 19, 335, 342–43] still champions the Greek).

But it remains an open question whether that original Semitic language would have been Hebrew (Grätz 1879; Lévi 1902: 288–91; Joüon 1923: 168–74; Oesterley 1935: 161; Saydon 1952: 363) or Aramaic (Marshall, *HDB* 4: 788; Torrey 1945: 86–87; Pfeiffer 1949: 272; Zimmermann 1958: 139–49), although support for the Aramaic has been increasing (Simpson, *APOT* 1: 180–82; Eissfeldt 1965: 585; Milik 1966; and Nickelsburg 1984a: 45).

Part of the difficulty lies in scholars disagreeing as to which Greek text should be the basis for purposes of analysis. Of the three Greek recensions of Tobit, the one represented by *Sinaiticus* and the Old Latin (see below) contains the greater number of Semiticisms; but, unfortunately for the particular issue in question, the Greek translation of Tobit contains few, if any, egregious translation errors that indisputably presuppose either a Hebrew or Aramaic *Vorlage* (for lists of Semiticisms, see Müller 1908: 28–33; Joüon 1923: 170–74; Pfeiffer 1949: 272–73; Thomas 1972: 471). Even such Aramaisms as *ʾAthēr*, "Assyria" (14:4), and *ʾAthoureias* (14:15) do not settle the question, for they may simply reflect an Aramaic environment (Simpson *APOT* 1: 182; Rost 1976: 61). Some scholars maintain that the absence of a Hebrew text in Jerome's day (340?–420) also argues for the priority of the Aramaic.

K. Author

The author of Tobit was a Jew. More than that cannot be said with any confidence. That he was a Samaritan (Milik 1966), a Sadducee (Simpson *APOT* 1: 182, n. 3), or a member of the Dead Sea Community at Qumran (Dupont-Sommer 1968) has not gained popular acceptance.

L. Date

Although the book of Tobit has been dated as early as the 7th century B.C. (Gutberlet 1877) and as late as the 3d century A.D. (Kohut 1872), most scholars of the past two centuries have dated it to somewhere between 225–175 B.C., that is, after the canonization of the Prophets as the word of God (Tob 14:4) but before the Maccabean period with its turmoil and strongly antigentile spirit (Tob 13:11; 14:6–7).

The book's geographical and historical errors certainly argue against a 7th- or even 5th-century date for the book, as do such phrases as "the law of Moses" and "the book of Moses" (Tob 6:13; 7:11, 12, 13), which postdate the writing of Chronicles (2 Chr 23:18). Moreover, the author would scarcely have spoken about the temple of Jerusalem in the way he did (Tob 13:9–18; 14:5–6) had he been familiar with the magnificent temple built by Herod in the late 1st century B.C. Then too, the author's emphasis on agnatic marriage (a practice that could no longer be reasonably expected by the 1st century B.C.) and the absence of any expression of belief in personal resurrection also are more in keeping with a compositional date in the late 3d or early 2d century B.C. The book's Aramaic text at Qumran, and especially its *presumed* affinities with Imperial Aramaic, prompted Grintz (1969: 66, n. 46) and Flusser (1984: 556) to date Tobit to the 4th or even late 5th century B.C. Greenfield (1962) too would put Tobit's composition in the Persian period.

M. Place of Composition

Egypt, Persia, Media, Assyria, Palestine—over the years virtually every geographical area has had its strong advocates as well as its equally convinced critics. And even today there is no consensus among students of Tobit (Nowell 1983: 31–32). For many scholars, Tobit's geographical and historical errors rule out a Mesopotamian origin, and yet the book may well reflect Diaspora conditions and be designed for a Diaspora audience.

Although an Egyptian provenance was the dominant theory for the first half of the 20th century (primarily because of the view that the story of Ahiqar was Egyptian in origin and that the Egyptian *The Tractate of Khons* had been utilized by the author of Tobit), in the second half of the present century the weight of scholarly opinion has shifted slightly in favor of an Eastern Diaspora provenance (Lebram 1964: 331; Grintz, *EncJud* 15: 1185; Nickelsburg 1984a: 45, n. 62), even though Milik (1966) favored a Samaritan provenance and Deselaers (1982: 333–43) favored Alexandria, Egypt.

N. The Greek Text

The nature and relative merits of Tobit's three Greek text forms have been a major preoccupation of Tobit scholars since Tischendorf's discovery of *Codex Sinaiticus* in 1844. Often referred to as R^S (= a recension based on *Sinaiticus* and, in the main, attested to by the Old Latin), R^V (a recension represented by codices *Vaticanus/Alexandrinus/Venetus* and most minuscules), and R^C (which is a mixed text containing only 6:9–12:22), their varied assessments by recent scholars are attested by the fact that the Authorized Version (KJV) and the RSV were based upon R^V, or the so-called "shorter text" (shorter by 1,700 words), while the JB, NEB, and NAB used R^S. Moreover, the larger Cambridge Bible (Brooke, McLean, and Thackeray *Esther, Judith, Tobit* OTG 3/1: 85–144) used *Codex Vaticanus* as its standard of comparison while the Göttingen Bible (Hanhart 1983; 1984), in keeping with its standard procedure, produced for R^V an eclectic text.

Although many 19th-century scholars preferred R^V to R^S, especially in Germany (Fritzsche 1853; Nöldeke 1879; Löhr 1900; 1921; and Müller 1908), the more detailed and prolix R^S now seems to be the preferred text, thanks to the work of Nestle (1899), Simpson (1913), Thomas (1972), and Hanhart (1984: 11–48). Utilizing both linguistic and literary analyses, Simpson showed that R^V's content reflects ideas, historical conditions, and theological developments later than those of R^S. *Sinaiticus* itself, however, is not without its shortcomings, for two major lacunae (4:7–18 and 13:6b–9) must be supplied from the Old Latin. That the five Semitic copies of Tobit at Qumran (albeit fragmentary) reportedly agree with R^S (Milik 1966: 522, n. 3) also strongly argues for the priority of R^S.

O. Other Ancient Versions

Like many books of the Bible, Tobit has only a couple of versions which can legitimately lay claim to being "critical

editions" (for most versions their *apparatus criticus* is either fragmentary, mixed, or unscientific). Tobit has two Latin translations: the *Vetus Latina*, or OL (reprinted in Brooke et al. *Esther, Judith, Tobit* OTG, 3/1: 123–44), which rendered a Greek text similar but not identical to Codex *Sinaiticus*, and Jerome's Vg *(Libri Ezrae, Tobiae, Iudith)*, which, in the case of Tobit, was a hasty reworking of the OL on the basis of an Aramaic text. Unfortunately, then, the Vg is of only limited value for establishing either the Old Latin or the older Aramaic text of Tobit.

There is an Aramaic version (Neubauer 1878) which agrees essentially with R^S, but it or its underlying text may ultimately be based upon a Greek text (Nöldeke 1879: 45–69); e.g., the Aramaic speaks of the city of *rʾgyš* or *rgš*, which seems to reflect the Gk *ragois* or *ragais* rather than the Semitic *rg* or *rgʾ*; likewise, Aram *ʾgbtnym*, "Ecbatana," would appear to render the Gk *ekbatanois* rather than the expected Semitic *ʾḥmtʾ* (Simpson *APOT* 1: 176–77).

Although there is a critical edition for the Syriac *(Vetus Testamentum Syriace iuxta simplicem Syrorum versionem)*, the book of Tobit is not part of the Peshitta (for an introduction to the Peshitta as well as other ancient versions, see Roberts 1951). Rather, the Syriac version is based upon a defective *Vorlage*, its first half (Tob 1:1–7:10) preserving the Syro-Hexaplaric version of Paul of Tello made in A.D. 616–17 while the second half (Tob 7:11–14:15) witnesses to R^C of the Greek (Lebram 1957: 210–11; 1972: ii–iii).

The Sahidic and Ethiopic versions of Tobit are essentially based on R^V, although it should be noted that no genuinely critical or scientific text exists for either. Finally, several late Hebrew versions exist, notably, that of Münster (Neubauer 1878), which was probably translated from the same source as Neubauer's Aramaic text; Fagius' manuscript (ca. 1542), which seems based upon R^V; and two London manuscripts (Gaster 1925–28), which are really based upon the Vg (Simpson *APOT* 1: 180).

P. Influence on Subsequent Literature

The well-known problem of dating the various apocryphal and pseudepigraphical works (or their disparate parts) often makes it quite debatable whether a book such as Tobit influenced or was influenced by another book, or whether both were inspired by a common source. It would appear that the book of *Jubilees* (cf. Tob 10:4–6 and *Jubilees* 27; and especially Tob 5:17–21 and *Jub.* 27: 13–18 [Endres 1987: 95–96; 223–24]), the *Testament of Job* (e.g., its emphasis on charity and burial of the dead in 39:1–10; 40:6–14; 53:5–7), and the *Testimony of Solomon* (5:1–13) were influenced by the book of Tobit.

By contrast, it is debatable whether Tob 8:5 inspired or was based upon Dan 3:52–56 (i.e., the LXX's "The Prayer of Azariah and the Hymn of the Three Young Men" [see Nickelsburg 1984b: 151, n. 363]). So too, one's dating of 1 Enoch, a matter of considerable controversy (Vermes 1986: 250–64), determines the proper explanation for the many elements 1 Enoch shares with Tobit (e.g., the divine throne room where seven archangels mediate prayers in God's presence [9:1–4; 99:3; 104:1]; a contest between an angel and a demon culminating in the former's binding of the latter [10:4–15]; for more examples, see Nickelsburg 1984a: 45–46). For further Jewish references to the book of Tobit, see Ginzberg (1909–38: *passim*).

Although the book of Tobit is not quoted in the NT, several phrases or ideas there suggest their writers *may* have been influenced by it: e.g., 2 Cor 9:7a (cf. Tob 4:7, 16); Gal 6:10 (cf. Tob 4:10 [see Harris 1899: 545]); 1 Thess 4:35 (cf. Tob 4:12; 8:7–8); and 1 Tim 6:19 (Tob 13:6). For further possibilities, see Harris 1928 and Simpson (*APOT* 1: 198–99); the latter thought that "the linguistic affinities [cf. Tob 12:16–22] with the records of the Transfiguration, Resurrection, and Ascension of Christ . . . [were] remarkable" (p. 234).

Q. Canonicity

1. Among Jews. Given the religious character and message of the book of Tobit, scholars have offered a variety of reasons for why it is not part of the Jewish canon. The Jews of Origen's day did not accept it as canonical (Origen *de orat.* 14), and Jerome had to base his Vg translation on an Aramaic version of it.

Earlier scholarly explanations for the book's not being in the Hebrew canon (e.g., that it was composed originally in Greek or was written after the closing of the Hebrew canon) have been made less probable by the discovery of Semitic copies of it among the Qumran scrolls. An equally improbable explanation is Milik's view that the book was of Samaritan origin, and "was designed to enhance the prestige of one family of national aristocracy whose people spoke Aramaic" (1966: 530).

Zeitlin (1964) and Orlinsky (1974: 284) have argued that the book was denied canonicity by Pharisee Councils such as the one at Jamnia (ca. A.D. 90) because it contradicted Pharisee *halakhah* (the oral Jewish law) on marriage. That is, in acceptable Hellenistic practice, the bride's father, Raguel, wrote out the marriage contract for Tobiah (Tob 7:14; for such an actual contract, see that of Mibtahiah in *ANET*, 222–23), but in the 1st century B.C. the law was changed by Simon ben Shetaḥ (*Shab.* 14) so that only the *bridegroom* wrote it out, thus giving the bride greater protection.

Increasingly, however, scholars are questioning the traditional view that ca. A.D. 90 the rabbinic "synod" at Yavneh (or Jamnia) finalized the Hebrew canon (Cohen 1987: 186). Rather, they see canonization as more of a process than an event. Moreover, Cohen rightly observes that "there are no objective and absolute criteria that will distinguish the works that were included [in the canon] from those which were not" (p. 190). In short, we simply do not know why Tobit was not canonized.

2. Among Christians. More often than not, Eastern Church Fathers denied canonical status to Tobit, cases in point being Melito of Sardis (fl. ca. 1967); Athanasius of Alexandria (293?–373); Cyril of Jerusalem (315?–386); Epiphanius, bishop of Constantia (315?–403); Gregory of Nazianzus (330?–?389); Amphilochius of Iconium (339?–?394); Pseudo-Chrysostom; Pseudo-Athanasius (fl. 4th cent.); Leontius of Byzantium (485?–?543); John of Damascus (654?–?749); Nicephorus of Constantinople (758?–829); Ebedjesu (ca. 1300); and the Laodicean Canons (343–81). The book was accepted by Origen (185?–?254; his *Epistle to Africanus*), Anonymi *dia Timothei et Aquilae* (ca. 400), and Junilius (fl. 542), who gave it a qualified acceptance.

Although Hilary of Poitiers (315?–?367) gave Tobit only

a qualified acceptance, Western Fathers evidently accepted the book; notably, Rufinus (345–410); Augustine (354–430); Innocent I (reigned 401–417); Pseudo-Gelasius (ca. 500); Cassiodorus (478–573); Isidorus (560–636); the list in *Codex Claromontanus, Liber sacramentorum* (6th–7th century); and the Council of Carthage (397).

Passages in Tobit are either cited or referred to by Pseudo-Clement (2 Cor 16:4); Polycarp (A.D. 112) in *ad Smyrn.* 10.2; Clement of Alexandria (150?–?215) in *Strom.* ii. 23, vi. 12; Origen (185?–?254) in *de orat.* 11, *in Rom.* viii. 11, *contra Cels.* 5:19; and Cyprian of Carthage (d. 258) in *testim.* 1, 6, 62. For introductions to the Church Fathers, see Altaner 1960; for the Greek and Latin texts themselves, see *PG* and *PL*. For further information on the history of the Christian interpretation of Tobit, see Schumpp (*Tobit* EHAT, 62–67) and Gamberoni (1969).

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CAREY A. MOORE

TOCHEN (PLACE) [Heb *tōken*]. A village occupied by the descendants of Simeon (1 Chr 4:32). It appears in the list of Simeonite villages included by the editor of 1 Chronicles in his treatment of various aspects of tribal genealogy (1 Chr 4:24–43). The differences between this list and that of Josh 19:1–9 seem to be merely editorial in nature, suggesting that both are derived from a single document describing the territory of Simeon sometime early in the period of the monarchy, presumably before Simeon was consolidated with the tribe of Judah (Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 25–31). The absence of Tochen from the list in Joshua 19 may simply be a scribal error, or it may perhaps reflect the process of adjustment resulting from the absorption by Judah of the territory originally assigned to Simeon. The location of this ancient settlement is unknown, although it presumably lay somewhere within the transition zone between the S Shephelah and the N Negeb.

WADE R. KOTTER

TOGA. See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

TOGARMAH (PERSON) [Heb *tōgarmâ*]. According to the Table of Nations (Gen 10:3) and the parallel genealogy in 1 Chr 1:6, Togarmah is one of three sons of Gomer, who himself is a son of Japheth, Noah's son. His descendants, or at least those called by the same name, are mentioned twice in the book of Ezekiel. In an oracle against Tyre, Beth-togarmah or "the house of Togarmah" is described as exchanging war horses and draft horses and mules with Tyre for her merchandise (27:4). The geographical location of other trading nations from the same biblical context (Ezek 27:1–13; Greece, Meshech, Tarshish, Tubal) would place Togarmah to Israel's N. The same N direction is found in 38:6. There Togarmah is specifically said to come from the far N in her support of Gog, who would ultimately suffer defeat along with all of her allies.

Neo-Assyrian texts apparently refer to this location as *Til-garimmu,* which is on the E border of Tubal. Sennacherib campaigned against the city in 695 B.C. (*LAR* 2: 138,

148; cf. 154; Parpola 1970: 353–54). Hittite texts refer to a city and district of *Tegarama* in the area of the upper Euphrates which was captured by Suppiluliumas (*ANET,* 318) along with other parts of the kingdom of Mitanni, in the mid-14th century B.C. The Assyrian and Hittite sources apparently refer to the same site, which has been identified with the modern Gurun (*CAH*³ 2/2: 422; Wenham *Genesis 1–15* WBC, 218).

This people which had an historical role in its contacts with Tyre in Ezek 27:14 seems to take on an eschatological connotation in 38:6 when the mighty fall of Gog is described.

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DAVID W. BAKER

TOGGLE-PIN. See JEWELRY, ANCIENT ISRAELITE.

TOHU (PERSON) [Heb *tôḥû*]. Var. TOAH; NAHATH. An ancestor of Samuel (1 Sam 1:1). He was an Ephraimite; his father's name was Zuph; he had at least one son, Elihu. Nothing more is known about him. The variant "Toah" occurs in 1 Chr 6:19—Eng 6:34, the puzzling variant "Nahath" in 1 Chr 6:11—Eng 6:26. Some commentators have difficulty recognizing in Nahath a variant of "Tohu" and, accordingly (e.g., Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 54), replace "Nahath" by "Tohu" or "Toah." BHS includes "Tohu" and "Toah" as variant readings for "Nahath" in this verse.

GERALD J. PETTER

TOI (PERSON) [Heb *tōʿî*]. Var. TOU. King of the central Syrian city-state of Hamath and a contemporary of King David. In 2 Sam 8:9–10 (= 1 Chr 18:9–10), Toi is described as sending his son to David with a substantial gift to congratulate him for defeating Hadadezer, king of Zobah in battle. Zobah had been a major Aramean political power and a rival with David for hegemony over Palestine and S Syria. In the course of two battles described in 2 Samuel 8, David effectively eliminated Hadadezer as a political force in Syria. Toi, who according to 2 Sam 8:10 had been at war with Hadadezer as well, immediately moved to assure good relations between himself and David by sending the gift.

The exact political significance of Toi's congratulatory gift is not entirely discernible from the text. Many scholars have interpreted it as an indication that Toi became a vassal of David (Malamat 1963: 6–7; Mazar 1962: 103–4). Others suggest that Hamath and Israel may merely have become allies by this gesture (Herrmann 1981: 158). The text is too vague to make a clear determination on this point, and both interpretations are quite possible.

The name, Toi or Tou, is a well-attested Hurrian name (Liverani 1962: 70), although his son's name, given as Joram in 2 Sam 8:10 and as Hadoram in 1 Chr 18:10, is Semitic. This suggests a complex cultural situation in Hamath during this period.

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WAYNE T. PITARD

TOKHATH (PERSON) [Heb *toqhat*]. See KOHATH (PERSON).

TOLA (PERSON) [Heb *tôlāʿ*]. Two individuals (or an individual and a clan) mentioned in the OT bear this name, which means "worm" in Hebrew. The name probably carried a complimentary sense. RSV renders the identical nominal form as "crimson" in Isa 1:18, and "purple" in Lam 4:5, referring to cloth colored crimson or purple, with dye manufactured from a cochineal. Cf. also Heb *tôlēʿa, tollāʿat,* meaning either "worm" (Exod 16:20; Deut 28:39; Isa 14:11; 41:14; 66:24; Jonah 4:7) or "worm of scarlet," that is, scarlet (stuff), as used to describe furnishings of the wilderness tabernacle (Exod 25:4; 26:1, 31, 36; 27:16; 28:8, 15, 33; 35:6).

1. The first of the four sons of Issachar, according to the genealogy (Gen 46:13; Num 26:23; 1 Chr 7:1–2). The other sons were Puvah, Jashub (Iob in Gen 46:13), and Shimron. Each of the four is specified as head of a clan (Heb *mišpāḥâ*): Tolaites, Punites, Jashubites, and Shimronites (in each case using the gentilic formation, while the four together comprise the *bĕnê,* "members," of Issachar). Altogether, at the time of the census in Numbers, they totaled 64 muster units, totaling 300 adult males, not 64,300 (Mendenhall 1958). The recalculation is based on recognition of the Hebrew word *ʾalēp* as often standing for the smallest muster unit (anywhere from 4 to 12 men, depending on prior negotiations). The results vastly improve the credibility of many numbers in the book of Numbers, in light of the limited population of Israel in the premonarchic period.

Tola had six sons, listed by name in 1 Chr 7:2, described there as "mighty warriors of their generations." The latter must include their offspring, in clans totaling 22 muster units, that is, 600 men (not 22,600!). Nothing more is known of Tola's six sons.

2. One of those who "judged Israel" in the premonarchy period (Judg 10:1–2). He is introduced immediately after the story of Abimelech's rise and downfall. Tola is the first of the so-called minor judges, notices of whom bracket the account of Jephthah's career (Jair, Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon complete the list).

Tola is identified as son (rather than brother) of Puah and grandson of Dodo. Puah (Judg 10:1; 1 Chr 3:1) appears to be an alternative spelling of Puvah (Gen 46:13; Num 26:33). Instead of reading a proper name, the ver-

sions translate Heb *dôdô* as "his uncle," which seems highly improbable.

Tola exercised leadership ("judged Israel") for 23 years. The different location of the length of service within the minor judge pericopes, as well as the fact that these are not "round numbers," indicates that such numbers derive from a source or process other than mere editorial approximation.

Tola resided and finally was buried at Shamir. Samaria seems unlikely as seat of the chief subdivision of Issachar. But there are other references which suggest a connection between certain clans of Issachar and Ephraimite hill country (Aharoni *LBHG*). Shamir may lie not far S of the Jezreel plain, still to be precisely located.

Of all the "minor judges," Tola is the only one of whom it is said that he rose up "to save" Israel. In the book of Judges, "to save" generally involves fighting. Perhaps it means here that in the chaos that remained "after Abimelech" (10:1), Tola saved Israel by presiding over a peaceful interlude in the N hill country and central Jezreel valley.

That the Tola who judged Israel is identified as *son* of Puah, and that he lived at Shamir, evokes comparison with the names of Issachar's four sons (Tola, Puvah, Jashub, and Shimron). There must be some connection. Does it indicate that the four names belong to a later branch grafted on to the genealogical tradition and derived from what was remembered about the one who "judged Israel"?

The interpretation which sees the minor judge notices as wholly unhistorical, creations by an editor who needed to fill some chronological gaps, is far too severe. But neither is the opposite view faring well, which sees these units as historically accurate in every detail, snippets from an early archive. The "minor judges" appear to have functioned locally, for the most part, during periods which generated no warfare stories to be connected with them (Boling *Judges* AB, 186–89).

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ROBERT G. BOLING

TOLAD (PLACE) [Heb *tôlād*]. An alternate form of ELTOLAD.

TONGUES, GIFT OF. Ecstatic utterance associated with possession of the Holy Spirit. With this meaning, the Greek *glōssa,* which otherwise in the NT refers to the physical tongue (Luke 16:24), speech (1 John 3:18) or human language (Rev 5:9), is found in Mark 16:17; Acts 2:3, 4, 11; 10:46; 19:6; and in 1 Corinthians 12–14. It is often called glossolalia, from *glōssais lalein.*

A. Nature of the Phenomenon
1. Angelic Language
2. Unknown Human Languages
3. Ecstatic Utterance
B. Prevalence and Importance
C. Evaluation of Glossolalia by NT Writers
1. Acts
2. 1 Corinthians 12–14

A. Nature of the Phenomenon

What was glossolalia? The NT evidence is sparse and is not entirely consistent. In Acts tongues are treated as real languages (Galileans speak "other tongues," Acts 2:4), each heard and understood as such (2:6–8). Tongues are also identified as a form of prophecy (2:16–18). In contrast, Paul emphasizes the unintelligibility of tongues (I Cor 14:2, 6–11), and carefully distinguishes this practice from prophecy (14:3–5).

Resolving the obvious conflicts between the sources requires a series of decisions concerning proper method. A first question concerns the assumption that tongues must be a single uniform phenomenon with clear characteristics. If this is our assumption, we may want to give greater credit to one source than another. Often, for example, Paul's report is regarded as firsthand and unadorned (and therefore more reliable), whereas Acts is taken as an interpretation which may camouflage the "real" event. On the other hand, even in the NT period itself, glossolalia may have appeared in several forms, not as one phenomenon but as several. In this case, both Acts and Paul could be read as witnesses to a diversity of practice as well as understanding.

Another decision concerns which evidence counts in clarifying the nature of NT glossolalia. What weight should be given to similar phenomena in the ancient world, such as early Hebrew prophecy or Hellenistic mantic prophecy? How seriously should the experiences of modern glossolalists be taken, or their claim that they represent the same "gift of the Spirit" as described in the NT? Can the extensive studies of contemporary practice by linguists, ethnographers, and psychologists be used to clarify the NT texts?

If there were a consensus on the nature of ancient and modern phenomena the helpfulness of such information would be obvious. In fact, however, research into modern glossolalia is not unanimous in its judgment on a number of critical issues, including whether glossolalia is "one thing" or several (Samarin 1972: 129–49), and whether it is invariably accompanied by or even to be identified with states of psychological dissociation (Goodman 1972: 124). Nor is there agreement on what parallel phenomena such as the speech acts of shamanism can even be considered glossolalic. Concerning the evidence from antiquity as well, debate continues on the ecstaticism of the Hebrew prophets and the manifestations of mantic prophecy (Williams 1974: 328–38; Aune 1983: 36–48).

Given this state of affairs, any definition of glossolalia in the NT must necessarily be more tentative than even in the mid-20th century. In the present discussion, current research into both ancient and modern phenomena are used, but largely as a means of excluding certain possibilities rather than providing a definitive understanding.

It is generally assumed that glossolalia is a single phenomenon. Three definitions have been suggested.

1. Angelic Language. A rather odd hypothesis is that tongues are, literally, heavenly language. The basis of this

position, which is patently folkloric rather than scientific, is Paul's phrase "If I speak with the tongues of angels" in 1 Cor 13:1, his references to revealing mysteries (14:2) and speaking with God (14:28), and his cryptic mention in 2 Cor 12:4 to heavenly visions which he is incapable of expressing in human terms. Perhaps surprisingly, there is supporting evidence for the concept of angelic language in Jewish apocalyptic literature, and even for the speaking of it by a human in ecstasy (cf. especially in the *Testament of Job* 48.1–50.3). The obvious problem with this hypothesis is that it is unhelpful for determining the linguistic or psychological dimensions of the speech as it was practiced by early Christians.

2. Unknown Human Languages. A second explanation is that tongues refers to the speaking of actual but unknown human languages. This is technically known as *xenoglossia*. The report in Acts 2:4–11 is here taken as determinative. The disciples speak "other languages" and were understood by the visitors to Jerusalem from the Diaspora who spoke those languages. Appeal is also made to Mark 16:17, which refers to the "new tongues (or: languages)" which will be spoken by believers. Some aspects of Paul's discussion are also isolated to support this hypothesis. He appears to compare tongues with known human languages of the earth, for example (1 Cor 14:10–11) (Gundry 1966: 306). Most of all, Paul lists with "tongues" another spiritual gift called "interpretation of tongues" (*hermēneia glōssōn,* 1 Cor 12:10). In light of 1 Cor 14:13, and especially 14:27–28, interpretation is taken to mean "translating" (Davies 1952: 231). Modern glossolalists sometimes consider their speech to be a language unknown to them. A substantial oral tradition contains cases in which these languages are spontaneously identified by witnesses who recognize in them languages which they themselves speak (Samarin 1968: 55–57).

The weight of evidence, however, does not support this position. Even though the Pentecost story in Acts emphasizes the intelligibility of the tongues, a careful reading indicates that the miracle consisted precisely in the *hearing*, not the mode of speaking (*pace TDNT* 1: 725). The bystanders do not ask, "how can they all be speaking our own languages," but rather, "since all who are speaking are Galileans, how is it we *hear* them in our own native languages?" (2:8). This perception was also not given to all the bystanders. Some who did not hear that way concluded that the tongues were a drunken raving (2:13). According to the pattern of "tongues, then interpretation," furthermore, Peter's "clear statement" (*apophthengomai,* Acts 2:14) on that occasion ought to have "translated" the "great things of God" expressed by the tongues. What he interprets, however, is the *ecstatic state* of the speakers, not their *discourse* (2:14–16). Finally, Acts' other accounts of tongues make no mention of their intelligibility. The isolation of the Pentecost event suggests that the element of communication was emphasized by Luke to suit his narrative purposes.

The reference to "new tongues" in Mark 16:17 is too obscure to be helpful in defining the nature of the phenomenon. The "longer ending" of Mark in which it occurs is certainly not part of the original gospel. At best, the phrase provides another witness to the perception that tongues were practiced by Christians, but it is impossible to date the text before the middle of the 2d century. The textual evidence for the adjective "new," furthermore, is weaker still.

As for Paul, he could hardly make clearer his conviction that tongues are an intrinsically noncommunicative form of utterance (1 Cor 13:1; 14:2, 4, 7–9, 16–17, 23). What, then, does he mean by "interpret"? Recent research into the contemporary use of Paul's term *diermēneuo* by Philo and Josephus suggests that the term often means simply, "to put into words," or "bring to articulate expression." When Paul tells the tongue-speaker to pray that he might "interpret," therefore, he does not mean "provide a translation," but that the tongue-speaker make the transition from glossolalia to a mode of speech intelligible in the assembly (14:13) (Thiselton 1979: 15–36).

The evidence from modern glossolalists that their speech is real language, finally, is spurious. Careful linguistic study has demonstrated that glossolalia is not a "real but unknown" language, but rather "language-like" in its patterning of sounds (Samarin 1972: 74–128). Observation of the "interpretation of tongues" in practice, furthermore, shows that it is not the translation of a language but a separate utterance altogether. The stereotypical character of the reports of real languages being heard by native speakers, and the impossibility of verifying these reports, suggest that they are simply folklore (Christie-Murray 1978: 248–52).

3. Ecstatic Utterance. The textual and comparative evidence supports the definition of tongues as an utterance which is a form of ordered babbling. As we have seen, Paul does not consider tongues to be intelligible, and he clearly contrasts speech which is "in the Spirit" *(en tō pneumati)* but does not use the mind *(nous),* with speech which does use the mind and therefore can build up the community (1 Cor 14:14–15, 19). Glossolalia is private and noncommunicative. God is praised and the person who prays edified, but neither the mind nor the community bear any fruit from this activity (14:2–3, 14, 17, 28).

This definition of glossolalia also corresponds to the greater part of the ancient and contemporary parallel phenomena. In at least the older manifestations of Israelite prophecy, we find a combination of "inspiration" by God's Spirit, trance-like states with the physical signs of dissociation, and the uttering of inarticulate cries (cf. 1 Sam 10:5–13; 19:18–24). There remains considerable debate on the question of whether classical prophecy was also accompanied by such ecstatic states (Wilson 1980: 21–35). Something akin to glossolalia is also found in the Hellenistic popular religious phenomenon known as mantic prophecy, usually distinguished from "technical" prophecy, which was nonecstatic (cf. Cic. *Div.* 18. 34). The divine spirit was thought to possess the prophet *(mantis)* taking over his or her mind *(enthousiasmos)* and directing the utterance of oracles. Sometimes, as at the shrines of Dodonna and Delphi, the oracles were linguistically clear, if ambiguous in meaning. Even these, however, often required "interpretation" by qualified cultic personnel, called "prophets" *(prophētai).* Such prophecy was highly esteemed, even by the sophisticated (cf. Plato, *Ion* 534 A–D; *Phdr.* 244A, *Ti.* 71 E–72B and Plut. *The E at Delphi* 387 B). It is not certain how inevitable was the state of trance or ecstasy *(furor, mania)* in such prophecy, although it is

frequently mentioned (cf. e.g. Plut. *De def. or.* 417C; Cic. *Div.* 32. 70). Still less certain is the presence of glossolalia-like speech (Aune 1983: 30–35). There are scattered reports of strange sounds and garbled or foreign words (cf. Herodotus, *History* 8. 135; Plut. *De def. or.* 412 A), but these tend to be associated with wandering prophets (especially the priests of Cybele) and soothsayers (cf. e.g. Dio Chrysostom, *Oration* 10.23–24, Apuleius, *The Golden Ass* 8.27) or with those attacked as charlatans (cf. esp. Lucian's *Alexander the False Prophet* 13, 22, 49, 51, 53). It is obviously in the nature of the phenomenon (ecstatic oral babbling in a cultic setting) that accurate literary transcriptions of the speech for comparative study would rarely if ever be carried out. That Paul himself saw tongues as equivalent in appearance at least to such mantic prophecy seems certain from his word-choice in 1 Cor 14:23. He proposes the hypothetical case of the whole church speaking in tongues, and their being observed by "ignorant and unbelieving" people who would conclude, "You are raving" *(hoti mainesthe)*. In context, this can only mean, "you are prophesying the way all other cults do, in a frenzy."

The understanding of glossolalia as a structured babbling, furthermore, corresponds with the best evidence derived from the linguistic study of modern tongue-speaking (Samarin 1968: 55–73). There is less agreement concerning the degree of ecstasy involved in the contemporary phenomenon. Problems of definition here are obvious. Some observers define glossolalia in terms of psychological dissociation, virtually making it the oral expression of trance (Goodman 1972: 26–34). Others deny the necessary precondition of trance for the use of tongues, or point out that the *initial* experience is frequently accompanied by dissociation, but that subsequent tongue-speaking often is without any visibly altered state (Samarin 1972: 26–34). Psychological studies reject the older view that glossolalia is intrinsically connected to psychopathology (Richardson 1973: 199–207). Nor is there any psychological type which appears to be predisposed to the experience. On the other hand, it appears that the ability to be hypnotized, and to submit to authority, are positively correlated with the experience (Kildahl 1972: 50–53). In this light, the divided allegiances of the Corinthian community (cf. 1 Cor 1:12) could be correlated with the experience of tongues, since both Cephas and Paul were also glossolalists, Paul by self-acknowledgment (1 Cor 14:18), Cephas by reputation (Acts 2:4–11). Glossolalia has for the most part a positive integrating effect for the individuals who experience it, although (as also in Corinth) it tends to foster a sense of elitism among those who have had the experience which proves disruptive in communities (Kildahl 1972: 66–75). First person accounts of the experience of glossolalia emphasize—especially for the first occurrence—positive feelings of release, freedom, and joy (Goodman 1972: 24–57). Glossolalia can be characterized in shorthand, therefore, as the linguistic symbol of spiritual release.

Although some modern glossolalia occurs in private (Hutch 1980: 255–66), it is ordinarily a public, cultic, phenomenon. It is connected above all to experiences of conversion (the connection with Acts 10:46 and 19:6 is clear), and to the practice of prayer (as in 1 Cor 14:2, 28). The understanding of glossolalia as a form of prophecy is rarer (Acts 2:4–11), as is the interpretation of tongues.

B. Prevalence and Importance

How prevalent was the practice of glossolalia in earliest Christianity? Estimates must be modest. All the evidence supports is that tongues were spoken by some members of the Corinthian congregation in the early 50s of the 1st century (Clement makes no mention of it writing to them 40 years later), and was thought by the author of Luke-Acts to have been a feature of some early conversion experiences.

Other NT texts sometimes cited as referring to glossolalia probably do not. Apart from Mark 16:17 there is nothing in the gospel tradition about tongues. Indeed, Jesus' condemnation of the "babbling" of gentiles in prayer could only be read by Christians as an implied criticism of any such practices among themselves (Matt 6:7). Paul speaks of "spiritual hymns" by which Christians could praise God "in their hearts" (Col 3:16 and Eph 4:19). He says that the Spirit helps Christians when they do not know how to pray, with "unutterable groanings" *(stenagmois alalētois,* Rom 8:26). He tells the Thessalonians not to "quench the Spirit" (1 Thess 4:19). All these are too general or vague to conclude that they refer to glossolalia.

More significantly, Paul does not list "tongues" or the "interpretation of tongues" among the spiritual gifts in two other lists outside 1 Corinthians (Rom 12:3–8 and Eph 4:11). He does not mention tongues in connection with his own conversion experience or that of others (cf. e.g. Gal 3:1–5). In fact, as we shall see, Paul is ambivalent in his attitude toward glossolalia. But not even Luke connects tongues to his account of Paul's conversion (Acts 9:3–8), although a bright light figures prominently in that event, as it does also in many modern accounts of initial glossolalic experiences. Nor is tongues ever connected with the "laying on of hands" (as in modern practice), except in Acts 19:6 (cf. in contrast Acts 9:12). Finally, there is no hint of the practice of glossolalia in any other Christian writing before the middle of the 2d century.

Even for the earliest period of Christianity, therefore, glossolalia appears to be at best a sporadic and ambiguous occurrence. Two inferences about that first period are therefore inadequately supported by the data: that tongues was a normal and expected accompaniment of the Spirit (and therefore, by implication, an essential component of authentic Christianity), or that tongues demonstrates how the first Christians lived in a charismatic fog of trance or dissociation.

In the 2d and 3d century, glossolalia is mentioned by several Christian writers. The most noteworthy outburst is associated with Montanus (ca. 160) and the two women prophets who accompanied him. Montanus was a former priest of Cybele, a goddess whose worship also involved *mania* (cf. Apuleius, *The Golden Ass* 8.27). He apparently regarded himself as a passive instrument of the Holy Spirit, "like a lyre struck with a plecton" (Epiphanius, *Panarion* 48.4.1). His "strange talk" *(xenophonein)* was understood by him to be a form of prophecy, and his speech was accompanied by the frenzy associated with mantic prophecy (cf. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 5.16.7–10). Even in Montanism, such inspired utterance did not seem to survive the founders (5.17.4), although Tertullian could refer to the presence of ecstatic utterance in his group as a proof of its truth, against Marcion (Tert. *Adv. Marc.* 5.8). Irenaeus of Lyons

(ca. 200) also claims to be acquainted with the phenomenon of tongues, although his report is succinct: "We have heard many brethren in the church having prophetic gifts and speaking through the spirit in all tongues and bringing to light men's secrets for the common good and explaining the mysteries of God. Such persons the apostle calls spiritual" (*Haer.* 5.6.1; cf. also Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.7.6). Irenaeus appears to understand tongues to be the speaking of "different languages." He also reports, however, on the activity of a Valentinian Gnostic called Marcus, whom Irenaeus regards as a magician and charlatan, but whose repertoire includes prophecy. He also seduces women and coaxes them to prophesy, and the manner of their speaking again suggests glossolalia or mantic prophecy (*Haer.* 1.14–16). There are occasional passages in gnostic writings, furthermore, in which a series of such syllables strung together looks very much like transcribed glossolalia (cf. *Pistis Sophia* 4.142). The Paris Magical Papyrus also contains concatenations of numinous "names." In these cases, however, it is impossible to say whether glossolalia generated the literary product. At least some Christian preachers used babbling speech even in public, according to the anti-Christian polemicist Celsus (ca. 180), who characterized their utterances as being "without form or meaning" (Or. *Cels.* 7.9).

Arguments from silence are notoriously suspect, but the paucity of evidence for glossolalia in the second 200 years of Christianity suggests that it became an increasingly marginal activity. Most of the occurrences come from Montanists or Gnostics, groups which were rejected by the Orthodox party. The silence itself, however, can variously be weighed. It may indicate that tongues was practiced rarely and then by dissident groups. Or, it may suggest that the orthodox writers, suspicious of charismatic activity, ignored manifestations of popular religion such as glossolalia which did not meet their increasingly high standards (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.17.2–4). In either case our information comes from the orthodox side, and the historian can at this distance only observe that by the 4th century, John Chrysostom confesses himself at a loss to interpret the passages about tongues in 1 Corinthians, guessing that Paul must be referring to the ability to speak different languages (*Hom. in 1 Cor.* 29, 32, 35). In the 5th century, Augustine dismisses tongues as a special dispensation of the primitive church which is no longer of pertinence (*Hom. in 1 John* 6.10).

C. Evaluation of Glossolalia by NT Writers

1. Acts. Luke gives a completely positive valuation to glossolalia. As the tongues of fire at Pentecost are the *visual* sign of the Spirit's presence, which transforms followers into ministers of the word (cf. Luke 1:4), so the speaking in tongues is the *auditory* sign. It is the Holy Spirit who "gives them utterance" (2:4). In the Pentecost account, the first experience of tongues is an expression of praise: the disciples tell the "great things of God" (2:11).

As so often in Luke-Acts, the speech following this scene gives Luke's own interpretation of the phenomenon. Peter's "open declaration" (2:14) does not translate the tongues, but interprets the ecstatic event itself. He begins by citing Joel 2:28–32 (LXX 3:1–5), thereby indicating that this gift of the Spirit is in fulfillment of prophecy. In the Joel citation, Luke changes the LXX "after these things" to "in the last days," making Pentecost an eschatological event. He also alters the citation in two further ways. In 2:18 he adds the phrase, "and they shall prophesy," which makes the promise of 2:17 explicit, and also identifies tongues as a form of prophetic utterance. He also adds the words "signs on the earth below" to the Joel citation (2:19), further emphasizing these visible manifestations of God's Spirit.

All these touches serve to make Pentecost a programmatic statement for the rest of the Acts narrative, in which the apostles are depicted as the prophetic successors of Jesus, filled with the same Holy Spirit that he was, and working signs and wonders among the people. By making the diverse tongues intelligible to Jewish pilgrims from all over the Diaspora, furthermore, Luke indicates that the prophetic spirit is the fulfillment of the promises God made to Abraham, extended first to Abraham's descendants and only then to the nations of the earth (cf. 2:39).

Glossolalia functions as a sign of the Spirit in the two other Acts passages as well. Each time it marks a new stage in the mission. When the Spirit falls on the household of the gentile Cornelius, the Jewish Christians present at the scene can hear the tongues and conclude that the gentiles had received the same gift they had (10:45). Likewise when Paul lays hands on the former followers of John the Baptist in Ephesus, and they begin "to speak in tongues and prophesy" (19:6), it shows both that people in Asia have also received the Holy Spirit, and that this baptism in Jesus is greater than that of John's (19:2–3; cf. also Luke 3:16; Acts 1:5; 11:16).

In short, Acts treats glossolalia as a nonambiguous symbol of the Spirit's presence and a sign of the mission's success. Precisely the same function is suggested by Mark 16:17.

2. 1 Corinthians 12–14. Paul's attitude toward glossolalia is more complex. At least in part, this is due to the problems it caused in the Corinthian congregation. The elitist tendency of that church led some of them to regard all spiritual powers (*ta pneumatika*, 12:1) as a means of self-aggrandizement. Just as they used "knowledge" and "liberty" in ways careless of community identity (8:1–2; 10:23), so the spectacular gift of tongues seems to be claimed as a superior "sign of the Spirit." Indeed, some may have been claiming that only tongues truly certifies the presence of the Spirit: "tongues is a sign for believers" (cf. 1 Cor 14:22).

Paul typically finds as much common ground as possible between himself and those he must correct. But he broadens their perspective by placing all the gifts in the context of community service. Already in the letter's Thanksgiving he agrees that they have been "enriched with all speech and all knowledge" (1:5), but he also reminds them that this is a gift from God "in him" (i.e., Christ), and in "fellowship" with him, as well as the fact that their exercise of the gifts stands under God's eschatological judgment (1:7–9).

When he turns to an explicit discussion of spiritual gifts (1 Corinthians 12–14), he continues to adjust their perspective. He reminds his readers that there is a great difference between *ta pneumatika* (spiritual powers in general), and *ta charismata* (spiritual gifts from God). The

former are real enough but are also ambiguous: their pagan past should have taught them that ecstasy can lead to disastrous results (12:2). The gifts of the Holy Spirit, in contrast, lead to the confession, "Jesus is Lord" (12:3), and their use must be shaped according to the messianic pattern, that is, in service to the messianic community (12:4–11). Each part of the body works toward the common good rather than to the benefit of the individual member (12:7). Although he acknowledges "tongues" and the "interpretation of tongues" as gifts (12:10), therefore, he relativizes their importance by listing them last, after the more essential and "foundational" gifts which build up community identity (12:8–10), and by emphasizing that private experience is secondary to the good of the whole body (12:12–31).

In chap. 13, Paul relativizes tongues even further—as indeed, he does all the gifts—by asserting the supremacy of *agapē* as the most fundamental expression of God's Spirit. *Agapē* is defined in terms of service to others rather than in terms of individual gain. Using himself as an exemplar, Paul asserts that "the tongues of men and the angels" are meaningless without *agapē* (13:1). Tongues is a gift that will cease (13:8), and Paul clearly suggests that it is among the "childish" things that must be put aside if maturity is to be reached (13:11). He returns to this estimation in 14:20.

When Paul discusses the "higher gifts" which the community should pursue (12:31), tongues becomes the foil for the more important gift of prophecy, which Paul considers in every respect superior (14:5). Prophecy uses the mind, whereas tongues does not (14:14–15). It builds up the identity of the community, whereas tongues improves only the speaker (14:3–4). It is intelligible, and tongues is not (14:6–10). Paul sees tongues as an optional mode of prayer, but one which may need to be outgrown. Although he speaks them himself, he would gladly give them up for the sake of the edification of the community (14:18–19). He can leave the impulses of prophets to the prophets themselves, since they are under rational control (14:31–32). But tongues he restricts to its role as private prayer (14:13–16). The only time it can come to public expression is when it is followed by "interpretation" (14:27–28; cf. above). Tongues also escapes the discernment of the entire community, which Paul considers essential for the healthy working of the spiritual gifts (12:10; 14:29).

Paul's perception of glossolalia is best summarized in 14:20–25. He reverses the glossolalists' claim, by showing that tongues are not an unambiguous sign of belief: they can mean anything, can come from anywhere. If the assembly has glossolalia as its dominant form of expression, outsiders can legitimately conclude that this assembly is simply another cult like every other (14:23). Only if prophecy is active can they be brought to see that God is at work here (14:25). To make tongues more than an interesting variety of private prayer is to think like a child and not like an adult (14:20).

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TOPHEL (PLACE) [Heb *tōpel*]. One of the sites used to define the general locality where Moses expounded the law before the Israelites (Deut 1:1). This text indicates that Moses' speech was given in the "desert, east of the Jordan—that is, in the Arabah—opposite Suph, between Paran and Tophel, Laban, Hazeroth and Dizahab." Verse 5 further defines the place as "in the territory of Moab."

The precise location of Tophel is presently uncertain. Some have suggested that Tophel be identified with et-Tafileh (M.R. 208027; a village located on the road between Kerak and Petra), based on the similarity of sound. However, the Arab *t* does not correspond to the Heb *t* and the vowel patterns of the two names are different. Y. Aharoni *(LBHG,* 203) placed Tophel between Punon and Wadi Zered, but this location is S of the land of Moab.

RANDALL W. YOUNKER

TOPHETH (PLACE) [Heb *tōpet*]. A cult site in the vicinity of Jerusalem. The word *tōpet* occurs only in Biblical

Hebrew (and in rabbinic commentaries on the biblical passages). Its distribution is restricted to a single verse of 2 Kings (23:10) in a section recognized as the work of the Deuteronomistic Historian (DH), and to two formally similar sermonic oracles in the book of Jeremiah (7:31, 32 [2x]; 19:6, 11, 12, 13, 14). These portions of the book of Jeremiah show certain affinities with the language of DH (Carroll *Jeremiah* OTL, 38–50; Holladay *Jeremiah 1* Hermeneia, 264–70; 534–46; McKane *Jeremiah* ICC 1: 158–69; 178–80; 443–59; on the chronological proximity of Jeremiah and DH, see Freedman 1983).

The word appears to be the name of a place (Jer 7:32; 19:6), as indicated by the presence of the definite article in all but three instances, but its originality in the context is open to question. The word has no transparent etymology (older speculations are discussed by Salmond *HDB* 4: 799; more recent discussion is surveyed by Heider [1985: 347–49]. The word *tōpet* in Job 18:6 is a homonym meaning "spit"). The view that it is a loanword from Aramaic can be traced to W. R. Smith (1894: 357), and is still cited (e.g., Holladay, pp. 264–65; *ISBE* 4: 876). The vowels of *tōpet* are probably the result of alteration to make the word sound like *bōšet,* "shame" (and perhaps also the homonym meaning "spit"). The versions are inconsistent in their representations of the word: LXX, Aquila, Symmachus give *Taphēth;* Vulg *Thopheth.*

The *Onomasticon* of Eusebius, under the entry *Thapheth,* regards it as a place in the suburbs of Jerusalem lying along the fullers' pool and the field Akeldama. This would place it S of the city near the juncture of the valley of the son of Hinnom and the brook Kidron in the vicinity of En-rogel (M.R. 172130). See AKELDAMA; FULLER'S FIELD. This tradition is roughly consistent with the location of the Topheth implicit in Jeremiah's references to it, but the locational details of Jeremiah's prose sermons are themselves unsettled, so considerable uncertainty attends any attempt at more precise specification (see G. A. Smith 1907: 1.173–76 on the location of the valley of Hinnom; Heider 1985: 349–65 on the Topheth's location).

The Topheth in the valley of Hinnom was a site of rites that appear to have involved the burning of children as sacrifices, perhaps to a deity called MOLECH (2 Kgs 23:10; M. S. Smith 1990: 132–38). The reform of religion undertaken by Josiah included defilement of the Topheth (the text says nothing of human bones being used in this process, *contra* André *TDOT* 5: 340), but there is no mention of his having destroyed the installation (Holladay [p. 268] overstates this point). Two decades after the Josianic reform, Jeremiah contended against the cult of the Topheth as an ongoing institution. He envisions for the place not destruction but renaming, and corresponding use as a burial site (Jer 7:32; 19:6, 11). Its defilement will become an index of the defilement of the city of Jerusalem (19:13).

There is no physical description of the Topheth in the valley of Hinnom, but several inferences are possible. The construction of cultic installations called in Hebrew *bāmôt* (see HIGH PLACE) took place there (Jer 7:31). The reference to burning children implies a hearth, furnace, oven, or pyre in or upon which combustion was contained. A permanent or intermittently employed staff would have been necessary to carry out the tasks involved in the rites (as can be deduced from 2 Kgs 23:9).

The sole instance of the Hebrew noun *tāpteh* (Isa 30:33) is found in a depiction of a crematory. Exegetes have universally linked the word and the image with the Deuteronomist's Topheth (Heider 1985: 319–24). At the conclusion of a theophany of a fiery and wrathful Yahweh (Isa 30:27–30) is described an installation upon which the (Assyrian?) "king" is to be immolated. A large pile (Heb *mĕdurâ*) of wood is arranged for burning (RSV's "pyre" is overly specific; note the similar preparations for a pot in which Jerusalem is to be cooked [Ezek 24:8]). Many exegetes have inferred from the use of the verb *ʿāmōq* in the causative stem ("make deep") that the image includes an excavation to contain the fire; but the verb's implication of profundity need not mean literal depth: note the same verb used in Isa 31:6. The music of timbrels and lyres accompanies the ceremony (Isa 30:32), and the divine breath itself ignites the blaze.

The cult of Molech continued after the Babylonian Exile (Isa 57:9), but there is no indication whether the Topheth in the valley of Hinnom remained one of the sites (note the plural "valleys" in Isa 57:5) where ritual infanticide continued.

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TOPONYMS AND TOPONYMY.

In the OT, toponyms (place names) figure prominently: in many cases, they are "explained" (e.g., Gen 11:9; 16:14; 19:22; etc.). Although modern scholarship regards most of these explanations as spurious (so-called folk etymologies), the fact that they were often explained indicates that for the biblical writers place names conveyed meanings (or were expected to do so). From the 2d century A.D. onwards, Christian (and later Jewish) pilgrims came to the Holy Land with the purpose of establishing physical contact with the places of Sacred History, an act that presupposes the identification of contemporary places and their names with ancient ones. Place names, actually or supposedly thought to continue the tradition of biblical names, were and are the main (and frequently the only) source for site identifications. By the end of the 19th century, the religiously inspired interest in the Holy Land had led to the recording of Palestinian toponymy unparalleled in the Near East in its breadth and depth (Rainey 1978).

A. The Nature of Toponyms
B. The Study of Toponymy
   1. Synchronic Studies
   2. Diachronic Studies
C. Site Identification

A. The Nature of Toponyms

The semantic structures of toponyms seem to be a transcultural universal. Place names are usually transparent within the name-giving community, often reflecting physical aspects of the site and/or social, ideological, and religious attitudes of the name-giving culture (see B.1 below). But when transmitted beyond that culture (as frequently happens), the meanings of the names become lost. For example, "Styuk-zōn" meant "foot of the dark hill" to the Papago Indians, but its modern equivalent, "Tucson" (Arizona), is a name without an English etymology (Barnes 1988: 455). Thus, the existence of place names which cannot be interpreted by the language of their present inhabitants makes *historical* studies of toponymy feasible.

B. The Study of Toponymy

When place names are transmitted beyond their language of origin they are usually adapted *phonologically* to the phonetic system of the receiving language (e.g., Tucson; cf. also al-Iskandarîyah [< Alexandria] in Egypt), a fact that makes the reconstruction and interpretation of the original form often difficult and sometimes impossible.

Place names can also be adapted *morphologically* and *lexically* to the system of the new language, and thus be "reetymologized." In this case, their origin can only be traced when earlier forms of the name are extant: *Jbayl* means "little mountain" in Arabic; if we would not know for sure that it is derived from the name Gubla, attested as early as the 3d millennium B.C., the Arabic name would not tell us. Here, toponymical studies encounter all the problems of site-identification (see C below; we have to know that Jbayl is Gubla in order to explain "Jbayl" as the present equivalent of "Gubla"). Place names can also be adapted *semantically* (i.e., they can be "translated") into the receiving language (e.g., Heb "Dan" ["judge"] becomes Ar Tell el-Qāḍī ["the debris-heap of the Judge"]).

However, continuity and discontinuity of toponyms do not say very much about the continuity or discontinuity of population or settlement. It would be wrong to assume that Tucson still has a majority of Papago Indian inhabitants, just as it would be wrong to assume that all the citizens of St. Petersburg were slaughtered or removed when the place was renamed Leningrad. Widespread *politically motivated* renaming of sites has recently affected both banks of the Jordan river (Knauf 1991). Because toponyms do contain valuable historical, linguistic, and cultural information, the recording and cataloging of Near Eastern toponyms is still an urgent task (Thompson et al. 1988). The study of why, and when, names are (or are not) preserved is still in its infancy (Negev 1976).

1. Synchronic Studies. Place name corpora can be investigated for the features that governed name formation in order to arrive at conclusions concerning the social and ideological structure of the naming community and its environment (Borée 1968: 104–12; Wild 1973: 287–322). The most frequent features are the following:

a. Land Formation. Biblical Geba, Gibeah, Gibeon derive from Heb *geba*ᶜ, "hill"; biblical Shechem (Heb *šĕkem;* Canaanite **Tikmum*) means "shoulder," and Arabic Mughayyir means "small cave."

b. Flora. Biblical Gath-rimmon means "Wine Press of the Pomegranate Tree," Luz means "Almond Tree," Tamar means "Palm Tree," and Tappuah means "Apple Tree." In Arabic Umm er-Rummânah means "Mother (i.e., Site) of the Pomegranate Tree," while Fuqayqis means "Little Cucumbers." It can be assumed that tree names in now-barren regions attest to widespread deforestation in subsequent periods. Such names may attest to the previous distribution of a species beyond its present habitat (Kislev 1985). Place names like "Tres Alamos" ("three cottonwoods"; Kislev 1985: 451) or "Sycamore Creek" (p. 435) show that the ancient mechanisms of place-name formation are still operational even outside the Near East, and still provide information beyond the linguistic level (e.g., on the environment; Bailey 1984).

c. Fauna. Biblical Aijalon means "Deer Place," Beth-nimrah means "Pantherville," Hazar-shual means "Fox Hamlet," Laish (Heb *layiš*, Canaanite **Layṯ*) means "Lion," En-gedi means "Kid Spring," while Arabic Khanâzîr means "Pigs" and Qalᶜat aḍ-Ḍabᶜah means "Fortress of the Hyena." These names may also testify to species which are now extinct but which in antiquity roamed the vicinity of the sites (e.g., lions). However, animal names are more difficult to interpret with certainty than are plant names since animal names often form personal and tribal names as well. For example, the EB site of Numeirah ("Little Panther") may derive its name from the *Banu Numair* tribe which occupied the region in the Middle Ages. Also, Eglon ("Calve Place") may not be named after an abundance of cattle, but because the shape of the site reminded the name-givers of the form of a bull, or because the bull was the sacred animal of their god.

d. Land Usage. Biblical Abel (already in Canaanite) means "Meadow, Pasturage," Adamah means "Soil," Gath (also in Canaanite) means "Winepress," Geder/Gedor/Gederah (also Gadara, Gadora) means "Terrace Walls," Helkath means "Section/Strip of Land/Field," and Migdal Eder means "Tower of the Herds" (i.e., shepherds). In Arabic Zarrāᶜah and Mazraᶜah mean "Plantation," Marj ᶜAyūn means "Meadow of the Springs," and Tell el-Jurn means "Heap of Debris of the Threshing Floor."

e. Social and Political Status. Place names which structurally are personal and/or clan names (or contain such names) may either refer to the site's first settler(s), or to persons who made that place famous (or infamous). Such names include biblical Beth-Arbel, Migdal-Hanaiah, Bene-Berak, and Ataroth-Beth-Joab, as well as Arabic Abu Ghosh, Humud, and Shihabiyah. Socio-political status is expressed in biblical names such as Hazeroth, "Hamlet(s)"; Succoth, "Hut(s)"; Ataroth, "Corral(s)" (the plural morpheme in these cases may be a toponymic formative); Mahanaim, "Camp" (vs. Dannah, "Stronghold," and Migdol, "Tower, Fortress"); Zephat and Mizpah, "Vantage Point"; Kerioth (Moabite), "City"; and Rabbath-Bene-Ammon, "Metropolis of the Ammonites." Due to various different viewpoints, the transmission of a name may split along demographic fissures: for example, the Roman-Byzantine Rabbathmoba continued to be known locally as ar-Rabbah ("The Metropolis" [of the region]), hence its present name (M.R. 220075), whereas supraregionally (i.e., in classical Arabic literature) the place figures as Maᵓâb ("Moab"). In present-day Jordan scores of villages recently abandoned their inherited names in favor of such

names as Ḥusainīyah or Hâshemīyah, thereby expressing their loyalty to the ruling king (Hussein) and his (Hashemite) dynasty.

f. Religious Status. Biblical place names like Anathoth, Baalath-Judah, Ashtaroth, Bethel, Beth-Dagon, Beth-Horon, Baal-Hazor, Baal-Meon, Baal-Shalisha, Baal-Gad, Jericho ("Place of the Moon God"), Ir-Shemesh ("City of the Sun-God") reflect the name of the deity that was once worshipped in these settlements (Rosen 1988). In Arabic, saints substitute for the ancient gods: Tell el-Mazār (i.e., Mazār Abū ʿUbaida), "Tell of the Tomb (of Abū ʿUbaida)"; Khirbet Sheikh ʿĪsā, "The Ruin of St. Jesus"; Nebī Yūnis, "(Sanctuary of) the Prophet Jonah." Because at least some of the place names containing the names of gods and goddesses originated *after* the emergence of Israel, they are an important witness for the religious diversity within "Israelite" territory.

g. Historical Events. Place names containing personal names may refer to historical events, although it is very difficult to ascertain to what kind of event (if additional data are lacking). Also, to provide an "historical" explanation for a place name does not necessarily prejudice the historicity of the event that (at least in the mind of the name-giving community) was connected with the place. In addition, names from all categories may have an historical origin that is simply beyond reconstructing. For example, a Buena Vista in Illinois most probably commemorates the 1847 battle during the Mexican War, whereas the same name in New Mexico may only refer to the "beautiful scenery" of its environs. Biblical Meribah probably preserves the memory of a quarrel, but we will likely never know when and between whom it originally occurred.

2. Diachronic Studies. a. Semitic Names. The diachronical study of contemporary Near Eastern place names reveals three main Semitic linguistic strata: Canaanite, Aramaic, and Arabic (Wild 1973). In terms of toponymical studies, all the Palestinian place names which originated from the 3d millennium B.C. (or even earlier) to the first half of the 1st millennium B.C. are classified "Canaanite." For example, names ending in *-ôn* (in Arabic, *-ân* and *-ûn*) can generally be identified as "Canaanite," and can be shown to have originated between the 3d and the 1st millennium B.C. (Plotting the places with Canaanite names on a map, for example, helps to delineate the *hinterland* of the individual Phoenician coastal cities [Kuschke 1977]). Environmental conditions conducive to permanent settlement seem to produce a higher rate of toponymical survival than marginal areas (Negev 1976; Knauf 1991): places which have been settled continuously throughout the past 5,000 years are more likely to have preserved Canaanite names than places which were abandoned for several centuries and then resettled. In toponymical studies, "Canaanite" comprises all the pre-Aramaic Semitic languages of Syria and Palestine from Amorite through Ugaritic, Phoenician, and Hebrew. The fact that these languages—or rather stages in the development of the Semitic languages in Southern Syria—are not corroborated by a clear-cut toponymic stratigraphy within the ca. 2,000 years covered by their development indicates that we are dealing with a continuous process of linguistic change similar to the process which led from Old English to present Southern Coastal American English as spoken in Georgia and the Carolinas. Linguistically, no Semitic "newcomers" or "intruders" can be identified prior to the Assyrians.

A major linguistic break occurred only with the introduction of Aramaic as the official language in the middle of the 1st millennium B.C., and later with the introduction of Arabic (comparable to the introduction of Latin into the Roman province of Gallia which subsequently became the mother of modern French). Within the Arabic stratum, several substrata (Pre-Standard, Standard, and Post-Standard Arabic) can be distinguished (Isserlin 1986a; Knauf 1991).

b. Non-Semitic Names. Non-semitic place names are rare in S Syria and Palestine. Only a few names have survived from the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine periods. These tend to be the names of *newly founded* settlements which served as central places for considerable areas: e.g., modern Qêsâriyah (M.R. 140212) reflects "Caesarea" (Maritima); Nāblus (M.R. 175180) reflects Neapolis; Bânyâs (M.R. 215294) reflects Paneas. However, existing places that were simply *renamed* in the Hellenistic period, usually also retained their pre-Hellenistic names: e.g., ʿAkkâ reflects Ptolemais/Acco; ʿAmmān reflects Philadelphia/(Rabbath Bene) Ammon; and (Tabaqat) Faḥl reflects Pella/Piḥl. In many cases the "official" Greek name was not even widely used in the Hellenistic-Roman period; a Hellenized form of the Semitic name was used instead (e.g., Gadara, Gerasa). Here is a clear indication of the impact of Greek culture on the local population, or the lack thereof.

Some places continue to have names originating in Old French or Italian at the time of the Crusades: e.g., Laṭrûn (M.R. 148138) from La Toron ("The Tower") and Tell Sandaḥanna (M.R. 140111) from "St. Anna." Such names are generally not attested in Transjordan, an area where European immigrants did not settle; there are only Ifrinj (M.R. 148138), "Franks" (now Shihâbiyah, near Kerak) and Kufrinji (M.R. 217190), "Village of the Franks" (near ʿAjlūn). In both cases the name does not tell whether the Franks who settled there were prisoners of wars or landlords (regional history, however, can suggest answers to this question).

Future studies may compare the semantic categories of various strata, and arrive at further conclusions for the history of settlement (e.g., the shift from "tribe" to "state" and back again can be expected to have consequences for place-name giving). Such studies would, however, presuppose that we know more about the time when certain place-name types were productive. Important research towards this goal has been conducted by B. S. J. Isserlin (1956; 1986a and b; cf. also Knauf 1988), but much more needs to be done. Within the study of long-term processes in history, toponymical studies will become increasingly significant.

C. Site Identification

Because the study of Palestinian toponymy remains primarily concerned with the identification of biblical sites, the problems of site identification must be discussed briefly. Site identification tries to reconcile the traditional historical record, the present topography and toponymy of the Holy Land, and the archaeological evidence. When

it comes to site identification, the different interests of the scholar and the public are often irreconcilable: the average Bible reader wants as many entries as possible on the maps at the back of his/her Bible, while scholars want to distinguish between what they can know from what they can only guess (Miller 1983). Because both the historical record and the archaeological evidence are open to a broad spectrum of interpretations, site identifications are rarely agreed upon unanimously.

Toponymic evidence for a site identification operates on different levels. First, the current name of a site may be undeniably recent (e.g., Arabic); however, this does not preclude the possibility that the site itself is ancient, but simply requires the historian and the archaeologist to resolve its ancient identity. For example, Tell el-Muteselim, Arabic for "the lieutenant governor's heap of debris," is indisputably biblical Megiddo.

Second, the name of a site may appear to be recent, but may actually preserve an older form in modern guise. For example, Tell el-Qāḍī (M.R. 211294), which is perfectly understandable in modern Arabic ("the Judge's heap of debris"), actually is a translation of the site's previous name, biblical Dan. Similarly, Jbayl (34°07′N; 35°39′E), a perfectly correct Lebanese Arabic word ("little mountain"), is actually the Arabization of the site's name since the 3d millennium B.C., Gubla (Gk Byblos). In these cases the current place name supports the identification, but would not sustain it without additional evidence.

Third, the name of a site may appear to be archaic, but may well be more recent. For example, Rās er-Riḥāb (M.R. 208038) overlooking the Wādī el-Ḥasā is identified with Rehoboth ha-Nahar (Gen 36:37; RSV "Rehoboth on the Euphrates" [!]) by those scholars who assume that an Edomite culture already existed in the Early Iron Age. See REHOBOTH (PLACE). Admittedly, Heb *rĕḥôb* and Ar *riḥâb* are cognates. The name cannot sustain an identification, however, since there are even more Riḥābs (literally, "vastness") in the Arabic world than there were Rehoboths in the Canaanite Near East. The root *RḤB* produces meaningful place names in both cultures, and there is no guarantee that an Arabic *Riḥâb* (or compound thereof) actually derives from a Canaanite Reḥôb (or compound thereof).

Fourth, the ancient name of a site may not have been preserved; however, one can still reconstruct a plausible and logical sequence of names which are attested in sources from various periods for either the site or topographical features in its immediate vicinity. The likelihood that such a sequence actually links the lost ancient name with a name recorded in the last or the present centuries depends, however, on the topographical precision and pertinence of the various sources which are involved. For example, one can work backward from *Khân az-Zayt* to *Âbil az-Zayt* to Abela to Abel Keramim (Judg 11:33) to *Karamên* (see also ABEL-KERAMIM), or from ar-Rabbah and Ma'âb to Rabbathmôbâ to Kir Moab (Isa 16:1).

Fifth, a site may actually preserve its ancient name (i.e., a name which has no recent etymology), or the ancient name of the site may be preserved in the name of a nearby spring, field, rock, wadi, or mountain. In this case, the identification can be established on the basis of the name itself. A good example is modern Ḥisbān (M.R. 226134), which indisputably is the site of ancient Heshbon (Knauf 1990). (How the historical record on Heshbon is to be reconciled with the archaeological results from Tell Ḥisbān is another problem altogether.) See HESHBON.

Sixth, and most interesting, however, is the case where the name of a site is undoubtedly old but does not occur in ancient sources. For example, modern Kathrabbā (M.R. 293060) presupposes an Aramaic **Kfar rabbā* ("big village"; cf. Gk Megalokome), but this is nowhere attested in antiquity.

As demonstrated by the last example, toponymical studies have the potential of contributing to our knowledge of the past beyond site identification insofar as they may add ancient places to historical maps which are not mentioned in any written source. Toponymy may even suggest a site identification in cases where the biblical name has already been lost in antiquity. For example, Jinṣāfūṭ (M.R. 162176) is a modern place name reflecting a Canaanite/Hebrew **gan [ha-]šōpēṭ* ("Garden of the Judge"). Because the place is situated within the settlement area of the Manassite clan Abiezer, it is a candidate—hitherto unrecognized—for Gideon's Ophrah (Knauf fc.). Given the problems concerning each of the three parameters that constitute a site identification (history, archaeology, and toponymy), there will always be a high number of Iron Age sites known from archaeology without a biblical identification, and many sites known from the Bible that cannot be located on the map.

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TORAH (PENTATEUCH). The Torah is the section of the Bible composed of the first five books: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. The name Torah derives from Hebrew *tôrâ*, meaning "instruction." The work is also known as the Pentateuch, from Greek *pentateuchos*, meaning a five-book work, and as the Five Books of Moses. It is also known in traditional Jewish circles by the Hebrew name *ḥumaš*, which likewise is a form of the number five. It combines prose, poetry, and law in a chronological narrative spanning thousands of years. With the exception of a few words, it is written entirely in Hebrew. It holds a special place in relation to the other biblical books in that, first, the events it narrates are central to and assumed by most of the other books, and, second, many of these other books refer to it (e.g., Ezra 8:1–3) or allude to passages in it (e.g., Jonah 4:2). The Torah also has a special status in subsequent religious tradition, both because of the significance of the events narrated and because it contains the body of law that became normative in Judaism. Its singular place has continued in modern biblical scholarship as well in that the questions that were raised concerning its history and authorship played a foundational role historically in the development of the field (see below).

A. Contents and Structure
1. Overview
2. Primeval History
3. Patriarchs
4. Liberation from Egypt
5. Sinai/Horeb
6. Journey
7. Moses' Farewell
B. Literary History
1. Doublets
2. Terminology
3. Contradictions
4. Consistent Characteristics of Each Group of Texts
5. Narrative Flow
6. Historical Referents
7. Linguistic Classification
8. Identifiable Relationships Among Sources
9. References in Other Biblical Books
10. Marks of Editorial Work
C. Views of Authorship
D. Literary Qualities
E. Historical Qualities
F. Theological Qualities
G. Conclusion

A. Contents and Structure

1. Overview. The Torah narrative moves from the creation of the universe to the establishment of the people of Israel as a free nation about to enter the land promised to its ancestors. It begins with an account of the relations between the God Yahweh and the human community in the world that he has created. It gradually narrows its focus to a particular family, the family of the patriarch Abraham and his descendants. It then broadens its scope once more as the family grows into a nation, Israel, and is subjugated by Egypt. The narrative then recounts Yahweh's making himself known in the world by means of his liberating Israel from Egyptian bondage through miraculous acts that demonstrate his control of the forces of nature. Yahweh then makes an extraordinary revelation to the people of Israel and an even more intimate revelation to their leader, Moses, at Mount Sinai, also known as Horeb or the mountain of God. The deity makes a covenant with Israel and gives them a corpus of law. The narrative then recounts the events of their journey to the land that the deity had promised to Abraham. It culminates with their arrival at its border, concluding with Moses' farewell to the people and his death on a mountain overlooking the promised land.

The Pentateuch thus has six major parts:

1. The primeval history	Genesis 1–11
2. The patriarchs	Genesis 12–50
3. The liberation from Egypt	Exodus 1:1–15:21 (interim: 15:22–16:36)
4. The stay at Sinai/Horeb	Exodus 17–40; Leviticus
5. The journey	Numbers
6. Moses' farewell	Deuteronomy

There is some variation in the ways in which scholars conceive these groupings into major parts; e.g., some see Numbers 1–10 as belonging to the Sinai/Horeb section since it describes preparations for the journey that still take place at Mount Sinai, and some connect Exodus 16–18 to the Egypt section since it is regarded as preceding the arrival at Sinai. Exodus 15:22–16:36 is identified as interim here because it fits neither the Egypt nor the Sinai section but rather depicts events that occur on the journey between the two settings. Exodus 17–18 is ascribed to the Sinai/Horeb section because its episodes contain explicit reports of events taking place in the region of Horeb and at the mountain of God (17:6; 18:5). These differences of scholars' conceptions of the narrative are minor, though, and the major units of the work are essentially clear and widely recognized.

2. Primeval History. The units and their contents are presented in a chronological flow of events through time. The ANE literary environment in which they were composed was characterized by myth, which has no such linear characterizations of progressions of events through generations. The Torah thus contains some of the world's first-known history writing. In the first part, the primeval history, it pictures the deity's creation of the universe,

climaxing with the creation of humans, and culminating with the deity's ceasing work and resting, seeing that the creation is "very good." The narrative proceeds to track the development of the relationship between God and the humans, a relationship that involves conflict practically from beginning to end. In the story of the Garden of Eden, the first two humans acquire for their species the ability to make their own judgments of good and evil, but at the price of work, pain, a hostile environment, and death. In the story of Cain and Abel, the second generation of humans seemingly compete for divine favor, climaxing in hostility between them and the introduction of murder into the world. During the course of the flow of generations, human women are united with beings identified as the sons of God (*bĕnê 'ĕlōhîm*, the meaning of which is uncertain) and give birth to mighty offspring. Whereas the deity originally had seen that the creation was very good, now "Yahweh saw that human bad was great in the earth" (Gen 6:5). The flood story therefore follows, in which the deity wipes out life on earth, which has become corrupt, and he starts anew to repopulate it from the seed of an exceptionally righteous man, Noah. This story culminates in the account of the Noahic covenant, the first of three covenants that provide the structure in which the Pentateuchal history is housed. The Noahic covenant guarantees the preservation of the earth from recurrence of the flood, which does not mean mere rain but a cosmic crisis in which the structure of the universe is threatened by the breaking of the "fountains of the great deep" and the opening of the "windows of the heavens." The covenant sign is the rainbow.

The stories that follow indicate that there continues to be conflict in the earth despite the universal descent from a righteous man. First there is the enigmatic account of a conflict between Noah and one of his sons, Ham. This is followed by the story of the tower of Babel, culminating in the dispersion of humans throughout the earth and their separation from one another by the development of languages. The primeval history thus sets the world stage for the story to come, depicting etiologically the state of the world and how it came to be the way it is. This first section also sets the historical narrative in a cosmic mooring, picturing the divine power to create and act upon the heavens and earth, and this power then looms behind the scenes of the narrative that follows and occasionally bursts through onto the scene of history.

3. Patriarchs. Against this broad and powerful background the second section, the patriarchs, brings a striking narrowing of focus. The deity takes an interest in a particular man, Abraham, with no reasons given for this choice. Abraham is pictured as living in the period now known as the Middle Bronze Age. The deity commands Abraham to migrate from Mesopotamia to Canaan, tests him, takes an interest in the affairs and persons of Abraham's household, and makes promises and a covenant with him. The promises include immediate offspring and ultimately that nations and kings will be descended from him. In the Abrahamic covenant, the deity further promises (1) that the land in which Abraham resides will belong to him and his descendants, and (2) that Yahweh will be his and his descendants' God. The covenant sign is circumcision. In the story of Abraham's near sacrifice of his son Isaac and in the story of Abraham's dialogue with the deity over the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah, the complexity and conflict in the divine-human relationship is further and more subtly developed.

The patriarchal stories are disproportionately concerned with Abraham and with his grandson Jacob/Israel. Between these two is a briefer treatment of Abraham's son Isaac. In the best known stories of Isaac, he is largely passive, acted upon by his father Abraham or his son Jacob. Isaac is nonetheless important as the link in the developing chain of tradition, as the bearer of the covenant promise, which the deity renews with him. He is also important as a figure in his own right, different from his father and his son in that he never fights, never leaves the land of the covenant, and has only one wife—characteristics which, together with his passive position, are perhaps to be tied to the fact that he had once lain upon the altar as a sacrifice to God.

The covenant promises are renewed in Jacob through a chain of stories of deception, sibling rivalry, jealousies, and romantic and sexual encounters. The stories move from Canaan toward Mesopotamia and back, then to Egypt. Jacob supplants his twin brother Esau/Edom for preeminent status, marries two sisters, takes their two maids as his concubines, fathers twelve sons and a daughter, loses his favorite son Joseph due to the enmity of his other sons, and in the end is reunited with Joseph together with all the rest of his family in Egypt, where he dies. The patriarchal stories thus conclude with the family residing away from its land, but in possession of a covenant promising them nationhood, a land, and a relationship with the deity.

The primary themes of the patriarchal section then are the continuity of the Abrahamic line, the birthright in each of the generations of that line, and the covenant and its promises. These themes are developed through a series of stories of relations among the family members, layered with stories of the family's encounters with foreigners. The stories can be read individually or as a meaningfully connected, continuous account, reflecting these common themes and further united by connected chains of events, recurring terms, allusions, and ironies.

4. Liberation from Egypt. With the account of the liberation and exodus from Egypt, the narrative focus broadens again and becomes the story of a nation and its conflict with another nation. The family of Jacob/Israel that has migrated to Egypt at the end of Genesis has grown into a people, the children of Israel, at the beginning of Exodus. This broadening of the account into being the story of the nation, though, is intimately bound to the account's becoming at the same time the story of an individual man, Moses. Both of these narrative lines, further, are bound to a central and pervasive element of the narrative, the knowledge of God. The three foci—the deity, the nation, the man—are embroidered together in a complex and powerful dynamic in the text. Moses is the Israelite whose destiny is distinguished from that of his enslaved brothers and sisters by a quickly recounted sequence of events at his birth and early manhood: born a slave, raised in the royal house of Egypt, forced to flee after killing an Egyptian in defense of an Israelite, settled as a shepherd in Midian. His encounter with his father's God at the burning bush leads him reluctantly back to

Egypt to free his people. Wielding enormous power over the natural realm, Moses announces or initiates each of the ten plagues and the parting of the Red Sea by which the deity overwhelms the Egyptians and frees Israel. By the end of this section and in the interim accounts of events prior to reaching Sinai, Moses finds himself the leader of a frightened, unhappy, rebellious community of former slaves who have not yet learned to think and act as a free people. They direct their complaints at him rather than at the deity who is in fact responsible for their liberation and their continuing survival. The deity meanwhile is acting not only to liberate these descendants of Abraham but also to make himself known in the world. He reveals his personal name, Yahweh, to a human, Moses, for the first time. He plans to free Israel and make them his people, and then they "will know that I, Yahweh, am your God" (6:7). By his acts in Egypt he enters the stage of world history in ways that are empirically observable by all, even "hardening the heart" of the Pharaoh so as to multiply the plagues that demonstrate that Yahweh controls the forces of nature. He states explicitly to Pharaoh, "Indeed, it was for this purpose that I established you, and for the purpose of showing you my power, and in order to tell my name in all the earth" (9:16). And in the wake of the miraculous liberation, Moses' father-in-law Jethro/Reuel, a Midianite priest, acknowledges, "Now I know that Yahweh is greater than all the gods" (18:11).

5. Sinai/Horeb. This fundamental theme of Yahweh's becoming known continues into the next section, the largest unit of the Torah: the stay at Sinai/Horeb. In the greatest theophany of the Bible, Yahweh speaks aloud to all of the people at Sinai (Exodus 19–20). Then seventy-four persons envision him on the mountain (24:9–11). Then Moses experiences the ultimate revelation of God of the entire Hebrew Bible, seeing the form of Yahweh himself (33:18–23). The ark, the tabernacle, the priesthood, and the sabbath are all associated with knowledge of Yahweh in this section: the book of Exodus culminates in the tabernacle's consecration (Exodus 40), and Exodus notes explicitly that the function of the tabernacle is: "I shall be *known* there to the children of Israel . . ." (29:43). With regard to the most sacred object, the ark containing the tablets of the Decalog, Exodus notes explicitly: "I shall be known to you there . . ." (25:22). There are chapters of details concerning the establishment of the priesthood and its accoutrements, and the text includes the explicit statement that the function of the priesthood and the tabernacle is: "And they will know that I, Yahweh, am their God . . ." (29:46). The text also specifies that the function of the sabbath is: "It is a sign between me and you for your generations, to know that I, Yahweh, sanctify you" (31:13).

This section of the Five Books of Moses also develops further the three-way dynamic of the deity, the nation, and Moses. It reaches perhaps its quintessential expression in the episode of the golden calf, in which Moses pleads with the deity not to destroy the rebellious people, in response to which the deity mercifully forgives them, but then Moses descends the mountain and unleashes his own anger at them. That is, Moses represents the people when he speaks to God, and he represents God when he speaks to the people. This dramatizes the role of the prophet, a role that begins with this man in this generation in the biblical presentation of history. Others communicate with the deity prior to Moses, but Moses is the first to fulfil the formal prophetic role of receiving the divine messages and carrying them to the community.

Another formal role established in this section is that of the priest. The priesthood is bestowed upon Aaron, Moses' Levite brother, and upon his male descendants after him. This bestowal is commanded in Exodus and inaugurated in the only lengthy narrative in Leviticus (8–10).

The Sinai section introduces the third major covenant of the Torah, called the Sinai or Mosaic or Israelite covenant, the text of which is the Decalog. Unlike the Noahic and Abrahamic covenants, it is not a reward for the past loyalty of the patriarch of a line, but rather is based on the past act of the deity: "who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage." It therefore requires future actions from the human parties of the covenant, viz they are bound to observe the commandments thereof. In return, Yahweh promises well-being in the land. The covenant sign is the sabbath.

The Sinai section includes the corpus of law in Exodus 21–23, known as the Covenant Code, as well as the full book of Leviticus which is almost entirely concerned with law. Like the Decalog, the laws are divided between those that relate to the ethical realm and those that relate to ritual. Ritual laws are those that are concerned with relations between humans and God, such as the first four of the Ten Commandments and the laws concerning priests, purity, sacrifice, holidays, dietary laws, and apostasy. Laws of ethics are those that are concerned with relations between humans, such as the latter six commandments; economic laws; laws of sexual relations; rules of courts and justice, injuries, treatment of slaves; and sundry other statutes that do not readily fall into broad categories (e.g., laws against injuring the blind or deaf, or making one's daughter a prostitute). The law is divided between apodictic law ("Thou shalt . . . , Thou shalt not . . .") and casuistic law ("If a man does X, then he shall . . ."). Most of the laws are given without specific reasons or justifications, though one can often deduce the values they reflect. Pervading much of the ritual law is a concept of distinction: between pure and impure, holy and secular, permitted and forbidden (Lev 10:10). Pervading much of the ethical law is a concept of empathy for one's fellow humans and equal treatment before the law. Underlying all of the law is the concept of covenant. Covenant binds the legal and narrative texts together. The laws are pictured as given by Yahweh to Israel in the context of a covenant between them, established in light of past events and with implications for the future. That is, in the Torah, law is never understood apart from history; and indeed no Israelite law code has survived outside of the context of an historical account.

6. Journey. The historical account continues in the fifth section, the journey from Sinai/Horeb to the promised land. Though generally regarded in scholarship as a series of heterogeneous episodes, this narrative, comprising all of the book of Numbers, is unified and flows in a meaningful chronological progression. It begins with ten chapters of preparations for the journey, including a census and matters having to do with purity. (The purity of the camp, where the divine presence is at hand, is a major concern

for the journey.) It then recounts the people's setting out on the journey and their initial complaints as they face hardships with regard to food and water. Miraculous solutions are provided by Yahweh, but Moses passionately declares his inability to bear the burden of the entire nation alone (11:11–15). His prophetic gift is therefore extended to others, but in the next episode Aaron and his sister Miriam criticize Moses, saying, "Has Yahweh spoken only just through Moses? Has he not also spoken through us?" (12:2). Yahweh rejects their claim as Miriam is left leprous, and Yahweh confirms explicitly that Moses does in fact have a singular prophetic status, being the only human to see the divine form. Moses' singular status then figures integrally in the next episode, the story of the spies (Numbers 13–14), in which the people reject the opportunity to enter the promised land because of their fear of the might of the residents. They seek to replace Moses with a new leader and return to Egypt. Yahweh says that he will destroy them and start a new people once more, a people descended from Moses. Moses dissuades the deity by citing, among other arguments, Yahweh's own declaration of his mercy on the occasion that Moses saw the divine form. The resulting modification in the divine judgment comes to explain why the Israelites spend forty years in the wilderness when the journey should have taken less than two: the generation that has rejected the land is to die in the wilderness, and their children are to live to take possession of the land.

The following chapter, a legal corpus, includes the reminder to the people that "You shall be holy to your God" (15:40); and the next episode brings together all of these matters: Moses' status, the people's holiness, and the condemnation that they will not live to possess the land. Korah, Dathan, and Abiram accuse Moses (and Aaron) of failing to bring them to the land (16:14) and of raising himself above the people (16:3, 13) when "all of the congregation, all of them, are holy" (16:3). Yahweh rejects these claims with fire and earthquake, and he confirms the singular religious status of the Levites in general and of Aaron in particular by causing Aaron's rod to blossom. He commands that the rod be saved in the tabernacle "as a sign to rebels" (17:25), and in the next episode, the rebellion at Meribah, Moses takes the rod "from before Yahweh" (20:9) and strikes the water-yielding rock with it. This misuse of Aaron's rod figures along with the other components of Moses' offense to result in Moses' own condemnation to die without seeing the land, and it implicates Aaron, who shares Moses' fate.

Another consequence of the condemnation to a forty-year journey is a roundabout route through the wilderness and then through the territories to the E of the Jordan river. This results in a series of confrontations with the Edomites, whom Israel avoids; with the Amorites, whom Israel defeats and dispossesses; with the Moabites, who fail in their attempt to curse Israel through Balaam; and the Midianites, whom Israel defeats. The confrontations with the Moabites and Midianites also include the heresy at Baal Peor (Numbers 28). This and the matter of Moses' bronze snake (21:4–9) continue the themes of rebellion and of Moses' status as the people finally acknowledge that they are rebelling not only against the human leader whom they can see but against the deity as well (21:5, 7). The book concludes with a list of the stations of the journey, with a new census, confirming that everyone in the older generation has died, with additional law, and with accounts relating to the distribution of the land that they are now approaching.

This section of the Torah is thus a unified narrative, recounting a meaningful progression of events, and depicting the incubation and preparation of the people before becoming a free nation in the land promised to their patriarchs, while also depicting the developing relations between the people and Yahweh. The period of the journey, also frequently called the wilderness period, is thus pictured as an age of rebellion and disasters, but at the same time it is pictured as an ideal age of incubation and closeness to God, the only age in which miracle is a daily fact of life (the column of cloud and fire; the feeding of manna and quail).

7. Moses' Farewell. The final section, Moses' farewell, constitutes the entire book of Deuteronomy. The book pictures Moses making a lengthy speech to the people in the plains of Moab, E of the Jordan river. He gives a history of his and the people's experience together since leaving Egypt. He admonishes them for their past failings, and he encourages them to fulfill their covenant with Yahweh and thus be successful in their new land. He gives them an additional corpus of laws (Deuteronomy 12–26), and additional blessings and curses for respectively keeping or violating the covenant. He writes "this *tôrâ*" in a book and gives it to the Levites to keep beside the ark and periodically to read publicly. He then formally designates Joshua as his successor, and he leaves Israel with two songs, concluding with a blessing: "Happy are you, Israel. Who is like you, a people redeemed by God?" (33:29). He climbs a mountain alone, from which he sees the land of the promise, and he dies.

The concluding section of the Torah thus merges prose, poetry, and law. It summarizes the events of the preceding sections, recapitulates and emphasizes major themes, especially covenant, and builds upon the body of law. It is thus an effective conclusion to the full Pentateuch. The work thus ends with an optimistic view toward the people's imminent return to the land of their ancestors and the fulfilment of the Abrahamic and Israelite (Mosaic/Sinai) covenants.

As the Torah can be viewed via its sections, it can also be reasonably analyzed and appreciated according to the traditional division into five books. The theme of knowledge of God, for example, pervades the book of Exodus, thus crossing two sections (the liberation from Egypt and the stay at Sinai). It hardly figures explicitly at all in the book of Leviticus (which continues the Sinai section), however, and so in this case division by books is more suitable than by sections. The two points of view are not alternative to one another in any case, but can be pursued compatibly—reflecting the depth of the material thus analyzed.

B. Literary History

The Torah was composed by a number of authors. The originally separate works of these authors were combined in a series of editorial steps into a continuous, united work. The full process of composition and editing, from the earliest passage in the Pentateuch to the completion of the

work, took approximately six centuries (11th to 5th century B.C.).

The primary evidence for multiple authorship and for identification of the respective component works of the Torah is the convergence of several large categories of data. They are:

1. Doublets. Doublets are cases of two variations of the same story occurring in the Pentateuch. The possibility of such an occurrence in a single-author work exists, but the number of doublets in the Pentateuch is so large as to be an indicator of a more complex history of composition. These doublets include:

1. Creation. An account of a seven-day creation in Gen 1:1–2:3 is followed by a different version of how the creation took place in Gen 2:4b–25. The two versions duplicate each other on some facts (e.g., the creation of plants, animals, and humans) but contradict each other on other facts (see B.3 below).
2. Genealogy from Adam. Gen 4:17–26 and 5:1–28, 30–32 (parallels of names in the Seth and Cain genealogies, including Cain/Cainan, Enoch, Irad/Jered, Methushael/Methuselah, Lamech).
3. The flood. Two complete versions of the flood story are intertwined. The first is in Gen 6:5–8; 7:1–5, 7, 10, 12, 16b–20, 22–23; 8:2b–3a, 6, 8–12, 13b, 20–22. The second is in 6:9–22; 7:8–9, 11, 13–16a, 21, 24; 8:1–2a, 3b–5, 7, 13a, 14–19; 9:1–17.
4. Genealogy from Shem. Gen 10:21–31 and 11:10–26.
5. Abraham's migration. Gen 12:1–4a and 12:4b–5.
6. Wife/sister. In two separate stories Abraham identifies his wife Sarah as his sister, a foreign king takes her (Pharaoh in one version; Abimelech in another), the deception becomes known, the king confronts Abraham, Sarah is returned, Abraham is rewarded materially: Gen 12:10–20 and 20:1–18. In a third version a similar scenario is pictured with Isaac, Rebekah, and Abimelech: 26:6–11–14. (This is termed a triplet.)
7. Abraham and Lot part company. Gen 13:5, 7–11a, 12b–14; 13:6, 11b–12a.
8. The Abrahamic covenant. Genesis 15 and 17.
9. Hagar and Ishmael. (Triplet) Gen 16:1–2, 4–14; 16:3, 15–16; 21:8–19.
10. Prophecy of birth of Isaac. Gen 17:16–19; 18:10–14.
11. Naming of Beer Sheba. Gen 21:22–31; 26:15–33.
12. Jacob, Esau, and the departure to the east. Gen 27:1–45; 28:10 and 26:34–35; 27:46; 28:1–9.
13. Jacob at Beth-El. (Triplet) Gen 28:10, 11a, 13–16, 19 and 28:11b–12, 17–18, 20–22 and 35:9–15.
14. Jacob's name changed to Israel. Gen 32:25–33; 35:9–10.
15. Joseph sold into Egypt. Gen 37:2b, 3b, 5–11, 19–20, 23, 25b–27, 28b, 31–35; 39:1 and 37:3a, 4, 12–18, 21–22, 24, 25a, 28a, 29–30.
16. Yahweh summons Moses. (Triplet) Exod 3:2–4a, 5, 7–8 and 3:1, 4b, 6, 9–15 and 6:2–12.
17. Moses and Pharaoh. Exod 5:1–6:1; 7:14–18, 20b–21a, 23–29; 8:3b–11a, 16–28; 9:1–7, 13–34; 10:1–19, 21–26, 28–29; 11:1–9 and 7:10–13, 19–20a, 22b; 8:1–3a, 12–15; 9:8–12.
18. The Red Sea. Exod 13:21–22; 14:5a, 6, 9a, 10b, 13–14, 19b, 20b, 21b, 24, 27b, 30–31 and 14:1–4, 8, 9b, 10a, 10c, 15–18, 21a, 21c, 22–23, 26–27a, 28–29.
19. Manna and quail in the wilderness. Exod 16:2–3, 6–35a; Num 11:4–34.
20. Water from a rock at Meribah. Exod 17:2–7; Num 20:2–13.
21. Theophany at Sinai/Horeb. (Triplet) Exod 19:1–2a; 24:15b–18a and 19:2b–9, 16b–17, 19; 20:18–21 and 19:10–16a, 18, 20–25.
22. The Decalog. (Triplet) Exod 20:1–17 and 34:10–28 and Deut 5:6–18.
23. The spies. Num 13:1–16, 21, 25–26, 32; 14:1a, 2–3, 5–10, 26–29 and 13:17–20, 22–24, 27–31, 33; 14:1b, 4, 11–25, 39–45.
24. Heresy at Peor. Num 25:1–5 and 25:6–19.
25. Appointment of Joshua. Num 27:12–23; Deut 31:14–15, 23.
26. Centralization of sacrifice. Leviticus 17 and Deuteronomy 12.
27. Forbidden animals. Leviticus 11 and Deuteronomy 14.

2. Terminology. Different passages in the Torah reflect different terminology, including proper names. Some passages use a particular name for the deity, for example, while other passages use another name. Some use a particular name for a person in the story while others use a different name for the same person. This is of interest in itself, but, most importantly, *these differences of terminology fall consistently into one or another group of the doublets.* That is, when there is a doublet of a story, one of the two versions uses one set of names and terms, and the other version uses a different set. The doublets then line up into consistent groups of stories, each with its own characteristic language. For example, in the doublet of the creation account, one of the versions (Gen 1:1–2:3) consistently identifies the deity as "God" (thirty-five times); and the other version consistently identifies the deity as "Yahweh God" (eleven times). Then in the doublet of the flood account, one version likewise consistently says "God," and the other consistently says "Yahweh." When we divide the full text of the Pentateuch along these lines of consistent language, we find that virtually all of the doublets divide along these lines into one group or another. Thus the two bodies of evidence converge to point toward a common explanation.

As collected and refined during the last two centuries of scholarship, these divisions of the text have come to be identified. There are four major divisions and some smaller passages joined to them. The four major texts are classified as follows: **J** (Jahwistic), a group of passages so named because they consistently identify the deity *in narration* (not in dialogue) as Yahweh (the siglum J following the German spelling); **E** (Elohistic), a group of passages that identify the deity only as God (Hebrew *'ĕlōhîm* or *ēl*) until the time of Moses, at which time the name Yahweh is revealed (Exod 3:13–15) and is used in this group thereafter; **P** (Priestly), a group that also identifies the deity as

El or Elohim until the name Yahweh is revealed (Exod 6:2–3), the siglum P reflecting its exceptional interest in priestly matters; **D** (Deuteronomic), comprising nearly all of the book of Deuteronomy, whose bank of terminology is blatantly different from the other three divisions. See also ELOHIST ("E") SOURCE; PRIESTLY ("P") SOURCE; YAHWIST ("J") SOURCE; DEUTERONOMY, BOOK OF. The cases of characteristic terms and names that can be disproportionately or even unexceptionally identified with a particular division include:

1. The names of the deity. Though periodically challenged in scholarship, this remains a strong indication of authorship. J excludes the word "God" in narration, with perhaps one or two exceptions out of all the occurrences in the Pentateuch; P maintains its distinction of the divine names with one possible exception in hundreds of occurrences; E maintains the distinction with two possible exceptions. (The LXX and Samaritan Pentateuch have minimal differences from the MT in divine names and have been shown by Skinner to confirm these authorial identifications.)
2. Sinai is the name of the mountain where the theophany and covenant occur in J and P. Horeb and "the Mountain of God" are the terms used in E and D.
3. The expression "the place where Yahweh sets his name" or "the place where Yahweh causes his name to dwell" or "the place where Yahweh causes his name to be mentioned" occurs in D and E, never in J or P.
4. *gwʿ*—to die—eleven occurrences in the Torah, all in P.
5. *ngp*—plague—fifteen occurrences in the Torah, fourteen of them in P.
6. *ʿēdâ*—congregation—over one hundred occurrences, all in P.
7. *nāśîʾ*—tribal leader—one occurrence in J, one in E; but sixty-seven in P.
8. *rkš*—property—all occurrences except those in Genesis 14 (an independent text, not identified with J, E, P, or D) are in P. (Gen 15:14 = R; see below.)
9. *lwn*—to complain (also in nominal form, *tĕlûnôt*)—twenty-two of twenty-three occurrences are in P.
10. *ʾmh*—cubit—two occurrences in D, one in E, but fifty-six in P.
11. *škb*—to lie with—of thirteen occurrences of this term as a euphemism for sex, eleven are in J. (The other two are in a single case in E—Gen 30:15–16.)
12. *ʿṣb*—to be sad—seven occurrences, all in J.
13. The expression "gathered unto his people" as a euphemism for death is characteristic of P (all of eleven occurrences).
14. The expression "fire went out from before Yahweh" is characteristic of P.
15. The expression "and he [or they] fell on his face" is characteristic of P.
16. The expression "be fruitful and multiply" is characteristic of P.
17. The phrase *kĕbōd yhwh*—Yahweh's glory—occurs thirteen times, twelve of which are in P.
18. In the plagues narrative in Exodus, the hardening of Pharaoh's heart is consistently expressed by the term *ḥzq* (or *qšh*) in P but by the term *kbd* in E.
19. In the plagues narrative, *tannîn* is the term used in P and *naḥaš* in E for the snake before Pharaoh.
20. The word prophet is foreign to P. The single occurrence (Exod 7:1) uses the term figuratively.
21. The expression "with all your heart and with all your soul" is characteristic of D (all of nine occurrences in the Torah).
22. The expression "lengthen your days in the land" is characteristic of D (eleven of twelve occurrences).
23. The expressions "to go after other gods" or "to turn to other gods" or "to worship other gods" are characteristic of D (all of thirteen occurrences).
24. The expression *šmʿ bqwl yhwh*—"listen to the voice of Yahweh" is characteristic of D (all of twelve occurrences).

The number of cases of characteristic language beyond this sampling is substantial. Driver (1891: 131–35) listed fifty examples of language characteristic of P. Weinfeld (1972: 320–65) provides an extensive list of language characteristic of D and other works of Deuteronomistic literature.

3. Contradictions. Numerous contradictions appear in the text of the Torah which are explained by the fact that they are the result of the combination of the originally independent groups of stories. *The contradictions fall along the same lines identified by doublets and terminology.* They include:

1. The order of creation in the P account is plants, then animals, then man and woman; but in the J creation account the order is man, then plants, then animals, then woman.
2. The number of animals taken on the ark in the flood account is seven pairs of clean and one pair of unclean animals in Gen 7:2, 3 (J); but it is only two of each in 6:19; 7:8, 9, 15 (P).
3. The deity limits the lifespan of humans to 120 years in Gen 6:3 (J); but many persons are reported thereafter to have lived longer than this (9:29; 11:10–23, 32 [P]). (In J only Moses lives to the full age of 120; Deut 34:7.)
4. Abraham's homeland. Abraham moves from Ur to Haran, and from Haran to Canaan (P). When Abraham is already in *Haran*, the deity tells him to "Leave your land and your birthplace . . ." but Abraham has already left his land and birthplace, viz. Ur. Also, Abraham later sends his servant "to my land and my birthplace" to get Isaac a wife (24:4), and the servant goes to *Haran*. (See also 15:7, referring to Abraham's coming from Ur.)
5. Benjamin's birthplace is Bethlehem in Gen 35:16–19 (E), but it is Paddan Aram in 35:23–26 (P).
6. The sale of Joseph. Joseph's brothers plan to kill him, Reuben persuades them not to do this, they cast him into a pit, Reuben plans to save him, but

Midianites take him from the pit and sell him as a slave in Egypt (E). But, at the same time, it is reported that the brothers plan to kill him, *Judah* persuades them not to, and they sell him to *Ishmaelites,* who sell him as a slave in Egypt (J). (See B.5 below.)

7. Moses' father-in-law is the priest of Midian Jethro in Exod 3:1, 18; 18:1–27 (E); but his father-in-law is the priest of Midian Reuel in Exod 2:16–18; Num 10:29 (J).
8. The name of the deity. Yahweh tells Moses in Exod 6:3 (P) that his divine name was unknown to the patriarchs, but the patriarchs do know the name (Gen 18:14; 24:3; 26:22; 27:20, 27; 28:16; and see Gen 4:26—all J).
9. The construction and location of the Tent of Meeting. Moses moves the tent outside the camp in Exod 33:7–11 (E), but the Tent is not built until Exodus 36 (P). The tabernacle is erected inside the camp in Numbers 2 (P), but it is still outside the camp in Num 12:4–15 (E).
10. The Decalog. When Moses quotes the Ten Commandments in Deuteronomy there are numerous small differences in wording from the text of the Ten Commandments in Exodus 20, most strikingly the different reason given for the sabbath commandment in Exod 20:11 (P) and Deut 5:15 (D). Meanwhile the text of the Ten Commandments in Exodus 34:14–26 (J) has seven of the ten commandments completely different, and the wording is different even on the three comparable commandments.
11. In Numbers 11 (E) the people are tired of eating only manna, and so they are fed birds; but in Exodus 16 (P) it is reported that they had been getting birds along with the manna from the beginning.
12. The faithful spies. Caleb alone stands against the spies who give a discouraging report in Num 13:30; 14:24 (J), but it is both Caleb and Joshua in 14:6–9, 38 (P).
13. The location of the Amalekites. The Amalekites reside with the Canaanites in the land in Num 14:25, 45 (J); but they reside in the wilderness in Exod 17:8–16.
14. Korah's congregation is swallowed by the earth, which closes over them, along with Dathan and Abiram in Num 16:31–33 (J); but they are consumed by fire two verses later in 16:35 (P).
15. The seduction of Israel at Peor. Moabite women seduce the Israelites in Num 25:1 (J), but they are Midianite women in 25:6; 31:1–16 (P).

4. Consistent Characteristics of Each Group of Texts.

1. There are no angels in P.
2. There are no talking animals in P.
3. There are no dreams in P.
4. Blatant anthropomorphisms such as God's walking in the garden of Eden (J), making Adam's and Eve's clothes (J), closing Noah's ark (J), smelling Noah's sacrifice (J), wrestling with Jacob (E), standing on the rock at Meribah (E), and being seen by Moses at Sinai/Horeb (J and E) are absent in P.
5. The word mercy/merciful (Hebrew *rḥm*) never occurs in P.
6. The word grace/gracious (Hebrew *ḥnn*) never occurs in P.
7. The word repent/repentance (Hebrew *šwb*) never occurs in P.
8. The word faithfulness (Hebrew *ḥsd*) never occurs in P.
9. Sacrifices are never portrayed in P prior to the consecration of the tabernacle and priesthood in Exodus 40.
10. In P only descendants of Aaron are priests, while all other Levites are designated as lower level clergy. In the other accounts, all Levites are priests.
11. P regularly adds two major autumn holidays (Lev 16:29–34; 23:23–32; Num 29:1–11) to the standard list of three seasonal holidays contained in the other groups of texts.
12. In P Aaron and Miriam are identified as the brother and sister of Moses (Exod 6:20; Num 26:59), but they are never identified as his siblings in J, E, or D. Indeed, the identification of Aaron as Moses' "Levite brother" in Exod 4:14 (E) and the identification of Miriam only as "the sister of Aaron" in Exod 15:20 (E) indicate that Aaron and Miriam are not his siblings in these texts.
13. The tabernacle is mentioned three times in E and never in J or D, but it is of central importance, mentioned over two hundred times, in P.
14. In the plagues narrative, the P version develops the role of the Egyptian magicians; the E version does not.
15. In the plagues narrative, the E version develops a process of negotiations between Moses and the Pharaoh; the P version does not.
16. In the plagues account in P the signs are performed with the rod of Aaron; in E they are performed with the rod of Moses.
17. In the creation account in P, the deity creates a giant vault (firmament) that holds back waters that are above it; there are also waters below the dry ground. The world is thus, in this conception, a habitable air space surrounded by water. This same conception is assumed in the P account of the flood, in which the "windows of the heavens" and the "fountains of the deep" are broken up so that the waters flow in. The J creation account has no such picture, and in the J flood story it merely rains.
18. Matters such as ages, dates, measurements, numbers, and precise instructions are a substantial and continuing interest in P, with nothing to a remotely comparable degree appearing in J, E, or D.
19. In the J version of the spies story, Moses quotes the divine formula (Num 14:17–18) that had been revealed to him in the J version of his revelation at Sinai (Exod 34:6–7).
20. Paronomasia occurs relatively frequently in J and E but is very rare in P and D.

5. Narrative Flow.

1. The story of Dathan's and Abiram's rebellion against Moses (J) flows as a complete story when separated from the story of Korah's rebellion (P) with which it is intertwined. The Korah story also flows complete. Either can be read as a continuous story, with no intolerable gaps in wording or action. (J = 16:1b–2a, 12–14, 25–26, 27b–32a, 33–34. P = 1a, 2b–11, 15–24, 27a, 32b, 35). The only two clauses that merge the two stories—and which thus break the flow—are editorial additions (Num 16:24, 27), as evidenced by the fact that the extra words do not occur in the LXX. Other intertwined accounts that each flow complete, with virtually no breaks in the flow of the narrative include:
2. The flood story (J = Gen 6:5–8; 7:1–5, 7, 10, 12, 16b–20, 22–23; 8:2b–3a, 6, 8–12, 13b, 20–22. P = 6:9–22; 7:8–10, 11, 13–16a, 21, 24; 8:1–2a, 3b–5, 7, 13a, 14–19; 9:1–17).
3. Hagar and Ishmael (J = Gen 1–2, 4–14. P=16:3, 15–16).
4. Jacob and Esau (J = Gen 25:21–34; 27:1–45; 28:10. P = 26:34–35; 27:46; 28:1–9).
5. Jacob at Beth-El (J = Gen 28:11a, 13–16, 19. E = 28:11b–12, 17–18, 20–22).
6. Joseph and his brothers (J = Gen 37:2b, 3b, 5–11, 19–20, 23, 25b–27, 28b, 31–35; 39:1. E = 37:3a, 4, 12–18, 21–22, 24, 25a, 28a, 29, 36).
7. Yahweh summons Moses (J = Exod 3:2–4a, 5, 7–8. E=3:1, 4b, 6, 9–15).
8. Moses and Pharaoh (E = Exod 5:3–6:1; 7:14–18, 20b–21a, 23–29; 8:3b–11a, 16–28; 9:1–7, 13–34; 10:1–19, 21–26, 28–29; 11:1–9. P = 7:10–13, 19–20a, 21b–22; 8:1–3a, 12–15; 9:8–12).
9. The Red Sea (J = Exod 13:21–22; 14:5a, 6a, 9a, 10b, 13–14, 19b, 20b, 21b, 24, 25b, 27b, 30–31. P = 14:1–4, 8, 9b, 10a, 10c, 15–18, 21a, 21c, 22–23, 26–27a, 28–29).
10. The spies (J = 13:17–20, 22–24, 27–31, 33; 14:1b, 4, 11–25, 39–45. P = 13:1–16, 21, 25–26, 32; 14:1a, 2–3, 5–10, 26–29).
11. Peor. The P account (Num 25:6–19) appears to begin in medias res, with the Israelite man and Midianite woman acting in the sight of Moses and the people, who "were weeping at the entrance of the tent of meeting." The weeping appears to be unexplained, but if we turn back to the preceding P account and eliminate the intervening J and E material we find that this last P account, the death of Aaron, ends with the people *weeping* for Aaron in the last verse (20:29). The P narrative flow thus appears to be consistent and intact.

6. Historical Referents. Each of the four component texts of the Torah contains a number of elements that reflect the place and time in history in which it was composed. The J and E texts contain elements whose historical referents lie in the period of the divided kingdoms of Israel and Judah, ca. 922–722 B.C. The historical referents of J indicate derivation from the S kingdom, Judah. The historical referents of E reflect the conditions and interests of the N kingdom, Israel. The elements of J that indicate a Judean provenance are:

1. In J Abraham resides in Hebron/Mamre (Gen 13:18; 18:1). Hebron was the capital of Judah, the home city of Zadok, the Judean high priest of David and Solomon.
2. In J the Abrahamic covenant promises the land "from the river of Egypt to the great river, the river Euphrates (Gen 15:18). These were the boundaries of the empire of David, the founding king of the Judean dynasty.
3. The J account of Israel's acquisition of Shechem is derogatory, involving the taking of Dinah by Shechem and the massacre of the city by Simeon and Levi (Genesis 34). Shechem was the capital city of N Israel, built by Jeroboam I, the king who had rebelled against Judah; and its background is here deprecated.
4. The J birth accounts of the eponymous ancestors of the tribes include: Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah. (a) Only Judah, among these tribes, existed with a territorial identity in the era of the monarchy. (b) J includes the story of Reuben's taking Jacob's concubine and the story of Simeon's and Levi's massacre of Shechem. As confirmed in Jacob's deathbed blessing in Genesis 49—a poetic text embedded in J—these acts result in the preeminence passing to the fourth son, Judah.
5. In the J story of Joseph, Judah is the brother who saves Joseph from the other brothers' plans to kill him (Gen 37:26–27; 42:22).
6. In the J Joseph story it is Judah who promises Jacob that Benjamin will survive the journey to Egypt (Gen 43:8–9).
7. J alone includes a lengthy story from the life of Judah (Genesis 38), culminating in the birth of Peres, the eponymous ancestor of the clan from which the Judean royal family was traced. Judah's wife is identified as *bat šûaʿ*, a name so similar to the name of David's wife *bat šebaʿ* that the two are interchanged in 1 Chr 3:5.
8. In the J spies story, the scouts whom Moses sends spy out only the territory of Judah (Num 17–20, 22–24).
9. In the J spies story, the one favorable spy is Caleb. The Calebite territory was located in Judah and included Hebron.
10. J includes a lengthy account of the birth, youthful relations, and break between Jacob and Esau/Edom. These stories reflect the kinship and historical relations with Edom on several points. J also includes the list of the kings of Edom (Genesis 36). There are no equivalent stories or records in E. Judah bordered Edom and dominated it from David to Jehoram.
11. The iconography of J corresponds to the situation in Judah. (a) J includes a description of the ark's movements in the wilderness (Num 10:33–36), and J associates the presence of the ark with military success (Num 14:41–44); but the ark is never mentioned in E. The ark was located in Judah. (b) The J Decalog only prohibits making molten gods (Exod 34:17). This denounces the golden calves of N Israel, which were molten, without denigrating the

golden cherubs of the Temple in Judah, which were wooden and gold-plated. (c) In J, cherubs are used to guard the path to the tree of life, also consistent with the cherub iconography of Judah. Cherubs are not mentioned in E.

12. In J, the Hebrew root *rḥb*—of the name Rehoboam, first king of the divided kingdom of Judah—occurs six times, connoting the nation's expansion. (It does not occur in E.)

The elements of E that indicate a (northern) Israelite provenance are:

1. In E Jacob struggles with God (or an angel) and, etiologically, names the site of this event Peniel (Gen 32:31). The city of Peniel was built by Jeroboam I, the founding king of the N Israelite kingdom (1 Kgs 12:25).
2. In E there is an account of Joseph's deathbed wish to be buried in his homeland and an account of the Israelites taking his remains during the exodus. The traditional site of Joseph's grave was at the city of Shechem, which was also built by Jeroboam and capital of Israel for a time.
3. In E, territory around the city of Shechem is acquired by peaceful purchase (Gen 33:18–19). (Contrast item 3 in the preceding section.)
4. The E birth accounts of the eponymous ancestors of the tribes include: Dan, Naphtali, Gad, Asher, Issachar, Zebulon, Ephraim, Manasseh, and Benjamin—i.e., all of the tribes of Israel, but not Judah. Further, (a) in E the birthright goes to Joseph, thus creating the (northern) tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh. (b) In E Ephraim is favored over Manasseh (Gen 48:13–20), corresponding to the historical preeminence of Ephraim (Jeroboam's tribe; the name Ephraim is frequently used in the Hebrew Bible as a *pars pro toto* name for Israel). (c) The term for the additional portion thus awarded to Joseph is the unusual *šekem* (Shechem; 48:22), a perfect pun on the name of the Israelite capital city, which was in fact located in the hills of Ephraim.
5. In the E story of Joseph, Reuben, rather than Judah, is the brother who saves Joseph from the other brothers' plans to kill him (Gen 37:21–22).
6. In the E Joseph story, it is Reuben, rather than Judah, who promises Jacob that Benjamin will survive the journey to Egypt (Gen 42:37).
7. In E, the Egyptian taskmasters are identified as "officers of corvee" (*śārê missîm*—Exod 1:11). The N Israelite tribes' dissatisfaction with the Solomonic policy of *missîm* was an explicit ground for their secession, which was initiated by the stoning of Rehoboam's officer of the *missîm*.
8. The heroic role of Joshua is developed in E, but not in J. Joshua was of N Israelite origins, of the tribe of Ephraim.
9. The elements of E particularly coincide with the interests of the Levites of N Israel who were of the priestly group from Shiloh. Only E includes the story of the golden calf heresy, which is led by Aaron. The Shiloh Levites' high priest Abiathar had been expelled from the Jerusalem priestly hierarchy by Solomon, his prerogatives thus passing to an Aaronid high priest (Zadok). The Shiloh prophet Ahijah had first supported the kingship of Jeroboam but later rejected it in the wake of the establishment of the golden calves at Bethel and Dan. The E golden calf story thus merges and denigrates the two symbols of the exclusion of the Shiloh Levites: Aaron and the golden calf. Meanwhile, it is the Levites in this story who violently purge the people of the heresy. (But Levite violence is criticized in J. See B.6.a (3) and (4) above.)
10. The E story of Aaron's and Miriam's criticism of Moses over Moses' Cushite wife (Numbers 12), like the golden calf story, denigrates Aaron, who is reprimanded directly by the deity. The story explicitly declares Moses' revelation to be superior to Aaron's (and to anyone else's). As in the golden calf story, Aaron submissively addresses Moses as "my lord."
11. The iconography of E corresponds to the situation in Israel—and especially to the concerns of the Shiloh Levites. (a) E includes a description of the tabernacle's establishment in relation to the camp in the wilderness, emphasizing its importance for revelation (Num 10:33–36); but the tabernacle is never mentioned in J. The tabernacle was originally associated with the N Israelite religious center at Shiloh. (b) E denigrates the golden calves. (See item 9 above.) (c) As opposed to J's prohibition of making molten gods, which attacked only the N golden calves, E prohibits making any "gods of silver and gods of gold" (Exod 20:23), thus applying to both the Israelite golden calves and the Judean golden cherubs. (d) In the E story of the golden calf, Moses smashes the tablets of the Decalog, and there is no E account of a second set of tablets being made. This casts aspersions on the ark in Judah, which would thus either be empty or contain inauthentic tablets.
12. Another sign that E derives from priestly origins is the fact that it includes a lengthy law code, the Covenant Code. All other corpora of law in the Hebrew Bible are found in texts that come from priestly circles: viz. D, P, and Ezekiel.

Both J and E contain a story of the establishment of Bethel (Gen 28:10–22); and both kingdoms, Judah and Israel, had claims and interests in Bethel. J lacks the law codes that are characteristic of priestly texts and shows no explicit signs of composition in such circles. Neither source shows any awareness of the fall of the kingdom of Israel nor of the dispersion of the N tribes, which strongly suggests composition before the fall of Israel in 722 B.C. The very character of the two sources, each fitting one of the two divided kingdoms, likewise points to composition in the period of the division. J's reference to Esau/Edom's breaking Israel's yoke from its shoulder (Gen 27:40) probably places its composition at least after Hadad's rebellion against Solomon or even after Edom's full independence from Judah in the reign of the Judean king Jehoram (849–

842 B.C.). E offers few clues to narrow its composition further within the two-century period of division.

The P text contains elements whose historical referents lie in the period following the fall of the kingdom of Israel (722 B.C.) but prior to the fall of the kingdom of Judah (587 B.C.), with particularly significant elements indicative of the reign of the Judean king Hezekiah (715–687 B.C.). The majority of scholarly opinion has held since the latter part of the 19th century that P was composed in the exilic or postexilic period, but several discoveries in recent scholarship call for the preexilic provenance. These include references in other biblical books and, particularly, linguistic classification (see B.7 and B.8 below). The historical referents that indicate a preexilic and probably Hezekian provenance are:

1. The tabernacle. The P narrative spends a disproportionately large amount of space on the tabernacle, also known as the Tent of Meeting. It devotes whole chapters to the record of the tabernacle's construction and contents, and it sets numerous episodes in the tabernacle's precincts, including the consecration of the priesthood, the deaths of Nadab and Abihu, the theophany in the spies episode, the Korah rebellion, the blossoming of Aaron's rod, the theophany at Meribah, the offense and Phinehas' zeal at Peor, and the dedication of the Midianite spoil. It identifies the tabernacle as the site of the revelation of the entire body of law recorded in Leviticus. The P laws themselves, too, are centrally concerned with the tabernacle. The P legal sections require the presence of the tabernacle for the fulfillment of numerous laws and especially for the practice of sacrifice, which according to P can be carried out nowhere but at the tabernacle (Lev 1:3, 5; 3:2, 8, 13; 4:5–7, 14–18; 6:9, 19, 23; 14:11; 16:1–34; 17:1–9; Num 5:17; 6:10; 19:4). The P legal sections declare repeatedly that execution of these laws at the tabernacle is the rule *forever* (Exod 27:21; 28:43; 30:21; Lev 3:17; 6:11; 10:9; 16:29, 34; 17:7; 24:3, 8; Num 18:23; 19:10).

   The tabernacle was long regarded as a fiction in scholarly consensus, but evidence has been collected since the 1940s that the tabernacle was historical. Architectural, scriptural, archaeological, and extrabiblical textual evidence indicate that the tabernacle was housed (either stored or actually erected) in the Temple of Solomon. See TABERNACLE. It probably was destroyed when the temple was burned, at the time of the destruction and exile in 587 B.C. (Ps 74:7; Lam 2:6–7), and it certainly was not present in the Second Temple. Therefore, the interwoven centrality of the tabernacle in P law and narrative, together with the numerous declarations in P that this is the law forever, had to have been written before the Solomonic Temple was destroyed. (The older view, that the tabernacle was a fiction, was conceived to defend the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis that P was a Second-Temple composition. In this view the tabernacle had been invented to symbolize the Second Temple, thus accounting for the absence of any reference to the temple in P. But see other problems with this dating of P below.)
2. The ark, tablets, cherubs, and Urim and Thummim. These sacred objects are also centrally important in P, treated at some length, and directly connected to the tabernacle. They, too, were associated solely with the Temple of Solomon, not with the Second Temple, and therefore are compatible with preexilic interests.
3. Priests and Levites. P alone among the four source works of the Torah calls for hierarchical divisions among the clergy. Both in the P legal sections and in its narrative, this is a pervasive concern. Not all Levites are priests. Only those Levites who are descended from Aaron are priests. All other Levites are second-level clergy. The specific tasks of each group are assigned. According to the explicit report of the book of 2 Chronicles, Hezekiah was the king who established these divisions and assigned these tasks (2 Chr 31:2). The majority view in scholarship has connected the origin of these divisions to a statement by the prophet Ezekiel (44:9–16), but: (a) Ezekiel distinguishes not the Aaronids but only the Zadokite Aaronids from other Levites. (b) There is no evidence that the author(s) of P accepted Ezekiel's visions as legally authoritative. On the contrary, the P model of the tabernacle is structurally incompatible with Ezekiel's vision of the temple. (c) New linguistic evidence indicates that P was composed prior to Ezekiel. (See below.)
4. The house of Aaron. P is exceptionally concerned with the house of Aaron and visibly favors it over other levitical groups, whom P excludes from the priesthood. P places Aaron alongside Moses from the beginning in Exodus, identifies Asron as Moses' older brother, provides for Aaron's consecration and for the consecration of his sons to the priesthood; P depicts the Aaronid succession, including the death of his eldest two sons, his own death, his replacement by his third son Eliezer, and the eternal promise of priesthood through Eliezer's son Phinehas. The other Pentateuchal sources, meanwhile, understand all Levites to be priests. The other biblical work that clearly identifies only Aaronids as priests is the Chronicler's work; and the books of Chronicles praise Hezekiah as foremost among the kings of Israel and Judah. The only other king who compares with Hezekiah according to Chronicles is Solomon, and it was Solomon who first gave the Aaronid priest their exclusive hold on the Jerusalem priesthood. It was Solomon who removed the non-Aaronid priest Abiathar from his shared high priesthood with the Aaronid priest Zadok. That is, the biblical books that hold the same view of the priesthood as P focus upon the two kings who supported P's priestly distinctions: Solomon and Hezekiah. Since P had to have been written long after Solomon's time (see below) the reign of Hezekiah is the provenance that appears to be reflected in P.
5. P's insistence on centralization of sacrifice also points to the reign of Hezekiah, who, according to both the books of Kings and Chronicles, was the king who initiated centralization. Moreover, his centralization of worship at the Temple in Jerusalem placed all sacrifice under the aegis of the Aaronid priesthood,

which had held the leadership in Jerusalem since the reign of Solomon and which Hezekiah further supported. (The other Pentateuchal source text that calls for centralization is D, but D is virtually unanimously recognized by scholars to be associated with the reign of the other centralizing king, Josiah. See below.)

6. Hezekiah is also the king who, according to Chronicles, destroyed the bronze serpent of Moses, known as Nehushtan. The destruction of a sacred object that was strictly associated with Moses (in E, the source that is most favorable to Moses and the most harshly critical of Aaron, Num 21:4b–10) further fits with Hezekiah's support of the Aaronid priests over those Levites who saw themselves as the heirs of Moses rather than of Aaron.
7. The house of Aaron and the house of David. These close connections between the Aaronid priests and the royal house of David, which excelled in the time of Hezekiah, are reflected also in the notice in P that Aaron is married to the sister of Nahshon ben Amminadab, the prince of the tribe of Judah and the ancestor of David (Exod 6:23; Num 2:3; Ruth 4:20–22).

The D text contains elements whose historical referents lie in the reign of Josiah, the great-grandson of Hezekiah. These include:

1. The scroll of the *tôrâ*. At the conclusion of the book of Deuteronomy Moses is said to have written a "scroll of the *tôrâ*," a document that is to be placed by the ark for reference at some future time. The book of Joshua then reminds us of the existence of this scroll three times (1:8; 8:31, 34; 23:6). The "scroll of the *tôrâ*" is then never mentioned again in the history until it is reported to have been brought out from the temple and read to King Josiah (2 Kgs 22:8).
2. Centralization of sacrifice. Josiah is then reported to have initiated a religious reform based on the text of the scroll. The components of the Josianic reform conform to the requirements of the Deuteronomic law code (Deuteronomy 12–26), particularly the centralization of religion, which is the first requirement of the code. Josiah destroys all places of worship outside of Jerusalem. It is clear that the Josianic reform is tied to the Deuteronomic law code and not to the P law code, because: (a) there is the explicit connection to Moses' scroll. (b) Josiah destroys the golden calf altar of Jeroboam at Bethel. 2 Kings 23 describes this act with the same terms used in Deuteronomy for Moses' destruction of the golden calf of Aaron, a story which obviously does not appear in the pro-Aaron P text. (c) Josiah's treatment of the Asherah of Jerusalem and other altars likewise reflects specific commands of the D law code.
3. The history of the kings of Israel in the books of Kings, as opposed to the history in the books of Chronicles, is constructed to culminate in the reign and reform of Josiah, the only king who receives a completely positive rating; and this history is written in language that manifestly mirrors the characteristic phraseology of Deuteronomy.
4. Deuteronomy is diametrically opposed to the P view of Israel's priesthood. Deuteronomy makes no distinction between priests and Levites, and it is negative with regard to Aaron. It mentions Aaron only twice, once to say that he died and once to identify him as the maker of the golden calf. It also refers to Miriam's leprosy, an episode in which Aaron is denigrated. Hezekiah's reign is compared by the Chronicler to the reign of Solomon, who favored the Aaronid priesthood, but Josiah's reform includes the destruction of Solomon's altars. Hezekiah destroyed the brass snake Nehushtan of Moses, but Josiah married his son to a woman named Nehushta.
5. There are numerous parallels of wording and action between the characterization of Moses in Deuteronomy and of Josiah in 2 Kings (e.g., the words "none arose like..." are applied only to these two persons, both grind a golden calf—or its altar—"thin as dust," in both cases at a wadi). In recent scholarship the biblical books of Deuteronomy through 2 Kings have been identified as a continuous work, termed the DEUTERONOMISTIC HISTORY. The Moses-to-Josiah construction of this work is further made manifest by changes in major themes following the Josiah pericope: the concern with centralization of sacrifice and the comparison of the Judean kings to David cease after this pericope.
6. The Josianic provenance applies to the composition and original promulgation of D as a work. Much of the material within D nonetheless shows signs of having been composed in an earlier period and then included in the Josianic Deuteronomist's work. The core of the Decalog in Deuteronomy 5 and most of the Deuteronomic law code (Deuteronomy 12–26) falls in this group. Elements in the law code whose historical referents lie in an earlier period include: (a) the laws of war in Deuteronomy 20–21. The required assembling and admonishing of the people in these laws reflect the period of general conscription, when the Israelite tribes were summoned to battle. The rise of the monarchy led to replacement of the tribal musters by professional armies. These laws of war, therefore, represent the earliest, i.e., premonarchic, period of Israel's history. (b) The law of the king in Deuteronomy 17 and (c) the laws giving legal jurisdiction to the Levites, too, do not appear to derive from Josiah's court, because they limit or ignore royal prerogatives. They therefore appear to have been older than the Josianic composition but sufficiently authoritative to have been included in it. These laws, as well as others written in the interests of the Levites, indicate composition by Levites. The nonrecognition of Aaronid distinction excludes that group as possible authors of this work. The demand of centralization excludes the Levites of the various high places outside of Jerusalem. The most likely provenance of this work, therefore, is among the Levites of the pre-Jerusalem center of Israelite religion: Shiloh.
7. Also, portions of D (and of the Deuteronomistic History) show signs of having been added to the Josianic edition of the work in a subsequent editorial

operation. These portions show signs of having been composed after the destruction and exile of Judah in 587 B.C. They include Deut 4:25–31; 8:19–20; 28:36–37, 63–68; 29:21–27; 30:1–10, 14–20. Each of these passages is identified as an exilic addition by a combination of several factors: terminology, theme, grammar, syntax, literary structure, and comparative data. There is also a thematic commonality among them; all refer to apostasy, destruction, exile, and dispersion. Their wording and themes match with demonstrably exilic portions of the Deuteronomistic History (cf. 1 Kgs 9:6–9; 2 Kgs 21:8–15).

7. Linguistic Classification. Since the 1970s, advances in linguistic analysis have made it possible to trace the stages in the development of Hebrew prose to which the source texts each belong (Polzin 1976). Through a series of studies, J and E have been shown to represent the earliest stage of biblical Hebrew prose. P and D (the Deuteronomistic texts) have been shown to represent a later stage than J and E, but a stage with still more in common with the early biblical Hebrew of J and E than with the late biblical Hebrew of postexilic texts. In a separate comparative study (Hurvitz 1982), P was found to represent an earlier stage than the book of the prophet Ezekiel. This linguistic evidence is consistent with the evidence of the historical referents and with the evidence of references in other biblical books. It is a powerful confirmation both of the division into source works and the relative dating of the sources.

8. Identifiable Relationships Among Sources. Another factor that contributes to the cumulative force of these bodies of evidence is the presence of signs in sources that reflect their relationship with other sources. These include:

1. P's account follows the chronology and events of the combined J and E. The parallels of persons, events, and order between P and JE are so close as to indicate that J and E were edited together and then were known to and followed by the person(s) who composed P. Consistent differences between P and JE are observable as enumerated above (see B.4 above). This fits with the view that E, the text composed in the N kingdom of Israel, was combined with J, the text from Judah, following the fall of Israel. This further fits with the evidence of P's having been composed in the time of Hezekiah, whose reign in Judah covered the years following the fall of Israel. P's tie with the Aaronid priesthood explains the motivation for the composition of P in that period. The combination of J and E resulted in a *tôrâ* in Judah that was derogatory toward Aaron—identifying him as the maker of the golden calf—and unacceptable to Jerusalem's Aaronid priests on various other grounds as well. The P account appears to have been composed as an alternative to this work. P follows the order of JE, but it
   a. promotes Aaron;
   b. denigrates Moses (for striking the rock at Meribah, among other things);
   c. leaves out the stories of the golden calf and Aaron's criticism over Moses' wife;
   d. eliminates stories of dreams, angels, talking animals, and all references to prophets (except Aaron), thus picturing only the Aaronid priesthood as the channel to the deity;
   e. eliminates all references to repentance and divine mercy, thus strictly picturing sacrifice as the means of atonement and forgiveness; and
   f. eliminates all depictions of sacrifice prior to the consecration of Aaron and the tabernacle, thus identifying the Aaronid priesthood as the only divinely sanctioned conductors of sacrifice.

   In virtually every P story it is possible to identify components that reflect an overall design of composition of P as an alternative work to JE. Thus the differences between the P versions and the JE versions of stories are not only observable but, in nearly every case, explainable. For example, we can explain the fact that in J Noah takes seven pairs of clean (i.e., sacrificeable) animals on the ark while in P he takes only one pair, because in J Noah offers a sacrifice at the end and therefore needs more than one pair of the sacrificeable animals or else his sacrifice would end a species. In P, however, no sacrifices are pictured prior to Aaron, and therefore Noah needs no extra animals. Similarly, we can explain P's addition of Joshua alongside Caleb in the spies story, because P cannot follow JE in establishing the merit of Joshua by his disassociation from the golden calf incident, for P eliminates the golden calf incident since it obviously denigrates Aaron.
2. D begins with Moses' review of the years he has spent with the people on the journey from Sinai. In his speech are references to passages in J, E, and, in one case, P:
   a. E.g., Deut 2:26–33; cf. Num 21:21–23 = J.
   b. E.g., Deut 9:12–14; cf. Exod 32:7–9 = E.
   c. Deut 1:39 ("And your little ones whom you said would be a prey"); cf. Num 14:3, 31 = P.

   This is further confirmation that the J, E, and P narratives were composed prior to D. The greater number of references to JE than to P (only one) in Deuteronomy also suggest that D was written in sympathy with the former but with less respect to the latter. This is confirmed by D's inclusion of the E stories that are hostile to P, by D's blatantly opposite view of priests and Levites from that of P, and by D's reference to the Dathan and Abiram episode without reference to Korah.

9. References in Other Biblical Books.

1. In the book of the prophet Jeremiah there are allusions to passages in P. These allusions are found in both the poetic and prose layers of Jeremiah (the poetry usually ascribed to Jeremiah himself and the prose to his contemporary, the scribe Baruch ben Neriah, or to a "Deuteronomistic" biographer). In every case, Jeremiah's allusions to P are negative, reversing P's language and taking an opposite point of view in what are visibly deliberate plays upon P's characteristic language—which is consistent with a virtually universally recognized bond between Jere-

miah and the Deuteronomistic texts. The allusions to P in the various layers of Jeremiah are consistent with the linguistic and other evidence for a preexilic date for the composition of P. They also fit with the other signs of the alternative/polemical relationship between P and the non-Aaronid Levitical sources (E and D). A poetic allusion is Jer 4:23:

I looked at the earth, and here it was unformed and void,
And to the heavens, and their light was gone.

The allusion to Gen 1:1–3 (P) is patent.

2. A prose allusion is Jer 3:16, "It will be, when you multiply and be fruitful in the land in those days, says Yahweh, that they will no longer say, 'the ark of the covenant of Yahweh,' and it will not come to mind, and it will not be made anymore." Cf. P's characteristic use of "be fruitful and multiply," and also P's focus on the ark.
3. Jeremiah says in 7:22, "For I did not speak to your fathers and I did not command them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt about matters of offering and sacrifice." Cf. P's wording in Lev 7:37–38.
4. The book of Ezekiel also alludes to passages in P. Biblical scholarship commonly regarded Ezekiel as the source for P, but the linguistic evidence (see B.7 above) has now established the priority of P. Also, the character of the texts in Ezekiel is identifiable as allusive rather than primary. Ezekiel 5–6, for example, is form-critically a genre known as a "covenant lawsuit"; and the covenant text on which the lawsuit is based is found in P. The charge in the covenant litigation in Ezek 5:7 is "You did not walk according to my statutes, and you did not do my judgments." Cf. P in Lev 26:3, 15. The allusions to P in Ezekiel conform with the other evidence for preexilic composition of P. Ezekiel's favorable attitude toward P (as opposed to Jeremiah's) together with his favorable regard for the Aaronid/Zadokite priesthood is also consistent with other evidence that the source texts reflect the positions of opposing priestly houses in ancient Israel.
5. The judgment in Ezekiel's covenant litigation includes in 5:10, "Fathers will eat sons in your midst." This alludes to a passage in P; cf. Lev 26:29.
6. The judgment continues in Ezek 5:17. Cf. P in Lev 26:22, 25. The wordings are clearly related—practically identical.
7. Likewise Ezek 6:3b–6a continues in wording that is based on the wording of P in Lev 26:30, 31a.
8. Ezekiel's criticism of priests in 22:26 is, in the precise wording of P, for their failure to fulfil the requirements of priests as stated in Lev 10:10.
9. Ezekiel's review of the Exodus in Ezekiel 20 also is based on the story in the P version in Exodus 6. (It is clearly a retelling, based on P's telling, and not the reverse.) Ezek 20:28; cf. Exod 6:8. Ezek 20:5; cf. Exod 6:3. Ezek 20:33–34; cf. Exod 6:6. Ezek 20:8; cf. Lev 26:21. Ezek 20:13, 16, 24; cf. Lev 26:43.

10. Marks of Editorial Work. There are observable editorial devices in the Torah that further confirm that there were originally separate works that were combined by editors ("redactors"). These evidences of editorial work, together with other evidence enumerated above, also reveal that the combining of J, E, P, and D into the united Torah was accomplished in several stages of redaction.

a. Epanalepsis (resumptive repetition). This is an editorial device in which a line is repeated following an insertion of one text into the body of another text. E.g., in Exod 6:12 Moses says, "How will Pharaoh listen to me, when I am uncircumcised of lips?" Then a partial Israelite genealogy that culminates in Aaron's family interrupts the account, followed by a transitional summary of what had been said prior to the interruption, and then Moses says in v 30, "I am uncircumcised of lips, and how will Pharaoh listen to me?" The epanalepsis in this case does not appear to be the author's own resumption after clumsily interrupting himself, but rather it has the character of an editor's mechanism for inserting a text into a preexisting account and then returning to the flow of the account.

b. Reconciling Phrases. The combining of texts that were similar but still not identical in their order and location of events inevitably resulted in some inconsistencies. Certain phrases are superfluous to the narrative but make perfect sense as editorial insertions for the purpose of reconciling such inconsistencies. For example, the J and E accounts of Jacob's return from Haran to Canaan picture him arriving at Shechem, then returning to Bethel, where God had appeared to him years earlier. The P account has him coming from Paddan Aram directly to Bethel. The P account of his arrival at Bethel begins, "And God appeared to Jacob when he was coming from Paddan Aram" (Gen 35:9). This makes no sense now that J and E texts precede it stating that Jacob had already returned and dwelled in the land. The redactor (**R**) therefore added a reconciling phrase to these J and E accounts of Jacob's prior arrival at Shechem, stating, "which was in the land of Canaan when he was coming from Paddan Aram" (33:18b). The Redactor also added the word "again" to the P verse quoted above (35:9), thus rendering the P report of the divine appearance at Bethel an additional theophany to that of E.

c. Framing Devices. The originally separate texts are united into a sensible chronological flow by three literary frames. The first is the series of "These are the generations (Heb *tôlĕdôt*) of . . ." passages, which arrange the book of Genesis in an unbroken chronological flow of the generations from Adam to Joseph. The second is the "Pharaoh hardened his heart" element, which frames the accounts of the plagues, Exodus, and Red Sea events. The third is the series of chronological-geographical notices of the stations of Israel's journey from Egypt to the border of the promised land. Each of these three sets of framing passages derives from a preexisting text. The first is constructed from the "Book of Generations," an originally independent text, now cut and distributed through the book of Genesis. The second is derived from the wording of the P plagues account. And the third is derived from the "List of Stations," another originally independent text, now located in Numbers 33. Each of the three texts from which the editorial frames are constructed has the charac-

ter of P material. The plagues text is itself part of P, and the other two resemble P in language and data. This indicates that the redactor of the final work favored P.

d. Texts Attributed to R. The special relationship between the redactor and P is confirmed by the presence of passages that are similar to P but which are supplemental and which appear to come from a later period, viz. the era of the Second Temple. For example, Num 15:1–31 and Numbers 29–30 have substantial terminology and interests in common with P, but these passages nonetheless duplicate much information that is already given in P. A major difference between these passages and the P texts that they overlap, however, is that the P texts emphasize the required presence of the tabernacle, as noted above, but these passages never mention the tabernacle. This fits with the assignment of these passages to the period of the Second Temple, which unlike its predecessor did not house the tabernacle, cherubs, and ark.

e. Degree of Completeness of Texts. When the strands of the interwoven source works are untwisted and separated from one another, neither J nor E can be read as a continuous story. Each is incomplete. However, J and E together, with only P separated from them, do form a nearly complete and continuous narrative. It is this combined narrative that P has been shown to follow. P, as well, when separated from the other sources is a continuous and nearly complete narrative, with only an occasional lacuna. This indicates that J and E were combined in a separate and earlier editorial process and that P was added to them in a subsequent editing. It also indicates that each of the respective editors of these stages had a different set of governing principles and methods. The redactor of JE must have cut substantial portions of each of the sources in order to produce the desired combined work. The redactor who merged JE with P appears to have taken enormous pains to retain as much of the source texts as possible without producing intolerable contradictions and repetitions. This person may well have been responsible for adding D in the same editorial enterprise. The separate stages of the editing of D (the law code, then the Josianic edition, then the exilic edition) would have been completed by the time of this redactor. The joining of D with JEP required little more than moving the accounts of the promotion of Joshua and the death of Moses to the end of Deuteronomy. Since the Torah that Ezra is reported to have read in Jerusalem in the 5th century B.C. appears to have been the complete Torah, including J, E, P, and D, Ezra himself or someone from his circle is a likely candidate to be the redactor of the Torah. Ezra is identified as a scribe, as one who was particularly concerned with the Torah, as an Aaronid priest (hence the sympathy with and similarity to P), and as the first person known to possess a scroll of the complete Torah.

The strength of the identification of the four major sources of the Torah is not any single one of the categories enumerated above. Rather, *it is the convergence of all of these bodies of evidence that is the most powerful argument for this view of the Pentateuch.*

C. Views of Authorship

When J, E, and P were joined with D, the report near the conclusion of Deuteronomy that Moses writes "this *tôrâ*" on a scroll was taken by readers thereafter to refer to the entire combined work. From the time of its promulgation under Ezra and Nehemiah, the full Torah was regarded as having been composed by Moses (Ezra 3:2; 7:6; Neh 1:7–9; 8:1, 14; 9:14; 10:30; 13:1).

Mosaic authorship came to be doubted on the basis of anachronisms and conflicts within the text. These problems were first expressed by medieval commentators. They included

1. In the Torah, Moses is spoken of in the third person.
2. The Torah includes an account of Moses' death (Deuteronomy 34).
3. It includes a list of names of Edomite kings who lived after Moses' death (Gen 36:31–39).
4. The text notes that "the Canaanite was then in the land" (Gen 12:6; 13:7). This reflects authorship at a time long after Moses when the Canaanites no longer were the dominant people in the land, with the author informing the audience of a prior state of affairs.
5. Deuteronomy reports that Moses spoke "across the Jordan" (Deut 1:1). This reflects authorship in Israel (i.e., on "this side" of the Jordan) with the author referring to Moses' location in Moab as being "across the Jordan."
6. The Torah reports that Moses "was very humble, more than every human on the face of the earth" (Num 12:3). It is difficult to picture the humblest man on earth writing these words.

The philosophers Hobbes and Spinoza wrote treatments gathering these and other problems into overall analyses of the Pentateuch, in both cases concluding that Moses did not write the Torah. This was followed by the recognition in subsequent works, especially that of R. Simon, that the Torah had to have been composed from sources. H. B. Witter, J. Astruc, and J. G. Eichhorn published the first attempts to distinguish these sources, identifying J and E. A short time later, the text that had been identified as E was itself seen to contain two sources: E and P. Deuteronomy was also recognized as an independent text. The essential identifications of each of these sources were accomplished and widely accepted by the end of the 19th century (though the refinement of these identifications down to each verse has continued to the present time). This work became known as "Higher Criticism." The next stage was the uncovering of the historical background of each source text. W. M. L. DeWette identified D with the "book of the *tôrâ*" from Josiah's reign. With this point as the historical fulcrum, a synthesis of the relative chronology with the historical conditions of major biblical periods was arrived at through Reuss, Graf, Vatke, and Wellhausen *(WPHI)*. This synthesis became known as the "Documentary Hypothesis."

The Documentary Hypothesis has remained intact in its essentials, and a substantial body of evidence has been added in support of it, as described in the preceding section. The primary developments have been (a) improved understanding of the historical circumstances and concerns of the authors, (b) improved understanding of the editors and the editorial processes that brought the

source texts together, and (c) in very recent scholarship a shift in the dating of P. The Graf-Wellhausen model regarded P as the latest of the sources, belonging to the exilic or postexilic period, and this view has dominated the consensus of scholarship for a century. In 1937, a preexilic provenance of P was proposed by Y. Kaufmann *(KRI)* as an alternative to the Graf-Wellhausen model, but Kaufmann's arguments failed to persuade the majority of biblical scholars in the subsequent period. However, as pointed out above, new data has gradually been assembled to cast serious doubt on the possibility that P was composed so late.

Other alternatives to the Documentary Hypothesis that have been raised thus far have not succeeded in replacing its premises. A number of Scandinavian scholars (particularly I. Engnell) argued that the Torah was not formed out of such specifically identifiable written compositions as J, E, P, and D, but rather was the end product of the merging of numerous orally developed compositions. The converging lines of evidence listed above are not accounted for in such a model.

Attention to oral composition of narrative in general has increased in biblical scholarship. It is not so much an alternative to analysis of the literary composition of the Torah as a separate and potentially complementary enterprise. There is value in attempts to learn something about orally conveyed stories and poems that influenced the authors of the source works or which were themselves those authors' sources. Such study has been necessarily hampered by the obvious difficulty in getting at communications that were made orally three millennia ago, but the growth of this area of concentration is potentially enriching. In any case, the possibility of discoveries in this area is essentially confined to the roots of J and E, not to P, D, or R. The *written* antecedents of P, D, and R (namely JE, the Deuteronomic law code, and the two poems now included in Deuteronomy 32 and 33) are visible and, for the far greater part, are sufficient as sources to account for the present state of these works without hypothesizing unknown orally transmitted sources as well. J, also, is based at least in part on written sources, as the J prose account of the events at the Red Sea in Exodus 14 has been shown to have drawn from the poetic Song of the Sea in Exodus 15, and the J accounts of at least Jacob's four oldest sons appear to reflect acquaintance with the poetic Blessing of Jacob (Genesis 49).

Some scholars have argued for the relative lateness of J and/or E, or of individual texts that are usually reckoned to J or E (Van Seters 1975; Rendtorff 1977). Some have even questioned the existence of J or especially E as actual source texts. In light of the linguistic evidence for the relatively early dates of these texts, arguments for exilic or postexilic provenances cannot be substantiated. The bodies of evidence of consistent characteristics of these texts, as well as the evidence of historical linkages of each text to respective groups in the divided kingdoms of Israel and Judah, also weigh heavily against arguments for the lateness or nonexistence of J or E. E is frequently characterized as a fragmentary rather than a continuous source. However, this impression appears to be the result of two aspects of the redactor's treatment of E. First, the beginning of E has been eliminated, for the first text that clearly belongs to E does not appear until Genesis 20, and it presumes prior narrative. Second, while J is heavily focused upon the patriarchs and the patriarchal covenant, E is essentially focused on the age of Moses, the Exodus, and Sinai, and it does not even have a patriarchal covenant. As scholars have worked systematically through the Torah beginning with Genesis, the J text has appeared more complete and literarily dominant. Since the divine names are a primary means of separating J from E in Genesis but are less valuable after the name of God is revealed in E in Exodus 3, scholars have tended to ascribe doubtful texts after this point to J and in general to expect J's completeness and dominance to persist. As the historical referents and other source indications listed above lead to ascribing more text to E, it appears that E is a well-represented source, originally continuous prior to its being combined with J, and that E and J are approximately equal in quantity of text now preserved in the Pentateuch.

The field of biblical studies known as form criticism has often been regarded as an alternative to analysis of the sources and redaction of the Pentateuch, but form criticism has more often been complementary to source criticism, especially in the work of the best known form critical scholar, H. Gunkel. Form-critical analysis endeavors to identify (1) the particular genres of some of the individual units of the work, and (2) the circumstances in which the individual units were produced, particularly aiming to determine the social settings in which the particular genres of literature were composed. When such difficult identifications are possible, they can be helpful contributions to the larger picture being described here. For example, G. von Rad *(PHOE)* endeavored to place the Pentateuchal credo (e.g., Deut 26:5–9) in its *Sitz im Leben* in the history of the religion of Israel and to relate its components to the formation of the larger work (which for von Rad was the Hexateuch rather than just the Pentateuch). G. E. Wright (1962) focused form-critically on the covenant litigation *(rîb)* as a prophetic genre and applied it to the song of Moses in Deuteronomy 32. The recognition of the *rîb* form also contributed to the understanding of the relationship between Ezekiel and P, as discussed above. Most helpfully, G. E. Mendenhall (1955) and K. Baltzer (1971) shed considerable light on Israelite covenant forms, particularly that of the Sinai covenant, through comparative analysis of the suzerainty treaties of the ANE. This was complemented by light shed on the Noahic and Abrahamic covenant forms by M. Weinfeld's comparative analysis of Near Eastern royal grants (1970).

D. Literary Qualities

Description, analysis, and appreciation of the literary artistry of the Torah have long been the province of the classroom, while historical, linguistic, and theological matters have dominated published research in the field. But in the 1970s and 1980s more formal scholarly attention to the aesthetic qualities of the Torah has grown substantially. Especially in the wake of E. Auerbach's comparative analysis *(Mimesis)*, there has been attention to the layered quality of Pentateuchal narrative, especially in J and E. The narrative is characterized to a great degree by economy of wording in the foreground depiction of persons, events, and especially dialogue, while being at the same

time rich in background—as opposed to Homeric explicit depiction of thoughts and events in the foreground. The Pentateuchal narrative is filled with ambiguities, seemingly intended, which have been fodder for a rich variety of interpretation over centuries. For example, when Abraham tells his servants on the way to sacrifice Isaac, "*We* shall return to you," his wording may be taken as wishful thinking, faith, deception of the servants, deception of Isaac, or any of a number of other possible explanations. The Torah's narrative is filled with such literary ambiguities, which do not have the appearance of inexpert composition but, quite the contrary, beckon for decipherment and interpretation.

The narrative is characterized by frequent occurrences of irony, particularly in the Jacob and Joseph sequences. For example, Jacob deceives his father regarding his brother Esau by using his brother's garment and the meat and skins of a goat, and subsequently Jacob himself is deceived by his sons regarding their brother Joseph, and they use their brother's garment and the blood of a goat. This pattern of deception and ironic recompense pervades these stories.

There appear to be two classes of character development in the Torah. Most persons, both major and minor figures in the work, are essentially constant personalities. Noah, Abraham, Sarah, Isaac, Aaron, and the Pharaoh do not grow and change dramatically from their first appearances in the narrative to their last. However, three figures in the Torah are pictured as changing through the course of events of their lives: Jacob, Joseph, and Moses. Jacob, the aggressive and deceiving youngster, becomes the passive old man. Joseph, the naive teenager who offends his family with his accounts of his dreams, becomes the adult who interprets the dreams of a king and shows understanding and forgiveness to the brothers who injured him. Most complex of all with regard to character development, Moses, who attempts in numerous ways to avoid the commission to free the Israelites, becomes a powerful and enigmatic combination of anger, compassion, discouragement, and optimism through years of functioning at the juncture of the divine and human realms.

Paronomasia is common, especially in J and E, though occasionally in other sources as well. The puns may be etiological, as in the account of Abraham's and Sarah's laughter (Heb *ṣḥq*) in episodes related to the birth of Isaac (*yiṣḥaq*); or they may be artistic bridges between the content and wording of the narrative, as when the golden calf account notes that Aaron had put the people in disarray, which in Hebrew is *pr*ᶜ*h*, an apparent play on the word Pharaoh, which is consonantally the same.

Perhaps most striking among the literary qualities of the Torah is the extent to which it is both a unity and a collection of small units. The units or episodes are united (a) by common themes (especially covenant), (b) by falling into a chronological flow of generations through history, and (c) by editorial connecting mechanisms (such as the book of generations, and the list of stations of the journey from Sinai to the promised land). The result is that the Torah can be read as individual stories or as a continuous, meaningful narrative with pervasive themes.

E. Historical Qualities

Relatively little of the Torah's story can be verified historically. Sufficient evidence from extrabiblical sources and archaeological artifacts is lacking to make judgments for or against historical veracity. For the book of Genesis, the primeval history is barely capable of being considered from the point of view of historicity, given its conception of a finite universe surrounded by water, a talking snake, "sons of God(s)" having relations with human women, a box (ark) containing the whole of animal life, and simultaneous creation of languages. The patriarchal narrative, involving the movements of a single nomadic family across the ANE, is unlikely to find specific verification. None of the patriarchs or their spouses or their children are mentioned in any extrabiblical source. The stories have been recognized to reflect general familiarity with the behavior of some peoples of the general area in the general period of the patriarchs (the first half of the 2d millennium B.C.), but the parallels are relatively few and are unspecific in relation to actual biblical persons and events. Even the best known parallels must be considered cautiously. For example, the case of a husband adopting his wife as a sister in Hurrian texts provides an interesting parallel to the wife/sister stories of Abraham-Sarah and Isaac-Rebekah, but the case has been challenged as being of limited help in forming judgments about how widespread the practice was and about the degree of historicity of the biblical accounts. On the other side, cases of anachronisms in this narrative are pointed out which challenge the historicity of some episodes, a frequently mentioned example being the issue of the domestication of the camel in this early period.

For the Egypt experience and Exodus, too, sources are lacking for either verification or refutation. The period of Hyksos rule in Egypt is frequently cited as providing a suitable setting for the arrival of the "Israelites" (the Jacob-Joseph migration), followed by enslavement in the period after the expulsion of the Hyksos by a Pharaoh "who did not know Joseph." Even if suitable, the scenario is without evidence pointing to it. The relationship between *ᶜapiru* and "Hebrew" slaves continues to be argued, and its value, too, is to identify a possible historical setting for the enslavement, not a specific proof. The Egyptian names associated with Israel's early priesthood (e.g., Moses, Phinehas) argue for the historicity of some Egyptian experience, as does the nature of the tradition itself, i.e., a people would be more likely to invent a story of being descended from gods or kings than from slaves. On the other hand, the specific story of the naming of Moses erroneously takes his name as Hebrew and ascribes to an Egyptian princess a facility with Hebrew etymology.

The relatively extreme apologetics that have been raised to account for the miraculous events of the plagues and Red Sea have been generally groundless speculation—eclipses, red clay, tides, unusual planetary events—and have proven unhelpful to historical scholarship. In the case of the Red Sea events, we can trace the development of the Pentateuchal account from its earliest version, the Song of the Sea, through the J version, to the P version. The Song of the Sea appears to have been a source that the J author used in constructing his account, and J and the Song of the Sea were in turn sources for the P author. We can therefore observe the additions made to the story over a span of centuries. The earliest version has no splitting of the sea and no passage of the Israelites through it. Its poetry has been literalized in the prose of J and

expanded in P. The centrality of the event in the early poetry indicates the likelihood of some antecedent historical event involving a redeemed Israelite group and a disaster upon an Egyptian force at some body of water, but reconstruction beyond these limits is precarious. The identification of the body of water as the "Reed" sea is also precarious to the extent that, though it is close to the meaning of *sûp*, it hypothesizes a lake by that name to the N of the western arm of the Red Sea. No lake by that name is known, and the biblical texts clearly understand the event to take place on the body of water known as the Red Sea, for the name *sûp* is applied to the eastern arm of the Sea as well (Num 14:25; 21:4). See also RED SEA.

The specific mountain known as Sinai or Horeb remains unidentified, and no extrabiblical sources have shed light on the events associated with it. The polemical character of the golden calf account in light of the calves of Jeroboam compromises its historicity, as the entire matter of relations among the priestly houses compromises the polemical accounts of Moses and Aaron in E, P, and D. The population figures of the Israelites in these accounts are routinely questioned as geographically impossible. Even the depiction of all of the tribes of Israel sharing the Egyptian and wilderness experience is subject to doubt. The identification of Moses' father-in-law as a Midianite priest in both of the earliest sources (J and E), as well as the anti-Midianite polemic of P, keep the Midianite or Kenite hypothesis recurrent and viable in scholarship.

In sum, one can speak of an historical core of persons and events in the patriarchal and Mosaic ages as recounted in these books, with historical certainty diminishing as one focuses with ever more specificity on individual actions and details in the narrative.

F. Theological Qualities

The Torah does not develop a systematic theology, neither in the work as a whole nor in any of the component works. Theological matters are conveyed through stories and laws, not through expressed speculation. The deity in the Torah is a God who acts and a God who speaks but is at the same time essentially a hidden God. He is known through his actions in history. He reveals aspects of his personality in words, e.g., "merciful and gracious, long-forbearing and abundant in faithfulness and truth" (Exod 34:6). But Yahweh's essence remains unknown, as do his ultimate purposes.

The Torah is monotheistic. It pictures Yahweh as sole creator of the universe. It does not personify natural forces as deities. There are occasional uncertainties in its language, as in the first commandment according to J, P, and D, which forbids worshipping other gods. This wording is taken by some to mean that the existence of other gods is allowed for, but it is equally explainable as reflecting qualities of the language itself, i.e., it is simply in the nature of language that it is difficult to formulate a command to be monotheistic without referring to the deities who are excluded. Similarly, the reference in the Exodus account to Yahweh's rendering judgments on the gods of Egypt does not necessarily mean that the author imagined such deities as existing. The short story of the "sons of God(s)" in Genesis 6 seems to be a very likely exception to the Torah's monotheism, better recognized and left open to further analysis than denied or interpreted away. The matter of angels is more complicated, as it is not entirely clear what each author (of J and E, not P or D) pictures. The accounts in Genesis 18–19 (J) and 32:25–33 (E) both picture a man seeing an angel but speaking as if he has dealt directly with God. It is therefore unclear to what extent an angel is conceived of as an independent being or what its powers are, and so one cannot say that angels as depicted in the Torah are incompatible with monotheism. See also ANGELS.

All of the Pentateuchal sources depict the deity as male, with a masculine name, spoken of in masculine grammatical terms. Even this is enigmatic, nonetheless, because no female consort is conceived of for Yahweh in these books, and the worship of a goddess in various forms is forbidden (Exod 34:13; Deut 7:5; 12:3; 16:21), and so the masculinity of the deity where there is no feminine in existence is of uncertain meaning at best.

Partly as a result of the combination of the sources and partly as a result of the nature of the religion of Israel, the Torah pictures the deity possessing paradoxical combinations of qualities. Yahweh is both the God of the universe and a personal God, both the creator of the heavens and earth and the God who takes a personal interest in individuals and families. Similarly, Yahweh is both just and merciful, angry and forgiving; and the tension between these two conflicting divine attributes pervades the narrative of the divine-human relations.

The relationship between Yahweh and humans is conceived in the Torah in terms of covenant. The similarity of the three Pentateuchal covenants—Noahic, Abrahamic, Israelite—to ANE treaty and grant documents indicates that divine-human relations were conceived of in legal, contractual terms. The deity is pictured as entering into a defined relationship with humans, with expectations from each of the parties. The entire Pentateuchal law and most of the biblical narrative are bound to this covenant relationship.

G. Conclusion

The Torah is the core work of the Bible. It is a work of impressive literary artistry in its broad scope and in its small component stories. It possesses artistry of form and depth of content, housing the ideas and values of a people over centuries. Not the work of any one person, it reflects a rare event in literary history, a literary partnership in which the works of many individuals were brought together into a meaningful whole that is more than the sum of its parts. The Torah is quintessentially a work of combination. It is a single work, a collection of five books, and an editorially brilliant merging of sources. It combines history and literature. It merges prose, poetry, and law. It is concerned with God, with humankind, and with a few individuals. It contains stories of individual bonds and conflicts within families, and it recounts events involving nations. "The generations of the heavens and the earth," it sets a record of human history against a cosmic background and relates it to the divine presence.

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TOU (PERSON) [Heb *tōʿû*]. See TOI (PERSON).

TOUBIANI [Gk *Toubianoi*]. A group of Jews Judas Maccabeus encountered (2 Macc 12:17) in his search for an opponent named Timothy, whose identity is unclear, since the Ammonite Timothy (against whom Judas had fought several times) was reported killed in 2 Macc 10:37. The author of 2 Maccabees had Judas make a futile 95-mile journey from the region of Caspin (or Chaspho) and then return to attack Timothy at Carnaim, near Chaspho. Goldstein (*2 Maccabees* AB, 440) points out the unlikelihood of this sequence of events.

Who, then, are the Toubiani? Scholars usually assume that they are related to the people of Tob (Gk *toubion*), Gileadite Jews slaughtered en masse by their gentile neighbors (1 Macc 5:13). See TOB (PLACE). Goldstein (ibid., 439–40) argues that the Toubiani (or Tubiakenoi as he thinks the name should be spelled) designated Tobiad troops relocated from their original station S of the Jabbok after the surrender (but not total annihilation) mentioned in 1 Macc 5:13. While one cannot rule out the possibility that the groups were related but not identical, Goldstein's suggestion probably points in the right direction, even if his textual reading is not certain. He also argues that they were stationed in a "palisaded camp" (Gk *charaka*), not in "Charax" (or Dathema). Since the location of Dathema and its relationship to Charax remain debated, one can do no more than conclude that the location of the Toubiani must remain open, though it likely lay in Gilead, not 95 miles S.

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TOWERS. The term tower, as it is used in biblical, historical, and archaeological literature pertaining to the Near East, describes structures with a wide array of functions.

In the OT the Hebrew word most commonly translated as "tower" is *migdāl.* In Greek the word is *purgos,* and in Arabic *būrj.* The Arabic word *rujm* can refer to a tower, tumulus, or stone cairn. In some cases *migdāl* occurs as part of a place-name or is used in an allegorical sense; in most cases it refers to specific stone or brick structures in both towns and rural settings.

Circular or square stone structures, often less than 8 m in diameter, are scattered over huge expanses of Palestine, the Transjordanian highlands, and N Arabia. Long before recent intensive surveys began to record such sites by the hundreds, archaeologists and travelers had noticed that towerlike structures, some apparently ancient, dotted the landscape. These observers offered a wide array of possible interpretations for the structures' functions.

Archaeologists have commonly interpreted these as military watchtowers or signal stations, and many of them could indeed have had this function. Others may well be agricultural outbuildings, storage caches, farmhouses, field clearances, route markers, funerary *tumuli,* or memorial stone heaps.

A. Agricultural Field Buildings, Farm Houses, and Field Clearances.

Modern examples suggest that the most common function for isolated rural towers was agricultural. Like the field towers of modern Palestine, towers mentioned in biblical texts were closely associated with fields, orchards, vineyards, and winepresses (Isa 5:2; 2 Chr 26:10; Mark 12:1; Matt 21:33). In this context an alternative to a "tower" was often a "hut" or "booth" (Heb *sukkâ;* Isa 1:8).

The most common function of these towers may have been to store agricultural equipment and produce, to provide a lookout for farmers protecting their crops from thieves or animals, to house farmers temporarily while they worked in fields at a distance from their home villages, and only incidentally to hide villagers during times of social conflict (Applebaum et al. 1978: 95–97; Dalman 1935: 317–18; Doughty 1936: 329). Agricultural outbuildings, including watchtowers and corbeled huts, are still common in Palestine and other parts of the Mediterranean basin.

Many small towers on the Transjordanian plateau show no sign of having had doorways. A common type is a circle 3–4 m in diameter with a single crosswall covered by stone slabs to create a platform about a meter above the present surface. Possibly these are the foundations of grain silos or drying platforms. In ancient Palestine, as in Egypt, silos were typically beehivelike structures, circular in plan, with domed ceilings and with interior crosswalls to raise the floor above the damp ground and to deny access to rodents (Currid 1985). Unfortunately, biblical references to silos or barns (Deut 28:8; Prov 3:10; Jer 50:26; Joel 1:17; Hag 2:19; Matt 3:12; 13:30; Luke 12:16–18) are not informative of their shape or construction, and at present we cannot ascribe this function to any of the ancient towers.

Some small rural towers probably had pastoral functions. Towers allowed shepherds to watch over their flocks

and herds (2 Chr 26:10). In the past, nomadic herders may also have employed towers along their migration routes (as their modern counterparts use stone cairns) as storage caches (Doughty 1936: 323; Evenari et al. 1958, pl. 48b; Hole 1978: 153). These caches of food or valuables permit modern bedouin on the march to retrieve goods they are unable to carry. An inscription, probably dating to the 3d century A.D., attests to use of one round tower in N Arabia as a storehouse (Winnett and Reed 1973: 56).

In many stony parts of the world, massive stone "towers" are simply houses. In the Palestinian hills, stone is not only the most readily available building material, but sometimes occurs in natural blocks that require no dressing (Glueck 1939: 167). We see examples of isolated stone houses, which some of the towers in Palestine and Transjordan could resemble, throughout the Mediterranean basin. The best examples are the *trulli* and *caselle* of S Italy, with their corbeled, conical domes of stone. *Chipuro,* one of the traditional Italian words for *trullo,* has a Greek origin meaning "guardian of the cultivated field" (Branch 1966: 96), and may once have referred to outbuildings.

The most common stone *tumuli* in Palestine are simple stone heaps. Some of these could be ruined towers, but in agricultural areas most are surely repositories of stones cleared from the fields (Isa 5:2; Doughty 1936: 61; Ron 1966: 48–49). A low wall ringing the stone heap prevented dispersal of stones.

B. Route Markers, Tombs, and Memorials

Both stone heaps and towers sometimes served to mark roads in the desert. The usual biblical word for these heaps was *siyun.* In Jer 31:21 the "waymarks" mark the route of exile. In Arabic, *ʿalam* is a cairn used to mark the road for travelers and caravans (Doughty 1936: 96, 117, 403, 478; Oxtoby 1968: 33–34). Such waymarkers are necessary where there is only an indistinct track across the desert. They also serve to mark the locations of wells and pilgrim stations along the way. Usually they are simple heaps of stones, somewhat conical in shape, and 3–4 m in height.

Stone cairns often served as burial monuments (Gen 35:20; Isa 65:4; 2 Kgs 23:17; Ezek 39:15). Arab *rijjūm* likewise served as bedouin burial places (Doughty 1936). Cairns called *mantār* in Arabic were the "hasty graves of buried pilgrim 'witnesses' " (Doughty 1936: 117). Pre-Islamic burial cairns commonly exhibit Safaitic or Thamudic inscriptions (Harding 1953). Most are simple heaps of stones the living could go to slaughter sacrifices to the deceased, to pray, or to weep (Doughty 1936: 282). Some large *rijjūm* with central cists, and beehive-shaped structures in Sinai called *namūs* (pl. *nawamīs*), appear to have been barrows and tombs, some dating as early as the 4th millennium B.C. (Doughty 1936: 431–32). Some large earth-covered *tumuli,* similar in form to those of Thessaly and Anatolia, appear to be early Iron Age funerary monuments (Albright 1923; Amiran 1958).

Many *rijjum* apparently mark places where passersby threw stones to honor a deceased person, to mark the site of a battle, or for some other ideological reason (Buckingham 1825: 157; Hill 1891: 263; Hole 1978: 154–55; Lawrence 1926: 79). A number of biblical words for monuments could refer to such cairns (2 Kgs 23:17; 1 Sam 15:12; 2 Sam 18:18; 1 Chr 18:3; Isa 56:5).

C. Defensive Towers

A common interpretation of stone towers is that they were part of a military defense and communications system (e.g., Gese 1958; Hentschke 1960). In biblical passages towers are often isolated outposts where guards could watch for the approach of enemies (2 Kgs 17:9; 2 Chr 14:7; 20:24; 26:9; Isa 21:12). A less formalized military function for any *rujm* with a good view of the countryside was to permit herders or scouts to watch for the approach of enemy riders without fear of showing their silhouettes on the horizon (Musil 1927: 88–89, 138, 221).

Some towers served as fire signals in a chain of communication stations. Pre-Islamic poetry occasionally refers to cairns that are "surmounted by a beacon fire" (ar-Rashid 1980: 147), and the Arabic word for cairn *(ʿalam)* sometimes referred to a lighthouse or fire signal *(al-mantār).* Frontinus (1st century A.D.) noted that ancient Arabs employed smoke and fire signals to communicate enemy troop movements (*Strategemata* 2.5.16). From biblical through Ottoman times some towers served as police posts along roads (Burckhardt 1829: 60, 109, 129; Doughty 1936: 556–57).

Migdāl sometimes refers clearly to towers in the fortifications of a town or city (2 Kgs 14:7; 17:9; 2 Chr 14:6; 26:9, 15; Neh 3:1), to a stronghold within a town (Judg 9:51), or to isolated fortresses (2 Chr 27:4), also known by the word *mĕṣād* (1 Sam 23:14, 19, 29; Jer 48:41). Archaeologists have identified small hilltop forts built during the Iron Age in Palestine, the Negeb, and Sinai that may have numbered among the last (Mazar 1982). Later functional equivalents of these forts are probably the Roman *castella* (e.g., *ʿEn Boqeq,* Gichon 1973), usually small square forts with corner towers.

Other military terms in the biblical texts to describe towers include *bahin,* "siege tower" (Isa 23:13); *pinnâ,* "battlement" (Zeph 1:16; 3:6); and *miśgab,* "stronghold" (2 Sam 22:3; Ps 18:2).

D. Place Names and Temple Towers

The word *migdāl* occurred in many biblical place names that may refer to fortresses, fortified towns, or towns dominated by a towered temple (e.g., *Migdol,* Ezek 29:10; 30:6; *Migdal-Shechem,* Judg 9:46–49; *Migdal-Eder,* Gen 35:21; *Migdal-el,* Josh 19:38; *Migdal-gad,* Josh 15:37). Among the former we should probably include one or more fortresses along the border of Egypt and many fortified Asiatic settlements that appear in art of the Egyptian New Kingdom.

A number of towns with names incorporating the word *migdāl* may owe their names to temples that were their principal landmarks during the MB and LB ages. Prominent temples with thick walls and a pair of towers flanking the doorway have appeared in excavations at Shechem and several other sites in Palestine. While modern archaeologists often label some of these buildings "migdal temples," they are not necessarily the ones that ancient Hebrews meant by *migdāl.* Only the *Migdal-Shechem* has good support from both biblical and archaeological evidence (Wright 1965: 123–28).

The "tower of Babel" (Gen 11:4–5) probably represents another case where *migdāl* refers to a temple. There is

little doubt that the account recalls the ziggurat temples of Babylonia. See BABEL (PLACE).

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TOWN CLERK. See CITY AUTHORITIES.

TRACHONITIS (PLACE) [Gk *Trachōnitis*]. A region in the N Transjordan over which Herod Philip was tetrarch (Luke 3:1). In pre-Hellenistic times the region of Trachonitis was a part of the area known as Bashan. See BASHAN (PLACE). This region in the S part of modern Syria is also known as the Hauran.

This region was an administrative district characterized by its unique topography. The name Trachonitis has its etymological origins in the term Trachones, meaning "rough rocky areas." Strabo first uses this term to describe two areas in Syria (16.2.16–20). In S Syria, el-Leja and es-Safa fit this topographical description. These two largest black basalt lava flows cover hundreds of square miles and stand as much as fifty feet above the surrounding plain. The rocky area of es-Safa is quite inhospitable, and has not eroded to form any significant topsoil for vegetation to grow in. El-Leja, located closer to Damascus and the better-watered regions nearer the Mediterranean, is not as inhospitable as es-Safa. This lava flow issued from volcanoes of the Jebel Druze and flowed NW. In places, there are springs and sufficient topsoil in which to grow crops where eroded material has washed into depressions. This rugged country was the home of a sparse population of which little is known prior to the Greeks. The Ptolemaic administrative district of Trachonitis was one of three located NE of the Yarmuk River. This district included the Leja and the rugged plains around it. In the first century A.D., Josephus describes the boundaries of Trachonitis as being adjacent to Paneas at the base of Mt. Hermon in the NW, Gaulanitis in the W, Batanaea and Auranitis in the S, and the N boundary lying 25 miles S of Damascus (*Ant* 15.344ff).

Nabatean Arabs and other Arabs increasingly occupied the area while it was considered to be under Ptolemaic control. Nabatean inscriptions begin to appear in the area ca. 100 B.C. and continue through the time that the Romans incorporated the region into the province of Arabia. The Romans claimed control of the area under Pompey in 64 B.C., but held rather tenuous control through client rulers. Zenodorus ruled much of the area E of the Sea of Galilee ca. 30 B.C., including Trachonitis, following the settlement of Octavian. Under the rule of Zenodorus, and apparently with his encouragement, the people of the area raided the Damascenes and disrupted the S trade routes into the city. They then made their escape into their rugged homeland, avoiding reprisals. Caesar Augustus responded to this disruption of the peace by assigning his loyal and powerful client-king, Herod the Great, the task of controlling these peoples. Herod, in ca. 23 B.C., added Trachonitis to the territory he controlled. According to Josephus, *razias* (raids) were considered necessary for survival among the inhabitants of the region. In order to reduce the Trachonians' need to raid others in order to survive, Herod promoted agriculture and eventually settled a colony of 3,000 Idumeans in the area (ca. 12 B.C.). Nearby, he also settled a military colony of Jews from Babylonia at Bathyra in Batanaea to help maintain the *Pax Romana.* Nonetheless, in 9 B.C., while Herod was away in Rome patching up relations with his oldest sons, the people of Trachonitis rose in revolt and had to be violently suppressed. When Herod the Great died in 4 B.C., his territory E of the Sea of Galilee was bequeathed to Herod

Philip (*Ant* 17.319). Philip was affirmed as tetrarch of this region, including Trachonitis, by Augustus. Philip's realm was occupied by a mixed population of Jews, Syrians, and Arabs (*JW* 3.58). His reign was mild and peaceful, and he promoted a prosperous province loyal to Rome until his death in A.D. 34 (Strabo 16.2.20). Philo (*Gaium*, 41) used the term Trachonitis to refer to all of Philip's realm, but this usage is not adopted by Josephus or other ancient authors.

Upon Philip's death, control of Trachonitis temporarily reverted to the governor of Syria while a successor was chosen (*Ant* 18.106). In A.D. 38, Gaius Caligula granted control of Trachonitis and the surrounding districts to Agrippa I, the grandson of Herod the Great. He followed Philip's example of maintaining peace in the area until his death in A.D. 44. Trachonitis once again reverted to the supervision of the governor of Syria until Agrippa II was old enough to follow in his family's footsteps as a loyal Roman client-ruler in A.D. 53. Under Agrippa II, the office of general of the nomads helped to maintain peaceful relations in the arid regions between nomads and sedentary agriculturalists. Agrippa II continued to control Trachonitis after the Jewish revolt, until ca. A.D. 98. The region of Trachonitis was then absorbed into the province of Syria until A.D. 295, when it became a part of the province of Arabia. Trachonitis reached the apogee of its prosperity in the early years of the 2d century A.D. Evidence of the settlement of the region is seen in the impressive basalt buildings that remain, similar to those of Bosra and Umm el-Jimmal. Early churches of this area are similarly built. Important archaeological sites in Trachonitis include Si and Qanawat. Philip the Arab, who became emperor of Rome in the mid-3d century, came from Shahba, a city of Trachonitis on the W slopes of Jebel Druze. Early archaeological surveys of the region were conducted by numerous travelers, such as Gotleib Schumacher. The most thorough recent work is that conducted by J.-M. Dentzer.

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TRADE AND COMMERCE. Trade is the exchange of goods, especially the buying and selling of commodities. Commerce connotes trade on a larger scale involving transportation of the goods between places. This entry consists of two articles that survey trade and commerce in the biblical world of the ANE and E Mediterranean: the first focuses on the pre-Hellenistic ANE, and the second focuses on the period of the Roman empire.

ANCIENT NEAR EAST

A. Meaning of Trade
1. Money
2. Markets
3. Resources and Needs
B. Trade in the 3d and 2d Millennia B.C.E.
1. Early Trade
2. Persian Gulf Trade
3. Importing Mesopotamian Luxury Goods
4. Old Assyrian Trade
5. Amarna Age Trade
6. Ugaritic Trade
C. Trade in the 1st Millennium B.C.E.
1. Phoenician Trade
2. Solomon's Trade
3. Desert Trade
4. Urban Trade in Mid-Millennium
D. Attitudes Toward Trade

A. Meaning of Trade

Anthropologists suggest that trade is a mechanism by which new ideas diffuse among cultures, and it has the advantage for modern students of sometimes leaving traces in the archaeological record. The ancients participated in trade in order to supplement the goods that were available in their immediate environment, and most probably they did so in order to pursue economic gain in a broad sense (Adams 1974). Though trade contact is frequently an attractive hypothesis for scholars trying to explain change in ancient societies, it does not seem that what we would regard as international trade is really very important economically in terms of volume of goods exchanged or the value of the goods (Leemans 1977). Most ANE economies were creating many more goods and services at home than they were importing.

It is not always easy to distinguish trade from robbery on the one hand and diplomacy on the other. Vagabonds who used force to wrench goods from travelers might be sanctioned by some prince, while tribute paid by a weak king to a great one might be an effort to prevent robbery. Also, diplomats represented the presents they delivered as freewill gifts, but they fully expected them to be matched by the receiver. Though there is much ANE evidence for calmer, more day-to-day exchanges, goods changed hands in all these situations.

1. Money. In early periods, silver was widely used as a form of money, supplemented in Mesopotamia by grain and sometimes other staples. In the Middle Babylonian period (1360–1155 B.C.E.), gold appears to have been the standard of value (Edzard 1960). Decisions about what monies to use probably were not made by the governments involved but evolved slowly over time from custom and the availability of the precious goods that constituted the standard. Coinage did not arise until the middle of the first millennium B.C.E. in Asia Minor, but before that time small bits of silver were broken off and weighed for each transaction (Eilers 1957).

2. Markets. There is controversy about the existence of markets in the ANE, which derives from Herodotus' reported statement of Cyrus' that implies that the Persians have no markets, or rather, no places for cheating other people, as the Greeks did (Hdt. 1.153). But recent study suggests that although Near Eastern cities usually do not have large open places within them, they do have price-setting markets which may have come together at city gates or more informally on the outskirts of towns (Röllig 1976; cf. 2 Kgs 7:1). The quay, Akk *kārum*, was frequently a

focus of trade, since it was where foreign goods were first unloaded and sold.

Market conditions in Egypt are harder to gauge, because so few cities have been excavated. But there is an important theory that argues that the unification of the Egyptian state around 3100 B.C.E. occurred as a response to the interest of people from Mesopotamia in the gold deposits in Egypt's E desert. The rulers of nomes or counties in S Egypt may have believed that they needed to control the whole river in order to ensure that others would not be able to deprive them of access to the gold finds. We see in the Gerzean and Early Dynastic periods in Egypt, about 3500 to 2686 B.C.E., artistic affinities to Mesopotamia that may point to the existence and importance of this trade, though those affinities die out after the first two Egyptian dynasties (Trigger 1983: 31–33, 37–40, 60).

3. Resources and Needs. Mesopotamia is poor in mineral resources but in antiquity was rich in agricultural products. Its exports probably are mostly invisible to us now, because wool and grain decay (Crawford 1973). The rivers and canals of the region made transportation cheap, though, and it is likely that even bulky goods could be moved some distance from their place of production.

Mesopotamia imported precious and semiprecious stones from the E, notably lapis lazuli, a blue stone which comes from Baluchistan in Afghanistan and was beloved for cylinder seals and pendants. Also, woods of various kinds were imported, usually from the Iranian mountains, and sometimes from the W, including Lebanon. The origin of the tin that was alloyed with copper to make bronze in Mesopotamia is still unclear, but tin usually reached Mesopotamia from the E, implying sources in Iran, while the copper may have come from Asia Minor and up the Persian Gulf (Muhly 1973).

Syria and Palestine are relatively poor in mineral resources and probably imported most semiprecious stones from Asia Minor and elsewhere. The ivory in which reliefs were carved may have come from local elephants; we have references to them from as recently as the 8th century B.C.E. Timber was available from stands in what is now Lebanon, which were important in Solomon's building efforts (1 Kgs 5). It is clear that most of the Near East at one time or another turned to these stands for lumber, termed in the Bible the "cedars of Lebanon," a symbol of strength, as in Judg 9:15 and Isa 2:13. Over the course of the millennia the stands were not replenished except by natural processes, which eventually were insufficient to keep up with demand (Klengel 1967).

Egypt, like Mesopotamia, is itself poor in mineral resources, but it is near gold deposits in its E desert and the sources of other exotic products in sub-Saharan Africa. Egyptians were probably dependent upon resinous products in Syria for some of their embalming needs.

Along with trade in material goods, there was doubtless early trade in human beings. Although slavery did not supply a major portion of the labor force in any ANE society, the writing of the word for slave in Sumerian indicates that Mesopotamians thought of slaves as men originally coming from foreign lands.

B. Trade in the 3d and 2d Millennia B.C.E.

1. Early Trade. Trade is early attested in the Near East by obsidian blades found in Neolithic village sites; obsidian, a glass formed in volcanoes, was valued for knives and was available from the mountains in what is now Turkey. The trade in obsidian may have been one in which people in one village sent the item on to those in another; it may not have involved any big investment in time on anyone's part. Çatal Hüyük in S Turkey was a center for the trade in obsidian in the 6th millennium B.C.E. The trade may have been important in offering a familiar highway for the exchange of information about the domestication of plants and animals. Already in the Ubaid Period in S Mesopotamia, about 5500–3500 B.C.E., there are bits of lapis lazuli, showing some sort of contact with the E (*RLA* 4: 77).

Egypt had a close relationship with the town of Byblos on the Lebanese coast from Early Dynastic times, 3100–2868 B.C.E. Fancy Egyptian objects are found there, and the interest for the Egyptians was the timber that the hinterland of Byblos produced. One may assume that this contact was largely by sea, and it continued whenever Egypt was unified and powerful (*CAH* 1/2: 343–51).

Ebla in N Syria (2400–2200 B.C.E.) shows a lively trade with the E, but there is also a cartouche, an oval ornamental frame with the sovereign's name, of Pepy II of Egypt (about 2200 B.C.E.), indicating connections with Egypt. The city of Mari down the Euphrates appears frequently in the Ebla texts, and there are indications that Ebla may have dominated Mari economically (Archi 1981: 154; Pettinato 1977).

2. Persian Gulf Trade. From the OAkk period (2334–2193 B.C.E.), there are indications that there was a seaborne trade between the Indus Valley civilization and Mesopotamia through the Persian Gulf and also probably an overland trade through what is now Iran. The remains of the trade are curiously one-sided; Indian seals are found in Mesopotamia, but nothing much Mesopotamian is found in India. In Mesopotamian texts there is mention of two ports or regions from which exotic goods were to be imported called Magan and Meluhha. Various identifications have been proposed, but it appears that in early periods these places are to be sought along the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean (During-Caspers 1972). But in the 1st millennium B.C.E., it is clear that Magan and Meluhha refer to Egypt and Sudan (*RGTC* 5: 182).

In the OB period (2004–1595 B.C.E.), we can trace the activities of seafaring merchants from Ur, the southernmost important Mesopotamian city. They ventured out to an island called Dilmun, which was probably Failaka near Kuwait or maybe Bahrain further down the gulf. There the merchants went with textiles to trade for copper (Oppenheim 1954). In the Middle Babylonian period (1360–1155 B.C.E.), the Persian Gulf trade picks up again, and there are letters from Dilmun in the Persian Gulf found at Nippur in central Mesopotamia (*RLA* 4: 87; *RGTC* 5: 182, 195, 261).

3. Importing Mesopotamian Luxury Goods. The trade in precious items can be followed through several centuries in administrative documents from S Mesopotamia, especially the city of Umma, which may have been in a good position to be a transshipment point for goods coming down from the Iranian hills. In the OAkk period (2334–2193 B.C.E.), we have texts that show that some of this trade was in the hands of merchants who may have worked as acquisitions agents for the government, but who also may

have had commissions from individuals to buy goods. We cannot tell from the texts if these merchants traveled, but someone must have traveled and brought foreign goods to markets in Umma, since they are available there (Foster 1977).

A continuation of this trade can be seen in the series of texts from the Ur III period (2112–2004 B.C.E.) which record, along with a great many goods that were locally produced, many that came from abroad. The interesting thing about these texts is that they recorded the prices of everything purchased in weights of silver. They also recorded the prices of all the goods that were regarded as capital; that is, goods that were sold to get silver to pay for the acquisitions. This is the world's earliest price series, and over the 15 years that it covers, it shows that this part of the S Mesopotamian economy experienced remarkable economic stability.

The capital that the Umma merchants were given, usually by city government officials, included silver, fish, leather products, grains, wools, and occasionally dates. The merchants acquired alkalies, bitumens and gypsums, fruits, metals, oils, reed, resins and spices, tanning agents, timber, and vegetables, and less frequently they received wools and grains. The metals bought included lead, gold, and copper (Snell 1977; 1982: 114–81, 208–16).

The fact that the texts recorded prices shows explicitly that the government did not control all aspects of the economy and had to spend its capital to get the goods it needed. Though collections of legal instances, like Hammurapi's so-called code, sometimes include lists of prices, there is no evidence that these tariffs were ever enforced; like the other stipulations in the legal texts, the price lists are probably meant only to show what was regarded as a fair and just price for commodities and services (Snell 1982: 204–7).

Though the merchants in the Ur III Umma texts probably worked for the state, they may also have had private commissions. The status of the merchants themselves is not known, but it is probably wrong to draw a clear official-private dichotomy in the ancient world. We would not have these texts if the merchants had not been supplying government bureaus (Snell 1982; 1988).

Similar long-distance trade interests can be traced in texts from the OB period (2004–1595 B.C.E.). Precious stones and metals, perfumes, and drugs were the most important things imported in the period, and Mesopotamia continued to export produce, leather, and oils, and to transship tin. There is evidence of these kinds of activities in several OB cities, including Ur, Larsa, Sippar, and Babylon; up the Euphrates near what is now the Syrian-Iraqi border, the city of Mari was an important center for importing tin and copper. It is likely that the last king of Larsa, Rim-Sin (1822–1763 B.C.E.), suppressed the trade or at least stepped up control in the latter years of his reign (Leemans 1950; 1960).

Again in the NB period (627–539 B.C.E.), there was a similar network of trade operating (Oppenheim 1967). Goods imported included copper, dye, tin, lapis lazuli, alum from Egypt, iron from Lebanon and from Ionia *(Yamana)*, honey, wine, resins, and, oddly enough, wool (perhaps really cotton or even silk) and linen. The goods may have been brought down the Euphrates from Carchemish, and the few relevant texts come from Uruk in S Mesopotamia. The merchants who bought the goods were working not only for temples but also for private individuals. The capital goods for these operations were those that Mesopotamia produced in abundance—grain and wool.

4. Old Assyrian Trade. The best documented trade is that of the Old Assyrian period. Merchants from the N Mesopotamian city of Assur imported tin, probably from Iran, and transshipped it to Asia Minor, where locals combined the tin with copper to make bronze. The merchants also exported textiles from Mesopotamia and came back with copper and also huge profits in gold, sometimes as much as 100 percent on a single trip, which took a couple of months. We know about the trade because of large caches of cuneiform texts consisting of more than 16,000 documents that were kept by the leading merchants who lived in Asia Minor. The merchants may have intended eventually to return home, but their livelihood depended on the Asia Minor trade. Many intermarried with the locals, and all depended on the protection of local magnates to do their business (Garelli 1963; Larsen 1967; Veenhof 1972).

The trade was organized by a group of merchants who called themselves the *kārum*, "the quay" par excellence. Money was accumulated in the Assyrian capital, Assur, from investors. It was entrusted to a traveling agent, who received one third of the profit. The agent carried his capital in a sack as he moved his goods by donkey to Anatolia, usually to Kaneš, the most important Anatolian trade center. Note the association of sacks (Heb *ṣĕrôr*) and merchant ventures in Prov 7:20.

The Old Assyrian trade lasted from about 1900 to about 1820 B.C.E., and we can trace three generations of families involved in it; the trade was later resumed for a generation between about 1780 and 1730 B.C.E. The texts are dated in the Assyrian system of naming the year after an official; we have more than 80 such dates, but we do not know the order of the officials (*RLA* 4: 92). Still, the texts give fascinating glimpses of life in the Assyrian enclaves and of the complexities of dealing with the locals. Native princes wanted to collect tolls and custom duties from the merchants, and merchants preferred when possible not to pay. Consequently, smuggling was an art that was sometimes profitable (Veenhof 1972: 305–42). Apparently the trade shut down because it became unprofitable and not particularly because of the arrival of new ethnic groups, including the Hittites.

We are very poorly informed about trade in areas controlled by Hittite kings, because there are few relevant archival texts. But the Hittites certainly had merchants, as we see in a fragmentary text in epic style that sketches some of their activities. The text is from the period of the Hittite Empire, 1380–1215 B.C.E., though it may go back to earlier sources. It sees the merchants' bringing "plenty and abundance." Concretely, they bring barley, maybe grapes, silver, gold, lapis lazuli, stones, iron, copper, and tin, as well as animals and people taken as booty; the text envisions the merchants driving a caravan of goods and people along for sale (Hoffner 1968).

5. Amarna Age Trade. Direct contact between Mesopotamia and Egypt is not clear until the Middle Babylonian

period, around 1360 B.C.E. There is a tantalizing indication that there was indirect contact in the form of a treasure, found at Tod in Upper Egypt, which has a horde of Mesopotamian cylinder seals with a cartouche of Amenemhat II (1929–1895 B.C.E.), though the horde may be a collection made considerably later.

In the Middle Babylonian period, we have from Egypt an archive of cuneiform tablets written mostly in Akkadian language and found in the capital city of el-Amarna. Most famous for showing the disruptions in contemporary Palestine, they also attest to international trade in gold and other fine goods among Babylonia, Mitanni (which was the Indo-European-ruled Hurrian kingdom on the upper Habur River), the Hittite empire in Asia Minor, and Egypt. The non-Egyptian rulers in general exchanged finely made clothes and other goods for Egyptian gold. Kings of Babylon sent lapis lazuli and other stones in exchange for gold, woods, and ivory (*RLA* 4: 85). This trade was a form of diplomatic exchange rather than a regular mercantile system, although it is clear from the letters revealing the exchanges that the rulers certainly had come to expect a certain level of trade, and the Egyptian contributions sometimes disappointed them (Edzard 1960).

At the end of the period, we have an Egyptian tale about an official, Wen-Amon, who traveled to the Syrian coast to buy wood and got into misadventures when he lost his money (Lichtheim *AEL* 2: 224–30). The story, which dates to soon after 1080 B.C.E., shows that the trade the Egyptians had come to rely on was imperiled by the decay of international stability.

6. Ugaritic Trade. Cuneiform texts from Ugarit on the N Syrian coast between 1400 and 1200 B.C.E. reveal a transshipment spot for Syrian agricultural goods and fine art goods coming from the Aegean Sea. The trade appears to be firmly controlled by the local government, though the documents of course come from governmental archives (Heltzer 1978). Wood was available in Ugarit presumably from stands in the countryside, which the city dominated.

C. Trade in the 1st Millennium B.C.E.

1. Phoenician Trade. The Phoenicians, who lived along the Lebanese and Syrian coast, traded widely by sea across the Mediterranean and by 900 B.C.E. had even set up colonies as far away as Spain. Their seamanship was legendary, and they are said even to have circumnavigated Africa (Hdt. 4.42, though Herodotus did not believe it). But lacking navigational instruments, they had to hug the coast. Their colonies were small and situated on promontories and islands that were easily defensible from the mainland; this shows that they were not interested in colonizing the hinterlands but just in setting up trading posts. Carthage on the Tunisian coast was the only large city that they founded (Harden 1962; Bunnens 1979).

The objects of trade probably included oils and wines from Syria and Greece, wood from Lebanon, and the purple dye obtainable from a mollusk on the Mediterranean coast. The color purple, *phoinix* in Greek, probably gave the Phoenicians their Greek name. They never used the name of themselves but referred to their major city of origin, calling themselves Sidonians (Muhly 1970: 33–34).

The Phoenicians were the first to use the immediate forerunner of the alphabet as a writing system; this system they shared with the Greeks, who developed it into a real alphabet in which all phonemes in Greek could be represented (Brown 1981).

2. Solomon's Trade. The Bible makes clear that Solomon was involved in an active trade in horses and chariots, perhaps serving as a middleman between Egypt and Anatolia (1 Kgs 10:28–29). He may also have had horse farms near Hamath (2 Chr 8:3–4). This trade was probably limited to luxurious items and may not have affected the general prosperity (Ikeda 1982). In 1 Kgs 9:26–28 and 10:11–12, we have the story of Solomon's cooperation with the Phoenicians to launch a fleet on the Red Sea to get gold. The visit of the queen of Sheba in 1 Kgs 10:1–10 may be a memory of a trade in spices, gold, and precious stones. Gowan (1922) has provided an analysis of the origins of foreign goods mentioned in the Hebrew Bible.

3. Desert Trade. With the advent of the camel in the ANE before 1000 B.C.E., merchants could routinely cross the Syrian desert, creating new trade routes and energizing old cities like Damascus. This trade is associated with people whose names can be understood as Arabic, and in 312 B.C.E. we see that the Nabateans dominated the trade with a network of routes in S Syria, Jordan, and Arabia (Negev 1986: 2). These Arabic-speakers wrote in Aramaic, and most of their records were probably on perishable material like parchment. The most important commodities moved seem to have been spices, probably imported from India and Africa (Bowersock 1983: 15–16).

4. Urban Trade in Mid-Millennium. Under the Neo-Assyrians almost nothing is known of the mechanisms of trade, but there clearly were foreign goods and foreign influences. Commerce even with India is shown by the presence of cotton (*RLA* 4: 87). In the Neo-Babylonian period many foreigners lived in Babylonia, but Babylonian merchants were not to be found in the W; under Nebuchadnezzar II (604–562 B.C.E.) the chief merchant in Babylon actually had a Phoenician name, *Hannūnu* (for Phoen *Hanno;* Oppenheim 1967: 253). In the long peace of the 6th century B.C.E., after the Persians had united most of the civilized world, the scale of commerce in Mesopotamia became much broader than ever before (Dandamayev 1971).

Little is known about retail trade in Mesopotamia, though the word for retail trader, *sāhiru* (cognate to Heb *sōḥēr*, "merchant"), has been identified (Landsberger 1967: 179–90). Also there were wandering salt and wine sellers in Neo-Babylonian cities (Oppenheim 1970: 21 and n. 54).

D. Attitudes Toward Trade

There were both positive and negative feelings about trade in the ANE. Mesopotamian rulers were aware that it was in their interest to ensure that merchants, and especially seaborne merchants, be safe and free to go as they pleased (Finkelstein 1967: 67). Rulers granted tax immunity to traders and also boasted of the quality and variety of goods available during their reigns.

But there are also negative evaluations of the traders themselves. The passage in Ezek 28:5–7 about the Phoenician city of Tyre seems to see trade as a source of sin. And one Heb word for profit, *beṣaʿ*, usually has the sense of "unjust gain," as in Exod 18:21 where Moses' father-in-

law advises him to appoint as judges "able men from all the people, such as fear God, men who are trustworthy and hate gain (RSV: a bribe)."

Some Mesopotamians may have had a similar attitude, but it is harder to find in their texts. Mesopotamians were aware of unscrupulous merchants and believed that cheating in commerce was displeasing to the gods (Lambert *BWL*, 121–38, esp. lines 103–23; Nakata 1971).

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DANIEL C. SNELL

ROMAN EMPIRE

Trade and commerce in the Roman world from the late 1st century B.C. until the 4th century A.D. underwent some fundamental alterations, yet there were some aspects which remained basically unchanged. At the beginning of the period the Mediterranean basin contained a number of independent/semi-independent political states in commercial-diplomatic contact and conflict with one another and with Rome. The larger states, Seleucid Syria (until 64 B.C.), Ptolemaic Egypt (until 30 B.C.), Hasmonean and later Herodian Judea (until the 1st century A.D.), Nabatean Arabia (until A.D. 106), states in Asia Minor (Galatia until 25 B.C., Cappadocia until A.D. 18, Commagene until the 1st century A.D.) and other smaller eastern powers, both nominally independent client states of Rome and autonomous entities, as well as the few independent states in the W (the kingdom of Mauretania until the 1st century A.D.), interacted as commercially independent, if not completely politically autonomous states. By the 4th century A.D. the entire Mediterranean basin had been unified politically under the aegis of Rome. Political unification by the 4th century also brought with it a unified system of coinage and laws regulating the commerce, though not a completely unified economy. This 4th-century economy was less *laissez-faire* than that of the 1st and 2d centuries. By the 4th century the state and the church took an increased interest and role in commerce, often at the expense of the independent entrepreneur (Whittaker 1983a: 163–80). This transformation from the 1st century B.C. until the 4th century A.D. was gradual, the by-product of a series of patchwork-stopgap solutions to economic problems rather than a deliberate long-term policy initiated by the Roman central government.

A. Imperial Commerce
B. Monetarization of the Roman Economy
C. Inflation
D. Roman Banking
E. Transportation
F. The Merchant/Entrepreneur Class

G. Slavery
H. External Trade

A. Imperial Commerce

Italy initially dominated and was the center of much of the trade and commerce in the Western empire, especially in fine ware pottery manufacturing at centers in Arretium, the Po Valley, and the Bay of Naples regions. Italian wines also had large markets both in the peninsula and abroad, but throughout the 1st and subsequent centuries Italy lost this prominence. Potteries in Gaul, North Africa, and Spain gradually supplanted the fine Italian-made wares. Italian-made ceramics had never dominated the eastern Mediterranean market, where a long tradition of fine ware pottery manufacture predated the Roman by some time. In glass manufacture the Hellenistic centers in Egypt and Syria, from the Augustan period on, witnessed increased competition from factories in the west in Italy, Gaul, and the Rhine Valley. Wines and olive oils were imported in increasingly large quantities to Rome, especially from Spain, Gaul, and North Africa, as is evident from amphorae remains at Monte Testaccio (Almeida 1984; Tchernia 1986). Although Italy would still claim *de jure* political prominence over the provinces until the 3d century, its preeminent position as a manufacturing and production center passed to the provinces (Rostovtzeff 1957: 162–69) by the late 1st–2d centuries A.D.

The cause-effect relationship between Rome's frequent foreign wars and the empire's economic prosperity has been debated frequently. Is Marxist economic interpretation of history accurate? Did the desire for economic gain promote or at least partially cause many of Rome's wars? Some argue that economic gain to the Romans was an integral part of a successful war, that to the Roman aristocrats it was impossible to dissociate the expectation of gain in the form of land, plunder, slaves, and tribute from the expectation of a successful war (Harris 1979: 2, 54, 56–57; North 1981: 1–9). Others rebut the Marxist concept of historical materialism (Frank 1912–13: 233–52; Badian 1968: 16–28; Hatzfeld 1919: 369–76). One scholar asserts that none of Rome's foreign wars were economically motivated (Finley 1985: 157–58). There is little doubt, however, that economic benefits could result from successful military expeditions and the acquisition of new territory (Sidebotham 1986: 113–74) and that at least one of Rome's foreign military adventures during the principate—that of Aelius Gallus to South Arabia in 26–25 B.C.—was economically motivated (Sidebotham 1986: 120–30).

B. Monetarization of the Roman Economy

Coinage was in widespread use throughout the empire, especially in the urban areas and among the military. However, it is difficult to determine how extensive the use of coinage was in many rural regions. Many commercial transactions may have involved barter rather than coinage. Certainly during the economic, political, and military troubles of the 3d century much of the economy seems to have been conducted by barter. The central government issued gold, silver, and aes coins. In many regions of the empire local aes issues supplemented imperial coinage (in Asia Minor, Palestine and the East in general, areas of Spain and southern Gaul) to meet the exigencies of local commerce. In some cases, even local issues of silver continued (Asia Minor). Egypt remained, after the Roman annexation of 30 B.C., a separate economic unit with regard to coinage. The mint at Alexandria coined billon (debased silver) and aes coinage of a standard different from that of the central government. These various local coinages, along with other indices, including the existence of regional tax zones which did not necessarily coincide with provincial borders (de Laet 1949: 119), reveal that the Roman empire was not a unified economic system, but a collection of various regional and local systems interacting to various degrees. There was a gradual trend toward unification of the imperial coinage and the elimination of all locally and regionally minted issues. This was accomplished by the reforms of Diocletian and his Tetrarchic colleagues in the late 3d/early 4th centuries and their minting of a series of aes, silver, and gold coins of good quality (West 1951: 290–302; Erim et al. 1971: 171–77). Accompanying this coinage reform was the first recorded attempt at empire-wide control of wages and prices: the Edict of Maximum Prices. This fiat was not a success (West 1951: 290–302; Erim and Reynolds 1970: 120–41; 1973: 99–110). The basic *laissez-faire* nature of the Roman economy, the size of the empire, and the inability or lack of willingness to enforce the edict resulted in its failure. Neither the unification of the coinage nor the edict reveals, however, a unified economic system, although this may have been one of the objectives. See also COINAGE.

C. Inflation

Inflation was a factor in Roman trade and commerce in this period. Initially, Augustus (27 B.C.–A.D. 14) issued a series of high-quality aes, silver, and gold coins. Over the following four hundred years this system underwent a gradual modification and eventual abandonment and replacement. Inflation was historically handled by the government by debasing the fineness and decreasing the weight of the silver and gold issues and decreasing the weight and size of the aes issues. This resulted in minting a greater number of coins with the same amount of metal, which, theoretically, allowed the government to meet its expenses with a lesser amount of precious metal. Along with this there were unsuccessful attempts by the government to have the public accept debased issues at fiduciary face value rather than judging the value of the coins by the fineness and weight of the metals contained therein. Judging by prices and coinage devaluations, inflation was not severe during the 1st and 2d centuries, but in the course of the 3d century prices rose dramatically, and quality silver coinage ceased to be minted and was replaced by massive issues of a silver-washed coinage; the minting of lower-weight gold issues continued throughout the 3d century. Much of the economy, even payment of troops, seems to have reverted to a barter system. This was only rectified by the Tetrarchic, Constantinian, and later-4th-century coinage reforms (Jones 1974c: 187–227; Duncan-Jones 1982: 7–11, 66–67, 71, 255, 356–57, 366; West 1951: 290–302; Mattingly 1962: 177–78, 250–55).

D. Roman Banking

The Roman banking system was primitive. Much capital was reinvested in land or used for noncommercial, non-

growth endeavors—conspicuous consumption and the construction of ostentatious public buildings—and not diverted into commercial enterprises. Capital might be loaned at very high rates of interest to provincial communities or client kings (Jones 1974a: 118–21) or to merchants in the form of bottomry loans (Jones 1974c: 187), etc., but in general, low-interest loans for commercial purposes were rare (cf. government incentives to *naviculari* carrying grain to the capital: Garnsey 1983a: 56–65; 1983b: 118–30; Hopkins 1983: 84–109; Casson 1984: 96–116). Letters of credit and instruments of transfer were seldom used. Nevertheless to evaluate the status of Roman trade and commerce only on the basis of the relatively backward banking system is misleading.

E. Transportation

The argument that Roman trade and commerce was backward and non-growth-oriented owing to attitudes, technological backwardness and stagnation, and lack of a surplus money supply among most of the population (with the concomitant lack of buying power) (Garnsey and Saller 1987: 43–63) has flaws. The bulk of the population was poor, but they had sufficient purchasing power to obtain textiles, pottery, glass, metal goods, and staple foods, much of which was imported from some distance away (Carandini 1983: 145–62). By ancient standards the economy of the Roman empire, seen as a whole, was progressive. The government placed few restrictions on merchants; tariffs, tolls, and taxes were slight on wares passing from one region to another within the empire (Sidebotham 1986: 104–5). Port, harbor, canal, road warehouse, and other commercially related transportation infrastructure construction, repair, and expansion continued throughout the 1st and 2d centuries. Items carried over long distances were not only bulk staples such as grain (especially wheat and barley), wine, and olive oil, but also textiles, stone, timber, metals, ceramic wares, including roof tiles and bricks, and, of course, luxury goods. Fluidity of long-distance interregional or trans-Mediterranean commerce was greater at river or sea ports because of the relatively inexpensive waterborne transport (Greene 1986: 17–35). Inland regions had a lesser degree of commercial interaction with distant locations because of the high cost of landborne transport (Greene 1986: 35–44; White 1984: 127–40; Duncan-Jones 1982: 366–69), but undoubtedly did a high volume of commercial transactions within the immediate region (Hopkins 1983: 85) and, perhaps, a higher volume of longer-distance trade than has heretofore been commonly believed (Hopkins 1978: 42–47).

The need to provide the army with supplies, including ceramics, metals, stone, timber, and basic food stuffs, undoubtedly played a role in the development of long-distance trade and trade to and beyond frontier regions (Middleton 1983: 75–83; Pucci 1983: 105–17; Whittaker 1983b: 110–27), but it is impossible to determine what proportion of the empire's overall trade involved supplying the military. The military manufactured some ceramics and bricks for its own use (Peacock 1982: 136–50) and undoubtedly produced some of its own food.

Urban areas in the Roman empire were centers of consumption and production. There was a symbiotic relationship between urban/municipal areas and the surrounding rural regions. The bulk of the underpinning of the Roman economy was rural agriculture. Thus, urban areas were very dependent upon rural for basic agricultural necessities. Yet, the economic vitality of the countryside depended to a great extent upon wealthy land-owning aristocrats, many of whom dwelt in nearby cities and towns, and to transportation networks which radiated from urban areas (Hopkins 1978: 68–77; Jones 1974b: 35–60; Finley 1985: 123–49). The nearby cities and towns also produced many of the basic manufactured goods (pottery, cloth, glass, metal goods) consumed by the rural populations and were the centers of government and tax collection (Garnsey and Saller 1987: 56–57). Rural populations regularly visited nearby towns and cities for market days and religious holidays (MacMullen 1974: 28–56).

Ancient artistic evidence in the form of reliefs, mosaics, and glass bottles with ancient literary testimony and recent underwater excavations of ancient merchant ships and harbors attest to the relative sophistication of the transportation system. The art depicts both land and water transport. While banditry, costs, and length of time increased the hazards and limited the range of land transport, there was a superb road system which could be used, except in very mountainous areas, throughout most of the year. While most major paved roads were built initially with military considerations in mind, merchants could also use them (White 1984: 93–100). In some cases, short lengths of paved roads existed almost solely for commercial purposes. The *diolkos*—a paved road—connected the Saronic and Corinthian gulfs in Greece (MacDonald 1986: 191–95), and a similar roadway at Ras Banas, N of Berenice on the Red Sea coast of Egypt (Burstein fc.), served primarily if not exclusively commercial transportation purposes. Harnesses for draft animals and conveyances may not have been as inefficient and crude as previously believed (Greene 1986: 36–43; White 1984: 127–40).

Seaborne commerce basically took place from March to November. Winter weather prevented most sailing on the Mediterranean. Seaborne commerce was subject to storms, but piracy in this period in the Mediterranean was practically unknown. Merchant ships and riverboats (White 1984: 141–56, 210–13; Greene 1986: 17–35) excavated in Germany, the Netherlands, off the south coast of France (Madrague de Griens and Marseilles), Italy (Albenga and Torre Sgarrata), one of the Greek islands (Antikythera), Turkey (Yassi Ada), and Israel (Caesarea Maritima) attest to the sophisticated, careful construction of merchant vessels in this period which were mainly ships of 100 tons or less (Houston 1988: 553–64). Their ability to tack, making use of even the most adverse winds, has recently been demonstrated (White 1984: 143–45). Excavations of Roman harbor complexes in North Africa (Carthage and Lepcis Magna), in Italy (Ostia and Cosa), in Greece (Cenchreia), in Israel (Caesarea Maritima), and elsewhere have revealed that the Romans had a sophisticated knowledge of underwater currents, problems of silting and a technology which allowed them to build large breakwaters underwater from hydraulic concrete (Hohlfelder *ANRW* 2/37/4). Such large, sophisticated harbor facilities seem, however, to have been exceptional (Houston 1988: 553–64). See also TRAVEL AND COMMUNICATION.

F. The Merchant/Entrepreneur Class

Roman writers, many of whom were aristocrats, traditionally looked down upon merchants and traders (D'Arms 1981: 3–5). Prevailing sentiment among aristocrats was that they did not engage in such activities, but were gentlemen farmers. This impression is somewhat misleading. Some landed aristocracy did engage in commerce (Pleket 1983: 131–44; D'Arms 1981: 1–19, 48–71). Anything produced on their estates was worthy of sale, and this might include pottery, tiles, or other manufactured products (D'Arms 1981: 72–96). Trafficking in such wares did not carry a stigma; in the late 3d–2d centuries B.C., the need for a law limiting the size of a transport ship which an aristocrat might use to ship his wares to market (Livy 21.63.3–4; *lex Claudia de Senatoribus*) belied the literary topos. Often, aristocrats and the emperors themselves avoided the stigma of engaging in trade and commerce directly by having agents (usually trusted slaves or freedmen) engage on their behalf with the patron, in many cases supplying the capital (Kirschenbaum 1987: 31–88; D'Arms 1981: 39–40, 44, 63, 66, 78, 89, 103–4, 141, 155, 158).

Epigraphic evidence, in the form of tombstones, and in Egypt also numerous ostraca and papyri, reveals the social status and origins of many merchants. Slaves, freedmen, and freeborn people, both male and female, from all areas of the empire, engaged in commerce. The nomenclature and geographical origins of some enable scholars to trace connections to prominent aristocratic families both in Italy and in the provinces (D'Arms 1981: 1–19; Sidebotham 1986: 78–102). While many of the entrepreneurs themselves were not from the Roman senatorial order, and were of relatively low rank or status on the social scale, their power and prestige—gained as a result of wealth from their trade—might be great. The ostentatious, rich freedman Trimalchio in the 1st-century-A.D. novel *Satyricon* was a parody of persons of his wealth regardless of social standing (D'Arms 1981: 97–120).

Merchants were *mercatores* (Gk *emporoi*), *navicularii* (Gk *naukleroi*) and *caupones* (Gk *kapeloi*). Trading firms *(collegia)* were not companies in the modern sense; merchants/entrepreneurs invested directly into a trading venture and not into their *collegia* for a specific commercial venture. Liability seems to have been personal. Often, in the city of Rome at least, such business firms or partnerships were expressed in terms of friendship *(amicitia)* and were usually temporary. The concept of a commercial agency was never fully developed in Roman law (Jones 1974b: 41–60; Rickman 1980: 228–29; D'Arms 1981: 165).

G. Slavery

Slavery was an important factor in the Roman economy, but one which should not be overemphasized. A dearth of statistics prevents a quantitative evaluation of the role of slavery in the Roman economy. Basically, as long as slavery as economically viable in Roman agriculture and commerce, it continued in use. With the growing rift between *honestiores* and freeborn *humiliores* from the 2d–3d centuries on, the employment of *humiliores* as tenant farmers or dependent laborers was cheaper than the actual ownership and use of slaves (Finley 1980: 123–49). There were moral questions raised about slavery as an institution, but such sentiments had little effect upon general attitudes even after the advent of Christianity. Slaves carried on much of the commercial activity for wealthy aristocratic masters and patrons who wanted to avoid the social stigma of direct association with commercial endeavors. Often the slaves were allowed to control many or all aspects of their earnings *(peculium)*. See also SLAVERY (NT).

H. External Trade

The Roman world had commercial contacts beyond its political frontiers. Archaeological and literary evidence attests to commercial relations with Scandinavia, free Germany, E Europe, sub-Saharan Africa (Eggers 1951; Wheeler 1955: 7–111), and lands to the E, including South Arabia, coastal sub-Saharan Africa at least as far S as Zanzibar, India, Sri Lanka, and China (Wheeler 1955: 112–82; Charlesworth 1974: 57–73, 97–111; Rawlinson 1916; Raschke 1978: 604–1378; Sidebotham 1986; Ferguson 1978: 581–603). Romans went to these lands and foreign merchants came to Roman territory to conduct this commerce, and much trade went through middlemen of various "nationalities." How extensive and intensive this trade was and what percentage of all Roman commerce this foreign trade comprised cannot be ascertained. Nor can it be determined whether this was a trade mainly in luxury or common trade wares. Arguments that the "balance-of-trade" favored the E, based upon Pliny the Elder's hyperbolic comments, are unconvincing (*HN* 6.26.101; 12.41.84). The general lack of a concept of a "balance-of-trade surplus or deficit" within the Roman government and the fact that this "eastern" trade was conducted more, it seems, by barter than by purchase tend to dismiss such arguments (Sidebotham 1986: 13–47). However, there was Roman governmental facilitation of this extraimperial commerce in the form of road, canal, and port construction, and protection of the trade by the military. The government charged heavy customs duties of 25 percent or more which it levied directly or farmed out for collection (Sidebotham 1986: 102–10; Harrauer and Sijpesteijn 1985: 124–55) on imported items from the E. Presumably the same rates applied to imports from beyond Rome's political frontiers to the N and S as well. In addition, in more remote areas merchants and travelers bought passes to use roads which required military policing due to marauders and bandits (Sidebotham 1986: 132, 164; Garnsey and Saller 1987: 158–59). This enabled the government to help defray costs of garrisoning such locations (Sidebotham 1986: 35, 80–81). There may even have been a Roman naval unit patrolling the Red Sea to keep piracy under control (Sidebotham 1986: 70, 71, 77).

Ideas as well as commerce passed along the trade routes. Political unification of the Mediterranean basin and Western Europe under the Roman aegis prompted the suppression of piracy and the construction of thousands of miles of roads. The relative ease and safety of travel compared to earlier times and the generally tolerant attitude of the Roman government toward most foreign cults facilitated the spread of religious and philosophical beliefs from one region to another. Transported by merchants, travelers, scholars, and members of the Roman military from all parts of the empire, new cults were established at important political and commercial centers, especially sea-

ports and major inland entrepôts where merchants from many lands resided. Army camps, especially along the frontiers and near large urban centers, also fostered the spread of new cults. Frequently these newly imported beliefs appealed to local inhabitants. Often, too, peoples in newly annexed territories practiced religions which attracted Roman devotees.

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TRADITION HISTORY. In modern biblical studies, it is widely recognized that the literature of the Bible, or at least large portions of it, came gradually into existence through a process in which oral or written materials were passed down from one generation to another, acquiring their final form with the assistance and contributions of

many individuals and groups along the way. Tradition generally preceded text, and this tradition—just as the later canonized text itself—has a history. As a method, tradition history is one of the steps in exegesis, attempting to recover the meaning that the tradition had at each stage in its growth.

A. The Phenomenon of Tradition
B. Development of the Study of Tradition History
C. Relation to Other Exegetical and Historical Methods
D. Application to Types of Biblical Literature
   1. Narrative
   2. Law
   3. Prophecy
   4. Lyrical Poetry
   5. Wisdom
   6. Tradition in the New Testament
   7. Early Jewish Tradition
E. Implications and Significance

A. The Phenomenon of Tradition

Carrying the heritage from the past into the present, tradition is ubiquitous in the human community, both in primitive and modern times alike. It is, in fact, so widespread and so all-embracing a phenomenon that studying it can become an enterprise without boundaries. In biblical studies, however, tradition history has a somewhat restricted meaning in that it refers only to verbal traditions, that is, oral or written materials articulating in words that which is transmitted, such as stories, proverbs, laws, sayings, poetry, and teachings on the one hand and motifs, notions, themes, and ideas on the other. Excluded is another whole range of ways in which the word "tradition" is commonly used—for practices or beliefs such as customs, habits, rules, mores, rituals, ethos, or even social and religious institutions. These are not the direct subject matter of tradition history, even though they can and usually do affect the verbal traditions that are being handed down. Tradition history focuses, instead, on the specific literary or verbal developments that led up to the biblical literature in its present form.

Another important distinction is evident in two Latin words used in the study of tradition history. Latin *traditio* refers to the process of transmission, whereas *traditum* designates the materials themselves that are being transmitted from one person, group, or generation to another (see especially sec. C below). The process is extremely variable. In some instances it can be carried out statically through very careful, even reverential transmission, avoiding the introduction of any changes in the wording of the tradition; in other cases persons in the line of transmission can be responsible—whether deliberately or accidentally—for alterations, expansions, omissions, and new combinations of the traditions.

Of special importance in this latter respect are the category of interpretation or actualization (known also by the German word *Vergegenwärtigung*) and the effort by any given generation to contemporize its received traditions by reinterpreting them "existentially" in light of, or applying them to, its own context and time (Groves 1987). The products of the past are thereby not left as an antiquarian's artifacts but are brought to new life as articulations of a new reality. Thus, the stories about Abraham, the laws of Moses, the prophecies of Isaiah, or the sayings of Jesus are not simply residues of the ancient past but are actually reinterpreted—and consequently changed in themselves—in order to apply to the conditions and urgencies of later people, and these shifts become a part of the traditions as they continue to be handed on to the next generation. A tradition that originally had only local significance could be nationalized, just as material that began as non-Israelite and polytheistic could be adapted to Israel's monotheistic faith. This collective creative process has meant, therefore, that probably the vast majority of the biblical literature contains multiple levels of meaning; that is, that it has an extended tradition history reflecting the gradual contributions of new individuals, groups, and generations as they reinterpreted the old heritage for themselves.

Tradition history is normally associated with the oral period in which stories and sayings were composed, retold or recited, and preserved for long periods of time (Nielsen 1954; Culley 1976). While traditions could be remembered and passed on reliably in this form, a distinct degree of flexibility is to be expected for the oral stage, and different versions of a single story or saying are not unlikely. For a culture in which literacy was generally restricted to the few who needed to be able to write for governmental, commercial, educational, and religious purposes (cf. Demsky 1988), "oral literature" among the wider populace was commonplace. At some point—and this juncture varied for the different traditions—the oral materials were committed to writing, often after they had matured to a high level of artistry and had been combined with other similar traditions, and their transmission thereafter could occur through this new medium. It is not accurate to say, however, that the traditioning process—that is, the gradual, incremental growth of the traditions—transpired only through oral means. In written transmission, a given literary piece could also undergo change or growth as it was being handed down from one generation to the next.

Tradition history embraces the whole period of development, from the first formulation of a tradition on to the point where it became relatively stabilized. This latest phase would have been the stage of canonization, but most texts became essentially fixed and no longer fluid prior to that. In a sense, it is a difference between tradition *before* and tradition *after* Scripture (Barr 1966: 28–29; for more discussion of the canonization process and its relation to tradition, see also Sanders 1972): growth and change occurred before a literary piece was rendered constant and was accepted as authoritative Scripture, whereas thereafter the text continued to be handed down but then as a document not to be altered internally but only copied and interpreted exegetically.

B. Development of the Study of Tradition History

Research on the history of biblical traditions did not begin in earnest until the 20th century, in fact only with the 1930s (for a full history of research, see Knight 1975). Prior to that it had indeed been recognized that the biblical literature came into being gradually and that tradition and transmission played a significant role. Seventeenth-century scholars such as Thomas Hobbes, Benedict de Spinoza, Isaak de la Peyrère, and especially Richard Simon thought

it likely that portions of the Bible do not exist now in the form in which they were first written, but that they attained this form only after having been handed down to later writers. But there was little effort made to recover the details of the traditioning process, and focus fell instead on the literary stage of conflating and editing written documents. Source criticism was the dominant exegetical method through the end of the 19th century, with Julius Wellhausen's work as its showcase achievement.

The new era was introduced by Hermann Gunkel, first in his 1895 effort (partially translated in Gunkel 1984) to trace the lines of mythical materials on creation from early Babylonia to the Hebrew Bible and ultimately to the book of Revelation. But it was his development of form criticism—initially in his 1901 commentary on Genesis (see the English translation of his introduction in Gunkel 1964) and later in his studies of other narratives, prophetic literature, and the psalms—that laid the groundwork for subsequent traditio-historical studies. In identifying the wide variety of genres used by the ancient Israelites to express themselves, Gunkel drew attention to the process by which a group or an individual could receive traditional material and rework it in creative ways. In a revolutionary shift of method and perspective, he emphasized the oral stage of composition and transmission. Furthermore, with his concept of the life setting *(Sitz im Leben)* of genres, he opened the door for new inquiry into the real-life contexts in which the people engaged their own needs, problems, and crises through an innovative interpretation of their received traditions. Additionally, Gunkel was one of an influential group of Hebrew Bible and NT scholars who sought to understand the history of religion in the ANE, and this—as in his 1895 study of the creation myths—contributed to a new effort to trace the way in which religious materials, often of foreign descent, could be appropriated and revised as the *traditum* of later communities.

The initiators of traditio-historical research in its modern sense were Gerhard von Rad and Martin Noth, and for both of them the Pentateuch (Hexateuch for von Rad) served as the staging ground, as has been the case for the rise of several other of the exegetical methods. Von Rad's 1938 monographs (translated by 1966, *PHOE*) began with the assumption that the Hexateuch, a remarkable complex of diverse kinds of material, is the final stage in a long process of development and that it must be possible to recover some of the earlier stages and circumstances of its composition. His key to accomplishing this lay in what he identified as the creeds of Israel's faith, best evident in Deut 26:5b–9; 6:20–24; and Josh 24:2b–13, which articulated the rudiments of the sacred history and thus formed the structure for organizing the Hexateuchal materials into a linear whole. This literature was not authored in the modern sense; rather, it emerged out of earlier collections, crafted especially by the Yahwist, of originally independent traditions. See YAHWIST ("J") SOURCE.

Noth, in 1948 (translated in 1972, *HPT*), expanded on von Rad's work by shifting the emphasis to the *pre*-Yahwistic stage of tradition growth and by demonstrating the importance of critical analysis of all details of this growth process. Both of these scholars, in subsequent publications, also indicated the implications that traditio-historical study of the biblical literature could have in other areas: Noth for historiography, and von Rad for theology.

A distinctive approach to the study of tradition history emerged among Scandinavian scholars, above all among those who taught or studied in Uppsala (Knight 1975: 217–399; Jeppesen and Otzen 1984). Key representatives of this method were Sigmund Mowinckel, H. S. Nyberg, Ian Engnell, and G. Widengren, and later also Helmer Ringgren, Arvid Kapelrud, Eduard Nielsen, Gösta Ahlström, and Birger Gerhardsson, to name a few. Under the leadership of Engnell especially (see Engnell 1969), tradition history became elevated as the most important of the exegetical and historical methods, and the legitimacy of other methods reflecting a modern "bookish" approach was disputed.

This circle of scholars became known for several distinctive positions. They attributed paramount importance to oral means for the composition and reliable transmission of the materials; these traditions were tied to specific places and groups wherever possible; emphasis fell on the "living," dynamic process in which the biblical literature came into being; committing oral traditions to writing was often seen as an incidental stage which had little effect on them; and ANE religious ideas were perceived as dominant influences on the content of these traditions. This line of scholarship has lost some of its characteristic edge since the 1960s, but its sense of the vitality of the tradition process remains a lasting contribution.

Traditio-historical study of both the Hebrew Bible and the NT is now established as a standard component in the analysis of the literature; in fact, Hebrew Bible scholarship is said to be "primarily traditio-historical in orientation" (Morgan and Barton 1988: 101). There is virtually no biblical section which has not been examined from this perspective, except for literary materials which did not go through a developmental, cumulative process but were composed at the outset in their final form. And even in those cases there are normally motifs, ideas, themes, and more which the author incorporated from the heritage of the past. Commentaries of biblical books now integrate tradition history as a routine part of the exegesis.

C. Relation to Other Exegetical and Historical Methods

The traditio-historical method represents one of the steps in modern biblical exegesis. Generally it follows directly on TEXTUAL CRITICISM, SOURCE CRITICISM, and FORM CRITICISM, making full use of their results concerning the unified or composite character of the text in question, the historical background and nature of any sources, the text's genre and life setting, and the like. The tradition historian first attempts to recover traces of the prehistory of the text (the analysis or criticism stage of the inquiry) and then hypothesizes about the probable course through which it passed in its development (the synthesis stage). To accomplish this task is somewhat analogous to an archaeological excavation, in which progressively earlier and earlier strata are discovered as one cuts deeper into the mound.

These prior levels of meaning are often identifiable as interpretations or comments attached to or integrated into the text, such as some of the motive clauses that follow on

the various laws. Embellishments and stylizations which heighten the plot or message, especially in stories (the contest between Elijah and the prophets of Baal in 1 Kings 18 is a good example), also can indicate the handiwork of later traditionists, as can etiological elements. One watches, moreover, for evidence of localization—where the tradition might have been at home—and tradents—the groups that would have handed it on and reinterpreted it, such as certain cultic personnel, social sets, or political interests. The text's present literary context may well not be original, for so often the narratives, sayings, prophetic utterances, and laws arose independently and only with time became joined together with similar materials. Fusing such traditions into a larger complex or collection is itself a new level of interpretation in comparison with the meaning each bore as an entity circulating separately; this, in fact, is the stage of development which Rendtorff (1977) identifies as the often-neglected, but crucial phase in the growth of the Pentateuch.

The exegete synthesizes all of these findings into a description of the growth of the tradition from its origin to its final form. This constitutes, admittedly, a hypothetical picture that may be more or less probable. Some interpreters, in fact, dispute the extent to which an oral prehistory can even be posited on the basis of the literary text and then used as a historical source (e.g., Van Seters 1975; see, nonetheless, Vansina 1965; 1985). Yet the question is in principle legitimate: How did a specific text come into existence, and what was the import of any of its earlier forms and elements—to the extent that these can be plausibly identified? If the present text affords a glimpse of this, then it is part of the text's meaning and deserves to be studied. These findings also become part of the total cluster of information on which the historian and sociologist (see, e.g., Gottwald 1979) can draw in order to reconstruct the events and social structures of a given period.

D. Application to Types of Biblical Literature

Various kinds of literature comprise the *traditum*, the materials which were passed from one person or generation to the next, becoming developed and actualized in the process. The tradition history varies according to literary type as well as historical period. The examples below are taken primarily from the Hebrew Bible, to which this method has been applied most extensively.

1. Narrative. Stories enjoy great popular interest, especially in non- or semi-literate societies where they serve as the primary repositories of shared cultural memory. Multiple functions can be posited: entertainment for young and old alike; instruction, especially of moral and religious customs; historical remembrance; ritualistic celebrations; interpretation of contemporary realities (e.g., etiologies, eponymous stories); articulation of group identity and character. All of these purposes and more caused narratives to originate and circulate in early Israelite, Jewish, and Christian communities, just as was the case for the legends and myths of ancient Mesopotamia, Egypt, Greece, and Rome. It is not unlikely that certain persons, especially gifted as raconteurs, were repeatedly called upon to tell familiar stories about the past. As they recited these favorite anecdotes before an audience, they could quite naturally introduce embellishments, stylistic refinements, and new interpretations.

Stories of the great ancestors, of the Exodus and wilderness wanderings, of the Conquest and the judges, of prophets like Samuel, Elijah, and Jeremiah, of leaders like Saul, David, and later kings—all held fascination for the common people. They generally arose as shorter, independent accounts—e.g., the numerous narratives about Abraham or about David—and gradually became gathered into cycles or collections centered on a specific character or period—such as the traditions about Abraham now recorded in Genesis 12–25, or the stories of David's rise to power in 1 Samuel 16—2 Samuel 5. Their tradition history thus spans this entire growth process and seeks to clarify the meaning and significance of each story at all of its successive stages.

2. Law. Large portions of the Pentateuch comprise laws now grouped in collections called the Covenant Code, the HOLINESS CODE, the Deuteronomic Code, and the scattered smaller sections often associated with the Priestly Code. See LAW. These, however, are not codes in the sense of a body of laws promulgated by a legislature or ruler with law-making prerogatives. Israelite law is better understood as customary law, which emerged among the people as the needs of their actual situations required it. Laws about a goring ox, about boundary stones, about treatment of slaves were responses to problems requiring some type of consensual resolution. As situations changed or more complexity was experienced, a given law could accrue qualifications or elaborations. Thus, capital punishment was first ordained for causing another's death, but to this was subsequently added a stipulation about how to handle a case of possibly unintentional murder (Exod 21:12–14); or the law of adultery was ramified in light of a wide range of possible liaisons and circumstances (Deut 22:22–29). The people continually worked out the terms for their coexistence in all areas of life, including cultic practice.

The Pentateuchal laws represent the later collection of such regulations, yet they betray portions of the long development that led up to this point. In addition, throughout the rest of the Hebrew Bible it is possible to trace an inner-biblical legal exegesis, an effort to apply and interpret Pentateuchal laws to new situations, especially in the face of gaps and obscurities in Israel's legal *traditum* (Fishbane 1985).

3. Prophecy. Prophecy in Israel was above all of the spoken word. Typically, the prophet stepped forward to speak critically or comfortingly to the general populace, the king, other leaders, the people in the marketplace, or the cult (exceptions were ecstatic and cultic prophecy). These utterances tended to be short; their power resided in the terse, poignant articulation which could be readily grasped and remembered. In some cases there may have been disciples or followers (Isa 8:16 has often been interpreted in this manner) who committed them to memory and who even added their own interpretations to them as the need arose. Collecting these into written form would generally have come at a later stage, as the incident described in Jeremiah 36 depicts (note especially 36:32, which states that after the first dictation the second included even more utterances). Some of the prophetic materials may well have appeared first in written form;

many scholars think that Isaiah 40–55 was drafted as a treatise, although portions may initially have been delivered orally. The tradition history of prophetic materials, at any rate, identifies any evidence of orality and public presentation, traces the course from independent, smaller units to the larger collections of sayings, and notes the influence of themes and motifs, religious and social institutions, and prophetic predecessors. See PROPHECY.

4. Lyrical Poetry. The poetry of Psalms, Song of Songs, Lamentations, and the numerous individual songs inserted elsewhere throughout the Hebrew Bible displays yet another type of tradition history. Like other biblical literature, these poetic pieces were rooted in the life of the people, for in their songs the Israelites gave expression to their joy, their sufferings, their beliefs, and their hope. Yet more so than other literary forms, these were closely tied to ritualistic settings, contexts in which individuals and groups would find it especially appropriate to celebrate or lament. At all points in their history the Israelites married, buried their dead, worked, warred, languished in illness, rejoiced over recovery or success. Traditional songs, largely anonymous in authorship, arose and persisted throughout the centuries for the people to use, much as have our modern hymns. Some, such as the songs in Exodus 15, Judges 5, Genesis 49, and Deuteronomy 33, have been shown through orthographic and linguistic analysis to be especially ancient (Cross and Freedman 1975). A traditio-historical analysis seeks to determine the course of development, the possible ritualistic settings, and the traditional materials incorporated in each such poem.

5. Wisdom. Some of Israelite wisdom springs from the popular sphere: the ever-present proverbs, sayings, riddles, and advice from parent to child and friend to friend. Another source was the royal court, where judicious decisions and prudent actions were highly esteemed. Beyond these was the intellectual tradition among the sages, the learned who taught the young, responded to persons facing vexing dilemmas, and reflected on persistent issues in human life, such as tragedy, injustice, self-control, personal relationships, and the nature and destiny of life in this world. The Wisdom Literature in the books of Proverbs, Job, and Ecclesiastes and scattered throughout the rest of the Hebrew Bible is the result of a long process, stretching back to and drawing upon its ANE heritage, of trying to come to terms with the natural need for knowledge, understanding, and meaning in life.

6. Tradition in the New Testament. Although the time spans for growth and transmission vary significantly between the Hebrew Bible and the NT—often centuries for portions of the former in contrast to only decades for the latter—the study of tradition history has played a role also in NT studies, albeit less so than have form criticism and redaction criticism. Most notable are the Gospels, which are based on sources of sayings attributed to Jesus as well as stories about his ministry and impact (see the classic study by Bultmann 1963). The early churches preserved these in memory and in written form, actualizing and reinterpreting them as the believers faced new social and historical realities. The Gospels themselves represent such a reworking of the traditions. It was, however, no natural shift from oral to written, and the oral *traditio* was notably more flexible and fluid than was the literary. As Werner Kelber (1983) has suggested, a crisis of credit perhaps developed in the church as a result of the Roman-Jewish War, and the Gospel of Mark was written—on the basis of earlier sources and traditions—to establish a new basis for permanence and trust. The Johannine community also developed and kept alive its own perspective on the basepoints of Christianity.

For the letters by Paul, which reflect subtleties in the relationship between oral and written language (Funk 1966: 224–74), tradition history is of importance especially in analyzing the appropriation and interpretation of traditional materials, such as a hymn (e.g., Phil 2:5–11) or a credal confession (e.g., 1 Cor 15:3–5). The phenomenon of quoting is evident at an even broader level, for the NT—from Jesus through Paul to the book of Revelation—repeatedly cites its scriptural heritage—the Hebrew Bible—and interprets it in light of the new faith.

7. Early Jewish Tradition. Within the postbiblical Jewish community there was an especially pronounced interest in keeping alive the traditions of the past by remembering and building upon them. Jewish and Christian apocalyptic movements did this in one manner. Sects such as the Qumran community pursued assiduously their own interpretation of Scripture and, in the process, preserved for us some of the most ancient copies of biblical texts.

Of special significance, however, is the stream of tradition known as the "Oral Torah," which held authority alongside Scripture, the "Written Torah." The laws of the Pentateuch were continually studied and interpreted in an effort to clarify their minute points, especially for the purpose of deriving rules and instructions that would fit the new circumstances of the day. These emerged as *halakah*, a body of rules, norms, and legal decisions on specific points. Alongside that was the *aggadah*, a wide range of narratives, homilies, anecdotes, and aphorisms that could aid the understanding of the biblical heritage. The rabbis preserved the Oral Torah in memory through a sophisticated mnemonic system and eventually recorded and edited it into the Mishnah by ca. 200 C.E. (Neusner 1987; Weingreen 1976). From that point on to the closing of the Babylonian Talmud (ca. 600 C.E.), the traditioning process continued as new generations of sages engaged scriptural and mishnaic basepoints in light of their new circumstances.

This process occurred more in the context of sustained study and debates among rabbis than had been the case in ancient Israel's traditioning, which often involved the wide reaches of the population. However, the principle of gradual growth of tradition through new interpretation and actualization of the past heritage is present in both. Notably, several scholars are currently seeking to apply the biblical exegetical methods of form criticism, redaction criticism, and tradition history to the complexities of this vast literature (see various discussions in Safrai 1987; also Saldarini 1986).

E. Implications and Significance

Tradition history, even with the hypothetical nature of its proposals, has assumed a widely accepted role in biblical exegesis. Its importance lies in the effort to uncover the creative process which issued in the biblical literature—to the extent that this process was collective and gradual. It

acknowledges that numerous persons and groups, and not simply solitary authors, contributed to the growth of the tradition. While materials were at points transmitted from one generation to another in a manner that would minimize changes in the *traditum,* in many other instances the tradition was "existentially" applied to the new historical situation, resulting in novel layers of meaning which were incorporated quite naturally into the growing text.

Tradition history carries with it considerable theological implications (see articles in Knight 1977; also Morgan and Barton 1988: 93–132). For the text is thus viewed not so much as a repository of static truths revealed in a unilateral manner without human involvement, but rather as a dynamic collection of material that points to the ongoing human struggle for survival and meaning in real-life situations. Gerhard von Rad's two-volume inquiry into the theology of the Hebrew Bible *(ROTT)* takes this process of the actualization of tradition as its starting point. Similarly, the results of traditio-historical study become part of the evidence to be scrutinized by the historian of ancient Israel, as demonstrated by Martin Noth in his much-debated history *(NHI).* Yet, at a more basic level and even despite the uncertainties on many individual points, one can agree with Noth's assertion (*HPT,* xxxv, 3–4, 147) that the significance of the study of tradition history rests perhaps not so much in its answers as in the very questions it raises.

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DOUGLAS A. KNIGHT

TRADITION OF THE ELDERS [Gk *paradosis ton presbyteron*]. The precise phrase "tradition of the elders" occurs only in Matt 15:2 and Mark 7:3, 5, in connection with Pharisees, scribes, and other Jews and their custom of ritual hand-washing. It is probably a technical term that refers to customs observed and considered binding by Pharisees and some other Jews, although not written in the Pentateuch. Although the Pharisees themselves have left no writings, several ancient sources associate the Pharisees with the term "tradition" or "tradition of the fathers" (Josephus, *Ant* 13.10.6 §297; 13.16.2 §408; Matt 15:3–9; Mark 7:8–13; Gal 1:14). Other sources mention unwritten traditions which have been handed down for generations (Philo, *Spec* 4.28.149–50; Ben Sira 1:1). Josephus reports that observance of these traditions evoked controversy with the Sadducees. The Qumran texts contain attacks on "the seekers after smooth things" *(dwršy ḥlqwt),* who are identified by most scholars as the Pharisees, for following their own traditions and not God's law (1QH 4: 7,11).

Detractors of the "tradition of the elders" stressed its human origin and contrasted it with God's law (Matt 15:3–9; Mark 7:8–13; cf. Col 2:22; Titus 1:14). Its champions undoubtedly saw it as divinely revealed, complementary to the written Law, possibly analogous to the way later rabbinic Jews regarded the oral Law (*m. ʾAbot.* 1:1).

The three NT references to the "tradition of the elders" suggest that ritual hand-washing before eating, originally prescribed only for priests eating consecrated food in the temple, gained wider practice. Though there are no other 1st-century references to the custom, 3d-century evidence shows that some Jews ate ordinary food in a state of ritual purity (*t. Dem.* 2:2).

Later Jewish literature yields no example of the phrase "tradition of the elders," although "tradition" *(mśwrt)* is common, as is the related verb "receive" *(qbl).* The expression "elders" may have been used by the Pharisees them-

selves to add the authority of antiquity to traditions which were transmitted orally from teacher to student in the manner of the Hellenistic schools. These traditions may have been susceptible to attack because they were neither priestly nor handed down along familial lines. Baumgarten (1987: 72) has suggested that the charges against the tradition of the elders in Matt 15:3 and Mark 7:8 may not have originated with Jesus or his followers, but may have been a common anti-Pharisaic slogan in antiquity. In other instances, Christians characterize their own traditions using the term *paradosis* in a favorable way (1 Cor 11:2; 2 Thess 2:15).

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TRAJAN (EMPEROR). Trajan (Marcus Ulpius Traianus) was born at Italica (Spain) on September 18, probably in A.D. 53, and became emperor after the death of Nerva on January 25, 98. The Ulpii, originally from Umbria in Italy, had been settled in Spain for generations, but Trajan's father was the first in the family to gain senatorial rank; subsequently, he served Vespasian as governor of Syria and as proconsul of Asia. Only a few details of the son's early career survive. He served as military tribune in Syria under his father, and, rising to the rank of legionary commander in the reign of Domitian (A.D. 81–96), helped to suppress a revolt against the emperor. Rapid promotion followed. In 91, he received the rare award of an ordinary consulship, but nothing else is known of his subsequent activities until 97, when he was appointed governor of Upper Germany by Nerva, and then adopted by him and awarded the title Caesar. Almost immediately, the senate added the customary imperial powers, and so, when Nerva died, the transfer of sovereignty was smoothly accomplished. A completely different version of Trajan's accession is provided by the unknown epitomist of the *Caesares*, who gave an account of various Roman emperors dating from the 4th century: according to him, "Trajan seized power with the backing of Sura" (*Epit. de Caesaribus* 13.6). Sura was an eminent general, senator, and supporter of Trajan, and was well rewarded by him subsequently; no other ancient author, however, refers to Sura's supposed role in the events of 97/98.

According to tradition, Trajan's relationship with the senate was excellent. He held the consulship less frequently than did his predecessors, thereby providing opportunities for eminent members of the order; after his fourth consulship in 101, he assumed it on two occasions only, in 103 and 112. He adopted the custom of renewing the imperial tribunician power on December 10 (the date on which, for many centuries before Augustus' reign, tribunes had taken up office), rather than use the anniversary of his own accession to the throne, as every emperor until this time had done. He participated in the senate's sittings, and senators drew up the minutes. He also allowed them to make formal declarations of war and to ratify peace treaties. But all this was nothing more than a mark of deference toward them. Furthermore, while the administration of the empire was largely in the senators' hands, the difference between the power of individual members of the order as imperial representatives and as members of the senate in Rome was now immense. Despite the respect Trajan showed them as a body, only those to whom he entrusted the command of armies or of provinces could be regarded as powerful. In essence, the autocracy was becoming more efficient, or, at least, more centralized.

Again, the distinction had long been recognized between senatorial and imperial provinces, i.e., between a settled province such as Asia Minor and one like Germany, less stable and occasionally turbulent; and, while the distinction was clear in theory and law, it was frequently less so in practice: the emperor could, and often did, intervene in senatorial provinces when he deemed it necessary. The difference now, though, was that such action was regularized and become quasi-legitimate. Pliny's appointment to Pontus-Bithynia is one example. Furthermore, a new group of officials emerged in Trajan's reign, the *correctores*, who were sent to free cities and given special powers to regulate their affairs; then came the development of *curatores*, another new group of officials sent by the central government to check the finances of communities throughout the empire. The same tendency is evident in the greater role of the equestrian order in government. Posts previously held by the palace freedmen, including those in the imperial secretariate, now passed more and more to equestrians. Twenty new procuratorships were assigned to them, and they gained full control of the imperial finances. But because they owed their positions and advancement to the emperor alone, the movement toward concentration of power in his hands became even more marked.

Trajan's provincial administration has been described as sound, benevolent, and efficient. Certainly he was more interventionist than his predecessors, as has been indicated. Important evidence of his attitude is provided by the 121 letters that passed between the emperor and Pliny during Pliny's term as governor of Pontus-Bithynia. Of these, the two letters dealing with the Christians are particularly interesting (*Ep.* 10.96, 97). They represent the earliest pagan version of the dissension between Roman authority and the Christians and provide a fairly detailed account of early Christian services from the pagan viewpoint; most importantly, they give valuable evidence on the problem of the new religion's legal status in the early empire. The letters were known to, but had not been seen, by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.33).

One of the more interesting developments in what might be called social reform was the provision of sustenance for poor children, the system of *alimenta*. While most of our information on this reform comes from Trajan's reign, the creation of trust funds for child maintenance was not a new thing in the Roman world: private grants for this purpose were made under Claudius or Nero. On the other hand, state intervention and evidence for the distribution of *alimenta* in Italy belong to this period. The system

operated as follows: interest (usually 5 percent) on money lent to farmers by the emperor was paid into a special municipal fund and then distributed to poor children. How successful the practice was cannot be assessed, though Trajan referred to it regularly on his coins and even on the arch at Beneventum; and by the end of the 2d century, a new bureaucracy had been created to administer it, under the aegis of a *praefectus alimentorum.* Ultimately, it too became part of the ever-growing centralization.

Trajan's foreign policy was more overtly expansionist than his predecessors' had been. Two wars were fought against the Dacians, culminating in the annexation of their territory and the creation of a new province by 106. Less successful in the long term was Trajan's eastern campaign. By 115, he had taken Armenia and Mesopotamia, but attacks by the Parthians on the newly won territory, together with revolts by the Jews in Cyrene, Egypt, and Cyprus, posed serious problems. Trajan left the E for Rome, but he died unexpectedly at Selinus in Cilicia on August 8, 117, and was succeeded by his relative Hadrian, who relinquished many of the E conquests.

Trajan's reputation in antiquity was always good, but the accuracy of that tradition is difficult to assess, given the absence of contemporary or near-contemporary literary evidence for his activities. The most detailed account, that of Dio Cassius, belongs to the 3d century and survives only in summaries made much later. In essence, Trajan remained a soldier with little or no interest in cultural or intellectual pursuits. The administration over which he ruled was more organized, more centralized, and, presumably, more efficient than it had been under his predecessors. Trajan, like Augustus, was regarded in antiquity as a model emperor. See *ANRW* 2/2.

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TRANCE. See MYSTICISM.

TRANSFIGURATION. The name given to events that transpired in one of the passages common to the Synoptic Gospels (Matt 17:1–9 = Mark 9:2–10 = Luke 9:28–36). Within the passage, Jesus takes Peter, James, and John up a mountain some days after he has given a discourse in response to Peter's confession at Caesarea Philippi (Matt 16:13–28 = Mark 8:27–9:1 = Luke 9:18–22). Insofar as the preceding passage includes Jesus' prediction that, as the Son of Man, he must suffer, be rejected, killed, and raised, the Transfiguration is contextually redolent of christology. On the mountain, Jesus is transformed in front of the disciples (hence the name "Transfiguration," from *metamorphoō* in Matt 17:2 and Mark 9:2; *TDNT* 4: 755–59), and his clothes shine white. Moses and Elijah appear with Jesus, and Peter offers to build three tents (or booths), one each for Jesus and those who have appeared with him. A cloud then overshadows the proceedings, and a voice from the cloud announces that Jesus is his son, and commands, "Hear him." Jesus is then left alone with the disciples, who say nothing of the experience at the time.

The account abounds with exegetical difficulties, all the more so when each gospel's divergencies from the common story (sketched above) are examined. Such questions resolve themselves fairly straightforwardly once we recognize the sort of material with which we are confronted. Because scholars have tended to restrict their attention to *genres* they believe they know from the NT, the Transfiguration has been described variously as a misplaced story of Jesus' resurrection (Stein 1976), his second coming (Boobyer 1942), his heavenly enthronement (Riesenfeld 1947), and/or his ascension (McCurley 1974). The only benefit of such a categorization is that it appears to limit the number of unintelligible events associated with Jesus: for example, the Transfiguration is subsumed within the resurrection and is dealt with only in general (and probably theological) terms. But even that benefit is only apparent. The Transfiguration is quite unlike the other passages with which it has been classed, except that it is a mysterious invocation of theophany. Those other passages which have been mentioned do not constitute literary *genres,* for the simple reason that they do not appear frequently enough to establish a convention of presentation which amounts to a system of speech.

Stories concerning heavenly voices, however, are well known in rabbinic sources (*JEnc* 2: 588–92; Lieberman 1962: 194–99). A view frequently encountered is that, with the removal of the Holy Spirit and the end of prophecy, only an echo or resonance (*bat qôl,* "daughter of a voice") from the heavenly court voiced God's perspective. This is explicitly stated in *t. Sota* 13.3, and an example then follows (Neusner 1985: 114, 115): when the sages were gathered at the house of Guria in Jericho, they heard a *bat qôl,* "There is here a man who is predestined for the holy spirit, except that his generation is not worthy of it." The sages then looked at Hillel, whom they took as the object of the praise. The Transfiguration obviously includes more motifs than are involved in most stories which refer to divine voices (such as the story concerning Hillel), and yet it is possible to say that the Transfiguration is conveyed by means of the genre of an account concerning a *bat qôl.* As in the case of Hillel in the house of Guria, the basic structure of the Transfiguration locates Jesus physically and socially, and makes him the object of the praise of a *bat qôl,* as his confreres appreciate.

But if the generic structure of the Transfiguration is to be found in stories concerning divine voices, its narrative structure (in the unfolding and details of events) is reminiscent of Moses' ascent of Mt. Sinai in Exodus 24. At the close of the story, Moses is said to ascend the mountain, when God's glory, as a cloud, covered it (v 15). The covering lasted six days (v 16), which is the amount of time between the Transfiguration and the previous discourse in both Matthew (17:1) and Mark (9:2). After that time, the LORD calls to Moses from the cloud (24:16b), and Moses enters the glory of the cloud, which is like a devouring fire (vv 17–18). Earlier in the chapter, Moses is commanded to select three worshippers (Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu) to-

gether with seventy elders, in order to confirm the covenant (vv 1–8). The result is that just these people (v 9) are explicitly said to have seen "the God of Israel" in his court (v 10) and to have celebrated their vision. The motifs of master, three disciples, mountain, cloud, vision, and audition here in Exodus 24 recur in the narrative of Jesus' Transfiguration (Chilton 1980: 120–22).

As noted above, the reference to "six days" in the Matthean and Markan accounts of the Transfiguration (but not in the Lukan account) coheres with Exodus 24. Other distinctive elements (that is, elements not held entirely in common among the Synoptics) within the gospels' versions may also be associated with the complex of material to which Exodus 24 belongs. For example, Matt 17:2 uniquely refers to Jesus' face shining like the sun, which is reminiscent of Moses' aspect in Exod 34:29–35. In more general terms, the Markan reference to the whiteness of Jesus' garments, "such as a fuller upon the earth is not able to whiten" (9:3), establishes by its own means the heavenly context which is more elaborately developed in Exodus 24 (particularly vv 15–18). But the material unique to Luke most emphatically commends a Mosaic association. Luke puts a distance of eight (rather than six) days between the previous discourse and the Transfiguration, a fact that has baffled commentators. In the rabbinic interpretation of Exodus 24, however, the numerical variation is meaningful. In the *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* (Exod 24:10, 11), it is particularly Nadab and Abihu who see "the glory of the God of Israel." Because "man will not see God and live" (Exod 33:20), they are punished; but the blow falls on the *eighth* day.

Luke (9:31) also depicts Moses and Elijah discussing Jesus' "departure" *(exodus)*; quite evidently, Exodus 24 provides no firm limit to developments within the Transfiguration, since the terms "Exodus" and "Elijah" have associations all their own. Elijah's immortality is already attested in 2 Kgs 2:9–12, and is well established within early and rabbinic Judaism (Chilton 1987: 268–70). The statement in Deut 34:7, that Moses in fact died, did not prevent Josephus from describing Moses as having "disappeared" *(aphanizetai)* in the course of conversation with Eleazar and Joshua (*Ant* 4.8.48 §326). In that Josephus speaks of Elijah and Enoch (another deathless figure) with the cognate adjective (*aphaneis, Ant* 9.2.2 §28), his understanding that Moses was immortal seems unquestionable. No doubt these associations are at work throughout the Synoptic presentation, as were those of Elijah's experience on a theopanic mountain (1 Kgs 19:8–18). Similarly, the term *skēnē* ("tent," "booth," or "lean-to"), although not appearing within the LXX in Exodus 24, figures both as the natural place of abode during this period (Exod 18:7) and as a particular place of God's dwelling—concerning which Moses receives commandments on the mountain (Exod 25:8–9; 25:1).

Although the term "midrash" has recently gained currency in efforts to describe the reference of the NT to the Hebrew Bible, its usage in the present case would be inappropriate. Rather than a commentary (even in the loose sense of that word) on any OT text, there is an explosive series of associations which links Moses and his cycle with Elijah and his. The force of that explosion is such that the elements of Exodus 24 are scrambled in the Transfiguration, and crucial matter (Exod 24:12–14) has no analogue whatever. In fact, Exodus 24 in the Hebrew Bible is but a preamble to the divine instructions which properly commence in chapter 25. What happens on Mt. Sinai designates Moses, in narrative and visionary terms, as the single spokesman of divine revelation (24:18); others in the chapter are presented, only to be excluded at the pivotal moment of divine disclosure. They join in the celebration of the divine vision (vv 9–11), but they do not hear what Moses hears. By contrast, the climax of the Transfiguration, the apogee of tension and the interpretative key, is precisely the moment when the voice addresses not Jesus alone but the three disciples as well. The generic structure concerning the *bat qôl* is no accoutrement of the narrative but the very focus of interest—and that which lends some order to the explosion of associations.

At other points in the story of Jesus, accounts involving divine voices were recounted. The most obvious example is his baptism, but John 12:27–33—which is often discussed in association with the Transfiguration—is perhaps a more pertinent one. It establishes that an account of a *bat qôl* could be associated with Jesus' suffering, without the elaborate, scriptural allusions of the Transfiguration. Conversely, Paul presents an instance (2 Cor 3:12–4:6) in which Mosaic imagery, perhaps rooted in a traditional association of ideas and motifs, can be developed without reference to the *bat qôl* of Jesus. In the Transfiguration, however, a christological climax is reached just as Jesus' suffering is predicted: the *bat qôl* warrants, and a Mosaic vision confirms, that Jesus in his suffering is God's son, and therefore should be heard (cf. Deut 18:15, also within the Mosaic complex of the Hebrew Bible). Fundamentally, therefore, the Transfiguration is a visio-literary metamorphosis of the genre of *bat qôl:* Exodus 24 (and associated material) is the instrument by means of which the significance of the divine voice is conveyed. 2 Peter 1:16–18 is widely regarded as a summary of the Transfiguration, and it is remarkable that, having attested the message of the divine voice (v 18), the text goes on, "and we have more securely the prophetic word" (v 19): in effect, the source of narrative embellishment is recognized. Of course, the power of the scriptural imagery is such that eschatological vindication may be intimated by it (cf. *2 Bar.* 51:3–14, and the eschatological reference to "Elijah" in Malachi 4:5, 6; cf. Matt 17:10–11 = Mark 9:11–12), but the focus of the Transfiguration is not the future, or any of those moments after Jesus' death whose central meaning is eschatological. The point is what the *bat qôl* says at the moment Jesus consciously commences a journey of suffering: This is my son, hear him as you would Moses and Elijah.

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TRANSJORDAN. Generally the area E of the Jordan Rift Valley from the Gulf of Aqaba (Elath) in the S to Mt. Hermon in the N, and E into the desert to the edge of normal vegetation. The term does not appear in the RSV. However, the phrase "beyond the Jordan" (Heb *ʿbr hyrdn*) frequently carries at least part of the meaning, as in Josh 12:1: "beyond the Jordan toward the sunrising." This probably means Gilead and Bashan where the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half of Manasseh had settled (Num 34:14–15; Josh 12:6). Ammon, Moab, and Edom could also be designated by the name. Technically "beyond the Jordan" can mean either side, depending on one's place and point of view. However, the majority of references indicate E of the Jordan, or E Palestine as the area is sometimes called.

A. Political Definitions

Biblically, the area includes the modern Golan Heights (ancient Bashan), now part of Syria, and the modern Hashemite kingdom of Jordan, which occupies much of the traditional Transjordan. The area above (east of) the Lower Jordan (Galilee to the Dead Sea) is OT Gilead and NT Perea (which had been ruled by Herod Antipas). Some divide Gilead and S Gilead, separated by the Jabbok (the modern wadi Zarqa). When the Israelites arrived, Bashan and N Gilead were part of the kingdom of Og, extending about 90 miles from Mt. Hermon to the Jabbok.

The Jabbok begins at Amman, ancient Rabbath-ammon, and flows N–NE ca. 17 miles before turning W, and it empties into the Jordan Valley near Deir ʿAlla. After entering the valley rift, it turns SW flowing into the Jordan river. The OT kingdom of Ammon developed S of the Jabbok and had an indeterminate E boundary, while its W boundary fluctuated according to the strength of the kingdom. At times, the Ammonites controlled the whole 22 miles to the Jordan, and sometimes half of that distance.

During times of restricted Ammonite power, the area in the Jordan Valley S of the Jabbok to the Arnon (referred to in some texts as S Gilead) belonged to Moab. But this portion of Moab was conquered by Sihon (Num 21:26–30), before the Israelites arrived. The Israelites in turn defeated Sihon and Og, and the tribes of Gad and Reuben settled there. Later, it was the scene of part of the story of Ruth, after which it was conquered by the Ammonites.

The central territory of Moab was a stretch ca. 50 miles from the Arnon (Wadi Mujib) in the N to Zered (Wadi Hasa) in the S. The country of Edom was S of Moab, extending the ca. 120 miles to the Gulf of Aqaba.

B. Topography and Climate

The area has considerable variety in topography and climate. In the N, Mt. Hermon rises to 9,230 feet above sea level. The Rift Valley is 230 feet *above* sea level at the Huleh basin, and 695 feet *below* sea level at the Galilee. The surface of the Dead Sea is 1,275 feet below sea level, and the deepest point of the floor of the sea is 2,550 feet below sea level. To the S, the Arabah rises to 650 feet above sea level at Jebel er-Rishe and then drops to sea level at Aqaba. Paralleling the Jordan Rift to the E, the Gilead (Ajlun) hills rise as high as 3,500 feet above sea level, while the mountains of Edom reach 5,700 feet near Petra.

The northern area receives about 30 inches of rain a year, but the Dead Sea area has less than 3.5 inches. The E decline of the Transjordanian mountains slopes gently toward the E, and the rain sinks through the porous limestone following the bedding plains over the more impervious underlying granite, to appear as springs in the Sirhan in such places as the oasis of Azraq. The rains supported wheat, barley, and livestock in Bashan, grapes and forestland in Gilead, sheep and grain in Moab, and olives in much of the N area. Ancient irrigation was largely limited to the vicinity of streams, except for the *ganats* of Roman-Byzantine times (Glueck 1968: 169; 1967: 430) between the Jabbok and Nimrin wadis. The Nabateans developed an extensive irrigation system in the old Edomite area.

From ca. 3000 B.C. or earlier, the King's Highway (Num 20:14–21) extended from Aqaba to Damascus with stops at Amman and other points along the route. This road cut down across the major wadis with long hairpin turns. Coming from Aqaba, a more level road—the Pilgrim's Road—branched off at Ma'an and ran further E along the desert. However, it has less water, and in ancient times it was more exposed to raiders from the desert. The two roads merge again at Amman. The King's Highway is still in use. The modern Desert Highway follows roughly the same route as the ancient Pilgrim's Way.

Another ancient N–S route runs from Aqaba to the Lisan on the Dead Sea, where it climbs into the hills to the E. The route descends into the Jordan Valley again, just N of the Dead Sea, and extends N to the Yarmouk River Valley and thence to Damascus or down the Wadi Sirhan. The highway from Hazor crossed the N part of the region to Damascus.

The wadis were E–W travel routes. The Wadis Yabis, Jabbok, Nimrin (Shueib), and Abu Gharaba (Kefrein and Rameh/Hesban) were the more important ones in biblical times. Jacob followed the E–W route down the Jabbok from Penuel to Succoth. The Amman-Salt-Jericho Road came down the Nimrin to the Naklah ford and the more recent Allenby Bridge. Farther S, roads lead down from the plateau Madeba to the hot springs at Zerqa Ma'in and from Kerak and the Crusader's castle to the Lisan ("tongue") on the Dead Sea.

In geological times, Jordan was sometimes under water with incursions from the Mediterranean in the N and from Aqaba in the S. The "Tethys Ocean" joined the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean ca. 20 million years ago.

Approximately 300,000–70,000 years ago the Lower Jordan Valley was one big lake, while another large freshwater lake, El Jafr, lay in the E desert covering ca. 1000 km². This became brackish and shallow (ca. 26,400 years ago) and eventually completely dried up.

C. Occupational Overview

Prehistoric human and animal remains have been found on the shores of these lakes (Vita-Finzi 1982: 25; Helms 1981: 18; Schattner 1962: 15). Old Stone Age, Middle Stone Age (Natufian), and Neolithic materials have been found in Azraq, Amman (ʿAin Ghazal), Beidha, etc. Occupation continued through the Chalcolithic and EB periods to ca. 2400 B.C. (Java, Tell Umm Hamad, Tell el-Husn, etc.).

MB occupation, the time of the patriarchs of Genesis, has been debated. Glueck found occupation in EB IV and a gap thereafter until the 13th century B.C. (LB IIB), when Moab, Edom, and then Ammon were settled again. There was another gap in the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods. Glueck's own later work found more LB remains in the N (1967: 451), and subsequent survey and excavation shows no MB–LB gap N of the Arnon (Sahab, Amman, Jordan Valley). South of it remains are still scanty. MacDonald (MacDonald et al. 1983) reports no MB or LB sherds or artifacts in the Hasa (Zered) survey. Future work may yet turn up some evidence. Tell es-Safi, for example, just N of the mouth of Zered (Wadi Hasa) at the S end of the Dead Sea, has MB (1950–1550 B.C.) pottery (some identify Safi with Zoar in Gen 14:2, 8). There was no gap during the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods (Sauer 1982; 1986; MacDonald 1986; MacDonald et al. 1983).

The usual view of the LB IIB period is that the Israelites moved through Transjordan in the 13th century B.C. after their Exodus from Egypt. They found Edom, Moab, and perhaps Ammon as settled kingdoms. Sihon had recently extended his rule to the Arnon, but the Israelites conquered him and Og of Bashan to extend their rule to Mt. Hermon (Numbers 21). The tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half of Manasseh (half of the Joseph tribe) settled this area.

The Philistines may have controlled part of the Jordan Valley in the 12th–11th centuries B.C. Later, the Ammonites (Judg 11:4–33) and the Moabites extended their control (Eglon, Judg 3:12–30). After the split of the Solomonic monarchy, Judah was able occasionally to rule Edom, while Israel occasionally controlled Moab (2 Kgs 3:4–27; Mesha and the Moabite Stone). The Arameans of Damascus extended their control over Bashan and at times Gilead (1 Kgs 22).

The Assyrians (735–605 B.C.) eventually subdued the whole area, making N Gilead part of their provincial system while Ammon, Moab, Edom, and Judah paid tribute as client states. Afterward, the Babylonians ruled the regions (605–539 B.C.). The Persians took over in 539 B.C. and the Greeks in 333. During the Persian period, the Tobiads, apparently a Jewish family, ruled Ammonite territory (Lapp 1987). Alexander the Great's Ptolemy took over Egypt and Palestine after Alexander's death. Ptolemy II Philadelphus rebuilt Rabbath-ammon as Philadelphia, later the southernmost of the Decapolis. In the time of Jesus, the Decapolis territory extended from Philadelphia (Amman) N to the Yarmuk River and in the Jordan Valley from the Wadi Yabis to Hippos on the E side of the Sea of Galilee.

The Ptolemies held the area until 198 B.C., when the Seleucids of Syria conquered it. The Seleucids were replaced by the Hasmoneans or Maccabees, who, in turn, were conquered by the Romans in 63 B.C. The Roman client king, Herod the Great, ruled from 37 to 4 B.C. His son, Herod Antipas, ruled Perea along the Lower Jordan and the N part of the Dead Sea, from the Wadi Arnon (Mojib) to the Yabis. Another son, Philip, ruled the old area of Bashan—Gaulanitis, Ulatha, Panias, Ituraea, and Batanaea.

The Nabateans, in the meantime, had pushed the Edomites into S Palestine in the 6th century B.C. By Antipas' time, Nabatean control had crept N to the Arnon; and during the life of the Apostle Paul, King Aretas IV had a governor in Damascus (2 Cor 11:32). In A.D. 106, the Nabateans' kingdom centered on Petra and was annexed by the Romans. The E Roman or Byzantine empire began in A.D. 325, and the Muslims conquered the area in A.D. 632.

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TRANSJORDANIAN EPIGRAPHY. See EPIGRAPHY, TRANSJORDANIAN.

TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE. See THEORIES OF TRANSLATION; VERSIONS.

TRAPS. See ZOOLOGY.

TRAVEL AND COMMUNICATION. This entry consists of two articles surveying the logistics of traveling and communicating over distance. The first focuses on the ANE world of the OT, and the second focuses on the Roman world of the NT.

THE OLD TESTAMENT WORLD

The interrelationship of the ANE necessitated contact and communication which spanned vast stretches of the Levant. While roads reflect, in general, the path of least resistance, choosing the terrain which provides the most easily traversed routes, various factors—difficult surfaces, climatic and seasonal variability, and human and animal interference—present dangerous and unpredictable combinations. Roads, in turn, represent important factors in military and commercial activity, and hence are a crucial subject for the study of ancient history. See ROADS AND HIGHWAYS (PRE-ROMAN). Indeed, the importance of contact and communication is illustrated by the extreme hardships that travelers and troops endured in their efforts to traverse the Near East.

A. Difficulties
1. Hazards
2. Limited Daily Headway
B. Safe Roads as Metaphor
C. Modes of Travel and Communication
D. Special Occasions of Travel and Communication

A. Difficulties

1. Hazards. For 20th-century North Americans accustomed to an interstate highway system, or for modern Europeans who have sped along the Autobahn, the notion of travel and communication in the ancient world can easily be open to misimpression. This likelihood of distortion appears to be all the more possible in light of how the Romans are often remembered for the quality of their roads. In *What Shall Endure?*, Ethelyn Miller Hartwich recalls:

> Great roads the Romans built that men might meet,
> And walls to keep strong men apart, secure.
> Now centuries are gone, and in defeat
> The walls are fallen, but the roads endure.

No such tribute could be penned of ANE travel and communication. In point of fact, even international roadways were sometimes narrow winding paths that were clogged by mud or marsh after winter rains, or dusty and rutted throughout the many months of oppressive, searing heat. Certain places along these roadways required ancient travelers to navigate difficult, almost impassable terrain. Entailments of travel could include facing the hazards of water shortage or foul weather, or confronting wild beasts of prey or the haunting threat of bandits. A letter from the Babylonian king Burnaburiash II (mid-14th century B.C.) to Pharaoh Amenophis IV offers an alarming and sobering perspective on the difficulties and dangers of ancient travel through Canaan: "I am told that the way is dangerous, water is scarce, and the weather is hot, so I have not sent you many fine presents . . . when the weather improves, I will send [some presents] . . . [my] caravans have been robbed twice" (EA 7.53–76). An Egyptian royal treatise from the 10th Dynasty *(Instruction to Merikare)*, apparently composed in order to legitimize a policy of unifying Upper and Lower Egypt and of reestablishing Egyptian hegemony over its Asian frontier, and more precisely over Canaan, provides a poetic summary of some of the perils inherent in ancient travel and communication:

> Lo, the miserable Asiatic,
> He is wretched because of the place he's in:
> Short of water, bare of wood,
> Its paths are many and painful because of mountains.
> He does not dwell in one place,
> Food propels his legs,
> He fights since the time of Horus,
> Not conquered nor being conquered,
> He does not announce the day of combat,
> Like a thief who darts about a group (*AEL* 1: 103–4).

Other pieces of Egyptian literature offer substantially the same verdict concerning ancient travel and communication. Two extant papyri stress the amenities and advantages that accrued to the profession of a scribe, while at the same time they pointed up hardships in other occupations. The profession of soldier, declared the *Papyrus Lansing*, required one to travel without rest over mountainous terrain, to drink water only every third day, water that was usually rancid or strong with the taste of salt, and to face constantly the torment of attackers on every side (*AEL* 2: 172). This same refrain was echoed in the *Satire of the Trades*, where a characterization of the profession of courier included having to leave Egypt and go into the desert, to leave all goods to one's children, and to face the fearful threat of lions and Asiatics (*AEL* 1: 188).

A portion of the main communication thoroughfare of ancient Canaan was described by the Egyptian Thutmosis III (1490–1436 B.C.) as being so narrow at one place that his horses would have to proceed single file, thus creating a vulnerable military situation in which the pharaoh's vanguard and rear guard would be separated by several miles (*AEL* 2: 31). In the late 13th century B.C., an Egyptian official traveling through Syro-Palestine also described conditions along the roadway. At one point, he reported "that the sky is darkened by day and [the road?] is overgrown with cypresses and oaks and cedars which reach the heavens" (*ANET*, 477). Elsewhere in this same papyrus, the traveler offered a similar assessment of a portion of the main road near Megiddo:

> Behold, the ambuscade is in a ravine 2,000 cubits deep, filled with boulders and pebbles. . . . The narrow valley is dangerous with Bedouin, hidden under the bushes. Some of them are four or five cubits [from] their noses to the heel, and fierce of face. Their hearts are not mild,

and they do not listen to wheedling. You are alone; there is no messenger with you, no army host behind you. You find no scout, that he might make you a way of crossing. You come to a decision to go forward, although you do not know the road. Shuddering seizes you, [the hair of] your head stands up, and your soul lies in your hand. Your path is filled with boulders and pebbles, without a toe hold for passing by, overgrown with reeds, thorns, brambles and "wolf's-paw." The ravine is on one side of you, and the mountain rises on the other. You go on jolting, with your chariot on its side, afraid to press your horse [too] hard (*ANET*, 477–78).

Some of these texts are dealing with the movement of caravans or troops, while others address the travels of a single individual; but all the documents describe the same ominous reality: travel through Syro-Palestine in the early biblical periods was a difficult and hazardous business.

The same difficulties and perils, however, were faced by travelers throughout the entire Fertile Crescent. Herodotus may have had his reasons for boasting that messengers on the Persian Royal Road were "stayed neither by snow nor rain nor heat nor darkness from accomplishing their appointed course with all speed" (8.98; cf. Xenophon *Cyrop.* 8.6.17), but such travel clearly would have been an exception to the rule. Texts from Asia Minor (*Annals of Muršili II* [CTH 61.2.23]; *Muršili's Speech Loss* [CTH 486]) tell of snow, ice, and even lightning preventing travel. An Ugaritic text (RS 20.33 trans. in Rainey 1971: 133) describes how rains had caused the overflow of wadis, thus hindering further troop movement. In the same document, the Ugaritic king was reminded that the ravages of severely cold weather had taken their toll: devoured troops, broken chariots, and dead horses. Akkadian literature is replete with references to foul weather causing delays in or even preventing travel (e.g., CAD K: 551b; Z: 160–62; cf. VAT 746.19–22).

In the same manner, travelers throughout the Fertile Crescent were required to face the hazard of almost impassable terrain. A text from Muršili II (CTH 61.2.22, 70) tells of a mountainous, densely wooded terrain that prevented passage of horses and chariots, so troops were required to proceed on foot. Assyrian literature often speaks of the perils of difficult terrain. Often these texts, admittedly, are designed to extol the virtues of a particular king, so it would be imprudent to take what they say at face value. For example, the preface of the large sculptured relief of Assurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.) contains numerous epithets of the king, including statements such as "the one who marches on mountain paths, the one who progresses by difficult means through mountains, and the one who opens paths in mountains which rise perpendicular to the sky like the edge of a dagger" (*GARI* 2: 183–84, 187). Similarly, as part of the preface to his Monolith Inscription, Shalmaneser III (858–783) is described as the "one who finds (his way among) the most difficult paths, who treads the summits of mountains and highlands far and near . . . who opens up trails north and south . . . who traverses mountain and sea" (*LAR* 1: 212). The preface of the Display Inscription of Sargon II (722–705) states: "I opened up mighty mountains whose passes were difficult and countless, and I spied out their trails. . . . I advanced over inaccessible paths (in) steep and terrifying places, I crossed over all (sorts of) plains(?)" (*LAR* 2: 25–26; cf. 40, 60; for similar claims by Tukulti-Ninurta I [1244–1208] and Tukulti-Ninurta II [890–884], consult *GARI* 1: 108, 118–19; *LAR* 1: 127–28). Though texts like these undoubtedly contain hyperbolic elements, being specimens of political propaganda, other pieces of Assyrian literature deal with the same phenomenon of traveling over difficult terrain in ways that seem to reflect actual historical description. In some cases, these texts have a ring of authenticity by virtue of the degree of detail they supply. Tiglathpileser I (1114–1076), for instance, states that he took horses and chariots with him on one campaign where it was necessary to hack out a path with copper pickaxes in order to make passable a road through a rough mountain range (of the Zagros, in the vicinity of the Lower Zab). But having crossed the Tigris later in the campaign, he had to abandon his chariot and proceed on foot (*GARI* 2: 7–8). In another campaign, this monarch tells of taking with his army a corp of engineers *(ummānu)*, whose task it was to level tracks and clear roadways. They also cut down certain species of trees which were then used for constructing a bridge across the Euphrates (*GARI* 2: 12; for this translation of *ummānu*, refer to *AHW*, 1415; cf. CAD K: 11a). Sargon II speaks of cutting a road through difficult terrain, so narrow the path and so strait the passage that his infantry had to pass marching sideways (CAD G: 90b), and having to use camels and baggage asses to get to the pinnacle of a mountain (*LAR* 2: 75), including descriptions of the sound of a mighty waterfall and the presence of a certain species of fruit tree along the road on which he was traveling (*LAR* 2: 93–94). Sennacherib (705–681) describes traversing over difficult terrain on his sedan chair before the landscape became too steep. Continuing on foot, the king tells of getting tired, sitting down to rest and drink cold water before renewing his difficult climb (*LAR* 2: 122–23). In other cases, historical credibility seems to be warranted in some passages dealing with difficult roads by virtue of the fact that the respective Assyrian monarch had to admit his own limitations. For example, Assurnasirpal II was pursuing an enemy over difficult paths and rugged mountains in the area of the Lower Zab. Upon reaching a certain mountain which he says was exceptionally rugged, he was unable to pursue further (*GARI* 2: 122). Sennacherib, on one occasion, was routing his Elamite foes along a road, yet because the "month of rain set in (with) extreme cold and the heavy storms sent down rain upon rain and snow," he was afraid of the swollen mountain streams, and so he turned back in the direction of Nineveh (*LAR* 2: 125, 155–57).

Even in the Persian and Greek periods, the situation did not improve dramatically: Diodorus of Sicily refers to stretches of the Persian Royal Road that were difficult to negotiate because of steep slopes (1.2), and Xenophon's description of the "March of the 10,000" includes a number of stories about chariots stuck in the mud, and the need to clear and repair roadways (*Anabasis* 1.2.21–22; 1.5.7–8; 4.1.10; 5.1.13–15; 5.2.6; cf. *Cyrop.* 6.2.36). Even as late as the Roman period, when larger and heavier military machinery was being moved and roads received some paving, personnel to keep roads open and clear were very much needed. According to Josephus (*JW* 3.6.2;

3.7.3), road workers preceded most of Vespasian's army, to cut down trees that hindered a march, to remove stones from the road, and to build it up and make it level and straight. A similar procedure was followed by Titus (*JW* 5.2.1).

Beyond the hazards of water shortage, foul weather, and nearly impassable roads, ancient travelers also had to contend with bandits, infiltrators, and wild beasts along roads. But unlike the problem of difficult terrain, which would largely have been limited to the mountainous regions of the Zagros, Taurus, Amanus, Lebanon, and Anti-Lebanon ranges and their outliers, the hazards of men and beasts were ubiquitous. A Hittite text (*Bel Madgalti* 1–16) offered repeated instructions to scouts who were sent out to keep roadways open and safe. In the *Admonitions of Ipuwer* (19th–20th Dynasties), a "prophet" stood before pharaoh and bitterly complained: "Lo, the ways are [blocked], the roads watched. One sits in the bushes till the night-traveler comes, in order to plunder his load. What is upon him is seized; he is assaulted with blows of the stick; he is criminally slain" (*AEL* 1: 154). An Amarna text, imploring Amenophis IV to intervene on behalf of Babylonian merchants who had been robbed and murdered in Canaan, amply illustrates that the *Admonitions* contained more than mere rhetoric. My messengers, declares the sender, "were held up on business in Canaan . . . in the city of Hinnatun in Canaan, [certain men] of Acco killed my merchants and took their silver. . . . I have been robbed in your land . . . as to the people who killed my messengers, kill them and avenge their blood. Otherwise they will return and kill either a caravan belonging to me or one belonging to you" (EA 8). Shortly thereafter, Wenamun reported that thieves had robbed him of silver and gold (in Phoenicia). He went on to discuss how some travelers carried with them a statuette of Amun, which served as a magical protector (*AEL* 2: 225, 228). As part of Late Egyptian Wisdom Literature *(The Instruction of Ankhsheshonq)*, a friend is advised: "Do not walk a road without a stick in your hand. Do not walk alone at night" (*AEL* 3: 172). And Josephus reported that Herod the Great opened a road between Syrian Antioch and Samsat (on the Upper Euphrates) that was very dangerous because of 500 ambushers and narrow passes at woods (*Ant* 14.15.8; cf. Luke 10:30). Two Egyptian literary documents from the late 13th century B.C. warned of the problem of wild beasts. "A soldier, when he goes up to Retenu (i.e., Palestine)," says the one text, "has neither staff nor sandals. He does not know whether he is dead or alive, by reason of fierce lions" (Waterhouse 1963: 160). Of conditions along a Canaanite roadway, the other papyrus utters, "Lions are more numerous than leopards or bears, (and the road is) surrounded by Bedouin on (every) side of it" (*ANET*, 477). Wild beasts were also a formidable threat to travel, as described in the Bible. Samson is said to have encountered a young lion on the Sorek valley road between Zorah and Timnah (Judg 14:5–6). Citing evidence that he was a worthy opponent of the giant Goliath, David boasted that he had slain bears and lions while tending his father's sheep along Judean pathways (1 Sam 17:34–36). The Bible also records a tragic incident on the road between Jericho and Bethel, in which two bears killed some 42 young boys (2 Kgs 2:23–25). Travelers on roads that aligned the Jordan river valley must have faced the same reality: the Medeba map depicts a lion on the prowl in the valley (cf. Jer 50:44; Mark 1:13); many Arabic towns in this valley appear to bear the names of beasts; skeletal remains of beasts have been exhumed from the Jordan's flood plain; and mention is frequently made in itineraries of the sighting of beasts in this valley.

Such difficulties and perils doubtlessly contributed to the fact that most international travel and communication was undertaken by caravans; in numbers, there was some protection against alien elements and agents. Considerable literary evidence from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor indicates that caravans were generally large and almost always escorted by security guards, armed by the public powers for their tasks, and that the caravanners were expected to stay strictly on the preordained route. It was not uncommon for caravans to include as many as 100 to 200 donkeys, sometimes carrying priceless commodities, and one extraordinary text from Mari refers to a caravan of 3,000 donkeys (Finet 1966: 24–28; cf. Greenberg 1955: 18; see also Gen 37:25; Judg 5:6–7; 1 Kgs 10:2; Job 6:18–20; Isa 21:13; 30:6; and Luke 2:41–45, for some biblical evidence of caravans). Private caravans are attested only rarely in antiquity. Wealthy travelers were in a position to buy slaves to serve as armed guards (e.g., Abraham, Gen 14:14–15), while the poorer segments of society either moved in groups or attached themselves to a governmental entourage headed in the desired direction (Casson 1984: 173). Evidence shows that a measurable portion of overland travel took place under the cover of darkness; nocturnal travel could offer the advantage of escape from the oppressive heat of the sun, while at the same time provide some avoidance of detection by brigands and bandits. One wonders, in fact, whether travel at nighttime may have contributed directly to the wide diffusion of moon-cult worship, the most prevalent form of religion across the Fertile Crescent (cf. Ps 121:6).

2. Limited Daily Headway. Another obstacle to overland travel and communication was the limited headway one could make per day. To be sure, factors of dissimilar terrain, different purposes of travel, and variation of season could dictate the actual distance covered in a day. Accordingly, the ancient world was not unfamiliar with exceptional distances covered in a single day: swift governmental messengers could traverse the 1,500 miles of the Persian Royal Road in only nine days (Herodotus 8.98); messengers who carried news of Nero's death to the W limits of the empire averaged almost 10 miles per hour (Durant 1944: 323); Tiberias rode some 600 miles in 72 hours to be at the bedside of his dying brother (Durant 1944: 323); and couriers in the Roman postal service averaged about 95 miles per day (Forbes 1965: 138). But these were rare exceptions in the ancient world, and they should be treated as such.

On the other hand, we possess numerous archival texts, itineraries, and military annals from all parts of the ANE: Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, Persia, and Asia Minor. Some of this evidence comes from the 2d millennium B.C., and other portions derive from the 1st millennium. The evidence is generally uniform and mutually corroborating that one day's journey in the ancient world incorporated between 17 and 23 miles, with slightly higher daily aver-

ages when traveling downstream by boat. Similar daily averages continued to be the norm in later classical, Arab, and medieval itineraries, from Egypt to Turkey, and to Iran. Even as recently as 100 years ago or less, some modern itineraries or travel accounts document the same sort of meager daily averages. The same kind of limited headway is portrayed in a number of biblical episodes. Abraham sighted Mt. Moriah (vicinity of Jerusalem) during the third day of his trip from Beer-sheba (Gen 22:4), and the two sites are separated by approximately 50 airline miles. Kadesh-barnea (either Ain Qadeis or Ain Qudeirat) was a distance of 11 days' journey from Horeb (in the environs of Jebel Musa in S Sinai), following the testimony of Deut 1:2, and some 190 airline miles separate the two places. According to 2 Kgs 3:5–10, a march from Jerusalem via the "way of Edom" to the capital city of Moab (Kir-hareseth) lasted 7 days. The approximate distance involved in this journey was 115 miles. Ezra led a Jewish caravan from Babylonia to Jerusalem. His company is said to have departed from the Babylonian frontier on the twelfth day of the first month (Ezra 8:31), and it arrived in Jerusalem on the first day of the fifth month (Ezra 7:9), which means that the journey itself lasted a little more than three and one-half months (cf. Josephus *Ant* 3.15.3). Given the probable route traversed by Ezra and his compatriots (cf. 8:31—the more dangerous shortcut past Tadmor?), they would have traveled about 900 miles in a little more than 100 days, but the size and makeup of his caravan would have mitigated against greater daily averages. Alternatively, had they followed the longer course of the Euphrates as far as Imar/Emar, and proceeded from there along the Great Trunk Road past Damascus (i.e., the normal route), a more typical daily average would have obtained. The same distances pretty much hold true in the NT, too. On one occasion, Peter journeyed 40 miles from Joppa to Caesarea and arrived at his destination on the second day (Acts 10:23–24). The urgency of the apostle's mission allows for the inference that he took a direct route to Caesarea and made no intermediate stops. In fact, Cornelius later explained that his own ambassadors had journeyed round-trip between Joppa and Caesarea in 4 days (10:30). On another occasion, after having been charged by the Jews in Jerusalem with an offense worthy of death, Paul was hurriedly escorted to Caesarea via Antipatris in two days' time (Acts 23:23–35), a distance of about 65 miles according to the roads the soldiers most likely followed. According to Josephus (*Life* 52), it was possible to travel between Galilee and Jerusalem by way of Samaria, a distance of about 70 miles, in three days' time.

B. Safe Roads as Metaphor

Mindful of the perils and difficulties inherent in ancient travel and communication, one gains a greater appreciation of "open/straight/level roads" (i.e., safe roads) as metaphor for an era of peace. Opening roads (or canals) was repeatedly cited by ancient kings as an accomplishment worthy of royal distinction. Such thinking was not limited to one geographical sphere of the Fertile Crescent; nor was it restricted only to one period of time or one genre of literature. King Azittawadda was a powerful West Semitic monarch, probably of the 8th century, who erected a city and citadel at Karatepe in Asia Minor. A long autobiographical inscription found there, composed on the occasion of the dedication of city and citadel, praises Azittawadda as the one in whose days "there was, within all the borders of the Plain of Adana, from the rising of the sun to its setting, even in places which had formerly been feared, where a man was afraid to walk on the road, but where in my days a woman was able to stroll, peaceful activity, by virtue of Baʿal and the Gods. And in all my days, the Danunites and the entire Plain of Adana had plenty to eat and well-being and a good situation and peace of mind" (*ANET*, 654). The central point here is that security of domain may be seen in terms of tranquility on the roads. This same notion appears on a tablet from the Assyrian Assurbanipal. The text states: "In the whole land, no gentleman did any evil (harm). The one traveling by himself, traveled the farthest road in safety. There was no thief, (nor) shedder of blood. No deed of violence was committed. The lands were quiet. The four regions (of the world) were in perfect order, like the finest oil" (*LAR* 2: 380–81; cf. ARM 2: 78.31; 112.8). Nebuchadnezzar II made a similar claim in one text. The Babylonian avers, "I opened passages and (thus) I constructed a straight road . . . I made the inhabitants of the Lebanon live in safety together and let nobody disturb them" (*ANET*, 307; cf. connection between building a highway and securing peace, found on the Moabite Stone [*ANET*, 320]). At times, an era of peace exemplified by open, straight, or level roads is ascribed to a particular deity, whether Nergal (*ANET*, 268), Osiris (*AEL* 2: 85), Aten (*AEL* 2: 97), or even Yahweh (Ps 143:10; Prov 3:6; cf. Prov 15:19). The Bible also uses such imagery metaphorically to signify an era of peace and tranquility. The prophet Isaiah (40:3–5; cf. Luke 3:4–6) declares concerning the restoration of Israel and Judah:

> In the wilderness prepare the way of the Lord,
> make straight in the desert a highway for our God.
> Every valley shall be lifted up,
> and every mountain and hill shall be made low;
> the uneven ground shall become level,
> and the rough places a plain.
> And the glory of the Lord shall be revealed,
> and all flesh shall see it together,
> for the mouth of the Lord has spoken.

Elsewhere, this prophet (42:16; cf. 45:13; 57:14; 62:10) assures the nation of God's active participation in its restoration and in a period of ensuing peace:

> I will lead the blind
> in a way that they have not known,
> in paths that they have not known
> I will guide them.
> I will turn the darkness before them into light,
> the rough places into level ground.

The prophet Jeremiah also wishes to convince the nations of Israel and Judah that they would be restored, that God would not utterly abandon them, but that they would see an era of tranquility. He writes (Jer 31:9; cf. Heb 12:13):

With weeping they shall come,
and with consolations I will lead them back,
I will make them walk by brooks of water,
in a straight path in which they will not stumble;
for I am a father to Israel,
and Ephraim is my firstborn.

C. Modes of Travel and Communication

In addition to walking, the usual mode of overland travel in the ancient world was by way of pack ass. Pack asses were attested as beasts of burden as early as 3000 B.C., and they were consistently used in caravan travel and trade (Cole 1954: 706). The pack ass was strong, even tempered, surefooted, and inexpensive. Though less common, certain other animals were used in travel and communication. The ox was known as a draft animal as early as 3000 B.C., in connection with both carts and sledges (Salonen 1950: 1–8). Also, the first association of true horses and wheeled vehicles took place during the 3d millennium.

Though horses ridden for military purposes did not become common until the 1st millennium, there is pictorial evidence for ridden horses in Asia already in the early 2d millennium (Moorey 1986: 198), and from about 1800 B.C. comes evidence of horse-drawn chariotry. It has long been argued that horses and chariots, and perhaps also composite bows and battering rams, were suddenly introduced into Mesopotamia some time around the middle of the 2d millennium by Indo-Europeans (Mitannians) who emigrated from beyond the Caucasus mountains. Now it is clear enough that horse-drawn chariots were part of standard military fare by the middle of the 2d millennium. But documentation from Mari demonstrates that already in the 18th century B.C., several breeds of horses were being raised, trained, traded, and used for a variety of purposes by a population that was native. Texts from ARMT 18 even provide lists and details of horse stable personnel gear. Likewise, Akkadians at Mari had access to more than one kind of chariot; they were employed for parades, hunting, racing, and as prestige vehicles for short journeys. Whether or not they were used for military purposes as early as the 18th century B.C. is not yet clear, but a number of factors combine to offer a rather persuasive argument. First, there are about two dozen terms attested in this archive which designate one or another chariot part. In a few texts, some of these same terms are listed as part of military issues, which also included two-wheeled chariots, leather quivers, helmets, and scale armor. Also included among these issues was the *tilpānu*, which in the past was thought to refer to a "throwing stick." But this lexeme has recently been shown to designate the "composite bow." The composite bow appears at Mari on a stone slab which portrays a siege scene. Finally, Mari texts make plain the fact that battering rams were regular combat weapons there. Nevertheless, explicit textual reference to chariot warfare is still unknown in Mari texts, and the invention of the bit comes at a later time (Littauer and Crouwel 1979: 68–70, 99–100; Dalley 1984: 159–65).

D. Special Occasions of Travel and Communication

As in modern travel, there would have been countless personal reasons for people in antiquity to have traveled between preexisting points. Beyond these, however, several special situations would have occasioned ancient travel and communication: (1) commercial (e.g., commodities from as far afield as India, if not Thailand and Malaya, westward as far as the Atlantic Ocean, were being traded commercially across the Fertile Crescent by the Middle Bronze Age); (2) military (e.g., innumerable texts and annals); (3) royal (e.g., diplomatic correspondence was brought by courier or governmental official to a foreign dignatary, as in the case of the Amarna letters); (4) religious (e.g., evidenced in numerous holy wars, missionary urges, and religious pilgrimages); (5) scientific (e.g., the expedition of Alexander the Great against Persia was planned in part in order to explore the entire inhabited world as far as the eastern ocean, so Alexander took with him scientists who were entrusted with keeping daily reports, recording distances between stops, and describing geographical features of the soil and landscape along the way); and (6) political (e.g., deportations which politically disenfranchised many people, or trips within the province made to procure native natural resources for the state).

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THE NEW TESTAMENT WORLD

In the NT, one finds many references to travel and communication. In the ancient world, travel and communication became essential to the spread of Christianity.

A. Communication by Water and Land
  1. The Roman Grain Fleet
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A. Communication by Water and Land

The great rivers of Egypt and Mesopotamia have provided convenient means of communication from time immemorial. From earliest days, too, the Aegean has facilitated communication between the Greek mainland and islands and the W coast of Asia Minor. The Egyptians, the Cretans, the Phoenicians, and later the Greeks undertook coastal voyaging and N–S crossing in the Mediterranean.

1. The Roman Grain Fleet. In NT times, an important means of communication by sea was the imperial grain fleet plying between Alexandria and Italy. Egypt was the granary of Rome, and as the regular and adequate supply of grain to the capital was essential, this service was organized as a department of state as early as the Ptolemaic period (Rostovtzeff 1957: 708). The ships were privately owned, but the owners (Gk *nauklēroi;* Lat *navicularii*) let out their services under contract to the state and operated under state control. An inscription from Andriace, the port of Myra, marks an imperial building for grain storage (*CIL* 3.6738); there is a similar one from the same period at nearby Patara (*CIL* 3.12129). With a steady wind from the west, the best route from Alexandria to Italy was by Rhodes or one of these Lycian ports.

The fleet served other state interests than the transport of grain: for example, state prisoners being taken under guard to Rome might be carried on board. Private passengers and cargo were also carried.

2. Roman Roads. "All roads led to Rome" in NT times: the Romans paid much more attention to communications between the several provinces and Rome than between province and province. The good workmanship put into Roman roads is evident from the survival of many of them to this day: the Romans spoke of "building" a road (Lat *viam struere*). They learned some road-making techniques from the Etruscans, but the idea of continuous paved roads was Roman. A road required a sound foundation, efficient drainage, and where necessary, strong bridges.

In Italy the most famous road was the Via Appia, began under Appius Claudius in 312 B.C.; it ran S from Rome to Capua, and was later extended to Brundisium (Brindisi). From there the sea-crossing to the Balkan peninsula was about 100 miles. When Macedonia became a Roman province in 148 B.C., the Via Egnatia was constructed, running east from Dyrrhachium (modern Durres) and Apollonia (modern Poyani) on the Adriatic to Thessalonica, from which existing roads ran S to the main Greek cities. The Via Egnatia was later extended farther E to Neapolis (modern Kavalla), the port of Philippi, and later still to Byzantium on the Bosporus. When the Roman province of Asia was formed in 133 B.C., the Via Egnatia (with a short sea-crossing at either end) provided easy communication between Rome and the new province.

Asia Minor was already provided with superior roads going back to the period of Persian supremacy. The Persian empire operated an efficient road system with inns or caravanseries and watering places at convenient intervals. The "Royal Road" ran from Susa to the Aegean, a distance of some 1,500 miles, a three months' journey. Herodotus (Hdt. 5.50–54) lists 81 staging posts, at each of which fresh couriers and horses stood ready to carry royal decrees to the remotest parts of the empire (cf. Esth 8:10). See also ROADS AND HIGHWAYS (ROMAN ROADS).

3. The Imperial Post. The Roman imperial post followed much the same system, with one important variation. Whereas the Persian system provided a fresh courier at each staging post, Augustus arranged for one courier to complete the whole journey by carriage *(vehiculum)*, with fresh horses being provided at each staging post (Suet. *Aug.* 49.3). Even with the provision of carriages, this called for considerable stamina in the couriers, but what it lost in speed it gained in efficiency, for the courier who arrived with the message knew of the circumstances in which it had been dispatched and could supplement the written account with firsthand information. Thus, couriers from Syria and Judea brought Vitellius the news (A.D. 69) that the eastern legions had sworn allegiance to him (Tac. *Hist.* 2.73).

Sometimes citizens with sufficient influence were permitted to use the imperial post for personal business. The younger Pliny, while legate of Bithynia and Pontus, wrote to Trajan, saying: "I have made it a fixed rule not to grant anyone a permit to use the imperial post unless he is traveling on your service; but I have just been obliged to make an exception. My wife learned of her grandfather's death and was anxious to visit her aunt. I thought it would not be reasonable to deny her a permit when promptness means so much in performing this kind of duty, and I felt sure that you would approve of a journey made for family reasons." The emperor replied that of course he approved: "you had no need to entertain any doubts on this score even if you had waited to ask me *first*" (*Epp.* 10.120, 121).

There is no plausibility in the suggestion that Paul sometimes used the good offices of "saints . . . of Caesar's household" (Phil 4:22), i.e., members of the imperial civil service, to convey his letters for him. He evidently used members of his own circle for this purpose.

While security and regularity rather than speed were the aim of the imperial post, speed was sometimes of special importance. In 9 B.C., Tiberius was at Ticinum in N Italy when he learned that his brother Drusus was mortally ill at his summer camp in Germany, 500 miles away. Using relays of horses supplied by the imperial post, he covered the distance within three days; indeed, he is said to have covered 200 miles of the journey within twenty-four hours (Val. Max., *Facta Memorabilia* 5.3). This, of course, was quite exceptional.

Speed was essential when an emperor's death and his successor's identity had to be reported to the provincial authorities. For example, Tiberius died on March 16, A.D. 37 (Tac. *Ann.* 6.50); news of his death reached the legate of Syria, L. Vitellius, while he was on a visit to Jerusalem at Passovertide that year (Joseph. *Ant* 18.122–24). Since Passover in A.D. 37 coincided with the full moon of April 17/18, the news arrived within five weeks. It is uncertain whether it was brought by land along the Via Egnatia or by sea from Italy to Alexandria. The accession of Galba (June 9, A.D. 68) was announced in Alexandria in 27 days (*CIG* 4957 = *OGIS* 669).

The voyage from Italy to Alexandria in favorable

weather was much shorter and faster than the circuitous land route by Macedonia, Asia Minor, and Syria. Herod Agrippa I, appointed king of the Jews by Gaius, set out from Puteoli for his new kingdom when the NW winds began to blow in A.D. 38 and reached Alexandria "a few days later" (Philo, *Flacc* 27)—perhaps in about two weeks. By contrast, the accession of Pertinax on January 1, A.D. 193 took 63 or 64 days to be announced at Alexandria: on March 6 the prefect of Egypt issued an edict with directions for its celebration (*BGU* 646). At that time of year, the news would have come by land (ca. 2,500 miles).

Travel by sea was virtually ruled out in winter. According to the elder Pliny (*HN* 2.122), the seas were reopened to navigation on February 8; according to Vegetius (*De re militari* 4.39), they remained closed until March 10. Vegetius probably had in mind sailing over the open sea. He adds that the safe season for Mediterranean sailing ended on September 14; after that it became dangerous, and ceased altogether for the winter on November 11. In an emergency, however, winter sailing might be attempted. In a time of food scarcity at Rome, Claudius insured shipowners against the loss of their vessels in wintry weather and offered a bounty for every new ship constructed for the grain fleet. (Suet. *Claud.* 18.2). Even by land, travel was hazardous in winter, especially on roads which led through mountain passes.

Where the time taken by a journey is specified, it is usually because it was exceptionally short (or, occasionally, exceptionally long); such precise time indications afford no basis for calculating average speeds, whether for the imperial post or for private travel.

The voyage from Alexandria described by Lucian *(Nav.)* is formally fictional, but it is plainly based on real experience. The journey from Alexandria to Italy, because of contrary winds, was longer and more circuitous than that in the opposite direction, but Lucian's grain ship was dogged by misfortune: it was driven into the Aegean and docked in Piraeus on the seventieth day after setting out, whereas it should have reached its destination in an Italian port by that time.

4. Private Travel and Correspondence. Private travelers generally had to be content with a slower rate than the imperial post; they could not rely on guaranteed transport and were usually more leisurely in their progress. If the imperial post could cover 50 miles in a day, private travelers with horse transport would do well to cover 25–30, while pedestrians might achieve 15–20. Yet, where business was urgent a private traveler could go surprisingly fast. When Galba was proclaimed emperor by the Roman senate on June 9, A.D. 68, he was at Clunia in Spain, but his freedman, Icelus, left Rome at once and brought him the news within seven days, two days before the arrival of the official messenger (Plut. *Galba* 7)—a journey of 348 miles by land plus four or five days' voyage from Ostia to Tarraco.

In A.D. 143–44 the orator Aelius Aristides completed a winter journey from Smyrna to Rome. He fell sick and had to spend a long time at Edessa on the Via Egnatia, reaching Rome only on the hundredth day from his departure; yet he claims that for part of the way he traveled as fast as the imperial post (Aristides *Or.* 24).

The conveyance of private letters depended on the availability of carriers bound for the appropriate destination; they might therefore be earlier or later in arrival. A letter sent by Cicero from Rome to Athens reached its destination in 21 days, which he describes as "pretty smart" (*Fam.* 14.5.1); another, though sent at the height of summer, took 46 days to complete the same journey (*Fam.* 16.21.1). Of two letters sent to Rome from Syria, one—received on May 7, 43 B.C.—had taken 61 days (*Fam.* 12.10.2); another, dated December 31, 45 B.C., took 100 days (*Att.* 14.9.3).

B. Communication in the NT and Early Christian Record

A study of communications in the E Roman provinces helps to elucidate parts of the NT, especially Acts but also the Gospels and Epistles.

1. The Gospels. In Palestine the Romans used the ancient highway which led from the Euphrates to Egypt: it ran S through Damascus, crossed to the W side of the Jordan N of Lake Tiberias, went through the plain of Esdraelon (Jezreel) and the pass of Megiddo, and turned S along the Mediterranean coast—the Via Maris. Several minor branches linked various centers in Galilee with the W coast. A road by Antipatris (modern Rosh haʿAyin) linked Caesarea with Jerusalem; from Jerusalem to Jericho the road down the Wadi Qelt continued to serve, as it had done from ancient days.

Jesus and his disciples, who went around on foot, did not need to make much use of highways suitable for wheeled traffic; there was no scarcity of pedestrian tracks for them to follow as they went from one place to another in Galilee.

2. Paul. Paul and other missionaries to the gentile world found the Roman road system indispensable.

When Paul and Barnabas landed from Cyprus at the river port of Perga in Pamphylia and made their way up country to Pisidian Antioch (Acts 13:13–14), they probably crossed the Taurus range by the Klimax pass and went N to Prostanna, at the S tip of Lake Eğridir, and moved along the SE shore of the lake to the Anthios valley (Broughton 1937: 131–33). Pisidian Antioch, a Roman colony, was linked by road to the province of Asia on the W and to the cities of S Galatia on the E. For example, it was linked with Lystra, another Roman colony, by a military road which did not pass through Iconium. Paul and Barnabas, however, did not take this road: before going on to Lystra from Pisidian Antioch they visited Iconium. Iconium was an important road junction then as now: five Roman roads converged there. Derbe, to which Paul and Barnabas went from Iconium and Lystra, lay on the frontier between Roman Galatia and the client kingdom of Antiochus, but the Roman road system did not halt at the frontier; it continued through the client kingdom to the Cilician Gates and so on to Tarsus and Antioch on the Orontes.

On his next visit to Asia Minor (Acts 15:41–16:10), Paul set out by land from Antioch on the Orontes by the Syrian Gates, crossed the Taurus by the Cilician Gates (a gap worn by the Cydnus river), and so on to Derbe and Lystra (Ramsay 1906: 273–98). Another road from the Cilician Gates ran by Philadelphia to Troas; yet another ran N by Cappadocian Caesarea to Amisos on the Black Sea, cross-

ing a main thoroughfare leading W from Armenia to the Bosporus.

On this occasion Paul probably intended to continue along the main road to Ephesus, but he was directed not to do so; instead, he and his companions left that road at Iconium or Pisidian Antioch and crossed the Sultan Dag to Philomelium (Akşehir), from which a road running NW would take them to Cotiaeum (Kütahya). From there they journeyed by Adramyttium to Troas (for the route, see Broughton 1937: 135). Alexandria Troas (to use its full name) was "a nodal point on what became a sophisticated system of international routes" (Hemer 1975: 91). The imperial post used the short sea crossing between Troas and Neapolis as a link between N Asia Minor and the Via Egnatia.

Paul and his company crossed from Troas to Neapolis, and visited Philippi and then Thessalonica on the Via Egnatia. Having been prevented from going to Ephesus, Paul may have planned now to make for Rome along the Via Egnatia, but trouble at Thessalonica forced him to turn S. Thus, he eventually reached Corinth, where he stayed for 18 months (Acts 18:11).

From Corinth he returned to Palestine and Syria by sea. In general, contrary winds made Mediterranean sea travel from E to W difficult: for example, Casson (1951: 136–48) reckoned that, while the voyage from Rome to Rhodes took 7–11 days, that from Rhodes to Rome took 45–63 days. Paul, having visited Caesarea, Jerusalem, and Antioch, set out again by land for Asia Minor. This time he succeeded in reaching Ephesus. According to Acts 19:1, he approached Ephesus from "the upper country." Any route from the interior would pass through what was "upper country" from the perspective of Ephesus, but Ramsay (1897: 93–96) supposed (probably rightly) the reference to be to a higher road which left the main westward road at Apamea (modern Dinar) and led to Ephesus from the N side of Mt. Messogis (modern Aydin Dağlari). From Col 2:1, one might infer that Paul was a stranger to the Lycus valley, through which the main road ran.

After his three years' ministry in Ephesus, Paul revisited his European mission field. At Troas he hoped to meet Titus, whom he had entrusted with a delicate mission to the church of Corinth. He waited until sailing had ceased for the winter; he concluded then that Titus would come by land through Macedonia, and he set out for Macedonia to meet him (2 Cor 2:12–13; 7:5–6).

It was probably after meeting Titus that Paul visited Illyricum (Rom 15:19). To do this he would follow the Via Egnatia to the vicinity of its W terminus at Dyrrhachium (see Hammond 1974: 185–94) and then turn N along the Adriatic, either by land or (if the time of year permitted) by sea.

At the end of this time in Europe, Paul set out for Palestine, primarily to deliver the proceeds of a relief fund which he had organized in his gentile mission field for the church of Jerusalem. He was accompanied by delegates from the contributing churches. The delegates set sail from Cenchreae, the E port of Corinth, but Paul changed his mind at the last minute and went N to Philippi; from Neapolis he and Luke sailed to Troas and rejoined the others there. The voyage from Neapolis to Troas took five days (Acts 20:6), by contrast with the two days required earlier for the journey in the opposite direction (Acts 16:11), no doubt because of a prevalent northeasterly wind. By this time the Passover and festival of unleavened bread were past (in A.D. 57 the festival lasted from April 7 to 14), and Paul was anxious to reach Jerusalem in time for Pentecost (which in A.D. 57 fell on May 29).

From Troas the party set out by a fast ship, which rounded Cape Lectum and put in at Assos; Paul, for reasons not disclosed, went from Troas to Assos by land, a considerably shorter journey (25 miles) than the sea route, and was taken on board at Assos. The ship next put in at Mytilene, Samos, and Miletus. Instead of putting in at Ephesus, it sailed across the head of the Gulf of Ephesus, but it stayed in port at Miletus long enough for Paul to send a messenger asking the leaders of the Ephesian church to come to Miletus to meet him.

The ship then continued on its way to Cos, Rhodes, and Patara. As it was probably proceeding E along the S coast of Asia Minor, Paul and his party left it at Patara and found a large ship which was making a straight run across the open sea to the Phoenician coast to unload its cargo at Tyre. Chrysostom *(hom. 45 in Ac.)* reckoned that the voyage from Patara to Tyre took five days. Luke notes that on their way they sighted Cyprus to starboard.

At Ptolemais (Acco) the ship probably reached its final destination. The party went on by road to Caesarea (a journey of some 30 miles) and, as time was now well in hand, spent several days with the Caesarean Christians before completing the remaining 64 miles up country to Jerusalem, perhaps on muleback.

The hazards of travel by land and sea are underlined by a passage in which Paul lists the perils he endured in his apostolic journeys (2 Cor 11:25–26). Travel by land involved dangers from flooded rivers and highway robbers. He does not include (though he might well have done so) hazards incurred in spending the night at inns along the road: these were notoriously dangerous and unsavory places. Travel by sea involved the danger of shipwreck, which he had endured three times (this was before he was shipwrecked off Malta); on one of these occasions he had spent 24 hours adrift on the open sea.

The hazards of sea travel are best illustrated by the account of Paul's voyage from Palestine to Italy (Acts 27). This is narrated in considerable detail, and in terms which point clearly to the record of an eyewitness who was not himself a seaman, but has provided "one of the most instructive documents for the knowledge of ancient seamanship" (Holtzmann *Apostelgeschichte* HKNT, 421).

Paul, who had been sent to Rome for the hearing of his appeal to Caesar, was (with other prisoners) put under the charge of a centurion. The ship of Adramyttium, which they boarded at Caesarea, took them to Myra; its port Andriace was a principal port of the imperial grain service. A large ship of the grain service was in harbor, ready to continue its homeward voyage; the centurion, who may have been a *frumentarius*, a supervisory officer of the grain service, put his charges on board.

It was already late in the sailing season, and the shipowner was anxious to make good speed and reach Italy before the seas closed for the winter. The NW wind slowed their progress, but they rounded Cape Salomne and sailed

under the lee of Crete. By the time they came to Fair Havens (6 miles E of Cape Matala), it was clear that they could not complete the voyage before winter, so it was decided to make for Phoenix, 40 miles farther W, and spend the winter there. Suddenly, however, a violent NNE wind, called the Euraquilo (the *gregale*), blew down from the interior of Crete and drove them out to sea. During the short time that they sailed under the lee of Cauda, the crew hauled the dinghy on board, undergirded the ship, dropped a floating anchor, and then, with storm sails set, drifted before the wind on the starboard tack. The situation was so desperate that they had to jettison most of the wheat cargo, the raison d'être of the voyage and the source of the shipowner's livelihood.

With no navigational aids—neither sun nor stars were visible, because of the storm—they had no idea where they were, and all hope of survival had been given up when they found themselves approaching land—Malta, as it turned out, where they managed to get ashore, although the ship was a total wreck.

After three months' stay on Malta, they embarked on another vessel of the grain service, which had wintered there in harbor, and reached Puteoli safely. Passengers from Alexandria were normally put ashore there, while the cargo was taken on to Ostia. From Puteoli, Paul and his party went N by the Via Appia—two staging posts on the road are mentioned, the Forum of Appius and Three Taverns—"and so we came to Rome" (Acts 28:14). An adventurous journey indeed!

Paul's associates also made use of those communications on his behalf, none more assiduously than his aide-de-camp Timothy. When Thessalonica had been newly evangelized and Paul was forced to leave the city before his mission was completed, he sent Timothy back there from Athens to see how his converts were faring. This journey could have been made by land or by sea. On another occasion Paul sent Timothy from Ephesus to Corinth: he was in the course of writing a letter to the church, but received news of a situation so urgent that it called for personal intervention by a man in whom he had total confidence, before the letter could be completed and dispatched.

More arduous was the mission undertaken by Timothy when Paul was in custody in Rome. Anxious to have news of his converts in Philippi, Paul sent Timothy there. This involved a road journey of nearly 750 miles (about forty days) each way—360 miles to Brindisi from Rome and 381 miles along the Via Egnatia to Philippi—over and above the crossing of the Straits of Otranto (occupying the best part of two days). Timothy undertook it readily: one who spent so much time in the company of a man who spoke of himself as "constantly on the road" must himself have been a seasoned traveler.

3. The Delivery of 1 Peter. The First Letter of Peter was sent (probably from Rome) to Christians "in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia." This sequence of provinces probably indicates the route to be followed by the letter carrier. According to Hemer (1978: 239–43), if the carrier landed at Amisus in Pontus (modern Samsun), he could follow a road which took him to Amasia in North Galatia, Zela in S Pontus, and Caesarea in Cappadocia. This was the road mentioned above as linking the Black Sea with the Cilician Gates. Leaving it at Cappadocian Caesarea, the messenger could take a road west to Iconium and Pisidian Antioch (in S Galatia), and to Apamea in Asian Phrygia; then he had a choice of northbound roads which would take him through Asia into Bithynia, to Nicaea, Nicomedia, and Chalcedon on the Bosporus, and there he could find a ship for his return journey.

4. The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia. The sequence of the seven churches listed in Revelation—Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea—probably also indicates the route taken by the bearer of the seven letters. "Ephesus was the messenger's natural place of entry to the mainland of the province of Asia, and the other cities lay in sequence on a circular route round its inner territories" (Hemer 1986: 15). To this day, six of the seven cities are on the railway (Pergamum being the exception). As Ramsay (1907: 171–96) pointed out, the messenger, starting at Ephesus, would visit the cities one by one, going N by Smyrna to Pergamum, and then turning in a SE direction to visit Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea. From Laodicea he would have no difficulty in taking the W road back to Ephesus.

5. The Journey and Letters of Ignatius. Another early Christian journey was that taken between A.D. 110 and 115 by Ignatius, bishop of Antioch on the Orontes, when he was sent under armed guard to Rome to be exposed to the wild beasts in the amphitheater. He and his guards went by land to Troas, from which they crossed to Neapolis, and so on to Rome by the Via Egnatia. The earlier part of their journey is undocumented: presumably they traveled by the Cilician Gates and then W to Iconium and Apamea. At either Apamea or Laodicea they turned N and went through Philadelphia and Sardis to Smyrna, where they arrived in August and stayed for some time. Here, our evidence for the journey becomes more detailed, thanks to letters which Ignatius sent from Smyrna to churches which, learning of his presence there, dispatched delegates to greet him—the churches of Ephesus, Magnesia by the Maeander, and Tralles. Had Ignatius' route passed through these cities, their churches would not have needed to send messengers to him at Smyrna. At the same time, Ignatius used the good offices of someone who was setting out for Rome to send a letter to the Christians of the capital, advising them of his impending arrival there and begging them not to exercise any influence to try to save him from martyrdom.

The party then went on to Troas, where there was a further stay; here Ignatius wrote letters to the church of Philadelphia, where he had stopped briefly on the way to Smyrna, as well as one to the church of Smyrna and another, more personal, to its bishop, Polycarp.

On his way through Philippi, Ignatius evidently impressed the Philippian Christians, for shortly afterwards they decided to make a collection of his letters, and wrote to Polycarp asking for his help. Polycarp's positive reply to their letter is extant: he asked them to let him know if they had any news of what happened to Ignatius and his companions.

The fictitious details of Ignatius' journey in the *Acts of Ignatius* picture him as following in Paul's footsteps.

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TRAVELERS, VALLEY OF THE (PLACE) [Heb *gê hā'ōbĕrîm*]. An unidentified valley E of the Dead Sea in which, during the latter days, the Israelites would bury Gog and his hordes after they had been slain by Yahweh (Ezek 39:11). Subsequently, the valley would be called the "Valley of Hamon-gog (i.e., Valley of the Multitude of Gog).

Scholars disagree on both the designation and location of this valley. The MT *'ōbĕrîm* may be read as a proper name, hence "Valley Oberim" (cf. Zimmerli *Ezechiel* BKAT, 923), or as a verbal form with the translation "Valley of the Travelers" (cf. RSV). The latter designation may suggest a play of words on "the travelers" in the context.

Revocalization of the locution *'ōbĕrîm* could result in the reading "Abarim" (e.g., NEB and RSV marg.) which was the name of a mountain range E of the Dead Sea known from Num 33:47–48, Deut 32:49, and Jer 22:20. See ABARIM. Taking the phrase "east of the sea" to mean "east of the Dead Sea," together with the vocalization "Abarim," several scholars identify the "Valley of the Travelers" with a valley in the Abarim range or a valley below the Abarim mountains, both of which are E of the Dead Sea (e.g., Fohrer *Ezechiel* HAT, 217; Wevers *Ezekiel* NCBC, 292).

Objections to such a Transjordanian identification include: (1) the Heb word *qidĕmat* need not necessarily mean "east" (cf. the translation of the LXX); (2) the Heb word for "sea" may be applied to the Mediterranean, or to the Sea of Galilee, as well as to the Dead Sea; and (3) a location in Transjordan seems to be at odds with both Ezek 39:11, which places the valley within Israel, and Ezek 47:18, which states that the E border of Israel ran along the River Jordan down to the Dead Sea.

Accepting the LXX reading that the valley was notable and stressing its location within Israel, Bewer suggested that the "sea" of Ezek 39:11 is the Lake of Galilee and the "Valley of the Travelers" should be identified with the *Wâdī Fejjas*, located about 2 miles S of the sea of Galilee (1938: 124). Other proposals include identifications with the Valley of Jezreel and with the Shephelah E of the Mediterranean. However, neither of these suggestions seems to fit the Hebrew designation for "valley" in Ezek 39:11.

More recently, Ribichini and Xella (1980), drawing on Ugaritic texts, interpreted the "Valley of the Travelers" as "the valley of those who have passed to the nether world."

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ARTHUR J. FERCH

TRAY [Heb *maḥtâ*]. A word used three times in the RSV (Exod 25:38; 37:23; Num 4:9) which is more often rendered "firepan" or "snuffer." This Heb term is from a root, *ḥth*, meaning "to snatch," used to indicate the taking of hot coals from a hearth. The translation "tray" is used with "tongs" in priestly portions of the Pentateuch in reference to the utensils for servicing the golden lampstand, where it may indicate a receptacle for burnt wicks rather than coals.

CAROL MEYERS

TREASON. See PUNISHMENTS AND CRIMES (OT AND ANE).

TREATIES IN THE ANE. Treaties had a significant impact on the political shape of the ANE from the 3d to the 1st millennium B.C.E. They reveal a great deal of

information about international relations in this area and the history of the peoples involved. The majority of them were written in Akkadian and (to a lesser extent) Hittite, with a very small number drafted in other languages; they were inscribed on tablets of clay or metal and deposited in temples of major deities. Egypt stands out as an exception to the widespread practice of treaty making in the ANE, perhaps because it was deemed beneath pharaoh, as a living god, to enter into contracts with his servants (Tadmor 1982: 140). However, no treaty documents are known from Old Babylonian archives either, including Mari. This may indicate that in this period binding agreements between some city-states were concluded orally.

The ultimate origin of the treaty tradition in the ANE is still disputed. The earliest international treaties come from Hatti, pointing to a Hittite origin (Tadmor: 1982: 139). On the other hand, the fact that this genre shares a number of features with clearly Mesopotamian forms such as the *kudurru* (boundary stone) suggests a Mesopotamian locus (McCarthy 1978: 124; Korošec 1931: 26–35).

A. General Characteristics
B. Types and Purpose
C. Terminology
  1. Terms for Treaties
  2. Ratifying the Treaty
D. Treaty Rituals
E. The Treaty Relationship
F. Keeping and Breaking the Treaty
G. Geographical Distribution of ANE Treaties
  1. Sumer, Ebla, and Akkad
  2. Hatti
  3. Syria
  4. First-Millennium Mesopotamia
H. The Perdurance of the ANE Treaty Form

A. General Characteristics

The ANE treaty was a sworn political agreement between two parties, at least one of which was a nation or king. At its core was an oath (Akk *nīš ilī*, lit., "(by) the life of the gods"), taken before the state deities of one or both parties. It was at the same time an imprecation (Akk *mamītu*), calling down divine wrath on the oath breaker. Treaty and oath were so closely associated that in 2d-millennium Mesopotamia one of the standard expressions for this type of document was *riksu/rikiltu u mamītu*, lit., "treaty-and-oath" (cf. Heb *bryt w'lh* in Deut 29: 11, 13—Eng 29:12, 14). The deities before whom the oath was taken were thought to act as guarantors of the treaty, punishing the one who transgressed it.

B. Types and Purpose

In general, one may distinguish between (1) international and (2) domestic treaties. The former were more common and may be subdivided into "parity" (between equal powers) and "suzerain-vassal" types (between a major power and a lesser nation). Parity treaties sought to establish nonaggression between the parties and to guarantee the stability of the respective ruling dynasties. Suzerain-vassal treaties served to consolidate the hegemony of the suzerain; the vassal's interests were clearly subordinate. Kestemont (1974: 346) has played down the inequality between Hittite suzerain and vassal, though his view has not won wide acceptance (McCarthy 1978: 59–60). Domestic pacts had to do with internal affairs of state, frequently with the succession to the throne, especially in Assyria (Parpola 1987: 186).

C. Terminology

1. Terms for Treaties. The ANE terms for "treaty" during the 2d millennium had the same underlying meaning, viz., "binding": Akk *riksu/rikiltu* (< *rakāsu*, "bind"); Hitt *išḫiul* (< *išḫiya-*, "bind"); Ug *mṣmt* (< *ṣmd*, "fasten, yoke"; cf. Num 25:3, 5; Ps 106:28); Heb *bryt* (cf. Akk *birītu*, "clasp, fetter" [*TDOT* 2: 255]). The contract could also be designated by its oath component. In Akk it was called a *(ṭuppu ša) nīš ilī* "(tablet of the) oath" or a *(ṭuppu ša) mamītu* "(tablet of the) imprecation" (Tadmor 1982: 132). The latter term was commonly used in this way in 15th-14th-century Hatti, Alalakh, Ugarit, Amarna, and Assyria. In addition, terms denoting the relationship created by the treaty were used at times to designate the agreement or the document itself (see E. below).

2. Ratifying the Treaty. Establishing a treaty was thought to be accomplished primarily by swearing the oath, but also by certain accompanying rites. This is reflected in ANE expressions for concluding a treaty. One of the most widely used was "to cut an oath": Phoen *krt ʾlt* (*KAI* 27:8–9); Aram *gzr ʿdn* (*KAI* 222 A 7); Heb *bryt krt;* cf. Sum *nam-erím tar/ku*$_5$, "to swear (lit., "cut") an assertory oath" (and Gk *horkia [pista] temnein*). The action may originally have referred to cutting animals into pieces in the oath ceremony. At Mari "to kill an ass" (Akk *ḫāram qatālum*) became a technical expression for making a covenant (McCarthy 1978: 91) (see D. below). The vassal treaties of Esarhaddon mention concluding a treaty by touching breasts, setting a table, drinking from a cup, and using water and oil (*ANET,* 536). Akk sources speak of "giving" (cf. Gen 9:12; 17:2) and "establishing" the treaty. The parties are sometimes said to "enter into the oath/treaty" (cf. Jer 34:10; Ezek 16:8; *TDOT* 2: 260). One treaty in Ug has *mṣmt št l-*, "to impose treaty (-obligations) upon" (cf. Heb *śm bryt l-* in 2 Sam 23:5). Similarly, the treaty oath was "sworn," "given," "placed," "uttered," or "imposed" (Tadmor 1982: 132 n. 23).

D. Treaty Rituals

In addition to the solemn acts that became synonymous with the establishment of the treaty, certain other rites sometimes accompanied the oath ceremony. Most of these had an intimidating character, foreboding the fate of the one who transgressed the sworn agreement. Mesopotamian sources mention "touching the throat" (Akk *napišta lapātu*) in this connection (Tadmor 1982: 134). A document from Alalakh, in reference to a treaty, reads: "Abban [Abbaʾil?] swore an oath to Yarimlim and cut the neck of a sheep, saying '(Let me so die) if I take back that which I gave you . . .' " (Wiseman 1958: 129). Perhaps the most dramatic examples of such rites are mentioned in the treaties concluded with Matiʿel of Arpad (*ANET,* 532–33, 660).

E. The Treaty Relationship

The establishment of the treaty created a state of amicable relations between the contracting parties. This was

described in 2d-millennium parity treaties by words such as "peace" (cf. Josh 9:15), "brotherhood" (cf. Amos 1:9), "friendship," and "love." Concretely, this translated into mutual nonaggression and agreement on respective spheres of influence. The relationship was commonly qualified as "eternal," since it was considered binding upon the parties' successors as well. The relationship of the vassal to his suzerain was not "brotherhood" but "servitude." In treaties of this type, the language of "father/son" replaced "brothers" and was apparently interchangeable with "lord/servant" (Fensham 1971: 125). The vassal was forbidden to seek alliances with other great powers but was to "acknowledge" only the suzerain as his overlord (cf. Hos 13:4), to be at enmity with his enemies, to extradite political refugees to the suzerain, and to report all seditious talk to him. Moreover, he was to maintain peaceful relations with all fellow vassals. Disputes between vassals of the Hittite king were brought to him for settlement.

F. Keeping and Breaking the Treaty

Remaining loyal to the treaty was described as "guarding" (cf. Exod 19:5; Deut 33:9) or "remembering" (cf. Amos 1:9) it. Verbs used to describe breaking it include "break" (cf. Deut 31:16), "transgress" (cf. Deut 17:2), "be false to" (Ps 89:34—Eng 89:33), "despise" (cf. 2 Kgs 17:15), "erase," "sin against," "forget" (Deut 4:23; *TDOT* 2: 260–62). Breaking the oath brought the full force of the imprecations on the guilty party. Hittite texts speak of the oath gods "pursuing" (cf. Deut 28:45), "seizing," or "destroying" (Deut 28:20, 22) the oath breaker. Assyrian documents likewise speak of the imprecation "overtaking" (cf. Deut 28:15, 45), "seizing," and "destroying." In suzerain vassal treaties, this often took the form of a punitive campaign by the suzerain against the transgressor.

G. Geographical Distribution of ANE Treaties

1. Sumer, Ebla, and Akkad. There is no evidence of widespread treaty making in Sumer. The so-called "Vulture Stela" records an agreement between Eanatum of Lagash (25th century B.C.E.) and the city-state of Umma concerning boundaries (Cooper 1986: 33–39). The ruler of Umma invokes a series of curses upon himself if he breaks the oath. About ten treaties have been identified from the Ebla archives. The most important is the "Treaty between Ebla and Assyria(?)" concerning the foundation of a commercial center. Its classification as a treaty is debated, since some sections read like laws a state would lay down for its own citizens (Lambert 1987: 355). Ebla seems to have had the upper hand. A treaty in Elamite between Naram-Sin of Akkad (23d century B.C.E.) and an Elamite ruler is preserved, but is difficult to interpret (McCarthy 1978: 32).

2. Hatti. Extant copies of Hittite treaties date from the age of Hittite supremacy, the period of the Empire (1460–1215). They were written either in Hittite or in Akkadian, the language of international diplomacy in the LB Age. About fifty such documents are known to date.

a. Parity Treaties. Very few exemplars of this type of treaty survive. The earliest known were concluded between Hatti and Kizzuwatna (in S Anatolia) and between Kizzuwatna and Alalakh about 1500 B.C.E. (Tadmor 1982: 139). The best known is that between Hattusilis III and Rameses II after the battle of Kadesh-on-the-Orontes (ca. 1280 B.C.E.), preserved in a Hittite (*ANET*, 201–3) and an Egyptian version (*ANET*, 199–201). The document deals with mutual nonaggression, extradition of political refugees, respective spheres of influence, etc.

b. Suzerain-Vassal Treaties. In this type, the majority of the obligations fell to the vassal. For his part, the Hittite king was obligated to provide protection and military assistance. The standard structure is as follows: (1) preamble, giving the official titles of the Hittite king; (2) historical prologue, recounting the past beneficent deeds of the suzerain (and his predecessors) to the vassal so as to establish the authority claimed in the treaty; (3) stipulations or terms ("words"—cf. Hos 10:4; Exod 20:1), which could be expressed in an imperative/precative form ("apodictic") or, more commonly, in conditional clauses ("case law"); (4) requirement that the document be deposited in a temple (of major deities) of the respective parties and read at regular intervals; (5) invocation of divine witnesses, including the gods of the Hittite pantheon and divinized natural elements; and (6) blessings and curses. Though this is the "classic" structure, exceptions did occur: e.g., the omission or curtailment of the list of divine witnesses and the de-emphasis of the curses in certain treaties in which the "vassal" was a relative of the Hittite king.

3. Syria. a. Second-Millennium Treaties. At least two treaties are known from 15th-century Syria. These are noteworthy insofar as both seem to have been concluded between vassals of the king of Mitanni. The first, a "treaty-document," was concluded between Idrimi of Alalakh and Pilliya (of Kizzuwatna?; *ANET*, 532). It is concerned with the extradition of refugees and concludes with a brief curse invoking three deities. The second describes itself as an " 'oath'-document" between Niqmepa, king of Mukish and Alalakh, and Ir-Arad(?) of Tunip (*ANET*, 531–32). The terms touch on the usual matters—trade, extradition of refugees, etc. It ends with a brief series of curses invoking three "great gods."

b. The Sefire Treaties. A series of three Aramaic texts dating from the 8th century have come to light, preserving versions of a treaty between Bar-Gaʾyah, "king" of KTK, and Matiʿel, king of Arpad (*ANET*, 659–61; Fitzmyer 1967). Given the many Neo-Assyrian traits of this document, Lemaire and Durand have recently proposed that the suzerain was Shamshi-ilu, commander-in-chief under Shalmaneser IV (1984: 23–58). (A treaty between Matiʿel and Ashur-nirari V of Assyria is also preserved—*ANET*, 532–33). An interesting feature of these Aramaic documents is the rituals mentioned therein foreboding the fate of the oath breaker, including cutting a calf in two (cf. Jer 34:18). Similar rites are mentioned in the treaty with Ashur-nirari V (see D above).

4. First-Millennium Mesopotamia. a. Babylon. Only one fragmentary treaty survives that might be Babylonian, concluded in 822 B.C.E. between Marduk-zakir-shumi of Babylon and Shamshi-Adad V of Assyria (Parpola and Watanabe 1988: 4–5). It is often assumed that the Babylonian king is the dominant party, though Parpola disagrees, classifying it as Neo-Assyrian (Parpola and Watanabe 1988: xxvi; Parpola 1987: 186). Very little of the stipulations are preserved; it concludes with a list of gods and curses

almost identical with those at the end of the Code of Hammurabi.

b. Assyria. In 1st-millennium Assyria, the term *riksu/rikiltu* was replaced by *adê* (cf. Heb *ʿdn/ʿdwt*). This appears to be a loanword from Aram *ʿdy*, a construct plural meaning "oaths" (cf. Lemaire and Durand 1984: 91–106). Parpola (1987: 180–83) has shown that it is a general term in Neo-Assyrian for any solemn, binding agreement. To date, about twenty NA *adês* have come to light, with references to about fifty in all (Parpola 1987: 184–86). The majority of these are international treaties. The general form of the Neo-Assyrian treaties is similar in many respects to the Hittite model. The main parts are as follows: (1) preamble, identifying the contracting parties, (2) stipulations, (3) appeal to divine witnesses (state gods of Assyria and, in some instances, of the vassal party), and (4) curses invoked upon the inferior party in case he violates the treaty (Parpola and Watanabe 1988: xxxv–xliii). The following elements are sometimes found, but apparently not mandatory: a short historical introduction, seal impressions (after the preamble), and an adjuration clause (with a list of divine witnesses).

The longest and best preserved Neo-Assyrian treaty known to date (ca. 670 lines) is a domestic treaty concluded in 672 B.C.E. between Esarhaddon and his vassals (*ANET*, 534–41; Parpola and Watanabe 1988: 28–58)—the "Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon." It is not clear whether it was imposed only on certain vassals on the E periphery of the empire or on a wider group of subjects (Parapola and Watanabe 1988: xxx). The chief purpose of the document was to ensure the succession of Esarhaddon's son, Ashurbanipal, to the Assyrian throne.

Neo-Assyrian treaties differed from their Hittite counterparts in several respects. The contract was more one-sided: virtually all the obligations fell to the vassal party. No blessings were invoked; rather, there was a decided emphasis on the curses, which explains why the treaty could be called *mamītu*, "imprecatory oath." In the Esarhaddon treaty mentioned above, the curses run some 230 lines.

H. The Perdurance of the ANE Treaty Form

From the fact that treaties were such a significant part of international politics in the ANE, it is not surprising that this literary genre or variations of it lasted almost to the end of the pre-Christian period. The 7th-century amulet from Arslan-Tash (*KAI* 27: 8–18) shows its influence (Zevit 1977: 110–18). Nor is it possible to deny its impact on the OT idea of covenant, especially in Deuteronomy. See also COVENANT. The ANE treaty form is also clearly reflected in a text as late as 215 B.C.E., the pact between Hannibal and Philip V of Macedonia (Plb. *Hist.* 7.9; Barré 1983: 38–99).

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TREATISE OF SETH. See SETH, SECOND TREATISE OF THE GREAT (NHC VII,2).

TREATISE OF SHEM. See SHEM, TREATISE OF.

TREATISE ON THE RESURRECTION. See RESURRECTION, TREATISE ON THE (NHC I,4).

TREE OF KNOWLEDGE AND TREE OF LIFE. The tree of the knowledge of good and evil and the tree of life are two supernatural trees located in the garden of Eden (Gen 2:4b–3:24). The two trees are mentioned together at the beginning and end of the Eden story (Gen 2:9; 3:22). However, in the middle of the story only one tree is mentioned (2:16–17; 3:3, 6, 11, 12). It is clear that this tree is the tree of knowledge because of its properties and because of the prohibition placed on it (cf. 3:3, 5–6, 11 with 2:16–17). A clear understanding of what

the tree of knowledge represents or what powers it can bestow is essential for interpreting the narrative of Gen 2:4b–3:24.

A. The Tree of Knowledge

The name of this tree presents certain syntactic difficulties. It is fully: *ʿēṣ haddaʿat ṭôb wārāʿ*. The problems center around the word *daʿat*. Is this word a substantive or an infinitive, and how does it relate to the following phrase? Those who take *daʿat* as the noun "knowledge" propose either that it is in the absolute state governed by the preceding word, "tree," or that it is in the construct state bound to the following phrase, "good and evil." In the former case, there is the problem of how *ṭôb wārāʿ*, "good and evil," relates to this. Von Rad proposed that the phrase *ṭôb wārāʿ* should be considered a "subsequent addition." In the latter case, there is the difficulty of the article being affixed to a noun in the construct state. A more satisfactory solution is obtained by taking *daʿat* as an infinitive construct of *yāda*ʿ, "to know," preceded by the article and with a direct object following. This construction is admittedly rather rare but not without parallel (cf. Jer 22:16).

Scholars have given a great deal of attention to the interpretation of the tree of knowledge. Three broad areas of interpretation can be discerned among the many proposals.

(1) The tree makes possible the acquisition of certain human faculties. Proposals in this area have included the acquisition of moral values (K. Budde), attaining human maturity (H. Gunkel, U. Cassuto), claiming the right of self-determination (E. Speiser, R. de Vaux), or claiming legal responsibility for decisions (W. M. Clark). A basic problem with all of these is that there is no adequate explanation given as to why Yahweh should deny any of these responsibilities to humankind. Moreover, this approach does not clarify in what way having these qualities is to be regarded as "being like gods" (3:22).

In regard to the matter of moral values, how could Yahweh consider the humans who eat of the tree's fruit at fault when they were morally ignorant? The argument for self-determination being the power granted by the tree has some merit. The context of the story points in this direction, but further consideration needs to be given to the way the phrase "knowing good and evil" affects the context. W. M. Clark's legal argument concentrates only on those passages in which "to know/discern good and evil" has a royal or legal context (e.g., 1 Kgs 3:9; 2 Sam 13:22; 14:17). There are other occurrences of this or another similar expression which do not have these contexts.

(2) The tree introduces to the first humans the knowledge of sexual relations. This has been a popular interpretation. Various proposals along this line have been made by J. Coppens, L. Hartman, I. Engnell, and R. Gordis. Elements in the story of Eden have prompted these proposals: the nakedness of the couple, their shame, the punishment in the terms of pain in childbearing and sexual desire for her husband, the fertility associations of snakes in the ANE, and the designation of the woman as "mother of all living."

Passages such as Deut 1:39 and Isa 7:15, which speak of children not yet knowing "good and evil," and 2 Sam 19:36, in which Barzillai in old age no longer knows "good and evil," are all cited as evidence. In the last case, Barzillai declines David's invitation to join his court. David offers hospitality in return for that shown to him earlier by Barzillai (2 Sam 17:27). Barzillai would prefer to spend his old age at home and tells David that he can no longer appreciate food or drink or the sounds of the court singers. In this context, his rhetorical question whether he can "know good or evil" suggests to some a reference to the triad "wine, women, and song." Hence, "to know good and evil" is an idiom for having sexual relations. If there is an allusion here to that triad, it would be the earliest occurrence. This is a slender argument for a purely sexual understanding of "to know good and evil." One can comprehend Barzillai's rhetorical question better if it is understood that he means he can no longer know "anything" as he once could and therefore cannot appreciate David's offer fully. The whole semantic range of *yāda*ʿ, "to know," used in the OT needs to be taken into account.

The same could be said for the passage from Qumran, 1QSa 1:9–11, cited by R. Gordis (1957). As part of the general rule for life in the Qumran community, this passage states,

> (A man) will not approach a woman to have intercourse with her until he has attained the age of twenty when he knows good and evil.

Gordis sees this as an indication that "to know good and evil" has to do with commencing sexual relations. However, the larger context of the passage sets the age of twenty in the community not only as the age of marriage but also as the age of the conclusion of the study of the Law and acceptance into the holy congregation (1QSa 1:8–9). Thus, while "to know good and evil" could have some sexual connotations it also has legal and social ones.

One cannot ignore the sexual overtones in the story in Gen 2:4b–3:24, but they do not dominate the narrative. The tree of knowledge possibly has some connection with these overtones, but that is not the whole story. One has to consider the total range of meaning of the verb *yāda*ʿ, "to know," to obtain a clearer picture. Further, in the Eden story one has to consider that Yahweh does not forbid human procreation. In fact, the recognition that the relation of the man and woman in the story before they eat from the tree becomes an etiology for human marriage (2:24) cannot be overlooked.

(3) The tree gives access to some universal knowledge. This interpretation has also been proposed in various forms by many scholars, including J. Wellhausen, P. Humbert, and J. A. Soggin. Wellhausen saw the knowledge associated with the tree as a broad knowledge which transcended human limitations. It was the knowledge of the secrets of the world, and its acquisition enabled humankind to imitate the work of God.

Such interpretation of the tree of knowledge is dependent on the phrase "good and evil" being understood as a merism. A merism is a figure of speech where the totality of something is expressed by two constituent parts. There are other passages in the OT where this phrase or a similar one is used as a merism (e.g., Gen 24:50; 2 Sam 14:17, 20; Jer 42:6; Lam 3:38; Eccl 12:14). In 2 Samuel 14, a woman from Tekoa comes to King David seeking his wisdom. In v

17 she says of David, ". . . for my lord the king is like a messenger of God (the gods) discerning the good and the evil." In v 20 she adds, "My lord has wisdom like the wisdom of the messenger of God (the gods) knowing all which is in the earth." The passage clearly uses "the good and the evil" as a merism for "all which is in the earth." David's knowledge of "all which is in the earth" is likened to the knowledge of "the messenger of God (the gods)." This is helpful in understanding Gen 2:4b–3:24.

Also important for the interpretation of the Eden story are Deut 1:39; 2 Sam 19:36; and Isa 7:15, 16. In the first and third passages, reference is made to children who do not yet "know good and evil" or who do not yet know how "to refuse the evil and choose the good." Arguments have been made for the interpretation of "good and evil" in these passages to indicate human faculties or sexual relations. But these do not exhaust the possibilities, and when 2 Sam 19:36 and 1QSa 1:9–11 are also considered it would seem that "good and evil" can best be understood as a merism indicating a comprehensive extent of knowledge which includes various concepts of maturity, with sexual, intellectual, and social implications.

The interpretation of universal knowledge as the gift of the tree in Eden would seem to fit the story best. It ties in with the theme of the humans becoming like gods. The various aspects of divine knowledge—sexual, intellectual, social, etc.—would have allowed the ancient storytellers to highlight various aspects of the narrative as they desired. Gen 2:4b–3:24 is a story about divine-human relations, the boundary that divides the two realms, and the consequences of attempting to breach the intimacy, trust, and responsibility that is part of the created order.

B. The Tree of Life

The tree of life is the second of the two main trees located in the garden of Eden. It bestows immortality on those who eat from it (Gen 3:22). The origins of the concept of the tree of life are obscure. There is no explicit reference to such a tree in other ANE literature, although special plants, food, and water are often depicted as granting the gift of immortality or at least eternal youth. In the Epic of Gilgamesh, the hero, in his travels, acquires a plant by which he can regain his "life's breath." He names the plant, "In old age a man becomes young." The gift of the plant is clearly that of a return to youthful vitality. Unfortunately, a serpent steals it from him while he bathes (Epic of Gilgamesh 11.279–89; see *ANET,* 96).

In the myth of Adapa, the hero, who is a leader among peoples, is offered the "food of life" and the "water of life" by the god Anu, but on the advice of Ea he refuses them, thinking they are rather the bread and water of death. Like Gilgamesh he misses out on gaining a quality of life beyond that of other mortals (*Adapa* 67–68; *ANET,* 101–3). The "water of life" is also mentioned in the story of the descent of Ishtar to the netherworld (*Descent of Ishtar* 34, 38; *ANET,* 107–9), while the "plant of life" is connected with kingship in Sumerian and Akkadian texts.

Throughout ANE literature, occasional descriptions of sacred trees with magical powers are known. The *kiškanû* tree is referred to in Akkadian incantation and magical texts as having some special healing powers. It grows in a pure, abundant place in Eridu. The features of the location remind us of the image of the garden of the gods. See GARDEN OF GOD.

The description of the "world tree" or "cosmic tree" in Ezek 17:22–24; 31:2–9, and Dan 4:7b–9, although used in different contexts, should be noted. Such trees are portrayed as objects of beauty, grandeur, and abundant fertility. They become shelters for all sorts of creatures and are a source of sustenance for all life.

None of the above elements can be directly connected to the biblical tree of life. The aspect of "life" in each of them changes from story to story. However, the common ground between them should be recognized. The concepts of a supernatural tree as a source of life and of eating and drinking some substance to gain divine powers seem to have coalesced in the tree of life in Gen 2:4b–3:24.

Glyptic and other artistic evidence is also cited as evidence for consideration in discussions of the tree of life. Natural or stylized trees on monuments, stelae, cylinder seals, etc., have been interpreted as sacred trees or a "tree of life." These depictions fall into two broad categories. First, such trees are associated with divine figures in human form or with certain mythical beasts. A winged disk is sometimes portrayed above the tree, which often occupies a central place in the scene. In some cases, these scenes could depict some mythic episode. The tree is occasionally connected with a mountain or with streams coming forth from the deity. Secondly, some scenes depict a central tree flanked by two animals. The beasts, which can be either mythological or common domestic animals such as goats, are often seen resting their forelegs on the tree. Occasionally, the figure of a deity replaces the tree. The interpretation of this material is highly subjective. The relation of ritual significance to decorative function is unknown, and it is difficult to connect the evidence to specific mythic episodes.

OT references to the tree of life are found outside Gen 2:4b–4:24 only in Prov 3:18; 11:30; 13:12; and 15:4. It also occurs in the LXX of Isa 65:22. In Prov 3:18, the tree of life is equated with wisdom. In the other passages, it is contrasted to something undesirable. R. Marcus (1943) argues that in the Wisdom Literature the mythological understanding of the term has been replaced by a secularized understanding specifically indicating a "health-giving drug" or "remedy." However, one must keep in mind that the concept of "life" in the OT embraces a broad range of meanings from immortality to good health. The tree in Proverbs therefore need not just be reduced to a "secular" term. It is certainly devoid of any notion of immortality, but other aspects of the mythical tree could lie behind the references. Finally, the reference to the tree of life in LXX of Isa 65:22 (cf. "the tree" in MT) builds upon and enhances the mythic imagery used in Isaiah 65.

The notion of the tree of life is carried over into intertestamental literature. There, however, the tree performs functions different than in the OT. In *1 Enoch* 25:4–5, the fruit of the tree is to be given to the elect as food on the day of great judgment. The concept of immortality is still present in the tree, but now it is reserved for those who will enjoy a risen life in God's presence. A similar situation is described with reference to the tree of life in *T. Levi* 18:10–11, *4 Ezra* 7:123–24; 8:52 (cf. also 1QS 1:3–4 and 1QH 8:5–6).

Although the concept of the "tree of life" in Gen 2:4b–3:24 cannot be seen as dependent upon any of the other supernatural trees discussed above, we can nevertheless say that this tree is a development in Israelite literature of a traditional motif. Moreover, the tree of life appears in the context of a description of a divine garden. This is also the case with the description of the *kiskanû* tree and the tree which represents Pharaoh in Ezekiel 31. As in the case of Ezekiel 17 and Dan 4:7b–9, the motif of the supernatural tree has taken on a prominent role in the story.

The concept of the tree of life reappears in the book of Revelation (2:7; 22:2 *bis*, 14, 19). In Rev 21:9–22:5, John sees a vision of the new Jerusalem. The tree of life *(to xulon zoes)* grows on either side of the river which flows from beneath the divine throne (22:2). The tree yields twelve kinds of fruit all year round. Its leaves are good for healing the nations. A share in the tree is reserved for the righteous (v 14), among whom are those who adhere to the words of the book (v 19).

The vision of the new Jerusalem is closely connected to the letters to the seven churches in Rev 1:4–3:22. The promises made to the victorious faithful at the end of each letter are realized in the vision. In particular, the letter to the Ephesians promises the victorious the right to eat from the tree of life (2:7). The tree of knowledge is not mentioned in Revelation.

There has been debate over whether the imagery behind the tree of life in Revelation is confined to the motif of the supernatural tree in paradise. The noun *xulon* was usually used in earlier Greek texts to denote "dead wood" or "timber." In the NT, *to dendron* is usually used for living wood or trees; *xulon* again refers to "dead wood," but it is occasionally used to refer to the cross (Matt 26:47; Mark 14:43, etc.). Only in limited contexts, especially the five occurrences in Revelation, in the phrase *to xulon zoes*, does it refer to living wood. In the LXX, however, *dendron* is the common word for "tree." Some scholars suggest then that in certain circumstances and under the influence of the LXX (especially in Genesis 2–3), some NT writers have adopted the word *xulon* for "tree." A few would go on to say that the use of *xulon* in Revelation carries with it an allusion to the cross as the tree of life.

In Rev 2:7, the tree of life is located in the paradise of God. In Rev 22:1–2, the paradise motif is picked up and associated with the geography of Palestine. The tree of life is located on the banks of the river of the water of life, which flows from beneath the throne of God through the midst of the new Jerusalem. The merging of the concepts of the heavenly city and paradise is also found in *2 Bar.* 4 and *T. Dan* 5:12.

The background for Rev 22:1–2 would seem to come from two sources. The first is Ezekiel's description of the restored Jerusalem in Ezek 47:1–12. A stream of water flows from beneath the altar, out of the city, and on to the Dead Sea. On either side of the stream grow evergreen trees, the fruit of which will never cease and will be for food. The leaves will be for healing (cf. Zech 14:8–9). The connections between Ezek 47:1–12 and Rev 22:1–2 are clear, but note that in the latter the trees on either side of the stream have been identified with the tree of life.

The other source is *1 Enoch* 24–25. Enoch is shown a vision of the mountain on which God will be enthroned when he visits the earth at the end with goodness. At the foot of the mountain is a fragrant tree, which will never wither. No one can touch the tree until the judgment, when it will become the source of food for the righteous. The fact that the tree will be planted in the holy place at that time connects this earthly scene with Jerusalem.

C. The Relation of the Tree of Knowledge and the Tree of Life

We mentioned earlier that while the tree of knowledge and the tree of life appear together at the beginning and the end of Gen 2:4b–3:24, in the central part of the narrative only one tree plays a prominent role. Many scholars have concluded from this that the two trees were not part of the original narrative: only one tree was involved. The two have come together with the combination of different traditions in the pre-Yahwist stage of the story. The tree of knowledge and the tree of life could have been oral variants on one motif which have been placed side by side as variant narratives have been combined.

An alternative explanation presents itself. In some of the passages in Proverbs, reference to the tree of life is associated with wisdom (e.g., 3:2, 18, 22; 8:35; 9:11). Elsewhere in Proverbs, obedience to the commandments and *tôrâ*, "instruction," leads to life (4:13; 6:23; 10:17; 11:19; 12:28; etc.). Observance of Yahweh's instruction is wisdom (1:2–6, etc.). In Psalm 1, the one who is said to keep *tôrâ* is compared to a perennial tree "which gives fruit in season and whose leaf does not wither" and which is "transplanted by channels of water" (v 3a). Although the tree of life is not mentioned here by name, the allusion is to a tree sustained in life by Yahweh. In Psalm 92, the righteous are compared to a palm tree or a cedar of Lebanon planted in Yahweh's sanctuary (v 14). Moreover, in the Adapa myth there is parallelism between wisdom and eternal life in line 5. This information suggests that the association of the tree of life and the tree of knowledge, which gives wisdom (Gen 3:6), could have been an original feature of the story. The emphasis on the single tree in the central portion of the story would then be a later development.

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TRIAL OF JESUS. Any study of the trial of Jesus of Nazareth immediately encounters several complex issues of interpretation. For example, two gospel narratives (Matthew and Mark) present a nighttime session of the Sanhedrin, though apparently this was contrary to Jewish law. Further, all the gospels mention that the religious leaders found Jesus deserving of death, while they differ on the grounds: "blasphemy" is mentioned in Mark 14:64, but this may simply refer to something theologically objectionable; a "messianic claim" seems to be at issue in Mark 15:2, and this gets taken up in a variety of ways by the other evangelists. Luke alone mentions charges against Jesus of "perverting our nation and forbidding us to give tribute to Caesar" (23:5). Also, the gospels are unanimous in affirming that Jesus was handed over to the Roman authorities—specifically to Pontius Pilate—thereby implying that the right to inflict capital punishment on miscreants had been removed from the Jewish authorities by Rome, a point that is contested by some scholars. Further, a theological tendency, discernible within the gospel tradition's development, that at times shifts the weight of responsibility for the death of Jesus from the Romans to the Jews—possibly out of a politically motivated apologetic purpose (i.e., legitimating Christianity in Roman eyes)—leads some observers to call into question the historical reliability of these same traditions. Finally, the fact that the sources which inform us about Jewish jurisprudence in the issues under dispute date from the late 1st century C.E. makes judgments about how the gospels depict Jewish involvement still more complex: Were the principles of Jewish law codified later on actually in effect in the early 30s of the 1st century? Thus, in our treatment of the issues involved in the trial of Jesus, one must appreciate that some of what follows is necessarily conjectural—the reasonable conclusions which may be inferred from contemporary studies of the matter—and open to revision in the light of new data which may come to light.

A. From Arrest to Trial
1. The Night Hearing
2. The Morning Hearing
3. The Charge Against Jesus
4. The Identity of the Authorities
5. The Mistreatment of Jesus
B. From Transfer to Sentencing
1. The Charge
2. Jewish Right to Try Capital Offenses
3. Jesus' Reply or Silence
4. A Passover "Amnesty"?
5. Pilate's Wife and Jesus before Herod
6. The Verdict of Pilate
C. Parenetic Use of the Trial Tradition
1. The Example of Stephen
2. Christ's Confession

A. From Arrest to Trial

All the gospel narratives report the chief occurrences that followed immediately upon the arrest of Jesus (a hearing before the religious authority, Jesus' "testimony" about himself, Peter's denial that he knew Jesus, the mockery of Jesus as a false prophet, etc.), but the evangelists differ on the sequence of these events and put different emphases on those aspects which they do mention.

1. The Night Hearing. Mark and Matthew tell of a nighttime arraignment of Jesus before representatives of the religious leadership shortly after his arrest (Mark 14:53, 55–65 = Matt 26:57, 59–68); in a typical Markan "sandwiching" arrangement, Peter's denials of Jesus are collocated with the trial scene in such a way that Peter's cowardice is contrasted with the assurance of Jesus' confession (Mark 14:66–72 = Matt 26:58, 69–75). Luke and John both mention Peter's threefold denial of Jesus (Luke 22:54b–71; John 18:17–18, 25–27), though they do not locate it within a trial before an assembly of religious leaders but place it either at the house of the high priest (Luke 22:54a) or at the house of the high priest's father-in-law, Annas, who conducted an informal inquiry before sending Jesus over to Caiaphas, the high priest (John 18:15–16, 19–24).

2. The Morning Hearing. According to some scholars, Luke situates the proceedings before "the assembly of elders of the people" in the morning to give it legal validity. However, Matera has argued against this view, suggesting that, in the revision of his Markan source, Luke is not dependent on another tradition, but that all differences between his narrative and Mark's can be accounted for on the basis of Lukan theological concerns (1989: 48–59). Luke characterizes the morning gathering as a SANHEDRIN session and makes both the interrogation of Jesus and his replies more solemn. For Luke, the session does not take place in the private chambers of the high priest (cf. Mark 14:54), and false witnesses are not suborned (contrast Mark 14:57–59); indeed, many details about the testimony against Jesus found in Luke's Markan source are dropped.

3. The Charge Against Jesus. The central aspect of the trial narrative in all three of the Synoptic Gospels is Jesus' answer to the query of the high priest concerning his identity. Each evangelist has shaped this in terms of his own theological purpose. For Mark, the messianic secret of Jesus' divine sonship can finally be revealed before the high priest; therefore, the structuring and wording of the scene may safely be attributed to Markan redactional interests (Donahue 1973). Matthew's interest differs only slightly from Mark's purpose; though following Mark closely, he wished also to show that all that happened to Jesus, including the trial, took place by divine decree. Further, when Jesus was put under oath by the high priest, Matthew wished to avoid having Jesus swear by oath (cf. Jesus' teaching on the inappropriateness of oaths in Matt 5:33–37). Luke, for his part, put the focus on Jesus' testimony (one of the reasons why no witness testifies against him), likening him to the prophet Jeremiah, who

had prophesied to and against Israel and whose witness was not accepted [Neyrey 1985: 71–73].

4. The Identity of the Authorities. In the accounts of the trial, as in the Passion Narrative generally, it is curious that the Pharisees, who are prominent throughout all four gospels, receive hardly any mention; there are but two references to them. In Matt 27:62, the Pharisees assemble with the chief priests to seal the tomb after Jesus' death; in John 18:3, officers "of/from the Pharisees" come to arrest Jesus. This suggests that the historical conflict leading to the crucifixion lay between Jesus and the priestly (as opposed to the lay) religious leadership. If we can presume that the Roman authorities allowed the Jewish leadership in Palestine some measure of local consultation on important questions, as they did elsewhere in the empire, the "informal" hearing by the religious leadership becomes historically plausible; Jewish principles for the proper conduct of a trial would, in this view, derive from later in the 1st century C.E. and would not have been in effect when Jesus was tried. Each of the evangelists would have given a theological elaboration of this historical datum to cohere with his overall depiction of the last days of Jesus.

5. The Mistreatment of Jesus. The Synoptics concur that in the course of his arraignment Jesus was mocked as a prophet and manhandled. When indicating responsibility for this, Luke points impersonally to "the ones holding" Jesus (Luke 22:63–65), while John's account mentions a guard (John 18:22–23) and Mark mentions both the guards and the religious authorities (Mark 14:65); Matthew speaks only of the religious leaders (Matt 26:67–68). Because each evangelist has his own peculiar emphasis, it is difficult to unravel the kernel of a historical incident from the interpretive strands surrounding it. However, in this instance, Matthew (by widening Mark's notice that "some began to spit on him . . ." to "they spat . . . ," by lengthening Mark's single word "Prophesy!" to the words "Prophesy to us, you Christ!" and by dropping all reference to the guards' role in the mockery) is witness to the way in which a negative coloring of the role of the Jewish religious leadership in the treatment of Jesus can be heightened in the Passion Narrative. Interestingly, only Luke mentions the blindfolding of Jesus (22:64), perhaps a reminiscence of the almost universal way in which guards are wont to "make sport" of their prisoners. Did a soldiers' game of "Who's It?" later get interpreted by means of religious terminology into a mockery of Jesus as a prophet?

B. From Transfer to Sentencing

In three accounts, the "handing over" of Jesus (the Gk verb is *paradidōmi*, a term deeply charged with theological significance in the gospel tradition), from the religious authorities to Pilate's jurisdiction, takes place "early" in the morning, except in Luke's account where, according to his chronology, the Sanhedrin trial must then take place. See PRAETORIUM.

1. The Charge. Mark's and Matthew's accounts do not mention the charge against Jesus directly but only by means of Pilate's question, "Are you the King of the Jews?" Drawing on remarks of Josephus, Sherwin-White argues that "king" in such a context means "leader of the resistance" (1963: 24–25); Pilate has interpreted religious terms by political ones. The Fourth Gospel notes Pilate's question about kingship—a theme John will emphasize in his treatment of the trial—but also shows the authorities characterizing Jesus as an "evildoer" (18:30), while Luke alone mentions a threefold charge against Jesus: "perverting our nation, forbidding us to give tribute to Caesar, and saying that he himself is Christ a king" (23:2; cf. 23:14). The last two of these seemingly "political" charges had already been refuted by Luke in his version of the question about the tribute (20:20–26) and in his qualification of Peter's confession of Jesus as the "Christ of God" (9:20). Luke deals with the broader charge (that Jesus "perverts the nation") by summing it up in a way acceptable to him, under the more general rubric of "teaching" ("he stirs up the people, teaching throughout all Judea, from Galilee even to this place" [Luke 23:5]). The impact and consequences of Jesus' ministry should not be minimized, however one evaluates them: "Herod Antipas, Pontius Pilate, the high priest and the Sadducean party, the scribes, and the pious lay movement of Pharisees all had their varied reasons for being opposed to Jesus—and, unlike the Pharisees, the other individuals or groups had ways of getting rid of him legally. Moreover, in the great festal crowds of Passover, there was always the possibility of lynch-mob justice or assassination" (Meier *NJBC*, 1326).

2. Jewish Right to Try Capital Offenses. When they brought Jesus to Pilate, the Jews of John's gospel answered Pilate's suggestion that they try him themselves by saying, "it is not lawful for us to put any man to death" (18:31). Whether Jewish authorities had the right to try capital offenses in Palestine at this time has been hotly contested. In an excursus on this issue, Dauer (1972: 143–45) notes that, despite the apologetic intent in this remark (to explain why Jesus, a Jew, was handed over to the Romans for execution by crucifixion when his conviction on a capital offense in Jewish law would have called for his death by stoning), and though the verse has been redactionally formulated (the vocabulary is readily judged "Johannine"), John is drawing on a tradition here that he considers to be historically sound (for further details, cf. *JBC*, 459 [par. 31]).

3. Jesus' Reply or Silence. The depiction of Pontius Pilate (wishing to placate the crowd and yielding to the religious authorities) does not square with the extrabiblical portrait of brutality that typified the one who was prefect of Judea from 26 to 36 C.E. Apart from the elaborate Johannine version of the trial in which the great issues of the Fourth Gospel are played out before Pilate and the Romans (John 18:33–19:11), as they had been before the Jews throughout Jesus' ministry, the evangelists depict Jesus as silent before his accusers. His only words in reply to Pilate's question are, "You have said so" (Mark 15:2 and par.), which may be interpreted affirmatively or as meaning "The terms are yours, not mine"; it is a way for Jesus to accept the title without agreeing to the political framework Pilate suggests. For the rest, the silence of Jesus before his accusers may be seen as his fulfillment of the role of the Isaianic servant, one who was silent in the face of accusations, like a sheep before the shearers (Isa 52:13–53:12).

4. A Passover "Amnesty"? While all the evangelists tell of the Barabbas "episode," Luke pointedly does not men-

tion the release of prisoners as a custom "at the feast" (cf. Mark 15:6; Matt 27:15) or "at Passover" (John 18:39)—though some ms traditions do insert such a notice (= Luke 23:17) after 23:16 or 23:19. The name Barabbas means "son of the father," and there may be a note of irony in the crowd's choice of Barabbas, the insurrectionist (a variant reading of Matt 27:16 gives his name as "Jesus Barabbas"), over Jesus, whom the gospel writers believe to be the Father's true Son. There exists no extrabiblical evidence for such an amnesty; likely, the evangelists (or their sources) have generalized an occasional instance of a festival amnesty and see this practice at work in Barabbas' release.

5. Pilate's Wife and Jesus before Herod. Matthew alone tells of an intervention by Pilate's wife during the trial (Matt 27:19, 24–26), and Luke alone recounts Pilate's referral of Jesus to the tetrarch Herod for an opinion (Luke 23:6–12). The historicity of each of these episodes has been called into question by scholars, since each reflects the interests and formulations of their respective evangelist-authors. Like the Magi in the infancy account, Pilate's wife is a gentile open to revelation coming from a divine medium (a dream, cf. Matt 1:20; 2:12, 13, 19, 22), while the people and religious leaders reflect the hostility of Herod and all Jerusalem at the news of the birth of the "King of the Jews" (2:3–8, 16–18). Probably the formulation of the "hand washing" by Pilate (an OT practice, cf. Deut 21:6–9; Pss 26:6; 73:13) and the people's calling down of the blood of Jesus on themselves reflect the strains between church and synagogue at the time of the gospel's composition (ca. 80–90 C.E.). Luke omits any reference to the mockery of Jesus by the Romans and details, instead, a mockery conducted by Herod and his soldiers (23:11). This scene is part of a pattern of references to Herod and his coterie that appears from time to time in the Lukan gospel (cf. 3:1, 19; 9:7, 9; 13:31); perhaps Joanna, wife of Herod's steward Chuza (cf. 8:3), had some role to play in providing this information. Despite the mockery, Herod's role in the progress of the Lukan narrative furthers the emphasis Luke gives to Jesus' "innocence" (23:14–15; cf. 23:47).

6. The Verdict of Pilate. Luke has carefully structured Pilate's interrogations of Jesus into two separate trials of Jesus that follow the lines of known Roman forensic procedure: charges are presented (23:2, 14b); the magistrate handles the personal inquiry (23:3, 14c) and dismisses the charges (23:4, 14d; cf. Neyrey: 1985: 77, 81). Pilate holds up Herod's dismissal of charges against Jesus (23:15a) as supporting evidence for his acquittal of Jesus (23:15b) and the judicial warning he imposes on Jesus (the phrase Luke puts in Pilate's mouth means "teach him a lesson," 23:15c): the Roman *fustigatio* or light beating whose implementation Luke does not describe. The other evangelists concur in Pilate's finding that Jesus is guiltless (Mark 15:14; Matt 27:23; John 19:6) and join Luke in depicting Pilate's yielding to the importunity of the crowds who call for Jesus' crucifixion. Mark, Matthew, and John show Jesus undergoing flagellation—a punishment that was meant to weaken the one to be crucified and thereby hasten his death—and, afterwards, enduring mockery at the hands of the soldiers (Mark 15:16–20; Matt 27:27–31; John 19:4–7). The mock symbols of kingship (crown, purple robe [in Matthew, the scarlet garment of a soldier] and reed/scepter) are all ironically understood by the evangelists to proclaim Jesus' true status as the "royal messiah" of God's people.

C. Parenetic Use of the Trial Tradition

Paul is witness to the early Church's difficulties in proclaiming someone who had undergone crucifixion as God's end-time messianic envoy (cf. 1 Cor 1:23–24). But the conviction held by Christians that God had vindicated Jesus by raising him from the dead very soon led to the appropriation of aspects of the Passion Narrative for parenetic purposes. This may be seen in the developments in the transmission of the words of Jesus from the cross and of his prayer in Gethsemane as models for believers to imitate. The trials of Jesus before the religious leaders and Pilate likewise became a model for disciples, as is evidently the case in Mark, who contrasts the boldness of Jesus' replies to the Sanhedrin with the cowardly denials by Peter that he knew Jesus (Mark 14:53–72 and par.).

1. The Example of Stephen. In Luke's account of the trial and death of Stephen (Acts 6:11–7:60), the parallels Luke draws between them and Jesus' trial and death are striking: like Jesus, Stephen gets taken before the Sanhedrin, is falsely accused, and forgives his attackers while undergoing death by stoning. Unlike Jesus, who was for the most part silent, Stephen is full of words, ones that prompt his rejection (cf. the reaction to Jesus' words in the synagogue at Nazareth, Luke 4:16–30); Stephen prayerfully entrusts his spirit not to the Father, as Jesus had (Luke 23:46), but to the Lord Jesus himself (Acts 7:59). For the suggestion that Luke considers the trials of Peter, Paul, and Stephen in Acts as "continuations" of the trials of Jesus, see Neyrey 1985: 89–107.

2. Christ's Confession. In 1 Timothy 6:13–14, the Paulinist holds out the example of Christ Jesus' "good confession" before Pontius Pilate as a model for church leaders to imitate in their "testimony" to the gospel and in their remaining blameless until the "appearance of the Lord Jesus Christ." Perhaps some such formula (or a reflection on the Passion such as that found in 1 Pet 2:21–24) was at the origin of the formula "suffered under Pontius Pilate" found in the Apostles' Creed and subsequent formulations of Christian belief. This, as much as the accounts of the Passion, has served to keep the trial of Jesus as part of the collective memory of the Christian Church.

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TERRENCE PRENDERGAST

TRIBE. See FAMILY.

TRIBES, LOST. See LOST TRIBES, THE.

TRIBULATION, THE. See MILLENNIUM; ESCHATOLOGY (EARLY CHRISTIAN).

TRIBUTE. See TAXES AND TAXATION.

TRIMORPHIC PROTENNOIA (NHC XIII,*1*). The only text to have survived from Nag Hammadi Codex XIII. The eight not fully intact leaves containing the tractate were found lying inside the front cover of Codex VI. Their ascription to a distinct codex has been established by codicological analysis and by the presence at the end of the last page of the beginning of *On the Origin of the World* (NHC XIII,*2*), known also from NHC II. This has also made it possible to calculate the pagination. The text is a translation from Greek into the Sahidic dialect of Coptic (with Lycopolitan deviations). The extant copy comes from the 4th century.

Trim. Prot. is a gnostic revelation discourse by Protennoia about her descent three times into the world to instruct (by communicating mysteries) and redeem her "children of light." Therefore, in terms of genre, this text is quite closely kin to the Pronoia hymn at the end of the long version of the Sethian *Apocryphon of John* (NHC II,*1*). Yet, in distinction to the Pronoia hymn, the first two parousias of Protennoia are not characterized by failure. Rather, in each of the three descents a distinct part of her work of revelation and redemption is achieved.

Trim. Prot. is subdivided into three parts. These discourses have been fleshed out with material from gnostic tradition. Primarily, cosmology has been built into the first discourse, eschatology into the second, and soteriology into the third. This material from the Sethian system corresponds in its concrete formulation especially to the variant as found in *The Gospel of the Egyptians* (NHC III,*2*).

Trim. Prot. is also a Sethian text. But since the main figure that brings herself to expression here, Protennoia, is also named Barbelo (38,9), the text has on occasion been designated "Barbelognostic." Yet it is precisely Barbelo who is the highest female deity of the Sethian divine triad. Barbelognosticism and Sethianism are in fact not alternatives, but designate the same variant of gnostic religiosity.

In addition to the triple structure of the text, Protennoia herself is presented as existing in threefold form. She is understood as Father, Mother, and Son, in that the Father appears in her and she in the Son. Her triple descent takes place in each instance in one of the three forms of the divine triad. As the first thought of the primal Father, the Invisible Spirit, she has a masculine aspect whenever she represents him. But as his partner (42,8) she has a female aspect, and as appearing in the Logos she bears the aspect of divine sonship.

The multilayered inner and outer threeness is however quite decisively transcended through Protennoia's cosmogonic and soteriological rule, which is portrayed in all its complexity and comprehensiveness. In her self-predications, she presents herself again and again as the origin and basis of the All, in general, and of each part and every being in it. At the same time, she describes herself as the root and the means of redemption of a part of these beings; namely, of the gnostics. She is the call that brings gnosis (36,10), and she is herself gnosis (36,12). She is the absolute figure of creation and salvation. In all this, she shows herself to be the gnostically metamorphized Sophia of Jewish Wisdom Literature. This figure had in turn already assimilated aspects of the female deity Isis/Selene. In the process of being fused with Barbelo and transformed into the supreme female deity of Sethian Gnosticism, ontological traits of the three-formed deity Hecate were also absorbed.

The question of the date of composition of *Trim. Prot.* remains problematic. With regard to the material taken from the tradition and the anthropology presupposed in it, the text makes a rather archaic impression. Furthermore, it is not characterized by a distinctively anti-Jewish tendency; nor does it develop an advanced emanation theory. But obviously the text was subjected to several stages of redaction. Interpolations attest discussions which must have been taking place among the various religious currents in early Christian times. Hence, *Trim. Prot.* may have reached its final form (apart from the inexactitudes of scribal transmission) toward the end of the 1st or the beginning of the 2d century C.E.

Other assessments of the text and its problems place it somewhat later. Yet there is widespread agreement that *Trim. Prot.* in its basic substance is a document of non-Christian Gnosticism. Occasional secondary identifications of the divine Autogenes with Christ take place only superficially by the mere appending of the *nomen sacrum.* Even this is not carried through consistently. It is only a passage in the third discourse (49,5–22) that actually comes to grips with Christian material. In a polemical way it undertakes a gnostic reinterpretation of christological designa-

tions usually applied to Jesus. But this does not take place in view of given passages of the NT; rather, the vague appropriation of these "titles" shows that a debate with orally circulating tradition has left its traces. This interpolation finds its culmination in a docetic statement split off from the main part (50,12–15).

In at least two regards, *Trim. Prot.* is of considerable importance. On the one hand it is significant for research into Gnosticism, to the extent that it provides important information about a gnostic cultic practice. In distinction from the view that the Sethians had completely spiritualized their baptismal rite and would reject water baptism, the concept of the five seals in *Trim. Prot.* shows precisely the connection between baptismal ideology and the actual rite of baptism.

On the other hand, *Trim. Prot.* is important for NT scholarship in general. In addition to substantive parallels to the hymn of Colossians, the unusually close kinship of large parts of *Trim. Prot.* to the Prologue of John is especially striking. In *Trim. Prot.*, one encounters precisely those traits that in the Prologue seem to go beyond the rest of the gospel of John, but that have various history-of-religions parallels scattered here and there largely in Jewish Wisdom Literature. In *Trim. Prot.*, this imprecise "background" comes into focus, in that these unusual traits are clustered in a single text where they are apparently at home. Since the parallels in form and content lie outside the interpolations in *Trim. Prot.*, it is misleading to attribute them to the result of a debate about the gospel of John and thus to ascribe them to the "Christianizing" redaction. It is a subject of scholarly debate, whether one should merely propose a shared Wisdom tradition to explain this phenomenon, or whether, as would seem more reasonable, one should postulate an identical gnostic world of thought for *Trim. Prot.* and the Logos hymn lying behind the Prologue of John.

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GESINE M. ROBINSON

TRIPARTITE TRACTATE (NHC I,5). The last text in Codex I, the so-called Jung Codex, from the Nag Hammadi find. It is one of the longest (almost 90 pages) and best preserved tractates of that collection. Its unknown author, a representative of the W branch of the Valentinian Gnosticism, probably wrote in the early 3d century. The original language of the work was certainly Greek, although it now survives only in a sometimes obscure sub-Achmimic Coptic translation, made in the late 3d or early 4th century.

The text consists of a lengthy, relatively systematic presentation of Valentinian theology, remarkable for its revision of the teachings of the Valentinian schools known from patristic sources (Irenaeus, Tertullian, Hippolytus, Origen). The first and longest part of the text records the cosmogonic process. All things are seen to derive from a single monadic first principle, which is utterly transcen-

dent and can be grasped only by a *via negativa*. By virtue of his goodness and generosity, this Father produces the entities Son and Church, who form a Trinity at the highest level of being. The third member of that Trinity is complex, and consists of a multiplicity of aeons, endowed with free will. That multiplicity is a vestige of the much more highly articulated spiritual worlds of other gnostic systems. The insistent attribution of free will to the entities of the Pleroma, providing an interesting parallel to Origen's conception of the spiritual world, constitutes an important apologetic device against critics of gnostic determinism. Like all else on the highest level of reality, this freedom will be replicated at lower levels on the chain of being.

The process of devolution from the harmonic world of the supernal Church is caused not by a feminine aeon, Sophia, as in most gnostic myths, but by a masculine entity, the Logos. Acting spontaneously, he begins a process which, despite its apparently negative consequences, is viewed positively, as a movement necessary for the ultimate reintegration of all into the primordial source. In his movement away from the primordial unity, the Logos produces three sets of powers—pneumatic, psychic, and hylic—which comprise an intermediate level of reality. Over his psychic and hylic offspring the Logos appoints a chief archon or Demiurge, the God of this world and of the OT, who has few of the negative features assigned to his counterpart in other gnostic systems.

The second segment of the text consists of an interpretation of the creation account of Genesis, which displays some of the radical hermeneutics common in gnostic sources, but has other more "orthodox" features. As usual, exegesis of the scriptural account of origins is a vehicle for the presentation of anthropological theory. In the phenomenal world, which mirrors the tripartition of the highest and intermediate levels of reality, the tripartite distinction of pneumatic, psychic, and hylic reappears. Here, however, there is no rigid separation of different types of human being. Instead, the "powers" of the intermediate level of reality produce different components of the archetypical human soul.

The third portion of the text describes the soteriological process of reintegration. That process is initiated by Christ, who is ultimately produced by the spiritual Logos, but whose full humanity is strongly emphasized. The docetic tendencies of the gnostic tradition are clearly repudiated. In this section the soteriological consequences of the modification of Valentinian anthropology become clear. The text devotes a good deal of attention to the psychics or ordinary Christians, and numerous subdivisions are seen among them. The account of reintegration into the Pleroma even seems to allow for the possibility of their participation in that event.

This revisionist development of Valentinian theology evidences considerable philosophical sophistication, sensitivity to the criticisms leveled against Valentinian positions by orthodox opponents, and a rather irenic attempt to adapt Valentinian theory to an orthodox mold. It is thus instructive for the later history of the most influential of gnostic schools.

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HAROLD W. ATTRIDGE

TRIPOLIS (PLACE) [Gk *Tripolis*]. Modern Tripoli (34°27′ N; 35°50′ E), a port city located on the Mediterranean coast N of Beirut. The Phoenicians and their successors used the port as a strategic military and commercial hub. The city, reportedly colonized by the three cities of Tyre, Sidon, and Byblos, was located on a peninsula that extended into the sea, thus providing a strong defensive position against land-based attack. On the E side, a large ditch and fortifications protected the inhabitants of the city. The peninsula also provided sheltered harbor for a merchant fleet. The Phoenician name of the city is uncertain.

Under the Persians, Tripolis became the administrative center of Phoenicia, including the cities of Tyre, Sidon, and Byblos. According to Strabo (16.2.15) and Pliny (*NH* 5.78), each of the three founding cities controlled a separate walled sector of the city.

In the time of Alexander the Great and his successors, the city continued to thrive. Following the Battle of Issus, 4,000 Greek mercenaries who had fought for the Persians fled to Egypt and the islands of the Mediterranean in ships which they commandeered at Tripolis. The city of Tripolis did not resist the Macedonian advance like Tyre and was thus spared. Tripolis came under Seleucid control following the death of Alexander.

The city of Tripolis was the site of a battle between rivals for the Seleucid throne in 162 B.C. Demetrius I, after escaping from Rome where he had been a hostage, brought a large army of supporters to Tripolis, where they defeated his cousin Antiochus V and General Lysias (2 Macc 14:1; 1 Macc 7:1–4; Josephus *Ant* 12.389). With the eventual decline of Seleucid power, the city gained its independence in 111 B.C. The Romans led by Pompey in the East, in 65 B.C. organized Tripolis as a city-state. Among the Roman period constructions was a gymnasium built through the patronage of Herod the Great (Josephus *JW* 1.422).

Reportedly the apostle Peter established a Christian community in the city, and it became a beachhead for Christianity in the area (Pseudo-Clementines *Recognitions* 4:6; *Homilies* 11:36). A record of bishops of Tripolis after A.D. 325 has been preserved. A Christian population remained through the early Islamic periods and the Crusades. The city, taken by the Crusaders in 1109, was later destroyed by the Mamluks.

ROBERT W. SMITH

TRISMEGISTOS (HERMES). See HERMES TRISMEGISTOS.

TRIUMPHAL ENTRY. See PASSION NARRATIVES.

TROAS (PLACE) [Gk *Trōas*]. An important port city (Gk *Alexandreia hē Trōas*) on the coast of Mysia in NW Anatolia, 10 miles S of ancient Troy. It was located opposite the island of Tenedos. It served as a nodal point for routes through the Hellespont to the E, to the cities of Smyrna, Ephesus, and Miletus in the S, and for sea travelers to Neapolis in Macedonia and to Athens (Hemer 1975: 50). Troas is mentioned in four chapters of the NT: Acts 16:8, 11; 20:5–6; 2 Cor 2:12; 2 Tim 4:13.

On his second missionary journey, Paul was forbidden by the Holy Spirit to preach in Asia on the W coast or in Bithynia on the N coast of Anatolia (Acts 16:6–7). After traversing the region of Mysia, Paul reached the coast at Troas. Burdick suggests that Paul took the central route through Scepsis after traveling NW from Antioch to Dorylaeum (Burdick 1978: 36–40). Bowers (1979: 511) concludes, "The nature of the routes available to him for that journey suggests strongly that his journey to Troas was not that of a bewildered man groping for a point from which new options could be considered, but that of a man already with a specific destination in mind. The geographical considerations make the journey to Troas most readily explicable as an intended first stage of a journey to Macedonia (if not also beyond)."

It is significant that immediately after Paul's vision of the Macedonian, the first of the "we passages" in Acts begins (16:10). This implies that Luke joined Paul at Troas. The 150-mile sea journey from Troas to Neapolis took only two days (Acts 16:11). Because of contrary winds, the reverse journey from Neapolis to Troas (Acts 20:6) took five days.

During his third journey, Paul went to preach the Gospel at Troas and found an open door, but because of his anxiety to hear news about the Corinthians from Titus, he sailed for Macedonia after a short stay (2 Cor 2:12).

On his return trip to Troas, Paul and his party spent a week there (Acts 20:13) before Paul proceeded to Assos by himself. The reference in Acts 20:7 to the disciples gathering "upon the first day of the week" is the "earliest unambiguous evidence we have for the Christian practice of gathering together for worship on that day" (Bruce *Acts* NICNT, 407). It was after Paul's long sermon that Eutychus fell asleep on the window ledge and dropped dead on the ground, before he was revived by Paul (Acts 20:8–12).

The final reference in 2 Tim 4:13 implies that Paul may have been arrested at Troas and so did not have the time to recover his belongings, because he begs Timothy to bring them to him in prison in Rome (Hemer 1975: 106). Paul specifically requested the *membranai* "parchments." According to Roberts and Skeat (1983: 22, 60) these were not scrolls (which would have been *diphtherai*) but parchment leaves. Skeat (1979: 177) suggests that the "parchments" were therefore not literary works such as the OT, as suggested by Farrar (1903: 683) and others, "but probably notes or memoranda such as lists of Christians in various communities."

The original name of Troas was Sigia (Strab. 13.1.47). Antigonus, one of Alexander's generals, established in 334 B.C. at the site the city of Antigoneia by the process of synoecism; that is, the forcible resettlement of citizens from surrounding towns such as Colonae, Larissa, Hamaxitus, Neandria, Cebren, and Scepsis (Strab. 13.1.26). After Antigonus' death in 301 B.C., Lysimachus, the king of Thrace, renamed the city Alexandria in honor of Alexander and built a temple and walls around the city. The city came to be called Alexandria Troas to distinguish it from other Alexandrias, and then simply Troas by NT times (Magie 1950: 69, 875).

When the Gauls menaced Ilium (Troy) in 216 B.C., the siege was lifted by a relieving force of 4,000 men from Troas (Polyb. 5.111). Antiochus the Great tried to win over Troas in his struggle with Rome. When he was defeated at Magnesia in 190 B.C., the area around Troas was given to the king of Pergamum.

Because of Rome's legendary ties with Troy through Aeneas, rumors circulated that Julius Caesar intended to move the government "to Alexandria (Troas) or Ilium" (Suet. *Caes.* 79.3). Such a proposal was denounced by Horace (*Carm.* 3.3). Augustus established a colony at Troas, the only one he founded in W Asia Minor. Henceforth, the city was known officially as Colonia Augusta Troadensium or Colonia Augusta Troas (Magie 1950: 472, 1334; Jones 1971: 85).

The city benefited from the favors of the emperor Hadrian (117–38), for which its citizens erected a statue of the emperor in Athens. In his reign, Atticus Herodes built a lavish bath costing seven million drachmae at Troas (Magie 1950: 615). The main city temple was the Asclepieion, with the native god Smintheus ("mouse god"; cf. Hom. *Il.* 1.39) honored as the god of healing (Hemer 1975: 93). According to Strabo, the Augustan authority on geography, Troas was "one of the famous cities of the world." It was certainly the largest city in the Troad. Estimates of its population range from 30,000 to 100,000 (Burdick 1978: 50).

In the early 2d century, as he traveled on his way to execution in Rome, Ignatius of Antioch wrote three of his epistles from Troas (to the Smyrnaeans, to the Philadelphians, and to Polycarp). He apologized that he could not write to all the churches "because of his hurried sailing from Troas to Neapolis" (*Polyc.* 8).

Troas seems to have declined after the foundation of Constantinople in 330. Its harbors were probably silted up by the reign of Justinian in the 6th century (Hemer 1975: 94). Troas has never been excavated. The ruins of the site are today called Eski Stamboul; that is, "Old" Stamboul. The inner harbor is now a lagoon; the outer basin is silted up. Remains of the walls, which once extended about five miles, and of the baths of Herodes Atticus are still visible (Burdick 1978: 51). Additional ruins of the stadium, theater, and two temples were still visible when Chevalier saw the ruins in 1791.

Various Roman artifacts have been recovered from Troas, including a dedication to Drusus (son of Germanicus), a dedication to Hadrian, and statues of Claudius, of Nero, and of Marcus Aurelius (Vermeule 1968: 456–57).

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TROGYLLIUM (PLACE) [Gk *Trōgullion*]. A promontory and small settlement across from the island of Samos about twenty miles S of Ephesus in Asia Minor (37°39′ N; 27°02′ E). This promontory and Samos are the boundaries of a waterway between the mainland and the island. This narrow channel, only about a mile wide, offered protection for a traveling vessel before traversing the open gulf en route to Miletus. On the apostle Paul's second missionary journey, it appears that he passed through this strait. There is a question, however, of whether or not the ship anchored at Trogyllium. According to the Western and Byzantine text families, Paul "tarried at Trogillium" (KJV; RSV omits, see margin). Most of the textual evidence, however, points against the inclusion of this phrase. There are two likely possibilities: either a line of thirty-nine letters dropped out of the Alexandrian and Caesarian traditions, or a Western copyist inserted the phrase based upon his knowledge of geography and current water-transportation practices. Because of the superior external attestation, most scholars opt for the latter of these two alternatives. This promontory today is known as Santa Maria, and, at the end of it, an anchorage still bears the name *"St. Paul's Port."*

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TROPHIMUS (PERSON) [Gk *Trophimos*]. The meaning of the name Trophimus is based on the Greek word *tropheia,* which can refer either to "service as a wet-nurse" or to the nourishment thus provided. Therefore, the name Trophimus could mean "foster child" or "nourishment," depending on whether the emphasis was placed on the one being nourished or on the nourishment being provided.

The individual so named is mentioned three times in the NT (Acts 20:4; 21:29; 2 Tim 4:20), always as a companion of Paul's in his travels. An Ephesian Christian (Acts 21:29), Trophimus, along with TYCHICUS, apparently represented the Asian churches who participated in the collection Paul intended to bring to Jerusalem (1 Cor 16:1–4). There is some uncertainty in the manuscript tradition of Acts 20:3–6 as to whether Trophimus and Tychicus were traveling with Paul from the beginning or whether they joined the group only in Troas or Philippi (see Delebecque 1983: 556–64; 1984: 365). In any case, Trophimus and the others sailed with Paul along the coast of Asia Minor, across the Mediterranean Sea to Tyre, and eventually arrived in Jerusalem.

Jews from the province of Asia (Acts 21:27), having seen Paul and Trophimus together in Jerusalem (Acts 21:29), supposed that Paul had taken Trophimus into the inner courts of the temple (Acts 21:28). If Trophimus was an uncircumcised gentile convert to Christianity, such an action would have defiled the temple, according to Jewish law. Since Paul was attempting to follow Jewish law carefully in this instance (Acts 21:26), he would not have needlessly jeopardized his mission by bringing Trophimus into the inner courts. Thus, Trophimus was the circumstantial, but innocent cause of Paul's arrest (cf. Acts 24:6).

2 Tim 4:20 mentions that Paul left Trophimus behind in Miletus (a city not far from Ephesus), because he was sick. If this is a reference to the trip mentioned in Acts 20–21, it stands in apparent contradiction to Acts 21:29. Since he rules out any later trips through Miletus, Throckmorton (*IDB* 4: 713) considers Acts and 2 Timothy irreconcilable. Robeck (*ISBE* 4: 923), on the other hand, argues that Paul's imprisonment in Rome (Acts 28:30) was followed by a release, during which he again traveled to Miletus and was forced to leave Trophimus behind due to illness. 2 Tim 4:6–18, therefore, would refer to a harsh and lonely later imprisonment. It can be legitimately asked, however, whether traditional support for such a scenario arises from historical fact or from attempts to reconcile the apparent contradiction.

Other attempts at reconciliation focus on alternative interpretations of the language of Acts 21:29 and 2 Tim 4:20. Erbes (1909: 207–13) argues creatively that the city in which Asian Jews saw Paul and Trophimus together (Acts 21:29) was not Jerusalem but Ephesus. They recognized Paul in the temple because they had seen him at home with someone they knew well. This, however, is far from the most natural reading of Acts 21:29. Dibelius and Conzelmann (*The Pastoral Epistles* Hermeneia, 125), on the other hand, suggest that Miletus (*milētō*) in 2 Tim 4:20 may be a corruption of the word Malta (*melitē*). Thus, Trophimus could have accompanied Paul to Jerusalem and on toward Rome (Acts 27), but have been left sick on the island of Malta while Paul and his fellow prisoners completed their journey. If this were so, it is strange that Trophimus was not mentioned in Acts 27:2. Therefore, the tradition of a post-Acts journey, in spite of the problems, is probably the best explanation of the available information.

Rutherfurd (*ISBE* 5: 3023–24) notes the possibility that Trophimus could be the highly praised but unnamed individual who, according to 2 Cor 8:16–24, was to travel with Titus to represent Paul in Corinth. This "brother" (2 Cor 8:18–20) was one of those involved in the collection for Jerusalem. But his identification with Trophimus must remain uncertain for lack of evidence.

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JON PAULIEN

TRUMPETS. See MUSIC AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

TRUTH, GOSPEL OF (NHC I,*3*; XII,*2*). Comprising the third, well-preserved treatise in Codex I of the Nag Hammadi library and the second, very fragmentary piece in Codex XII, this text's title is derived from its opening phrase. The work is written in the sub-Achmimic dialect of Upper Egypt and consists of an appealing homiletic reflection on the person and ministry of Jesus. Thus, it differs significantly from the form of the gospel accounts known from the NT. Its origin has been a matter of debate, although the most widely held opinion views the text as Valentinian in inspiration and as possibly authored by Valentinus himself since, according to a brief note by Irenaeus (*Haer.* 3.11.9), Valentinus reportedly wrote a work of this title. A comparison of the scanty fragments from Valentinus with *Gos. Truth* offers enticing possibilities, but no conclusive links (Standaert 1976).

The gnostic character of the document is rather obscured, possibly for the purpose of attracting Christian readers outside the number of Valentinus' supporters. To be sure, in many features its doctrines resemble those of early Catholic sources, but traits of the text exhibit clear ties to gnostic thought. For instance, something like the gnostic myth of the fall of Sophia must underlie the opening segment, which focuses on the propagation of Error (17,4–18,11). Further, the observation that "when the Father is known, from that moment on the deficiency will no longer exist" (24, 30–32) establishes transparent gnostic affinities (McGuire 1986).

The date and place of composition remain obscure. Although the work was composed in Greek before it was translated into Coptic, whether it was written in Egypt or elsewhere is uncertain. Allusions to documents known from the NT, such as Matthew (Tuckett 1984) and certain Pauline Epistles (Ménard 1972), place the date well into the 2d century, a period that harmonizes with the rising influence of Valentinus. The richly subtle and sophisticated style and organization of the text, designed to invite readers in an inoffensive way to a certain view of Jesus' salvific role (Attridge 1988), may argue for a later date.

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S. KENT BROWN

TRUTH, TESTIMONY OF (NHC IX,*3*). The third of three gnostic tractates contained in Nag Hammadi Codex IX (29,6–75 or 76), inscribed in Sahidic Coptic. The title has been assigned editorially on the basis of content ("word of truth," 31,8; "true testimony," 45,1), reflecting the author's concern to establish "true" Christian faith and practice (i.e., gnosis) and to expose and refute "heresy." A title may have been given at the end of the tractate, but the last leaf of the codex (pp. 75–76) is lost.

Owing to the fragmentary condition of the ms, little more than half of the text is recoverable, but enough is preserved to allow for judgments to be made on such questions as literary genre, essential content, and religious character.

The first main part of the tractate is a well-constructed homily (29,6–45,6), addressed to fellow members of a Christian gnostic community. The rest of the tractate consists of miscellaneous additions based on various sources, the function of which is to elaborate on themes already sounded in the homily itself (45,6–end). Theological polemics is a major preoccupation of the author and dominates the tractate from beginning to end.

In the homily proper, the author's polemics are addressed as warnings to a potentially sympathetic audience that knows how "to hear with the ears of the mind" (29,6–9). The target of the polemics is obviously the ecclesiastical Church (Koschorke 1978: 91–174), and attacks are directed against "the Law" (Torah), with its command to procreate (29,6–31,22), catholic convictions on martyrdom and the resurrection of the flesh (31,22–38,27), and sexual "defilement," i.e., marriage and procreation (38,27–41,4). True Christianity consists in renunciation of the world and in gnosis, i.e., self-knowledge as divine knowledge (41,4–45,6).

The appended miscellanea, directed to a more general audience, consist of observations on the virginal birth of Jesus (45,6–22), an extended midrash on the serpent of Genesis 3 (45,23–49,10) with an allegorical identification of the serpent with Christ (49,7), and observations on the "spiritual" understanding of Christ, in contrast to that of those (catholic Christians) who belong to the "generation of Adam" (49,10–50,28+). The last part of the tractate, which is also the most damaged part of the ms, is devoted to denunciation of various "heresies."

One part of this last section is particularly interesting because it not only has ecclesiastical Christians in view but certain groups of fellow gnostics as well, who are mentioned by name: Valentinus and his disciples (55,1–56,5), Basilides and Isidore (57,6–8), Simonians (58,2), and others whose identities are lost in lacunae in the ms. These gnostics are attacked on the basis of their ethics and their ritual practices. That is, the gnostic groups are attacked for their sexual practices, including acceptance of marriage, and their use of the sacrament of water baptism, which the author of *Testimony of Truth* rejects. Such "errors" are ones that ecclesiastical Christians and the specified gnostic groups presumably have in common. To be sure, the gnostic author also shares much with the other gnostics; in fact, Valentinian influences can be seen at various points in the tractate. The Valentinian influences include a well-known Valentinian formula (31,29–30), a Valentin-

ian tradition relating to the birth of Christ (45,14–15), and others.

The specific sectarian affiliation of *Testimony of Truth* is hard to establish, but Clement of Alexandria provides information in book 3 of his *Stromateis* on a person whose career fits very well the situation of the author of *Testimony of Truth,* as reflected in its content: Julius Cassianus, an ex-Valentinian who adopted a position of strict encratism, condemning marriage and sexual intercourse. Another suggestion has also been made for the authorship of *Testimony of Truth:* Hierakas of Leontopolis, discussed by Epiphanius (*Haer.* 67; cf. Wisse 1978: 439–40).

The original Greek version of *Testimony of Truth* was probably written in Alexandria toward the end of the 2d century or the beginning of the 3d, at a time when a strong ecclesiastical establishment was taking shape under the episcopacy of Demetrius (189–232).

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BIRGER A. PEARSON

TRYPHAENA AND TRYPHOSA (PERSONS) [Gk *Tryphaina; Tryphōsa*]. Roman Christians who received greetings from Paul in Rom 16:12. They were probably gentile Christians. See NEREUS. The Greek names "Tryphaena" and Tryphosa" indicate that the two women were probably slaves or freedwomen (see the epigraphical evidence from the city of Rome; Lampe *StadtrChr,* 142, 150, 152–53). Both women had "worked hard in the Lord." This term describes either missionaries (e.g., Gal 4:11; 1 Cor 15:10) or persons active within the local church-life; Paul admonished the Christians to be subject to them (1 Cor 16:16; 1 Thess 5:12; cf. 1 Tim 5:17), which would mean in this case being subject to women. A sign of the active role of women like Tryphaena and Tryphosa in the early church is that, in Romans 16, Paul used the phrase "to work hard" only for women. That Paul recalls and mentions both women closely together may have resulted either from the similarity of their names, from their being sisters, or from some common activity in the church.

PETER LAMPE

TRYPHO (PERSON) [Gk *Tryphōn*]. Trypho ("magnificent, luxurious"), the epithet of Diodotus, a usurper of the Seleucid throne who influenced Hasmonean policies in Judea (1 Maccabees 11–15). Diodotus was born in Kasiana, near Apamea, S of Antioch. Around 150 B.C.E., the inept Alexander Balas appointed him and Hierax as governors of Antioch. When Balas lost control in 145, Diodotus changed allegiance to Ptolemy VI Philometer. However, Ptolemy died and Demetrius II became the sole ruler of Syria, forcing Diodotus to flee.

Demetrius' corruption and his dismissal of Syrian veterans from the army in favor of mercenaries caused widespread dissatisfaction. Diodotus seized this opportunity to rebel against Demetrius. Calling himself Trypho, he mustered veterans from Apamea and crowned Balas' infant son, Antiochus VI Epiphanes. After defeating Demetrius' army, he controlled Antioch and central Syria, the areas most affected by Demetrius' corruption. Demetrius retained control of the outlying districts of the empire.

Jonathan, the high priest, supported Trypho and Antiochus because Demetrius had turned against the Jews. Jonathan conquered Mediterranean seaports in Antiochus' name and twice defeated Demetrius' army. Worried about Jonathan's growing power, in 143 Trypho tricked him into entering Ptolemaïs with only 1,000 men. There, the Syrians killed Jonathan's guard and took him prisoner. After accepting a ransom for Jonathan, Trypho killed him anyway. Jonathan's brother Simon, the new high priest, sided with Demetrius, while Trypho killed Antiochus and made himself the king.

In 141, the Parthians captured Demetrius during his attempt to reconquer Mesopotamia. This left Trypho as the sole ruler of Syria. Demetrius' wife, Cleopatra Thea, in fear for her life, asked Demetrius' younger brother, Antiochus, to accept the crown. Antiochus VII confirmed Simon in the high priesthood to secure Jewish help. In 139, Antiochus defeated Trypho near Antioch, forcing him to flee to the seaport of Dor. Antiochus besieged it, and Simon sent 2,000 Judean troops to help (which Antiochus rejected). Trypho escaped first to Ptolemaïs, then to Arthosia, and finally to Apamea, where Antiochus VII captured him. Trypho accepted Antiochus' offer to commit suicide.

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TRYPHO, DIALOGUE WITH. See JUSTIN MARTYR.

TRYPHOSA (PERSON). See TRYPHAENA AND TRYPHOSA.

TUBAL (PERSON) [Heb *tūbal*]. One of the seven sons of Japheth, Noah's son, according to the Table of Nations (Gen 10:2) and the parallel genealogy in 1 Chr 1:5. Descendants of Tubal and his siblings (Gomer, Magog, Madai, Yavan, Meshech, and Tiras) are located to the N of Israel, in Greece, Asia Minor, and N Syria. It is logical, therefore, to expect to find Tubal in the same N area.

Tubal is mentioned six further times in the prophets. Isa 66:19 speaks of the distant location to which Yahweh will send messengers of his grace. They include Greece (Yavan) and Tubal, as well as "Lud, drawers of the bow (MT)." Lud, or the Lydians in W Turkey and Greece, is the only name in the context with a descriptive epithet. Rather than seeing it as such, LXX revocalizes it and reads Meshech, one of the brothers of the forefather of Tubal in the genealogies. This fits well with the other prophetic references to Tubal, in which Meshech is always found. These include an oracle against Tyre in which trade relations between the two and Tyre include their provision of slaves and instruments of bronze (Ezek 27:13). Another oracle, against pharaoh, relegates Egypt and her allies, including the uncircumcised Tubal and Meshech, to the grave because of their terrorist activities (32:26). In an extended prophecy against Gog of the land of Magog, Gog is identified as the "chief prince (or "prince of Rosh") of Meshech and Tubal" (38:2, 3; 39:1).

Herodotus mentions two nations, the Moschoi and the Tibarenoi (3.94; 7.28), and Josephus writes of Thebel and the Meschenians (*Ant* 1.124). Older, Akkadian texts mention *tabal* (Parpola 1970: 341–43) and *muški* (Yamauchi 1982: 25–27). These are located in E Asia Minor. Tabal occupies the territory S of the Halys river, to the W of Togarmah (Barnett *CAH* 2:422; *MBA*, 15).

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TUBAL-CAIN (PERSON) [Heb *tûbal qayin*]. Son of Lamech by Zillah and brother of Naamah (Gen 4:22), described in the Cainite antediluvian line as a metalworker. The term *lōtēš*, "sharpener," suggests the work of a smith who manufactures agricultural as well as military implements (Sawyer 1986: 160–64). Tubal-Cain possesses the first such compound name to appear in the Bible. Its first element, Tubal, bears resemblance to Jabal and Jubal, the two other sons of Lamech. It was with this first element alone that Josephus, *Pseudo-Philo*, and *Jubilees* characteristically referred to this figure. It may be a *Hopʿal* or a *Qal* passive form of *ybl*, "to be brought." More often, Tubal has been related to the geographic name of Tabal, known from Assyrian texts and located in E Anatolia (Barnett 1975: 420–28; Yamauchi 1982: 25). However, this has been disputed due to the different historical contexts for Gen 4:22 and Ezek 27:13, where the association with metal trade is also mentioned (Cassuto 1961: 237; Westermann 1984: 332). It is probably more than coincidence that the name of the last male listed in the line of Cain should also contain (in its second element) the name of the first figure in that line. See CAIN. Josephus, *Pseudo-Philo*, and *Jubilees* often replace this second element with a gloss on its meaning: "metal smith." For the masculine name, *qyn*, in Old South Arabic, see Müller 1963: 314.

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TUBAS (PLACE). See THEBEZ.

TULEILAT EL-BATASHI (PLACE). See BATASHI, TULEILAT EL-.

TULEILAT EL-GHASSUL. See GHASSUL, TULEILAT EL-.

TUMORS. See SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

TUNIC. See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

TURBAN. See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

TURTLEDOVE. See ZOOLOGY.

TWELVE, THE. In the gospel of Mark, the Twelve (*hoi dōdeka; anathrous* in Mark 3:14) are a group of disciples chosen by Jesus to be his special companions (Mark 3:14; 4:10; 11:11; 14:17). They were particularly instructed by Jesus (Mark 9:35; 10:32) and were sent by him to proclaim the coming of the kingdom and to cast out demons (Mark 3:14, 16; 6:7). The number was symbolic of the twelve tribes of Israel (cf. Matt 19:28; Luke 22:30; Rev 21:12–14) and pointed to the eschatological nature of Jesus' mission. That Judas belonged to this special group (Mark 14:10, 20, 43) accentuated the heinousness of his betrayal of Jesus.

A textually disputed passage in Mark's gospel calls the Twelve "apostles" (Mark 3:16), but the title is indisputably

attributed to the group in Matthew (10:5) and Luke (6:13). In these later gospels, the Twelve have essentially the same role (Matt 10:1, 5; Luke 8:1; 9:1, 12; 18:31; cf. Acts 6:2) as they do in Mark, with a similar emphasis upon Judas, the betrayer, as one of the Twelve (Matt 26:14; Luke 22:3, 47). Matthew, however, has a special theory on the Twelve: he reduces the disciples to the Twelve (hence, the "twelve disciples"; Matt 10:1; 11:1; 20:17; 26:24) and specifically restricts their mission to Israel (Matt 10:5).

That the number twelve has symbolic value is confirmed by the early tradition of the risen Lord's appearance to the Twelve (1 Cor 15:5; cf. Acts 1:2) and the story in Acts about the selection of Matthias to fill the complement of Twelve (Acts 1:15–26). The importance of the symbolism largely explains why the Synoptics' lists of the Twelve do not exactly correspond to one another (Matt 10:2; Mark 3:16–19; Luke 6:14–16). In the Synoptic Gospels, no individualized function is attributed to any of the Twelve, except for Peter (sometimes with James and John) and Judas.

The Twelve do not play as important a role in the Fourth Gospel as they do in the Synoptics; the Fourth Gospel does not even give a list of the Twelve (cf. John 20:2). Nonetheless, two of the Twelve are specifically identified as belonging to the Twelve, and these are each given a specific role: Judas as the betrayer (John 6:70, 71; cf. 12:4) and Thomas as the doubter (John 20:24). The fourth Evangelist's understanding of the Twelve is summarized in 6:67–71. The Twelve, whose spokesman is Simon Peter, have been chosen by Jesus. With the exception of Judas, they remained faithful even after many other disciples had abandoned Jesus.

Nonetheless, the presence of Judas and Thomas within the group and the relatively unfavorable portrayal of Simon Peter, as compared with the beloved disciple (John 13:21–25; 18:15–18; 20:2–10), indicate that the Twelve do not represent perfect faithfulness within the Fourth Gospel. Rather, they represent apostolic Christianity. Its configuration is different from that of the Evangelist's community, whose own faith hero is the beloved disciple, rather than Simon Peter.

Later traditions developed around many of the Twelve. While some of these are attested in the patristic literature, many more are to be found in the apocryphal gospels and acts.

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TWINED LINEN. [Heb *šēš mošzar*]. The phrase "fine twined linen" is used repeatedly in the tabernacle texts of Exodus to describe one of the major textile components of the portable sanctuary and its accoutrements (e.g., Exod 26:1). The term *šēš* ("linen"), which is used rather than the postexilic *bûṣ*, seems to be part of the ancient core of priestly materials in the tabernacle account (Hurvitz 1967). "Fine twisted linen," colored wool (blue, red, purple), and goat hair (Exod 25:4) were the three fabrics used in the tabernacle. The most holy textiles were made of a combination of twined linen and colored wool threads, a mixture forbidden for secular use (Lev 19:19; Deut 22:9, 11).

The twined linen was used in nine different places in the tabernacle. Five of these—the curtains of the tabernacle (Exod 26:1; 36:8), the veil (Exod 26:1; 36:35), the ephod (Exod 28:6; 39:2, 24), the girdle of the ephod (Exod 28:8; 39:5, 29), and the breastplate (28:15; 39:8)—were made using a special technique, *ḥošēb* workmanship (RSV "skillfully worked"). This type of workmanship was the most elaborate of a set of three different types of textile embellishment used in the tabernacle. Only the most sacred objects, garments, or hangings were crafted with the *ḥošēb* technique, which may have been a kind of needlework in which figures (cherubim for the curtains and the veil) were embroidered onto the fabric.

Two other textiles made of "fine twined linen"—used for the hangings for the door (Exod 26:36; 36:37) and the screen of the courtyard gate (Exod 27:16, 18; 38:18)—were embellished with *rôqēm* workmanship (RSV "embroidered with needlework"). This technique perhaps involved the same mixture of colors and textures as the *ḥošēb* workmanship but did not add figural embellishments.

For the other two usages of this special linen—in the hangings of the court (Exod 27:9; 38:9, 16) and for the priests' breeches (Exod 39:27)—no special workmanship is specified. Linen for these purposes was thus less costly, in keeping with the fact that the courts' hangings were on the periphery of the tabernacle's zones of holiness, as were the breeches worn by all the priests, not Aaron alone, for whom the most elaborate items of clothing were indicated.

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TWO-GOSPEL HYPOTHESIS. The Two-Gospel Hypothesis, formerly known as the Griesbach Hypothesis, proposes a comprehensive solution to the SYNOPTIC PROBLEM. It was first given this new title by Bernard Orchard (1982: vii; 1983: xii) to emphasize the central argument that the gospel of Mark was originally composed by joining together elements of the two earlier gospels, Matthew and Luke. The name is intended to distinguish this approach from the Two-*Source* (or Document) Hypothesis (hereafter 2SH), in that it does not postulate a hypothetical "lost document" such as "Q" plus Mark (or a second hypothetical "lost document" such as UrMark or DeuteroMark) as a source of Matthew and Luke. See TWO-SOURCE HYPOTHESIS. The Two-Gospel Hypothesis (hereafter 2GH) contends that the gospel of Matthew was written first in the service of the Palestinian Jewish Christian proclamation of the messiahship of the recently

crucified Jesus of Nazareth. It proposes that the gospel of Luke + Acts was written second for use in the Pauline mission to the gentiles, using Matthew as the main source. It proposes that the gospel of Mark was written third as a selective combination of Matthew and Luke, as an attempt to reconcile the Jewish and gentile branches in the early Church. It proposes that the gospel of John was written fourth, revealing an extensive awareness of the other Gospels but consisting mostly of a separate stream of the Jesus tradition.

A. Original Form of the Hypothesis
B. Revival of the Griesbach Hypothesis
C. Overview of the Two-Gospel Hypothesis
1. Methodological Presuppositions
2. Internal Literary Evidence
3. External Historical Evidence
4. Patristic Evidence
5. Theological Consequences

A. Original Form of the Hypothesis

Medieval exegesis of the Gospels assumed a point of view similar to that of Augustine, who said that the Gospels were all equally true since Truth had authored them (John 14:6; cf. *de consensu evang.* 1.35.54). They followed Augustine's example and freely harmonized the gospel texts so as to produce an acceptable, chronological account of the life of Christ. In the 1700s, Enlightenment scholars rejected the harmonistic approach, pioneering a new method. They noted that Augustine had said that all four Evangelists were inspired by the Spirit of Christ to *remember* the events of his ministry, writing them down *in ordo recordationis* and not necessarily in chronological order. This left unsolved the riddle of the original historical order of the puzzlingly divergent events described in the Gospels. They also noted that Augustine had said that each gospel author had written in full knowledge of what his predecessor(s) had written, specifically stating that Mark had abbreviated Matthew (*de consensu evang.* 1.2.4; Weirich 1963). These statements left the door wide open for a nonsupernatural explanation of the process by which the Gospels were written.

The 2GH is usually traced back to an eminent German scholar named Johann-Jakob Griesbach, of the University of Jena, who published two studies during the 1770s on the Passion Narrative and on the composition of the gospel of Mark. Probably drawing upon contemporary scholarship (such as Owen 1764), Griesbach argued that Mark's narrative had been built up by means of a systematic combination of parallel accounts taken from Matthew and Luke. The gospel of John he found to be so different in internal chronology, phraseology, and content that he could not reconcile it with the other three Gospels (Griesbach 1789–1790; cf. Orchard and Longstaff 1978, chaps. 5, 6). Thus, Griesbach published the first modern "synopsis" in which only the first three Gospels appear unharmonized, in parallel columns (Griesbach 1776). Griesbach's student W. M. L. DeWette, also published analyses of the gospel texts (DeWette 1858) and another synopsis (DeWette and Lücke 1818), setting the stage for half a century of prominence for Griesbach's theory (Farmer 1964: 9; Reicke 1987). This ended when numerous scholars began to opt instead for alternative forms of the 2SH presupposing priority of Mark, the view which is most widely held today.

B. The Revival of the Griesbach Hypothesis

The recent revival of Griesbach's Hypothesis began with two scholarly attacks on the 2SH. In 1951, B. C. Butler demonstrated that a key element in the basic argument used by adherents of the 2SH to support the priority of Mark, the so-called argument from order of pericopes, was logically false (Butler 1951, chap. 5). He also attacked the Q Hypothesis, arguing that it was unnecessary as a way of explaining the parallel material in Matthew and Luke (chaps. 1 and 2). See Q (GOSPEL SOURCE). In 1964, W. R. Farmer carried the attack farther by publishing a history of the Synoptic Problem, in which he brought forth evidence to show that the 2SH had achieved its ascendancy not only because it was founded on clear-cut literary or historical evidence but primarily because it appealed to the cultural and theological agenda of 19th-century German liberalism (Farmer 1964: 1–117; cf. Reicke 1986: 1–23). His book focused on an unprecedented critique of the "fundamental solution" that B. H. Streeter had advanced for Markan priority (1924: 151–98; cf. Farmer 1964: 118–78) and concluded with a redactional sketch of Mark on the Griesbach Hypothesis (pp. 233–83), suggesting that it still remained the correct solution. Meantime, the German historian H.-H. Stoldt independently reached the same conclusions in his history of the Markan Hypothesis (Stoldt 1977). These two frontal attacks on the 2SH have met with little response in the scholarly literature (but see C. Tuckett 1983; answered by A. McNicol 1987; cf. also J. Fitzmyer 1970; answered by Farmer 1983: 501–23).

One apparent side effect was the rise of an extraordinary interest in the SP which took the form of an unprecedented series of ad hoc scholarly conferences: the 1970 Pittsburgh Festival of the Gospels (Buttrick and Hadidian 1970); the 1976 Münster Griesbach Bicentenary Colloquium (Orchard and Longstaff 1978); the 1977 San Antonio Interdisciplinary Dialogue on the Relationships Among the Gospels (Walker 1978); the 1979 Cambridge Conference on the Synoptic Gospels (Farmer 1983); the 1980 Fort Worth Colloquy on New Testament Studies (Corley 1983); the 1982 and 1983 Ampleforth Abbey Gospel Conferences (Tuckett 1984); the 1982 Tübingen Conference on the Gospel and the Gospels (Stuhlmacher 1983); and a major "capstone" conference held in Jerusalem in 1984 under the leadership of M.-É. Boismard, W. R. Farmer, and F. Neirynck (Dungan 1990).

C. Overview of the Two-Gospel Hypothesis

In the decades since its revival by W. R. Farmer and others, the Griesbach Hypothesis has been augmented considerably. To indicate this rethinking of its essential elements, the neo-Griesbachian school gave the hypothesis a more descriptive name: the Two-Gospel Hypothesis. The 2GH now rests upon more recent methodological considerations, fresh research into the literary and historical data, a reexamination of the patristic evidence, and explorations of its potential consequences for biblical theology. The key findings in each of these categories can be summarized as follows:

1. Methodological Presuppositions. The assumptions underlying the 2GH can be summarized thusly: A source hypothesis which limits the number of hypothetical sources needed to explain the perceived literary phenomena (cf. "Occam's Razor") is preferable to one which invents numerous imaginary "lost sources," multiple "lost earlier versions" of the Gospels, hypothetical "lost recensions" of Q, etc., to explain the literary data (Farmer 1964: 209; Dungan 1970: 71–88). The proper starting point, the basic phenomenon to be explained by any source hypothesis, is the whole concatenation of agreement and disagreement among all levels of all three Synoptic Gospels. Precisely this whole web or complex pattern is the basic phenomenon to be explained; it is the Synoptic Problem (cf. Kümmel 1965: 35). Recommendations to begin by splitting the Gospels apart in order to compare them pairwise (Mark//Matthew and Mark//Luke) destroys the basic evidence (suggested by Neirynck in *IDBSup*, 845–48 and again in *NJBC*, 589; cf. Dungan 1984: 69–72). Although oral material must have preceded the written tradition, the SP as such cannot be solved by appeal to oral tradition alone. The literary data within the Gospels require an explanation of their interrelationship in terms of direct literary dependence (Farmer 1964: 202–8).

A successful source hypothesis will provide a complete, intelligible, redactional analysis of the whole of each of the Gospels (see C.3 below). The historical data from the patristic period regarding the authorship, order of composition, and relative use of the several Gospels should be given much greater weight (see C.4 below). As with historical research in general, there can be no objective "proof" of a hypothesis. The ultimate test of the validity of any source hypothesis can only be its total convincingness. Does it do justice to all pertinent evidence: patristic, text critical, literary, historical, and theological (see C.5 below)? This also means that no hypothesis can ever be finally "proved," since new evidence keeps coming to light.

2. Internal Literary Evidence. Proponents of the 2GH believe that conventional judgments regarding good or poor style, broken or intact form, and early or late theological formulation are too subjective and should not be used to establish source hypotheses. All source hypotheses must rest upon two types of objective internal literary evidence: *macro*structural phenomena and *micro*structural phenomena. But which should be given precedence?

In the past, source hypotheses have been founded on microstructural phenomena such as the percentage of similar verses among the Synoptic Gospels, the number of words in common, similar grammatical forms, etc. (cf. Streeter 1924: 151–52; *NJBC*, 588a). It is methodologically incorrect to begin with this type of data. As the critical apparatus of Nestle-Aland^{26} = UBS^{3} clearly indicates, there was widespread intentional and/or accidental manipulation of individual words and phrases in the gospel texts in the early centuries. At the individual word level, one is so confronted by sufficient textual uncertainty that the perceived microstructural phenomena can always be explained in a variety of equally plausible ways. Conversely, there is much less evidence that there was widespread accidental or intentional *structural* modification of the texts of the Synoptic Gospels in the early Church. Therefore, for a source hypothesis to have a secure basis, i.e., one that can legitimately claim to explain the original interactions at the earliest compositional stages prior to the turbulent period, one must begin by examining the unaltered *major structural features* of the Gospels. But which ones?

The 2GH contends that the correct methodological approach is to start with phenomena that are found to exist across the entire Gospels. These would have the highest probability of having been created by the final redactors. Hence, it is of fundamental importance to begin by viewing all three Synoptic Gospels together simultaneously, not by separating them into two groups, such as Mark//Matthew and Mark//Luke (Neirynck following Lachmann; cf. *NJBC*, 588a; *IDBSup* 846; but see Dungan 1984: 68–72). Moreover, the 2GH contends that the most significant macrostructural feature in the three Synoptic Gospels is the relative order of pericopes (Dungan 1984: 72).

a. Macrostructural Evidence. However, it is impossible to see the literary evidence upon which the 2GH is built if one consults the two basic research tools scholars use today. The text of the Nestle-Aland^{26} = UBS^{3} has been shaped over the years by a succession of scholars who unquestioningly accepted the 2SH in some form or other (cf. Metzger 1971: xxviii). Likewise, the most widely used gospel synopses, despite their claims to be "neutral" with respect to source theories in their arrangement (cf. Aland 1967: vii; Huck 1976: iii; Greeven 1981: v), all favor the 2SH in their division and arrangement of pericopes (Orchard 1978; 1983: xi–xv; Dungan 1980). In fact, it is impossible to construct a totally objective, neutral synopsis (Dungan 1985). There are so many equally plausible ways to divide the text into pericopes and alternative ways to parallel them that the synopsis editor must inevitably fall back on a preconceived conception of how the materials were originally related to each other in the very act of constructing the synopsis. It is invariably a circular process. Farmer's *Synopticon* (1969) is an ingenious attempt to visualize the intersynoptic relationships through the use of colors without breaking up the text into artifical pericopes, titles, etc.

The literary facts with respect to the phenomenon of the relative orders of pericopes in the Synoptic Gospels are well known (Streeter 1924: 161; Nierynck *NJBC*, 588a; Farmer 1964: 212): the order of pericopes in Mark coincides with the order of pericopes in Matthew and Luke in every instance where Matthew and Luke agree with each other (with one possible exception: Cleansing of the Temple). In between, the order of pericopes in Mark always coincides with the order of pericopes in either Matthew or Luke (with one exception: the Seed Growing Secretly). B. C. Butler (1951) demonstrated that this statement of the facts had been improperly used to support the argument for the *priority* of Mark (cf. *IDBSup*, 845–46).

This statement of the literary facts can most readily be explained by the hypothesis Mark combined Matthew and Luke: where their pericopes coincided in order, Mark utilized that account (see Fig. TWO.01). In between, he selected from one or the other (Farmer 1964: 211–18). All source hypotheses postulate a process of conflation to some degree. The process envisioned for Mark on the 2GH resembles Arrian's when he wrote the *Anabasis of Alexander* (see I, pref.; cf. Dungan 1974: 183–84), and it is confirmed in other biographical literature where it is

known a third author used two earlier authors (Frye 1971; 1978: 279–83).

If one wishes to see the whole striking pattern of triple agreement in order of pericopes interspersed by alternating double agreement between Matthew and Mark on the one hand and Mark and Luke on the other—the pattern that led Griesbach to propose his hypothesis in the first place—one must not use any existing synopses. Fig. TWO.01 illustrates the Markan compositional pattern as understood by the 2GH. It is based on Griesbach's original outline chart in his *Commentatio* of 1789 (translated in Orchard and Longstaff 1978: 108–13; for the most recent analysis of the Markan composition on the basis of the 2GH, see now Farmer et al. 1991).

b. Microstructural Evidence. Customary analyses of stylistic features of the Gospels that focus on such phenomena as better or worse Greek, direct discourse vs. reported speech, increasing detail, increasing length, and greater or lesser "semiticism" have been demonstrated to be completely unreliable for determining whether a pericope or saying is early or late, since none of these linguistic traits are consistent indicators of early vs. late tradition (Sanders 1969; Frye 1978: 264–79).

Moreover, the quest for an individual gospel author's style has been plagued by questionable methods. If it is in fact the case that no one knows either the extent or the nature of the source material(s) used by each gospel writer, nor the compositional methods he followed, then the many analyses of the stylistic characteristics of the various Evangelists which assume that we *do* know the sources of the Gospels, and that we *do* know the methods they followed in incorporating them into their Gospels, have done little more than sow mass confusion. If one seeks to identify a writer's style without first recognizing the differences between the stylistic features of the *sources* as distinct from the stylistic characteristics of that *writer*, the result cannot be anything but confusion. Scholars who rely upon the classic studies of stylistic characteristics that explicitly assumed the Two-Source Hypothesis, such as Hawkins (1899), Turner (1924–1928), and Cadbury (1927), as well as more recent studies by Gaston (1973), Jeremias (1980), Dschulnigg (1984), and Luz (1985), will inevitably be misled. Methodologically worst of all are studies such as Pryke (1978) that begin by appealing to some vague consensus as to what "most scholars" consider to be the redactional passages in the gospel text (cf. Peabody's analysis of Nierynck's similar search for consensus; 1987: 11–14).

A more circumspect method is required. Peabody (1987: 3–14) is the first analysis of the stylistic characteristics of a gospel text that *does not assume a knowledge of that gospel's sources*. Peabody's logically correct starting point is the identification of merely "recurrent grammatical or syntactical features," leaving open the question whether they come from a source or the redactor (pp. 19–28). After these are collected (pp. 31–113), Peabody asks how one may determine if any of these "recurrent features" have been used compositionally, viz., by the final author of Mark to link originally separated segments into sections and sections in a progressive sequence from beginning to end of the gospel. Peabody correctly proposes the principle that a recurrent feature should only be considered a potential redactional stylistic characteristic of the final author of Mark if it appears in numerous, widely separated contexts of the gospel (pp. 115–58). Following this principle, the most widespread, recurrent stylistic feature would have the greatest probability of coming from the hand of the final author of the gospel (pp. 161–71). This feature must be the logical place to begin in identifying potential stylistic characteristics of the final gospel author.

After listing dozens of recurrent features in the text, Peabody isolates the most widespread feature, one which has been overlooked in all previous studies of Markan style: "*palin* ["again"] used retrospectively uniting two or more separated pericopes" (pp. 27, 171). Peabody further demonstrates that this unique characteristic *links together many other recurrent stylistic features*, suggesting the possibility of a potential redactional network across almost the whole of Mark's text (Table 70, pp. 56–57). Moreover, since traces of this network of *palin* used retrospectively is *entirely missing in Matthew and Luke*, we have prima facie evidence on the microstructural level that Mark could not have been the source of either Matthew or Luke, for it is hard to see why either, let alone both, would have systematically avoided this feature of Mark.

Longstaff (1977) has conducted another very useful experiment in microstructural detection by testing our customary assumptions as to the literary characteristics of conflated writings. Setting aside the usual speculations about what the gospel authors "must" have done in conflating their sources (cf. Dungan 1970: 91; 1974: 182–84), Longstaff analyzed writings of a known date, who used sources of a known date, in order to construct *inductively* a profile of the literary characteristics and compositional strategies of writers known to have conflated two or more sources. Longstaff concludes: "Mark is, at least in part, the result of a careful and detailed conflation of material taken from Matthew and Luke" (113; cf. Frye 1971; 1978: 264–79).

The results of this new microstructural research coincides precisely with the macrostructural evidence discovered in research on the relative order of pericopes. Whenever the microstructural evidence put forth by a particular hypothesis corroborates the macrostructural evidence upon which the same hypothesis is founded, it gains in plausibility.

3. External Historical Evidence. There are fundamental *historical* objections to the two main alternative types of source theory. First, those hypotheses envisioning a complex process in the composition of the Gospels (Parker 1953; Vaganay 1954; Léon-Dufour 1959; Gaboury 1970; Boismard 1972) invoke the existence of so many hypothetical "lost recensions" and "missing sources" of the Gospels that it is difficult to think of them as critical historical hypotheses. They are more like "conjectural scenarios" not meant to be held accountable to accepted practices of scientific evidence (Dungan 1970: 81–88). It is no wonder that none of these scholars has written a history of the early Church indicating when and where these many "lost versions" were produced or why they disappeared.

There is a different historical objection to the 2SH, however. If Mark was written first, followed by Matthew and Luke, one must then accept a disjointed historical process. According to the 2SH, the first gospel to appear was an anonymous, legend-filled portrait of a Hellenistic

Mark's Composition According to the Two-Gospel Hypothesis

[Dashes = pericopes in same order; arrow = same order + similar wording. The Markan pericope is presented in the center column, with the corresponding passages in Matthew on the left, and Luke on the right.]				
Part One: The Appearance of Jesus Christ, the Son of God. 1:1–15				
		Introduction 1:1–3		
3:3b–6, 11–12	→	Ministry of John 1:4–8	—	3:2b–3b, 3a
3:13–17	—	Appearance of Jesus; Baptism 1:9–11	←	3:21f.
4:1–11	—	Temptation 1:12–13	—	4:1–13
4:12–17	→	Jesus Begins Ministry 1:14–15	—	4:14–15
Part Two: Jesus the Great Teacher and Healer. 1:16–45				
4:18–22		Call of Four Disciples. 1:16–20		(cf. 5:1–11)
(4:24–7:29 Sermon on the Mount)			(4:16–30 Sermon in synagogue, Nazareth)	
(4:13 Capernaum)		Jesus Teaches/Heals in Synagogue 1:21–28	←	4:31-37
(4:23 synagogues; 7:28–29 astonished at his teaching)				
(8:14f.)		Heals Simon's Mother-in-law 1:29–31	←	4:38–39
(8:16–17)		Heals Many Sick 1:32–34	←	4:40–41
(4:23)		Preaching/Healing Tour 1:35–39	←	4:42–44
			(5:1–11 Call of Three)	
8:1–4	—	Healing of the Leper 1:40–45	←	5:12–16
Part Three: Jesus' Conflicts with the Scribes and Pharisees. 2:1–3:6				
(8:5–34 Various stories located elsewhere in Mk//Lk)				
		Transition Passage. 2:1–2		
9:1–8	—	Heals Paralytic. 2:3–12	←	5:17–26
9:9	—	Call of Levi. 2:13–14	←	5:27–28
9:10–13	—	Eating with Sinners. 2:15–17	←	5:29–32
9:14–17	—	Controversy over Fasting. 2:18–22	←	5:33–39
(9:18–11:30 Various stories located elsewhere in Mk//Lk)				
12:1–8	—	Working on the Sabbath. 2:23–28	←	6:1–5
12:9–14	—	Healing on the Sabbath. 3:1–6	←	6:6–11
12:15–16 (cf. 4:23–25)	→	Great Crowds, Healings; Jesus Is Famous 3:7–12		(6:17–19)
(12:17–21 O.T. quotation)				

TWO.01. The composition of the gospel of Mark according to the Two-Gospel Hypothesis.

Part Four: Jesus Creates a Brotherhood of Twelve Closest Disciples to Whom He Openly Teaches the Mystery of the Kingdom of God. 3:13–6:6a				
(10:1–4)		Choice of Twelve. 3:13–19a	←	6:12–16
				(7:1–8:3 Various stories located elsewhere in Lk.)
		Jesus' Family Thinks He Is Insane, Come to Take Him. 3:19b–21		
12:22–37	→	Beelzebul Controversy. 3:22–30		(11:15–23)
12:46–50	→	Jesus' True Mother, Brothers. 3:31–35		(8:19–21)
Jesus' Public Teaching and Private Explanation of the Parables				
13:1–9	→	Jesus Teaches in Parables. 4:1–9	—	8:4–8
13:10–23	→	Jesus Explains the Parable to His Disciples. 4:10–20	—	8:9–15
(13:12)		Hidden Sayings on the Light/Seeing. 4:21–25	←	8:16–18
(13:24–30 Parable of Tares)				
		The Seed Growing Secretly. 4:26–29		
13:31–32	→	Mustard Seed. 4:30–32		(13:18–19)
(13:33 Parable of Leaven)				
13:34–35	→	Conclusion. 4:33–34		
				(8:19–21 Jesus' True Mother/Brothers)
(13:36–52 Various parables)				
Christ's Divine Power Shocks and Terrifies. 4:35–6:6a				
(8:23–27)		Stilling the Storm 4:35–41	←	8:22–25
(8:28–34)		Gerasene Demoniac 5:1–20	←	8:26–39
(9:18–26)		Jairus' Daughter, Bleeding Woman 5:21–43	←	8:40–56
13:53–58	→	Retrospective Passage on Jesus' Wisdom/Miracles 6:1–6a		(4:16–30)
Part Five: Initial Mission of the Twelve, Execution of John the Baptist. 6:6b–6:33				
(9:35; 10:1–14)		Sending Out of the Twelve 6:6b–13	←	9:1–6
14:1–2	—	Herod's View of John 6:14–16	←	9:7–9
14:3–12	→	Death of John the Baptist 6:17–29		
14:12–13	—	Return of the Twelve 6:30–33	←	9:10
Part Six: The Food that Satisfies. 6:34–8:21				
14:13–21	→	Feeding of the 5000 6:34–44	—	9:11–17
14:22–33	→	Jesus Walks on the Water 6:45–52		
14:34–36	→	Healings at Gennesaret 6:53–56		
15:1–20	→	Clean and Unclean Foods 7:1–23		
15:21–28	→	The Syrophoenician Woman is Satisfied with Crumbs from Jesus' Table 7:24–30		
15:29–31	→	Jesus Heals Many Others 7:31–37		
15:32–39	→	Feeding of 4000 8:1–9		
16:1–12	→	Avoid the Pharisees' "Bread" 8:10–21		
[From here to the end of Mark, Mark is mostly parallel to Mt's order.]				

miracle worker (Bultmann 1963: 346–48). This first short gospel (later called "Mark") was then allegedly "corrected" by a second anonymous author who produced a "re-Judaized" revision (later called "Matthew") that *harkened back* to the theme of Jesus as the long-awaited eschatological Jewish king. Meanwhile, a third anonymous author allegedly also "corrected" the first writing to present a portrait of Jesus as the universal Hellenistic Savior (it was later called "Luke"). None of these writings came from Jesus' disciples. This hypothesis results in the denial that the historical Jesus of Nazareth can be known from the Gospels since they are largely made up of pious legends and myth (Bultmann 1963: 368–74). Paradoxically, "Q is the most important Christian text that we have . . . the canon behind the canon" (Robinson 1983: 28; cf. Ellis 1983: 36–38).

The 2GH, on the other hand, sees no evidence of such implausible disjunctions in the historical development of the early Church. It finds a consistent, carefully nurtured tradition extending from Jesus through the apostles into the early Church leadership (*1 Clem.* 42; cf. Gerhardsson 1961). It notes that the first gospel, Matthew, exercised an enormous influence on the life and faith of the early Church (Massaux 1950). It notes evidence that the Jesus tradition was maintained, transmitted, and applied to the living situation of the Church by a special group of traditionists especially dedicated to that task, a group which certainly included "the Twelve," James the brother of the Lord, and the apostle Paul (Gerhardsson 1964; 1986). It notes evidence that the leadership of the Church sought to maintain close and harmonious relationships, so that there might be continuity, coherency, and controlled creativity in the life of faith (Farmer and Kereszty 1990; Willis 1987). It notes evidence that the Gospel Tradition was carefully transmitted from its beginnings down to the point when it was deposited in the four apostolic testimonies (Hofius 1983; cf. Gerhardsson 1986: 49–53). They were ultimately combined with other apostolic letters and writings (a "martyr's canon"; Farmer 1982: 213–15) as a companion volume with "the Law and the Prophets" to form the Christian Scripture. Putting the Jesus tradition into written form followed the practices of the well-known Hellenistic *bios encomium* genre (Shuler 1982; cf. Talbert 1977).

In this historical perspective, Matthew is the gospel most clearly reflecting conditions in Palestinian Judaism (Dungan 1971; Cope 1976) and might plausibly be viewed as first gospel created by the disciples of Jesus (Levi/Matthew acting as scribe) to present "the gospel" of the Hellenistic Christian synagogue of greater Syria (Orchard and Longstaff 1987: 239–45). However, some of Matthew's main themes needed modification if the gospel were to address the needs and concerns of the wider Hellenistic world. Thus, the 2GH suggests that Luke is a revision of Matthew along more universalistic lines (Orchard and Longstaff 1987: 246–62).

However, the latent distrust existing between the Jerusalem and the Pauline branches of the early Church is well documented in our sources. It is also documented that Simon Peter was a mediator in the early mission of the Church (cf. Acts 10). It is from this perspective that the 2GH understands not only the main reason for the writing of the gospel of Mark but also its remarkable structure. When the two chief Evangelists, Peter and Paul, were both executed during Nero's chaotic reign (A.D. 54–68), it shocked the Christian Church. The 2GH suggests that it is historically credible to understand Mark's intense focus on the crucifixion of Jesus as an attempt to provide a meaningful context for the recent deaths of the Church's leading apostles. Moreover, the 2GH suggests that the extraordinary unifying structure of Mark, namely, its exclusive restriction to traditions taken from the gospels of Matthew (Petrine tradition) and Luke (Pauline tradition), is an act of piety on Mark's part toward his beloved apostolic mentors (cf. Orchard and Longstaff 1987: 263–74; Dungan 1983: 412–18). Mark's dual theological parentage could also explain the striking combination of vivid eyewitness details (Petrine tradition) and Pauline theological terminology. Various dates have been proposed for the writing of the Gospels: in the 40s–60s (Orchard and Longstaff 1987: 275–77) and in the 60s–80s (Farmer 1982: 238).

4. Patristic Evidence. The question of the order of composition of the Gospels was not of great concern to the biblical exegetes in the early Church. However, definite traces of the original, historical order of composition can be found. Clement of Alexandria refers to a "tradition from the first elders" *(ton ekathen presbyteron)* that the Gospels with genealogies (Matthew and Luke) were written before the Gospels without (Mark and John; *Hypot.* 6; Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 6.14.5–7; cf. Farmer 1983: 6–9; cf. Gamba in Farmer 1983: 21 n. 10). The Latin manuscripts prior to Jerome often follow the order Matthew-John-Luke-Mark, an arrangement perhaps reflecting the dignity of authorship (apostles first, then disciples of apostles) as well as the chronological order attested by Clement (cf. Gamba in Farmer 1983: 21–22). The Monarchian Prologue to Mark, dating from the end of the 4th century, also assumes that Mark was written after Matthew and Luke, a view taken for granted by the 9th-century Irish historian, Sedulius Scottus (Gamba in Farmer 1983: 17–35; for the most recent full discussion, see Orchard 1987: 111–226). Augustine also reached the conclusion that Mark had conflated both Matthew and Luke (*de consensu evang.* 4.10.11; cf. Peabody 1983: 47–58).

5. Theological Consequences. The Two-Gospel Hypothesis rejects the Enlightenment tradition that there was a great gulf between Jesus and the disciples, or between Jesus and Paul, or between Peter and Paul (Willis 1987; Meyer 1987: 173–94). This legacy of radical scepticism is inimical to sound biblical exegesis (Meyer 1979: 13–110; 1989: 147–56). The 2GH sees a strong, broad tradition of biblical exegesis and theological affirmation running from Second Isaiah through Jesus' ministry on into the 1st and 2d centuries of Christian expansion and establishment, until it was canonized by the "great Church" in the 3d and 4th centuries (Farmer 1982). Few systematic theologians of the 20th century have used the 2SH, perhaps because of its reliance upon "lost documents" whose contents are not known even to the experts (Kingsbury 1981: 3–5) and its assumption of a bizarre history of the development of the early Church. The 2GH, however, focuses upon Gospels that the Church has canonized and explains their relationships logically and meaningfully. For this reason, it is to be hoped that the 2GH will provide a sounder basis for

biblical theology and ethics (cf. Farmer 1967; 1982; Farmer and Kereszty 1990; Dungan 1987). See also TWO-SOURCE HYPOTHESIS.

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TWO-SOURCE HYPOTHESIS. To account for the complexity of the Synoptic Problem, the Two-Source Hypothesis in its purest form can best be summarized in the following three propositions: (a) in the sections common to the three Synoptics (the Triple Tradition), Matthew and Luke depend on Mark; (b) in the sections common only to Matthew and Luke (the Double Tradition), these two gospels depend on a second source, designated by the letter "Q" (for the German *Quelle* = "source"), which was made up almost exclusively of *logia* ("sayings"); (c) Matthew and Luke are independent of one another. Scholars also concur that Matthew and Luke had available to them their own particular sources for those sections which are unique to themselves. This hypothesis—widely held today, though with important qualifications—was only worked out in successive stages. See also SYNOPTIC PROBLEM.

A. Origins of the Theory

The first step was to suppose the existence of a primitive gospel (a so-called "Ur-gospel") on which the three Synoptic Gospels depended. This was worked out chiefly by G. E. Lessing in a work which, though written in 1778, was only published in 1784 after the author's death. This Ur-gospel (a gospel of the Hebrews or of the Nazarenes?) would have been written in Aramaic shortly after the death of Christ, then translated into Greek in different recensions, according to the circumstances prevailing at those times when it was reworked to a greater or lesser extent. The three Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke would have depended on diverse translations such as these.

In 1794, J. G. Eichhorn complicated this hypothesis somewhat. The primitive gospel—still one written in Aramaic—would have undergone four different revisions, which likewise would have taken place in Aramaic. Matthew would, in this view, depend on a Revision "A," Luke on a Revision "B," and Mark on a Revision "C"; this last revision would, in its turn, be dependent upon Revisions

"A" and "B" (a concession to the Griesbach Hypothesis). But Eichhorn's new idea was to suppose a Revision "D" to explain the materials which Matthew and Luke had in common but which were unknown to Mark.

In 1798 the Cambridge scholar H. Marsh again took up the ideas of Eichhorn, presenting them in a more logical fashion. He clearly distinguished two different sources to explain the formation of the Synoptic Gospels. One would have been the Ur-gospel that Lessing had already mentioned, but one that had been translated into Greek and used for all three Synoptics. The other source would have been a collection of the logia and parables of Jesus, which took into account the materials common to Matthew and Luke but unknown to Mark.

The position of Lachmann in 1835 is quite close to that of Marsh. However, he made it more precise on two important points. The materials of the Triple Tradition (Matthew, Mark, Luke), which derived from the Ur-gospel (still anonymous), would have been better preserved by Mark, a view which restored to Mark a certain priority over Matthew and Luke. Lachmann offered as proof the sequence of the narratives in the three Synoptics: Matthew and Luke only follow the same order when they are in agreement with Mark; whenever they depart from Mark, each follows his own way. This argument even today constitutes one of the pillars on which the Two-Source Hypothesis rests. With regard to the materials common to Matthew and Luke but unknown to Mark, Lachmann returns to an idea of Schleiermacher's (1832), making these depend on a collection of logia which Papias attributed to Matthew's composition. Luke, meantime, would not have known about these directly but only through an intermediary, namely canonical Matthew.

In 1836, Credner prompted an evolution in the direction of today's Two-Source Hypothesis by making more complete use of the testimony of Papias, which recognized two primitive Gospels: those of Mark and of Matthew, the latter one containing the logia of the Lord. For Credner, the Ur-gospel—which had remained anonymous since Lessing—would, in fact, have been an Ur-Marcus on which all three Synoptics depended.

Several years later, in 1838, C. H. Weisse simplified Credner's theory by abandoning the idea of an Ur-Marcus; he proposed that the primitive gospel (Ur-gospel), which had already been intuited by Lessing, was nothing other than the canonical gospel of Mark on which Matthew and Luke would have been dependent, the latter two having also made use of the logia source that Papias had mentioned. At this point, the Two-Source Hypothesis took shape.

But Weisse ran into the following difficulty: if the second source truly was a collection of logia, how could one justify the presence, in material common to Matthew and Luke, of sections that were not logia but actually narratives, such as the healing of the centurion's son at Capernaum? Consequently, Weisse, in 1856, published a new study in which he returned to the idea of an Ur-Marcus that would have contained the *narratives* common to Matthew and Luke and which canonical Mark would have eliminated.

This theory of Weisse's enjoyed little success. But it gave flight to a reworked and brilliant treatment by H. H. Holtzmann in 1863. As the first gospel source, Holtzmann argued determinedly for an Ur-Marcus, designated by the Greek letter *alpha*, comprised of not only the materials of the gospel of Mark (taking into account the parallel redactions of Matthew and Luke), but also of a short form of the Sermon on the Mount (cf. Luke 6:20–49), the episode of the healing of the centurion's son, the pericope of the adulterous woman (John 7:53–8:11), and several verses from the end of Matthew's gospel (28:9–10, 16–20). In taking up this source, each of the three Synoptics would have effected both omissions and additions. With regard to the second source, which Holtzmann designated by the Greek letter *lambda*, Holtzmann still understood it to be the collection of logia which Papias had mentioned, better preserved in the "travel narrative" of Luke 9:51–18:14 than in Matthew.

With P. Wernle (1899), the Two-Source Hypothesis returned to its quasi-classical formulation. He attributed to the second gospel source, which he designated by the letter "Q" (208 verses), *all* the material common to Matthew and Luke but unknown to Mark, even if some of this was narrative in form. Accordingly, he could take up again the first form of Weisse's thesis: Ur-Marcus would be nothing other than canonical Mark, on which Matthew and Luke depended for the materials of the Triple Tradition. Holtzmann himself, toward the end of his life, rallied to this thesis, even though he also admitted an influence by Matthew on Luke.

At the moment, the Two-Source Hypothesis is accepted by a very large number of exegetes all over the world. It is expounded in all the introductions to the NT. One may refer especially to that of Jülicher and Fascher (1931: 321–51) or to that of Kümmel (1973: 13–53), as well as to the introduction to the three gospels composed by Schmithals (1985): the latter two of these works give an almost complete bibliography of all the works that the Two-Source Hypothesis has occasioned.

B. Foundations of the Theory

To prove the *priority of Mark* in the case of the material common to the three Synoptics, the decisive argument remains that of Lachmann concerning the sequence of the gospel units: Matthew and Luke do not have the same order among themselves except when they agree with Mark; when they disagree with him, each follows his own way (Jülicher and Fascher 1931: 330ff; Kümmel 1973: 31). Some additional remarks are needed to complete this general rule. Thus, when the sequence of the units is not identical in the three Synoptics, that of Mark is almost always sustained, either by Matthew against Luke or by Luke against Matthew (Streeter 1924: 161). We can also add that "the earliest and the latest parallels in all three Gospels coincide with the beginning and end of St. Mark" (Woods 1890: 61). Finally, when Matthew or Luke depart from the Markan order, it is always possible to specify the reason which prompted one change or the other (Kümmel 1973: 32–33). Mark, thereby, appears as the primitive gospel on which Matthew and Luke depend.

There is another argument invoked in favor of Markan priority, and it is one that is equally *decisive* ("*entscheidend*"—Kümmel 1973: 34): this gospel often has an unpolished, popular style, more oral than written, containing Latinisms and words transcribed from the Aramaic. But

these stylistic inaccuracies are often absent from the parallel passages of Matthew and Luke. The only plausible hypothesis is to suppose that Matthew and Luke, each in his own way, improved the style of Mark to render it more flowing, less semiticizing, and also simpler (Hawkins 1909: 131–38). Moreover, Mark contains details that seem to contradict the ideas that one might conclude about Christ or his disciples, or else ones that might lead to confusion. These traits are often omitted either by Matthew or by Luke, or by the two together (Hawkins 1909: 117–25). Finally, the style of Mark is readily seen to be redundant, with a tendency to express the same idea twice (Neirynck 1972). To take these details into account, some authors have returned to the idea of an Ur-Marcus (Schmithals 1985: 201–8), on which the three Synoptics would have depended, and which canonical Mark would have modified in some small way. But such a hypothesis finds little support today. Scholars prefer to explain the minor Matthew/Luke agreements against Mark either by recourse to text criticism (which results in their being denied) or by showing how Matthew and Luke must have reacted in the same way to correct Mark's text (Streeter 1924: 293–331; McLoughlin 1967; Schmithals 1985: 209–15).

C. The Q Source

Matthew and Luke together contain numerous sections that are not attested by Mark, above all the "words" (logia) of Jesus, but also narratives such as that of the delegation from John the Baptist to Jesus to ask him who he was or the account of the healing of the centurion's son. The literary connections between Matthew and Luke are often so close that one has to admit either to their mutual dependence on one another or to their use of the same source. In resolving this problem, analysis of the sequence of the pericopes common to Matthew/Luke but unknown to Mark is of no help. In fact, one can count on more than one third of these sections succeeding one another in the same order, even though, at times, they are separated from each other by sections taken over from Mark (Hawkins 1909: 108–109; Kümmel 1973: 39). This phenomenon can be explained either by a mutual dependence of one gospel on the other or by their use of a common source.

But other arguments seem to exclude the hypothesis of mutual dependence. If Matthew and Luke had depended on each other—whatever the order of that dependence—how does one explain that Matthew and Luke are so different when they explain the infancy of Jesus or the appearance of the Risen Lord?

On the other hand, when one compares the texts of Matthew and Luke in their common sections, one can establish that sometimes it is Matthew, while at other times it is Luke, who offers the more archaic text (Jülicher 1931: 336–37). So, one must admit that Matthew and Luke do depend on a common source.

Finally, Matthew and Luke offer a certain number of doublets, that is, sayings of Jesus that are found twice in Matthew and Luke; once in parallel with Mark and the second time independent of Mark. This would be the case with Jesus' statement about bearing one's own cross (Matt 16:24; Mark 8:34; Luke 9:23 in the first instance; Matt 10:38; Luke 14:24 in the second) or his statement expressing the theme that "to the one who has will more be given" (Matt 13:12; Mark 4:25; Luke 8:18 in the first instance; Matt 25:29; Luke 19:26 in the second). However, it might also have been by chance that either Matthew or Luke avoided the presence of a doublet by suppressing one of its component parts. Whatever might have been the case in this last regard, the presence of such doublets suggests that Matthew and Luke depended on two different sources: Mark and a collection of logia (Hawkins 1909: 80–107; Kümmel 1973: 40–41).

D. Weaknesses in the Theory

The success enjoyed by the Two-Source Theory rests on the fact that, even though it is relatively simple, it allows one to account for a large number of synoptic factors. Nonetheless, it does contain weak points, which those opposed to the theory have not failed to stress. See TWO-GOSPEL HYPOTHESIS. The utilization of Lachmann's argument to prove the priority of Mark on the basis of the sequence of the pericopes common to the three Synoptics has been contested by Butler, Palmer, Sanders, and Stoldt (1980: 135–54) and by Farmer (1976: 212–15). The efforts of Streeter, McLoughlin, and many others to justify, within the framework of the Two-Source Theory, the minor agreements of Matthew/Luke against Mark have been judged to be not very convincing: these authors have minimized the importance of the negative agreements (Stoldt 1980: 263–73), have advanced arguments that often are not very weighty, and have "atomized" the problem by neglecting to consider certain concentrations of agreements within the space of a few verses (Farmer 1976: 118–52; Boismard 1980). The instances of "duality" as a phenomenon in Mark could call attention, not to the style of this Evangelist, but instead to the fact that he fused together texts taken over from Matthew and Luke (Farmer 1976: 155–56; Rolland 1984: 110–22). Finally, if Mark often appears more primitive than Matthew or Luke, one could just as readily make this observation about Matthew, or at times even of Luke (Sanders 1969).

In another respect, what is one to think of the alleged unity of the Q source? Could the sections where Matthew and Luke have a quasi-identical vocabulary (Matt 3:7–10; Luke 3:7–9) possibly derive from the same source as those which have hardly a word in common (Matt 22:2–14; Luke 14:16–24)? And how could a collection of sayings also include several narratives? See also Q (GOSPEL SOURCE). Right from the start, the Two-Source Hypothesis has found itself faced with difficulties that even now have not been totally resolved.

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TYCHICUS (PERSON) [Gk *Tychikos*]. A Christian from Asia Minor who traveled with Paul on his third missionary journey (Acts 20:4) and who was later sent to the Colossians (Col 4:7–9) and Ephesians (Eph 6:21–22). In the context of the third missionary journey, Tychicus is mentioned with Trophimus, along with several others who accompanied Paul as he returned from Corinth to Macedonia (Acts 20:4). From there, Tychicus and the others went ahead and waited for Paul to catch up with them at Troas, where Paul then spent seven days (20:6). Some commentators have suggested that Tychicus was delegated by one or more of the churches to carry the collection from them to Jerusalem (1 Cor 16:3–4) (Lightfoot 1879: 233–34; Bruce *Colossians, Philemon, and Ephesians* NICNT, 176). However, while Acts relates that Trophimus went on with Paul to Jerusalem (cf. 21:6), it is not clear whether Tychicus did also.

Tychicus (assumably the same person) is described by "Paul" in Colossians as "a beloved brother, faithful minister, and fellow servant in the Lord" (Col 4:7) who is being sent to the Colossians along with Onesimus. In Ephesians, Tychicus is sent alone, and is portrayed in the same way, although without the characterization of "fellow servant" (Eph 6:21). Each of these letters reports verbatim that Tychicus was sent to the readers so "that you may know how we are and that he may encourage your hearts" (Col 4:8; Eph 6:22). If Ephesians is dependent on Colossians, as many think probable, then the Ephesian reference to Tychicus is a literary borrowing. Whatever the case, Tychicus' twofold task is to relay pertinent information about Paul not expressed in the letters, and to provide encouragement to the community. A well-attested variant reading for Col 4:8 gives as Tychicus' first assignment: "that he may learn your news," implying that he was to report this news back to Paul. Because of his mission to relay information, the inference has often been made that Tychicus delivered both Colossians and Ephesians, and possibly the letter to the Laodiceans as well (Col 4:17).

Since Tychicus is identified as one of the "Asians" (Gk *Asianoi;* Acts 20:4), it is possible that he was already known to the communities he was to visit. However, since Colossians specifies Onesimus as "one of yourselves" (4:9), without saying the same of Tychicus, one concludes that Tychicus was probably not from that city.

Tychicus is also mentioned twice in the Pastorals. According to 2 Tim 4:12, "Paul" says he sent Tychicus to Ephesus. Was he to take over Timothy's responsibilities there? In Titus 3:12, "Paul" intended to send either Tychicus or Artemas to Crete, evidently to replace Titus, thus freeing him to meet Paul in Nicopolis where he planned to spend the winter. On the basis of 2 Tim 4:12, which would place Tychicus in Ephesus, it has been conjectured that Artemas and not Tychicus was the person eventually sent to Crete.

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TYPOLOGY. "Typology" has been defined as "that form of biblical interpretation which deals with the correspondence between traditions concerning divinely appointed persons, events, and institutions, within the framework of salvation history" (Achtemeier *IDBSup,* 926).

A. Definitions
B. Biblical Focus
C. Origins and Patristic Developments
D. History of Interpretation
E. Contemporary Discussion

A. Definitions

Paul expresses the hermeneutical starting point for typological thinking when he writes that the "veil" of Moses remains unlifted and obscures understanding when people "read the old covenant," that "only through Christ is it taken away. Yes, to this day whenever Moses is read a veil lies over their minds; but when one turns to the Lord the veil is removed," and "all the promises of God find their Yes in him (Christ)" (2 Cor 3:14–16; 1:20). This starting

point presupposes the unity of the OT and NT and that the active involvement of God to save and deliver people in history is consistent. It presupposes, therefore, that the meaning of the OT is finally unclear without the NT, as is that of the NT without the OT; the two Testaments are connected at a substantive level. The Pauline image of the removal of the "veil" finds its antecedent subject matter in typology.

Typology is, in one sense, relevant for modern-day interpretive methodology because the latter is concerned about fundamental openness to the stated understandings of the original writers of Scripture. The roots of the discussion, therefore, are in the NT use of the Greek word *typos* and its cognates; returning to such exegetical roots out of respect for the text shapes the context for serious consideration of typology in biblical scholarship today.

B. Biblical Focus

Typos and its cognates appear in the following NT locations: John 20:25; Acts 7:43 (Amos 5:26), 44; 23:25; Rom 5:14; 6:17; 1 Cor 10:6, 11; 1 Thess 1:7; 2 Thess 3:9; Phil 3:17; 1 Tim 1:16; 4:12; 2 Tim 1:13; Titus 2:7; Heb 8:5; 9:24; 1 Pet 3:21; 5:3. The lexical problem of how to translate *typos* and cognates in these passages depends to a large extent on whether they are used as technical terms; only context can determine this. With the exception of a few noteworthy examples, *typos* is not used formally as a technical term; there are no indications that certain interpretive formulae are being appropriated, nor that a closed heuristic system of detailed interpretations with commensurate rules for application is operative; *typos*, in the main, is not part of a hermeneutical method as we normally think of it. The suggestions for translation within the secondary literature are multiple, but are, nevertheless, to be brought under the control of their respective contexts.

In John 20:25, "mark" or "print/imprint"; in Acts 7:43, "graven images"; and in Acts 23:25, "(letter) form" would reproduce in English the contextual use accurately. More problematic is Rom 6:17; it represents a much-debated context since it is not clear whether the interpretive antecedent is the Pauline "type" or "form" of teaching, in contrast to that of others, or the "shaping norm" that as such forms the conduct of those who live in the light of Christian instruction. In the latter case, *typos* could approach technical usage and be useful in the specialized discussion of typology.

In Phil 3:17, 1 Thess 1:7, and 2 Thess 3:9, personal antecedents are denoted as "example," serving as "models" or "images" that set a standard and give direction; what is put in noun form is that which is expressed by the verb *mimeomai*. It is not necessary to understand the "example" apart from faith as an ideal one. 1 Pet 5:3 is similar: *typoi* are not static patterns or wooden models but "representative, shaped ones" (of the flock). In the Pastoral Epistles of 1 Tim 1:16 and 2 Tim 1:13, *hypotypōsis*, as a derivative term, is used in contexts denoting a "picture," "display," or "initial representation" of the work of Christ (1 Tim 1:16), a "pattern" of Christian proclamation (2 Tim 1:13); *typos* denotes a "shaping representation" or "directional model" of Christian preaching and conduct in 1 Tim 4:12 and Titus 2:7.

The references to *typos* and cognates in Acts 7:44; Rom 5:14; 1 Cor 10:6, 11; Heb 8:5; 9:24; and 1 Pet 3:21, on the other hand, are more closely tied to usage as technical terms. In 1 Corinthians 10—perhaps the *locus classicus*, along with Romans 5, for the current discussion (Davidson 1981: 191–297)—the context for the use of *typos* and cognates is an OT one but not scriptural exegesis in the strict sense: individual OT references are not considered, but that which befell the people of Israel in the desert wanderings, a piece of Exodus history remembered in loose, summary connection to the OT accounts. In vv 6–13, Paul develops his point, using *typoi* in v 6 and *typikōs* in v 11. He discovers in this history events which are "our prefigurations" of God's saving activity having occurred for the experience of the community of faith in the end time: "these things happened 'typically'/'typologically' to them, but they were written down for our instruction, upon whom the end of the ages has come" (v 11). Paul does not lift out a rule that is to be learned about God's further activity, nor does he find correspondence in an outer similarity of events; rather, he finds a directional indicator for an essential correspondence in God's activity. The image of Christ as the "Rock" that was "following" them (v 4) has several possible points of contact in rabbinic literature but does not appear to be dependent on such sources (Davidson 1981: 232–45); moreover, attempts to identify the genre of the passage as parenesis or midrash are only secondarily related to the *typos* question, inasmuch as typology is not a form-critical category. As in 2 Cor 3:14–16, something that would otherwise be obscure is seen in that history through the eyes of faith in Christ.

Rom 5:14 uses *typos* in an OT context (cf. 1 Cor 15:22, 45), but in an antithetical and heightened way (*ouch hōs-houtōs* and *pollō mallon*): Adam is called a "prefiguration" of the One to come; Adam is this in negative rather than positive correspondence. Here *typos* is the "cast" or "hollow form" which, as molding pattern, contains in itself both sides of the image. Paul utilizes such a connection to express not patterned repetition—cf. contrasting contexts for *eikōn, homoiōma, apokatastasis,* and *paliggenesia* (Goppelt *TDNT* 8: 253)—but the dynamic context of God's saving intervention.

For Acts 7:44 and Heb 8:5, the context is the actualization of Exod 25:40 and the "pattern" or "model" of the temple as heavenly archetype or blueprint and its derivative construct on earth. This interpretive context has points of contact in the OT (1 Chr 28:11–19) and in Hellenistic Judaism (Wis 9:8; Philo *Leg All* III:102 and *Vita Mos* II:74, 141). Acts 7:44, however, leaves the interpretive antecedent of the *typos* undeveloped; perhaps there is an internal connection to the saying of Jesus about the temple in Acts 6:14 (*TDNT* 8: 258). Both Heb 8:5 and 9:24, however, within the larger framework of Heb 8:1–10:18, make a direct move to connect not only Exodus 25 but also Leviticus 16 to Jesus' ministry of salvation. Here, the institution of sacrificial offerings and priestly service is drawn into a grand typological schema of vertical prefiguration, above and below, macrocosm/microcosm, not unlike Plato's heavenly world of ideas. Among other terms, the synonyms *hypodeigma* and *skia* are put into the interpretive service of the *typos* in 8:5 (cf. 9:23). The conclusion is that Christ, the high priest, has not made sacrifice with respect to the *antitypa*, those things representing the "copy" or

"constructed model" (made with hands), but he ". . . entered . . . into heaven itself"—the true original rather than the copy (9:24), "the greater and more perfect tent" (9:11). In question for Hebrews, among other things, is the relationship of its vertical to its horizontal typological thought.

Finally, the reference to *antitypon* in 1 Pet 3:21 typologically links Christian baptism (1 Cor 10:1–13) with the deliverance of Noah from the flood "through the resurrection of Jesus."

C. Origins and Patristic Development

Out of this initial overview of terminology in context one naturally asks: where did this kind of thinking come from? and what became of it in subsequent Christian interpretive history of the OT? Various origins have been proposed for the technical hermeneutical use, e.g., Paul himself at 1 Corinthians 10, the hermeneutical practices at Qumran, Jesus himself (e.g., someone "greater" is here than Jonah . . . than Solomon, David, etc.; cf. Matt 12:41–42; Mark 2:25–28), and Deutero-Isaiah. The latter shaped that prophetic stream of tradition which actualized the past history of God's saving events for a new day, e.g., the new Exodus (Isa 43:18–21). Similar would be the future monarch of salvation (2 Sam 7:12; Isa 11:1), the end-time prophet (Deut 18:18; *ROTT*, 261–62). Broadly defined, therefore, typological thinking was already in use from at least the time of Deutero-Isaiah. Some see at work here the general device of analogical comparison as a way of making sense of life (*ROTT*, 364), and others see the influence of cyclical repetition (Bultmann 1950: 369–74)—a return to primal origins—common to the ANE world. One's reading of this question depends largely on one's perspectives on the history of religion: just how distinctive were faith and life in ancient Israel?

The development of typological thinking into the patristic period and beyond is marked by considerable excess, most notably in the link to allegory. In the *Epistle of Barnabas*, for example, the OT loses its distinctiveness and becomes a collection of Christian doctrine; it follows the allegorical reinterpretation practiced in Hellenistic Judaism. The *typos* of the serpent on a tree linked to the crucified Jesus is really an allegorical image (*Ep. Barn.* 12:7), as is that of Moses' outstretched arms and the crucifixion of Jesus (12:2–5). *Ep. Barn.* also makes use of seemingly trivial details: by cryptographic word codes ("gematria") based on an arbitrary combination of Gen 14:14 and 17:23, 27, it arrives at the number 318, which yields gematrial references to Christ and his cross (18 = "IH" Jesus, and 300 = "T" the cross in 9:7–9; cf. 7:3, 6–11; 8:1–7; 13:5). Similarly, *1 Clement* links the "scarlet cord" of Josh 2:18 with the blood of Christ (12:7). For additional references, cf. *Shep. Herm. Vis* IV:1.1; 2.5; 3.6; Iren *Haer* I:5.6; Ign *Magn* 6.1–2; *Trall* 3.1; Justin *Apol* 60.3; *Dial* 40.1; 41.1; 42.4; 90.2; 91.2–4; 114.1; 131.4; 134.3; Tert *Marc* 3:16; 4:40; 5:7; *De anima* 43; also the *Passah Homily* of Melito of Sardes. Among the Latin Fathers, *typos* is translated for the most part with "figura" or is left as the loanword "typus." Much of what was later used to discredit typology was based on the misperceptions of typology as allegory stemming from developments within this patristic period.

D. History of Interpretation

One of the early controversies within the early Church was over biblical interpretive methodology: allegorical versus literal sense. The latter was advocated by the Antiochene school, which used typology as a hermeneutical aid in the service of the literal sense and in opposition to both the excessive literalness of Jewish interpretation and the allegorical constructs of the Alexandrian school. The Antiochene program did not succeed, however, and the Alexandrian allegorical model dominated with few exceptions until the Reformation. The break with allegory and a return to the literal sense in combination with typology were advocated and practiced by both Luther and Calvin (contra Erasmus, who preferred allegory). During the Counter-Reformation, Roman Catholic interest in the *sensus plenior* maintained dialogue with earlier discussions (patristic and medieval; cf. the *Quadriga* and Thomas Aquinas) and developed in succeeding generations perspectives that were largely independent of the Protestant discussion (Reventlow 1986: 31–47). Today, there are numerous points of contact. Among the major early Protestant contributors of studies on typology were J. Gerhard, J. Cocceius, H. Marsh, A. Hartmann, A. Tholuck, J. C. K. von Hofmann, and P. Fairbairn. Apparently, the term *typologie* was coined not by an advocate but by an opponent of these studies in the 1770s, J. S. Semler.

With the rise of historical-critical methodology and renewed interest in hermeneutics, typology entered a new phase during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Important impulses for the debate were provided by such scholars as W. Vischer, W. Eichrodt, E. Hirsch, H. Strathmann, F. Torm, M. Noth, G. von Rad, A. Weiser, and O. Schmitz. They debated issues that would become of in-principle consequence for overall theological positions in the following decades. Prior to and after World War II, a fruitful exchange developed between L. Goppelt for NT studies and G. von Rad for OT studies over the kerygmatic intention of the OT (von Rad 1963: 35; *ROTT*, 386) and the character of eschatological existence in history for the NT (Goppelt *TDNT* 8: 255–56; 1982: 210). This discussion has continued until now, to one degree or another, as part of the theological heritage of those two theologians.

In each of the decades since 1940, the scholarly community and the Church have engaged typology with renewed interest and from different angles, though interest in the mainstream of biblical scholarship for the 1980s is sporadic. What the future holds will depend on several variables: (1) how one assesses the history of the discussion; (2) what becomes of the relative (in-?)compatibility of typological categories with the hermeneutical categories of today; (3) one's bearings for the future regarding the place of Scripture in the theological discussion as a whole—especially the relationship between the Testaments; and (4) the relationship of individual biblical-exegetical studies to the overview synthesis of constructive theology.

E. Contemporary Discussion

Out of the foregoing variables, the following sensitive areas offer themselves for dialogue in the contemporary setting: honoring the stated understandings of the original writer and appropriating the intention for today is a hermeneutical/theological issue of considerable magnitude. Is

typological thinking incarcerated within the context of the ancient world?

Allegory and typology have had a long-standing and troubled relationship. The distinction, once easily drawn, that typology has to do with historical facts while allegory does not, is simplistic and an overstatement. While qualifications have been advocated along the lines of history as understood and portrayed by the scriptural account rather than objective history, the category of historicity in general still remains a problem for typological thought; moreover, the place and function of symbolic language must be integrated.

Consequently, the association of typology with "salvation history" has also been strained. Much of the discomfort over their association has been over a two-detailed, phenomenological, oft-presumptive concept of "salvation history." It remains to be seen if a revised "salvation history" can emerge. If so, an association with typology may again become viable.

It is true that some who utilize typology relinquish claims to the limitations of its being a formal hermeneutical method with rules for systematic application; they would prefer to operate in the "freedom of the Spirit" (von Rad 1963: 38) or to consider it more appropriate to refer to typology as a "spiritual approach (Goppelt 1982: 202 and *passim*), "the thought of the consummation of salvation history" (*TDNT* 8: 254, 259), a "meditatively applied understanding of the Old Testament" (Goppelt 1981–82, 2: 58), or a "salvation-historical optical lens" (Goppelt 1981–82, 2: 245). On those occasions, other scholars naturally become quite nervous and skeptical in light of potential abuse. Only in concert with, and not in repudiation of, the checks and balances of historical-critical methodology can typology serve with integrity today.

For the most part, typological thinkers insist on the personal, present reality of God in the "historical antecedents" of type determination: types *are* types because God put them there toward the end of an unfolding, consummation-oriented, redemptive self-disclosure of God's very person (typology's fixed point is the gospel). It is acknowledged that this is not self-evident to any observer; it is hidden and cannot be documented as a demonstrable datum; it has to do ultimately with faith in Christ and faith's posture toward the sovereignty of God. It will do little good for "liberals" and "fundamentalists" to fault one another for the other's perceptions in this area. Typological thinking cares about the unity of the Christian Bible and is serious about understanding the saving activity of God to which it bears witness; all who care and all are serious about these matters—perhaps even the Jewish-Christian dialogue—will find typological understanding helpful if it can be directed toward subject matter about which people of today are deeply concerned. It is in connection with these related lines of questioning, and not as a topic in and of itself, that typology may very well enjoy fresh consideration. See also THEOLOGY (BIBLICAL), HISTORY OF.

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JOHN E. ALSUP

TYRANNUS (PERSON) [Gk *Turannos*]. In Ephesus, the place where Paul preached daily for two years was known as the hall of Tyrannus (Acts 19:9). Paul had at first spoken in the synagogue, as was his custom, for three months. But because of the opposition which he aroused (Acts 19:8), he was forced to find a more suitable place. The view that this was another synagogue was once advocated but is no longer maintained.

The word *turannos*, or "tyrant," first appeared in the poems of Archilochus, who boasted that he scorned the tyranny of Gyges the Lydian. In Greek usage, the word designated someone who seized power unconstitutionally, such as the famous Athenian tyrant Peisistratus (546–527 B.C.), who was none the less popular and benevolent (Adkins 1972: 68).

Williams (*Acts* GNC, 495) comments: "Since it is difficult (except in certain bleak moments of parenthood) to think of any parent naming his or her child 'Tyrant,' the name must have been a nickname given by the man's students or tenants." But the name is not an uncommon one. L. Tarutilius Tyrannos appears in two lists of *kourētes*, "young warriors," from Ephesus (*NDIEC* 4: 186).

It has been presumed that Tyrannus was either the owner of a private hall or the donor of a public building used for lectures. The "Western" type of ms evidence reads "in the hall of a *certain* Tyrannus," clearly indicating that an individual named Tyrannus is meant, and perhaps implying that he was not a prominent public figure (IDB 4: 721). The word translated "hall" (RSV; NEB, "lecture-hall"; KJV, "school") is the Greek word *scholē*. It originally meant (1) "leisure"; (2) then an activity conducted during leisure, such as a "discussion, debate, or lecture"; (3) a group to which such lectures were given; and (4) a place where such a lecture was given, i.e., "hall."

Against the majority of interpreters, Horsley (*NDIEC* 1: 130) has asked, in view of the rarity of the use of the word *scholē* with the meaning of a place, "Is there any reason why the noun in Acts 19.9 should not refer to a group of people to whom addresses were given during leisure hours?"

But the context (Acts 19:9–10) which speaks of Paul speaking daily for two years "so that all the Jews and Greeks who lived in the province of Asia heard the word of the Lord" would seem to indicate a building rather than an audience, which must have changed constantly. It is possibly from these public lectures that Paul gained the friendship of the highly placed officials called Asiarchs (Acts 19:31), who warned him of danger (Yamauchi 1980: 109–10).

The Western text inserts the most interesting addition that Paul "argued daily in the hall of Tyrannus *from the fifth hour to the tenth*"; that is, from about 11 a.m. to 4 p.m. Though this was not part of the original text, it "may represent an accurate piece of information, reserved in oral tradition," according to Metzger (1971: 470; cf. Ramsay 1896: 271). As this was the hottest period of the day, many would stop work for a midday rest at this time. Martial (*Epigrams* 4.8) wrote: "Till the fifth hour Rome tends her various tasks, then rests from the sixth to seventh." Work and school began before the crack of dawn (Mart. *Epigrams* 12.57; Juve. *Satires* 7.222–26).

This schedule would have permitted Paul to work at his own trade of tent-making (Acts 18:3, 20:34; 1 Cor 4:12). Bruce (*Acts* NICNT, 389) comments: "But Paul, after spending the early hours of the day at his tent-making . . . devoted the hours of burden and heat to his more important and more exhausting business, and must have infected his hearers with his own energy and zeal, so that they were willing to sacrifice their siesta for the sake of listening to Paul."

An early 2d-century A.D. Greek inscription found near the Library of Celsus at Ephesus contains the Greek word *audeitōrion* (from Latin *auditorium*), which means a lecture hall for the recitations and speeches of professors, rhetors, and poets (Hemer 1973: 128). Unfortunately, the recent attempts to investigate the area E of the library have failed to discover any remains of such an auditorium or lecture hall (Yamauchi 1980: 99–100).

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TYRE (PLACE) [Heb *ṣōr*]. TYRIAN. One of the most ancient towns on the Phoenician coast. Tyre (M.R. 168297) is situated about 40 km S of Sidon, and about 45 km N of Acco. In antiquity it was an island ca. 600–750 m from the mainland (Curtius *Hist. of Alex.* 4.2.7), but since the time of Alexander the Great (actually beginning in the summer of 332 B.C.) the island has been linked with the mainland by a causeway, which has broadened over the centuries. Thus, Tyre is now a peninsula. With a few exceptions, it has been occupied continuously from the middle of the 3d millennium B.C. through the Greco-Roman and Byzantine periods. Consequently, the Bible is full of references to this important city.

A. Textual References to Tyre
B. Tyre in the Bronze Ages
C. Tyre in the Iron Age
D. Tyre in the Greco-Roman Period

A. Textual References to Tyre

That Tyre was built on an island is attested not only in the book of Ezekiel ("in the midst of the sea, 27:32), but also in Egyptian (*ANET*, 477), Assyrian (*ANET*, 290), and classical sources (Strab. 1.217; Arrian, *Hist. of Alex.* 2.18.2; Curtius, *Hist. of Alex.* 4.2.5). Before the time of Hiram I (969–936 B.C.), there were actually *two* islands: the main one was the city, and the smaller one was a temple of Baal. Hiram linked the two islands into a single larger one (*AgAp* 1.113); this junction still appears on Tyrian coins from a much later date (Head 1911: 801; cf. also Nonnos *Dion.* 40.468ff.). The island of Tyre was 700–750 m wide, thus the area of ancient Tyre consisted of ca. 57.6 hectares,

accommodating perhaps 35,000 inhabitants (Pliny computed the circumference of the island as 3 Roman miles; *NH* 5.17.76). At the time of the conquest of Tyre by Alexander the Great, the number of inhabitants had increased because of refugees coming into the city: Alexander sold some 30,000 Tyrians and foreigners into slavery (Arrian *Hist. of Alex.* 2.24.5), while 15,000 Tyrians were rescued by the Sidonians, 6,000 were killed in battle, and 2,000 were crucified (Curtius *Hist. of Alex.* 4.4.16–17).

On the mainland opposite the island was Old Tyre, called "the fortress of Tyre" *(miṣṣar ṣōr)* in the Bible (Josh 19:29; 2 Sam 24:7). This town is called Uzu in the el-Amarna letters (EA 148:11, 30; 149:49; 150:18), and Ushu in Egyptian and Assyrian records (*ANET,* 477a, 287b). In the classical sources it appears as Palaityros (*Ant* 9.285; Curtius *Hist. of Alex.* 4.2.4; Diod. 17.40.5). Pliny computed the circumference of this settlement to be about 19 Roman miles. Many freshwater springs are located nearby, and before the LB Age (certainly before the lime-plastering of cisterns was common) fresh water was regularly shipped out to the island (*ANET,* 477b; *Ant* 9.287). Old Tyre was totally demolished by Alexander the Great, who used its rubble as part of the building material for the causeway out to the island.

B. Tyre in the Bronze Ages

The excavations of P. M. Bikai have revealed "that the island must have been occupied at least by the middle of the third millennium B.C.," and that "there was permanent occupation during the Early Bronze Age" (Bikai 1978: 72). This date corresponds well with the story told by the priests of Melqart to Herodotus (ca. 450 B.C.) that "the temple was built at the same time that the city was founded, and that the foundation of the city took place 2,300 years ago" (i.e., 2750 B.C.; Hdt 2.44). Further confirmation of Tyre's existence in the 3d millennium B.C. comes from Ebla (Bikai 1978: 76; Pettinato 1983: 108). The oldest known Egyptian record mentioning Tyre has been found in one of the Execration texts: there Posener (1940: 82) reads "the ruler of Tyre." The text is dated ca. 1780–1750 B.C., but Bikai's excavation found no human habitation for this period (ca. 2000–1600 B.C.); Bikai 1978: 72). This divergence can be explained by the small area excavated, or perhaps Tyre was limited to the mainland site.

A Hittite *evocatio* (*ANET,* 352) mentions the land of Tyre, and the Legend of King Keret (composed between the 16th and 15th centuries B.C. [Albright 1958: 36]) mentions the shrine(s) of the (two) Tyre(s) (Gordon *VT,* 467), i.e., one on the mainland and one on the island. In this respect, one should note the two temples of Heracles (= Melqart of Tyre), one on the island and one in Old Tyre, as mentioned by the Tyrian delegation to Alexander (Justin 11.10.11; Curtius *Hist. of Alex.* 4.2.4). In the long list of the Asiatic towns of Thutmose III (ca. 1490–1436 B.C.) dealing with his first campaign, no Phoenician town is mentioned; perhaps Tyre and its sister-towns came to an agreement with the pharaoh by paying taxes (Breasted 1962 vol. 2: §§472, 483).

During the Amarna age (ca. 1375–1350 B.C.), four letters mention Tyre; these were sent by the king of Byblos, of which EA 77 was still dispatched to Amenophis III, as well as perhaps EA 89 (Campbell 1964: 134), the latter referring to a revolution in Tyre.

EA 92 and EA 114 are written to Amenophis IV, to whom all ten letters of Abimilki, king of Tyre, are addressed (EA 146–155). The letters from Tyre complain mainly about the hostility of the king of Sidon, who had occupied Old Tyre (= Ushu), interrupting the water supply and occupying (?) the burial ground.

During the 19th and 20th Dyns. (ca. 1300–1100 B.C.), Tyre is mentioned in the Palestinian/Phoenician town lists of Seti I, in a long letter from the days of Ramesses II (*ANET,* 477), and in a journal of a frontier official from the days of Merneptah (*ANET,* 285b). From this period derive two commercial texts from Ugarit that mention textiles from Tyre, one noting a reddish-purple garment and the other mentioning linen (Virolleaud 1957: 144, 146). This evidence recalls the story about the discovery of the Tyrian purple dye by Heracles (Nonnus, *Dion.* 40.300ff). Another letter from the king of Tyre to the king of Ugarit mentions a shipwreck at Acco, and the Tyrian king reassures his partner with the words, "let not my brother worry" (Schaeffer 1962: 41). With the invasion of Asia by the Sea Peoples, ca. 1200 B.C., destruction came to all coastal towns, and among them also Tyre.

C. Tyre in the Iron Age

Justin has preserved a tradition that "many years later these (Sidonians, i.e., Phoenicians) who had been conquered by the king of the Ashkelonians (i.e., Philistines) embarked in ships and founded the city of Tyre, one year before the conquest of the city of Troy" (Justin 18.3.5). Josephus hints at the same date when he states that "from the founding (of Tyre) to the building of the temple (in Jerusalem) there was an interval of two hundred and forty years" (*Ant* 8.62). In his report Wen-Amon (ca. 1080 B.C.) mentions that he spent a night in Tyre on his trip from Egypt to Byblos (*ANET,* 26). At that time Egypt no longer had any say in the affairs of Asia, and the Sea Peoples were the lords of the Palestinian coastland. Stratum XIII in Tyre (1070/50) shows a massive influx of Cypriot wars (Bikai 1978: 66, 74), a sign of intensive trade connections between Tyre and Cyprus. There is no doubt that from the days of Abibaal, the father of Hiram I, the town Kition (Larnaka of today) was a Tyrian colony (Josephus, *Ant* 8.146).

During the long reign of Hiram I (969–936 B.C.), Tyre witnessed its first golden age. David's victories over the Philistines on land helped Tyre to crush the Philistinian sea supremacy (*YGC,* 190), and Tyre sent cedar and workmen to build a palace for David (2 Sam 5:11). Josephus has preserved some excerpts from the Greek translations of the Tyrian records (*Ant* 8.144–149), which describe the dismantling of ancient temples in Tyre by Hiram to erect new lavishly adorned ones—a sign of the great wealth of Tyre. Herodotus describes a golden and an emerald pillar from the temple of Heracles (Hdt 2.44). Both pillars (cf. also Ezek 26:11) are depicted in an Assyrian relief from the days of Luli (Eloulaios) (729–694 B.C.); Harden 1962: pl. 50). The two pillars in front of the temple remind one of "Jachin" and "Boaz" (1 Kgs 7:21).

This great building program must have induced Solomon to solicit Hiram's help to build the temple in Jerusa-

lem (1 Kgs 5:16–20). Hiram gave Solomon assistance and building materials for more than twenty years (1 Kgs 5:22, 25; 6:38; 7:1). A master-craftsman from Tyre also named Hiram (Huram) was placed in charge of all the technical production (1 Kgs 7:14; 2 Chr 2:13), which Solomon paid for with agricultural products and silver. This was a commercial treaty between two equals (1 Kgs 5:25; 9:13), but after twenty years the balance of trade was greatly in favor of Tyre, and Solomon had to give Hiram "twenty cities in the Land of Cabul" (1 Kgs 9:11). The Chronicler, who disapproved of the territorial transfer, tells that Hiram returned them to Solomon (2 Chr 8:2). However, later Acco was still part of the Tyrian state, and we may assume that the S border of Tyre reached as far as Mt. Carmel.

Another cooperative venture between Hiram and Solomon was in overseas commerce to Ophir, the land of gold (1 Kgs 9:26–28; 10:11). Hiram was the more important partner, since he is mentioned before Solomon: "there was peace between Hiram and Solomon and they concluded an alliance" (1 Kgs 5:12).

As the power of Tyre increased, the town became "the mother of the Sidonians" (cf. later coins: Hill 1911: 800). From Tyre, the Phoenician colonial movement spread across the Mediterranean Sea. Years later, a poet sang in great admiration: "Your frontiers are on the high seas, your builders make your beauty perfect" (Ezek 27:4).

Authentic sources about the history of Tyre after the death of Hiram are confined to a list of kings who ruled Tyre from the days of Hiram until the founding of Carthage (in 815 B.C.). Josephus has preserved this list (*AgAp* 1.121–125). After Hiram's death, his son and grandson acceded to the throne of Tyre. Then followed a conspiracy, and usurpers reigned in Tyre. In 887 B.C. Ethbaal I, the priest of Astarte, seized the throne and reigned for 32 years. Ethbaal is known as the "king of the Sidonians" (1 Kgs 16:31) and as the father of Jezebel, the wife of Ahab.

The reign of Ethbaal marks the second golden age in Tyre's history. Not only the title "king of the Sidonians," but also the foundation of colonies demonstrates the vast extent of its empire. Tyre's supremacy over its neighbors is documented in the inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia, and especially in the Bible, always as a leading city. Tyre and Sidon became a political unit, which existed until 701, when Sennacherib recreated an independent city-state of Sidon. From the days of Ethbaal I the island of Tyre had two harbors (cf. Ezek 27:3; Arrian *Hist. of Alex.* 1.20.10). The N one, protected by a natural bow-shaped mole, was called the "Sidonian port" (Strabo 16.2.23). It could easily be closed by a chain or by a small number of ships (Arrian *Hist. of Alex.* 2.20.8). In the S was an artificial harbor called the "Egyptian port" (Strabo 16.2.23), protected by a long breakwater. It was built by Ethbaal I, as confirmed by the underwater excavations by A. Poidebard (1939). The measurements of the dressed stones and the constructions of that wall are exactly like the constructions in Samaria and Megiddo, from the time of Ahab (873–852/1 B.C.), as well as in Kition on Cyprus (Katzenstein 1973: 154).

The power and influence of the Sidonians can be inferred from the fact that their main deity, Melqart (= Baal), was worshipped not only in Sidon, but his cult spread to Samaria and Jerusalem (1 Kgs 16:32; 2 Kgs 11:18; cf. also the stories of Elijah: 1 Kings 18–21). This happened following the alliance between Tyre and Israel, which was sealed by marriage between the Tyrian princess Jezebel and Ahab of Israel (1 Kgs 16:31; cf. Psalm 45). Tyrian influence spread further S when Athaliah, princess of Israel, married Joram, king of Judah (2 Kgs 8:18–27). Another political marriage can be inferred from the Melqart stela erected by the king of Aram about the same period (*ANET*, 655; Cross 1972: 36–42).

The similarity of the construction of the breakwater at Tyre's S port, built in the time of Ethbaal, and Ahab's palace in Samaria implies the employment of Tyrian master-builders in Ahab's great building enterprises (1 Kgs 16:34; 22:39). Josephus mentions (probably from the Greek translation of the annals of Ethbaal; cf. *Ant* 8.324) that there was a long drought, and that after Ethbaal made supplications there was a heavy thunderstorm. This rainless time is also mentioned in the tales of Elijah (1 Kgs 17:7; 18:41–45).

The long and prosperous reign of Ethbaal left its mark on the city of Tyre. It was called "Tyre, the bestower of crowns" (Isa 23:8). A bronze band at Balawat (from the palace door of Shalmaneser III, 858–824 B.C.) shows Tyre as well protected by a huge wall and fortified by strong towers with two gates (*ANEP*, nos. 356/357; cf. also Ezek 27:2). The growth of Tyre's vast international trade demanded an expansion of the harbor to accommodate a foreign anchorage. In Ezekiel 27 is a lament for Tyre which can hardly have been composed by the prophet. Incorporated into the poem is a lyrical depiction of Tyre as a glorious ship and a catalogue of Tyre's world trade (a most important source for ancient economic history) (Ezek 27:12–24). It is possible that the sources for the description of Tyre's greatness originated with Ethbaal I (Maisler [Mazar] 1952: 83–84), and there are hints of such songs in both Isaiah (23:16) and Ezekiel (26:13). Ammon and Moab may have been omitted because they were vassals of Israel and Judah, but one wonders why the Philistine city-states are omitted. The omission of Babylon justifies our doubt that Ezekiel was the author. The same may be said of many parts of Ezekiel 28, in which traces can be detected from the ancient Phoenician epics and myths (Albright 1932: 194 n. 26; van Dijk 1968).

Mercenaries served the Tyrian empire (Ezek 27:10–11), but there is never any mention of a military campaign on the mainland in which Tyre was involved. The Tyrians knew how to defend their island stubbornly, as seen from the annals of the Assyrian kings, and also from the Tyrian records (Josephus, *Ant* 9.287; Ezek 29:18); but they always preferred, if possible, to pay tribute, which was redistributed to Tyre's customers.

Ethbaal was succeeded by his son Baal-azzor, who is mentioned in an Assyrian inscription from the year 841 as Ba'li-ma-AN-zêri (Safar 1951: 11–12, 19). During the reign of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, and Ahaziah, king of Israel (852/1–851/0), there was a plan to renew navigation from Ezion-geber to Ophir, the land of gold (1 Kgs 22:49–50; 2 Chr 20:35–36), which ended in complete failure. The king of Tyre, the uncle of Ahaziah, may have been the real instigator of that scheme.

Until the coup d' état of Jehu and the murder of Jezebel and the house of Ahab, the political alliance between Tyre

and Israel remained intact, but from that point, the relations were broken off. Decades later, Amos still accused Tyre of having "ignored the covenant of brotherhood" (actually a covenant between two equals; Amos 1:9). Amos speaks only of Tyre (as *pars pro toto*), but the Sidonian state did not border Judah. Tyre's transgression was the deliverance of an entire population to Aram (= Damascus; not "Edom"), thus ignoring the alliance, which had actually been broken by Jehu in 841 B.C. The background of Tyre's actions were the wars between Israel and Aram, which ended in Israel's becoming, under Jehu and his successor, a vassal of Aram. The king of the Sidonians naturally favored the stronger power, which was one of his main customers, especially since Tyre served also as the port for Damascus.

With the death of Shalmaneser III in 824 B.C., Tyre was free from paying tribute to Assyria and devoted all its efforts to its colonial empire, the crown of which was Carthage, founded in ca. 815/814 B.C. (Katzenstein 1973: 120). This important event happened in the seventh year of Ethbaal's great grandson Pygmalion (820–774 B.C.), when his elder sister Dido fled from Tyre and founded Carthage in N Africa (Josephus, *AgAp* I.125–26). Tyre became the leading maritime power. In 805 B.C., Adadnirari III (810–783 B.C.) appeared in the W, and among the tribute bearers was the Sidonian king. There was a period of about 35 years, between the death of Pygmalion and the appearance of Tiglath-pileser III (744–727), when Ethbaal II (?–739/738 B.C.; Levine 1972: 23) ruled over the Sidonian empire. Recently, the name of a possible further king of Tyre, Milkiram (ca. 750 B.C.), has been discovered (Lemaire 1976: 83–93). He must have ruled before Ethbaal II, since Ethbaal is mentioned in the list of the tribute bearers to Tiglath-pileser dated to 738 B.C. Milkiram may be the connecting link between Pygmalion and Ethbaal II, but we cannot be sure of it. His reign would be contemporaneous with the reigns of Jeroboam II of Israel and Uzziah of Judah, a period of great prosperity in the Israelite kingdoms, and one of great trade connections between Tyre and its neighbors (cf. Amos 3:15; 6:4).

Tiglath-pileser III initiated an aggressive policy against the W, in which a conquered country would be made an Assyrian province. Tyre resisted the expansion of Assyria into W Asia, which was aimed ultimately at the control of the E coast of the Mediterranean. Eventually, several Greek city-states on Cyprus became vassals of Assyria, hoping that this status would protect them from the encroachments of the Tyrian colonies on the island. However, the Assyrian kings did not annex the two most important centers on the Mediterranean, Tyre and Gaza; these commercial metropolises remained independent, but the tribute placed on them was huge.

The tribute lists of Tiglath-pileser III mention Ethbaal II, Hiram II, and Mattan II. Hiram II (738–730/29 [?] B.C.) is also mentioned on a fragment of an offering bowl, dedicated by the governor of Qart-ḥadašt (= Limassol) (Gibson, *TSSI* 3, 66–68; Katzenstein 1973: 207–11). In 730/729 B.C., Mattan II paid to the Assyrian *rabšaq* the enormous amount of 150 talents of gold (*ANET*, 282). The accumulation of precious metals was the symbol of a nation's status: "And Tyre has built herself a rampart; she has heaped up silver like dust and gold like mud in the streets" (Zech 9:3). And compare: "Clever and shrewd as you (= Tyre) are, you have assessed wealth for yourself, you have assessed gold and silver in your treasuries; by great cleverness in your trading you have heaped up riches and with your riches your arrogance has grown" (Ezek 28:4–5). Perhaps because of this immense payment, the wealthy merchants (cf. Isa 23:8) saw to it that a new king, Eloulaios (called Luli in the Assyrian records [*ANET*, 287–88]), was enthroned. According to the Greek translation of the Tyrian annals (Josephus, *Ant* 9.284–87), Eloulaios subdued a rebellion of the inhabitants of Kition (Cyprus), and during his reign Shalmaneser V (726–722 B.C.) invaded Phoenicia, after which "Sidon and Akko and old Tyre and many other cities revolted from Tyre and surrendered to Assyria." Still, the island withstood the pressures and the Assyrian king reappeared. The Tyrians proved victorious in a naval battle, after which Shalmaneser retired and placed guards at the water sources on the continent. The Tyrians, however, endured the siege for five years.

When Sargon II (721–705 B.C.) ascended the throne, Eloulaios apparently saw an opportunity to make peace with the Assyrian king. The Assyrians had occupied the whole Tyrian mainland, and their hand must have been very heavy upon the Sidonians (cf. Isa 37:24; Saggs 1955: 126–31; Harden 1962: figs. 48–49). But apparently at the death of Sargon (Isa 14:8), Tyre stopped its yearly tribute, and because of its rebellion Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.) appeared and recaptured the mainland in 701 B.C. (*ANET*, 287–288; see also Harden 1962: pl. 50). Eloulaios fled to Cyprus (Isa 23:12; Ezek 28:8; Harden 1962: pl. 50), and Sennacherib broke up the kingdom of the Sidonians and installed an independent king in Sidon.

During the reign of Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.), Baal I ruled over Tyre (ca. 680–660 ?). Baal tried to win back by statesmanship the territories that Tyre had lost. He succeeded in creating a "third power," a bloc of the W Asiatic kings, who were respected and even courted by the big powers, Assyria and Egypt. This confederation was called by Esarhaddon the "22 kings of Hatti (12) from the seashore and (10) from Cyprus" (*ANET*, 291). Baal headed this league and was apparently followed by Manasseh of Judah, who already had a certain connection to Baal. One result of this union was the total isolation of Sidon, which was unable to muster support for its rebellion; it was conquered and destroyed, and made an Assyrian province. The S part of the former state of Sidon (apparently S of the river ez-Zaherani) was given to Baal, but Baal had to increase his yearly tribute, apparently in proportion to the Sidonian share he had received (Borger 1956: 49).

From a (draft?) copy of the treaty between Esarhaddon and Baal (*ANET*, 533–34), it seems that Baal belonged to the Tyrian royal house. This dictated treaty not only imposed obligations on Baal, but also gave him a substantial *quid pro quo*. Among the many hard conditions was the installation of an Assyrian commissioner *(qêpu)* in Ushu, who had to be present when Baal would receive a letter from his "friend" Tirhaqa, king of Egypt. Such a contact must have been made in 674 B.C., when the first Assyrian campaign against Egypt ended in a failure. Esarhaddon apparently blamed Baal for having conspired against him, and on his second campaign against Egypt in 671 he struck also against Tyre (*ANET*, 290, 292). Esarhaddon's great

victory over the Egyptian forces, and the capture of Memphis, must have induced Baal to surrender and to ask for forgiveness, for which he had to pay with territorial losses (*ANET,* 291). Following his victory, Esarhaddon erected several victory steles, the most famous being that from Zinjirli (now in Berlin; *ANET,* 447). This shows the Assyrian king with two ropes in his left hand, by which he holds two prisoners: one is apparently the Egyptian crown prince, and the other may be Baal. In his third campaign against Egypt, Esarhaddon died. His successor Assurbanipal (668–627?) mentioned his "third campaign" in 667, which was directed against Baal of Tyre (*ANET,* 295–96). The Assyrian empire declined rapidly after the death of Assurbanipal, and Tyre, like all W Asiatic countries, was able to regain its former possessions on the mainland, only to lose them again after 45 years. However, during this period, Tyre again became the leading city on the Phoenician coast, and her daughter city, Carthage, became both the naval and the military protector of Tyre's colonial empire W of Cyprus.

In the prophecies of Zephaniah, the Tyrian Baal is still the primary foreign deity in Judah (Zeph 1:4); Phoenician traders may be alluded to in the expression "merchant-people" (Zeph 1:11), and perhaps also the "foreign vestment" (Zeph 1:8) may point to the "multicolored garments" given by the Phoenicians to the Assyrian kings. In the last decades of the 7th century B.C., the Egyptians appeared again in W Asia, this time trying to help the weak Assyrians counter the attacks of the Babylonians. An alliance must have existed between Egypt and Tyre, as inferred from Herodotus, who tells about a "sacred precinct of this king [apparently Psammetichus I] in Memphis . . . south of the great temple of Hephaestus. Phoenicians from the city of Tyre dwell all around this precinct and the whole place is known by the name of the camp of the Tyrians" (2.112). Since Hephaestus was the god of artisans, we should credit Tyrian craftsmen with at least a part of the so-called "third group" of the famous Phoenician silver bowls (Harden 1962: 189). In return, Tyre gave to pharaoh "a (royal) domain of cedar" in the Lebanon (*ARE* 4: §970).

Nebuchadnezzar's victory over Pharaoh Neco in 605 B.C. changed the political map of W Asia (cf. 2 Kgs 24:7). From that time until the conquest of Babylon by Cyprus in 539 B.C., Tyre was the main foe of Babylon in Asia. While there were contacts between Tyre and Judah (Jer 27:3) and between Tyre and the Philistine city-states (Jer 47:4), Tyre was jubilant when Jerusalem fell in 586 B.C. (Ezek 26:2). The Tyrian king did not, however, recognize the immediate danger; only too late did Tyre recognize the political and strategic line of Nebuchadnezzar, who, after the fall of Jerusalem, turned to Tyre and besieged it to safeguard his lines for his ultimate goal, the conquest of Egypt.

Josephus quotes the Phoenician (= Tyrian) archives (*AgAp* 1.156) and also Philostratus' history (*Ant* 10.228), which record that Nebuchadnezzar besieged Tyre 13 years (ca. 585–573/2). This siege is mentioned by Ezekiel (29:17–18), who says that Nebuchadnezzar will carry off much booty from Egypt (29:19) as a recompense for his failure. Apparently the long siege ended with a treaty: the royal Tyrian house had to reside in Babylon. Although a Tyrian king could rule in Tyre, next to him a Babylonian commissioner was appointed with a seat in Ushu. In contrast to other royal families living in Babylon, the Tyrians could always fetch the heir apparent from Babylon (*AgAp* 1.156–59). Yet Tyre's power had been totally exhausted; its overseas territories were taken over by Carthage with the exception of Tyrian possessions in Cyprus. Indeed, Carthage became an independent state, but a filial relationship between daughter and mother, certainly in the religious field, survived until the destruction of Carthage by the Romans in 146 B.C.

In October 538 B.C., when Cyrus conquered Babylon, all W Asia became a part of the new Persian empire. But by having founded Carthage, Tyre had exerted an enormous influence upon the W world, entirely disproportionate to the tiny size of the island, which in its heyday was "perfect in beauty" (Ezek 27:3), "the crowning city" (Isa 23:8), "a famous city, whose strength lay in the sea" (Ezek 26:17).

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D. Tyre in the Greco-Roman Period

Alexander the Great conquered Tyre in 332 B.C.E. after a seven-month siege, ending Persian control of the area. Alexander's attack came after the city ostensibly refused to allow him to offer sacrifices to Hercules (assimilated to the Phoenician deity Melkart) (Arr. *Anab.* 2.17.1–2; Strabo, *Geog.* 16.2.23). Several dedicatory inscriptions to Hercules have been found at Tyre (Chéhab 1962: 16–18; pl. Va; cf. Char. *Chaereas and Callirhoe* 7.2.7–9). The city offered a strategically significant port for the Persian fleet, making its defeat essential for Alexander. To capture the island fortress, Alexander built a mole (still extant) from the mainland approximately half a mile long and 200–300 yards wide, using the remains of destroyed buildings on the mainland.

Tyre's prosperity took a downturn when Ptolemy Philadelphus redirected Red Sea and Indian trade from the Petra-Tyre route to Alexandria. It recovered under Seleucid rule and reestablished itself during the Roman period as a major commercial and trade center (Jidejian 1969: 81–82, 89). Hannibal escaped to Tyre after his defeat in the Punic Wars; there, he encouraged Antiochus III to battle Rome (Livy 35.48.6; 37.30.1–10). Antiochus III's subsequent defeat by the Romans at the battle of Magnesia in 189 B.C.E. strengthened Roman control over most of the Greek East.

Coin issues of Tyre and Sidon from the Seleucid period indicate the rivalry between the two; Tyrian coins call Tyre "mother of the Sidonians," and Sidonian coins call Sidon "mother city of Tyre" (Jidejian 1969: 82). Tyre became increasingly important under Roman rule. An inscription at Tyre cites the senate and the people of Tyre honoring Marcus Aemilius Scaurus, Pompey's lieutenant. The inscription, found by E. Renan, indicates that Scaurus served as Tyre's patron. Rome confirmed Tyre as autonomous and in 93/94 C.E. Tyrian currency depicts Tyre as a metropolis (Chéhab 1962: 24, 31).

Tyre played a significant role in the political and economic history of Greco-Roman Palestine. During the Ptolemaic period, slaves bought in Palestine were sold in Tyre in what was a highly profitable business (Hengel 1974. 1: 41–42; 2: 32; cf. 2 Macc 8:11). Under Antiochus IV

Epiphanes, rapid Hellenization influenced Tyre and Palestine. Jewish tradition, for example, states that Jason, high priest in Jerusalem, sent representatives to Tyre with 300 drachmas for sacrifice to Hercules-Melkart during the quadrennial games (2 Macc 4:18–20). In addition, the Jewish writer Eupolemus depicts Solomon giving to Tyre a golden pillar that was placed in the temple of Zeus (*OTP* 1: 870); this legitimated Jewish recognition of pagan deities by leaders such as Jason (Hengel 1974 2: 74).

Jewish leaders influenced many key events in Tyre and the surrounding region. Simon the Hasmonean was made *strategos* by the Romans from the Ladder of Tyre to the Egyptian border (1 Macc 11:59; *Ant* 13.146). Later, Jonathan stopped Tyre's attempt to exert control over portions of Galilee. Julius Caesar placed bronze tablets in Tyre that decreed Hyrcanus as ethnarch of the Jews and ally of Rome (*Ant* 14.197–98). Marion of Tyre in 40 B.C.E. invaded Galilee and established three strongholds. Herod the Great, however, ousted him shortly afterwards (*Ant* 14.298–99). Josephus reports that Herod the Great visited Tyre periodically and even had Tyrians in his service (*JW* 1.231–38, 275, 543). Tyre was also among the many cities that received benefactions from Herod, who built halls, porticoes, temples, and a marketplace for the city (*JW* 1.422). Nevertheless, when the Jewish revolt broke out in 66 C.E., the city killed or imprisoned many of its Jewish inhabitants (*JW* 2.478). During the revolt, Jews advanced against Kedasa, a property of Tyre (*JW* 2.459). Some Tyrians, however, enrolled as mercenaries in the service of John of Gischala (*JW* 2.588).

Tyre's economic and cultural development had certain similarities to and impact on nearby Galilee. Josephus reports that as the Roman Cestius marched into the Galilean city of Chabulon (Chabolo in *Life* 213), he found the city houses built like those at Tyre, Sidon, and Berytus (*JW* 2.504). Indirectly at least, Tyre participated in Palestine's economy. According to Acts, Herod Agrippa I supplied food to Tyre and Sidon (12:20). In addition, minted coins of Tyre have been found throughout Palestine, including a large number in the upper Galilean villages of Meiron, Gush Halav, and Khirbet Shema. The degree of direct Tyrian involvement in the Galilean economy, however, remains uncertain (Hanson 1980). Some connection seems certain. One of main trans-Galilean routes connecting Damascus and Tyre came near Caesarea Philipi and passed near the upper Galilean villages of Nabratein and Gush Halav. Roman paving stones and a milestone dating to Aurelian (270–275 C.E.) have been found on the road connecting Damascus and Tyre (Jidejian 1969: 8). The paucity of Tyrian coins at Nabratein, however, suggests that the trade and economic network in the area was more complex than previously thought (Meyers 1985: 123).

Tyrian coins have a long history. See COINAGE. Coins from Tyre minted during the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus have been found at Scythopolis (Beth-shean; Hengel 1974: 89). Tyrian coins of the Greco-Roman period have a bust of Melkart with a laureate crown and wearing a lion skin around his neck (Jidejian 1969: 100–102). Considerable archaeological evidence exists for the use of Tyrian coinage in Jerusalem marketplaces, but numismatic evidence indicates that Tyrian coins were not preferred to Roman silver coins for payment of the temple tax (Ariel 1982: 285, 290; contra Jeremias 1969: 36).

The gospel tradition implies some link between Tyre and Galilee. Jesus withdraws to the region of Tyre and Sidon (Matt 15:21; Mark 7:24, 31) and while in Galilee preaches to persons from Tyre (Mark 3:8; Luke 6:17). The Q tradition contrasts Tyre and Sidon with local communities of Bethsaida and Chorazin (Matt 11:21–22 = Luke 10:13–14). Acts portrays a community of Christians living there who are visited by Paul. Paul's ship sails from the west and reflects the great amount of commercial activity that took place in Tyre in the 1st century (Acts 21:3–7).

A number of pagan and Christian scholars came from or were associated with the city, including the philosopher Meleager, the skeptic Heracleitus, the Stoics Antipater (who introduced the younger Cato to Stoic philosophy) and Apollonius, a Sophist historian Aspasios, the 2d-century geographer Narinus, the 3d-century Christian Origen, and the Neo-Platonist Porphyry (Jidejian 1969: 90–92; Hengel 1974: 84–88).

Trade in purple dye and purple-dyed clothing no doubt aided Tyre during the Greco-Roman period, as remains of abundant shells located near the city indicate. In addition, the murex snail shell, from which purple dye was made, is found on the reverse of imperial coins of Tyre (Jidejian 1969: 150, 158). The trade was lucrative, although the dyeing process was smelly (Pliny *NH* 9.60.127; Strabo 16.2.23). An old dye factory predating the 1st century C.E. has been discovered just outside the city walls (Jidejian 1969: 108). See also PURPLE; ZOOLOGY.

Archaeological finds also include one of the largest hippodromes from the Roman period (Jidejian 1969: 111–13) and a porticoed street that measures over 170 meters long and 11 meters wide. The street located on the S part of the island, has a 2d-century mosaic pavement composed of geometric patterns, as well as a double colonnade of imported *cipollino* or white green-veined marble. Nearby, an impressive marble statue of Hadrian with tunic, cuirass, and paludamentum was discovered (Chéhab 1962: 14–22; pl. 8). Of particular interest for the 1st century is an inscription of two *agoranomoi*, or market overseers, dating to the 60s C.E. In this, Gaius Julius Jucundus appears to be a Roman citizen in charge of citizenship. The other *agoranomos*, Nicholas, a Greek name, has a father, Baledo, who bears a Phoenician name (Chéhab 1962: 30). A large burial ground, with a monumental arch and numerous Greek and Latin inscriptions, has been found near Alexander's causeway (Salamé-Sarkis 1986: 193–205; Rey-Coquais 1977).

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TYRE, LADDER OF. See LADDER OF TYRE.

TYROPOEON VALLEY (PLACE) [Gk *pharanx tōn tyropoiōn*]. A valley, known today as el-Wad, which runs through the center of the old city of Jerusalem. The Greek name used by Josephus (*JW* 5.4.1 §140) means "Valley of the Cheesemakers." This attribution most probably was derived from cheese manufacture in the area. No other ancient name is known. The valley begins near the Damascus Gate at the N end of the city and runs S along the W side of the Temple Mount and the City of David. On the other side of the valley it is joined by a shallow transverse valley leading from the area of the Joppa Gate, and further to the S it is overlooked by Mt. Zion. The gradient of the valley increases significantly at the SW corner of the Temple Mount and drains to the area of the confluence of the larger Hinnom and Kidron valleys. Here at the lower end of the valley, supplied with water draining down the valley and water brought from the Gihon Spring via Hezekiah's water tunnel, were the "Old" and "Lower" pools of Siloam. The Tyropoeon Valley is sometimes described as the Central Valley, since it lays between the Hinnom and the Kidron.

Archaeological investigations around the SW corner of the Temple Mount have shown that as much as 40 feet of debris has accumulated in the upper end of the valley. Herod the Great's extension of the Temple Mount protruded into the Tyropoeon Valley. This made it necessary for the foundation of the temple precinct to go very deep. Excavations along the W side of the temple precinct have shown that in the 1st century A.D. a road ran along the W exterior of the precinct in the floor of the valley and all the way down to the Tekoa Gate near Siloam. This road was crossed by Wilson's Arch, which was a key route into the temple and also carried an aqueduct to provide water. Farther to the S, Robinson's Arch spanned the street running in the floor of the Tyropoeon Valley, providing access to the temple. Numerous shops have been identified along this street in the floor of the valley. This route through the valley would have been one of the most heavily traveled, as it provided easy access through the city and to the temple.

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U

ʾUBAID. See AL ʾUBAID.

UBEIDIYA (M.R. 205232). A prehistoric site on the W bank of the JORDAN RIVER about 3 km S of Lake Kinneret (Lake Tiberias). It is a large exposure of a Lower Pleistocene formation, originally called by L. Picard after the common freshwater shell in the deposit, designated as *"Melanopsis stufe."* It was renamed the Ubeidiya Formation following the archaeological excavations (1960–74), which provided long vertical exposures.

The excavations uncovered a composite sequence, about 150 m thick, which contained a series of archaeological horizons. Bones and shells were preserved in many of the layers, which are now folded in the form of a small anticline with several undulations, lying at −160 to −225 m below sea level. The contorted and faulted situation made the systematic archaeological excavations a challenging project. As a result, only 14 archaeological horizons were extensively excavated over surfaces ranging from 60 to 250 m^2.

The lithic assemblages demonstrate a limited typological variability. The common artifacts are the core-choppers and the flakes, which are generally made of flint. Polyhedrons (core-choppers with more than two stiking platforms—also made from flint) were found in moderate frequencies. Sheroids were shaped from limestone cobbles and range widely in both size and weight. Handaxes, trihedrals, and picks were mainly made of basalt but with a considerable representation of limestone and flint. The specific choice for raw material possibly took into account the needed size and the efficient cutting edge. On the whole, basalt and limestone cobbles were more abundant than the flint cobbles and pebbles. All the used raw material was available on the beaches of Lake Ubeidiya and in the wadi channels which descended from the W escarpment of the Jordan Rift.

In the lower archaeological horizons only core-choppers, polyhedrons, and soperoids are common (layers III-12 through II-24), while in the rest of the sequence bifaces appear in small percentages except for layer K-30, which is a gravel deposit rich in bifaces. According to African terminology, both Oldowan, Developed Oldowan, and Early Acheulian were represented in Ubeidiya. Naming the entire sequence as Early Acheulian will be in line with the current notion that members of the *Homo erectus* family, the bearers of the Acheulian Industrial Complex, were the hominids who moved out of Africa. Only a few fragmentary hominid remains were recovered at the site. Except for one incisor, they all were found on the surface. They were attributed to *Homo* sp. indet.

The fauna from Ubeidiya includes various mammalian species, reptiles, birds, and mollusks. Many of the bones and shells only came to rest in the deposits from which they were retrieved, and their actual habitat was either in the lake, on the hilly slopes, or upstream in the wadis. Their presence enabled the reconstruction of a very variable landscape in which these early hominids survived. It encompassed an oak-covered plateau with dry wadis descending into the lake. The slopes were partially forested and partially rocky exposures. Grassy meadows separated the hilly area from the open freshwater lake where thickets of reeds and some tamarisk formed a delta covered with pebbles and cobbles. A small lagoon stretched N of the delta. The common species, as represented by bone counts, were the hippopotamus, two species of deer, and two species of horses. However, other large- and medium-size mammals were the elephant, the rhinoceros, a giant sheep, two antelopes, thirteen species of carnivores, including bear, wolf, and lynx, one primate (other than humans), and a large number of rodents. Among these, the Mediterranean species and those which subsist in wetlands were the most common. A large number of birds, several reptiles, and a few molluscan species, some of which designate the lower Pleistocene age to the formation, complete the list. The fauna of Ubeidiya is a mixture of various geographic and ecological zones encompassing both the Eurasian world and a few African species.

Various authors have concluded that the fauna of Ubeidiya are younger than the Seneze fauna of W Europe or is of the same age as the end of Villanyian/basal Biharian in E Europe. These correlations mean that the age of the site should be estimated at 1.5–1.0 million years old. The preliminary paleomagnetic results indicate that it lies within the Matuyama Reversal Epoch. The similarity between the lithic industry of Olduval Bed II and that of Ubeidiya can be considered as additional support for the suggested date.

OFER BAR-YOSEF

UCAL (PERSON) [Heb *ʾūkāl*]. One of the recipients of Agur's utterance, named in Prov 30:1. Nothing else is known of Ucal. He was perhaps a friend or student of Agur along with Ithiel. It is less likely that Ithiel and Ucal are sons of Agur, since they would probably have been

designated as such. The words *lē'îtî'ēl* and *wē'ūkāl* may not be proper names at all. The Hebrew of this verse is completely obscure. The LXX provides a verb, *pauomai*, in place of the name "Ucal." The corresponding Hebrew verb would be *'ākalleh* ("I cease"). Other textual modifications yield the translations "I can/cannot do it"; "I withdraw/become faint"; or "I am consumed." The translations for *wē'ūkāl* depend largely on the translation of the previous name(?) and subsequent context. The narrative resumes with *kî*. This indicates that the following, "I am more stupid than any man," is linked to the introduction of verse one. This leads some interpreters away from a textual change that implies an absolute cessation, since the matter is continued with the following verses. The simplest solution is to read Ucal as a proper name, but the occurrence of the *waw* preceding *'ūkāl* will not allow an unquestionable translation. If Ithiel and Ucal were simply names, the *lamed* preposition which preceded Ithiel would also be expected before Ucal. The *waw* preceding Ucal then, seems to indicate a *waw* consecutive rather than a simple conjunction. The verb would provide a rather abrupt ending of the line "I cease," while the considerations which led to an end of the philosophical search are elaborated following the particle *ki*. The reading proposed by this interpreter is *wā'ēkel*, rather than the personal name "Ucal." See also McKane *Proverbs* OTL.

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UDHRUH (M.R. 207971). A site, some 20 km NW of Ma'an and 15 km E of Petra on the edge of the Jordanian desert, which is watered by a perennial spring. The site has therefore attracted settlements throughout antiquity. Excavations (1980–1985) have concentrated on the town of Udhruh, and at the same time a detailed survey has been undertaken of the region from Ma'an-Ain Musa-Shobek-Ma'an (800 km^2).

The first historical record of the town is a reference by the geographer Ptolemy in the early 2d century A.D., although inscriptions and literary sources emphasize the wealth and importance of the town in Byzantine and Early Islamic times. The only serious archaeological work at the site was a five-day survey in 1897 by Brünnow and Domaszewski (1904). In 1980, rescue work began because a modern village had expanded westwards over the architectural remains and removed many of the walls.

The architectural site of Udhruh consists of a large Roman-walled town with twenty-four projecting defensive towers. Several towers still survive to first-story height, and sections of the town wall stand 7 m high. Other extant structures in the town include a Roman basilica, a Byzantine church, and an Ottoman fort. However, surface surveys indicate occupation as early as the Paleolithic and continuing into the Chalcolithic periods. A dense scatter of Neolithic tools and flakes outside the town implies the existence of a Pre-Pottery Neolithic settlement. EB and LB ceramics show a continuity of occupation, but late Iron Age walls in the lower levels of a deep trench near the spring are the earliest structures so far found in the town.

The Nabateans are best known for their capital at Petra, but their pottery is also one of their most remarkable legacies. The very fine and delicate ceramics have more of the texture and quality of porcelain than one would normally associate with earthenware. In fact, the fineness of the techniques used in both manufacture and decoration are unparalleled in earthenware in antiquity. Finds from the Udhruh pottery kiln include over 1,000 kg of Nabatean ceramics, spindle sockets for potter's wheels, an iron trimming knife, and a bronze spatula identical to that used by modern potters for shaping and smoothing.

Excavations have shown that Udhruh had a sizable Nabatean settlement, which was partially underground with tunnels and semisubterranean structures quarried into the limestone hillside S of the town walls. One underground passage, over 20 m long, yielded a mass of Nabatean ceramics and glass.

The town walls were probably constructed at the same time as the *Via Traina Nova* in 112–14 A.D. A papyrus from Egypt mentions legionaries at work in regional quarries at this time, and the reference may refer to the most extensive quarries in Jordan, discovered in the 1980 survey, one km W of Udhruh. The town walls probably stood 12 m high in antiquity and would have presented a formidable obstacle to marauding desert tribes from the E. The walls were rebuilt in the Byzantine period, but were not significantly altered throughout the site's later phases, which continued without major break into the 16th century. Several of the towers and gateways have been excavated, and a central large administrative building has been exposed together with its colonnaded courtyard.

In 1980, a detailed survey of the region was initiated, and over two hundred new sites have been found, including a Roman construction camp for the town of Udhruh and a complex series of forts and towers forming a defensive frontier along the Roman highway. Tell Udhruh (500 m from the main site) was excavated in 1985 to reveal an extensive Iron II settlement terraced on the hillside. Over 110 sites have been found in the survey with Iron Age to Roman period ceramics on the surface.

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UEL (PERSON) [Heb *'û'ēl*]. A descendant of Bani and one of the returned exiles whom Ezra required to divorce

his foreign wife (Ezra 10:34). The parallel text of 1 Esdr 9:34 lists Joel here but the two names can be identified with each other. Uel was a member of a family from which a group of exiles returned with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:10; note that Binnui replaces Bani in Nehemiah's list [7:15]). Noth suggests that Uel is a theophoric name containing the particle *ʾēl* (*IPN,* 90). For further discussion, *see* BEDEIAH.

JEFFREY A. FAGER

UGARIT (35°35′N; 35°45′E). Tell Ras Shamra, near the Mediterranean coast of Syria, is the site of ancient Ugarit, capital of a kingdom of the same name that flourished in the 2d millennium B.C. Occupied since Neolithic times, it was abandoned around 1180 B.C. (with the exception of minimal later occupation). Its commercial importance was due to a rich agricultural countryside, and above all to its port, discovered on the site of Minet el-Beida (= Ug *Mahadu* [?]; *Leukos Limēn* [White Harbor] of the Greeks, *Port Blanc* of Crusader times). Its celebrity comes from the discovery since 1929 of texts written in various languages, and in particular in a language hitherto unknown—Ugaritic. See LANGUAGES (UGARITIC). The Ugaritic texts reveal cultural, religious, and mythical traditions from essentially the 14th through the 13th centuries B.C. This explains the importance given to Ugarit in historical studies of the ANE and biblical world. This entry, consisting of two articles, will describe the results of the excavations of Ugarit and the nature of its ancient texts and literature.

HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

A. History of Excavations and Discoveries
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D. The City of the Late Bronze Age
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  4. Public and Domestic Architecture
E. Material Culture
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A. History of Excavations and Discoveries

In 1928 a burial cave was discovered by accident at Minet el-Beida; since this time the French archaeological mission, directed by Claude F. A. Schaeffer, from 1929 to 1970, after the exploration of the port in this bay, concentrated on the excavation of Tell Ras Shamra, which rose up less than 1 km inland from there. The direction of the mission was then taken over by Henri de Contenson (1971 to 1974), by Jean Margueron (1975 to 1977), and after 1978, by Marguerite Yon. The work has progressed almost continuously except for one interruption from 1940 to 1947 because of World War II.

1. From 1929 to 1939. The first excavations concentrated in part on the Minet el-Beida dig (harbor installation and tombs, 1929 to 1935). At the same time was undertaken excavation of the city that was discovered on the Ras Shamra tell. On the acropolis of the city, residential quarters were excavated (1929–37), dominated by two temples (called the temple of Baal and the temple of Dagan), as well as the House of the High Priest (in which some of the mythological tablets were discovered). From 1932 to 1937, the living quarters located below the acropolis were explored, to the N and NE (an area called the Lower City).

2. From 1937 to 1955. The exploration at the W part of the tell had begun in 1937, but was interrupted by the war. The years 1937–1939 date the excavation of the NW complex, in which is located the palace of the queen mother, a four-pillared building, and the Hurrian Temple. Also begun at this time was the excavation of the royal palace (or "Grand Palace"), protected from the W by a strong fortress.

Excavation of the royal palace complex and the fortress was undertaken in earnest from 1948 to 1955. It is then that the greater part of the archives of Ugarit were discovered.

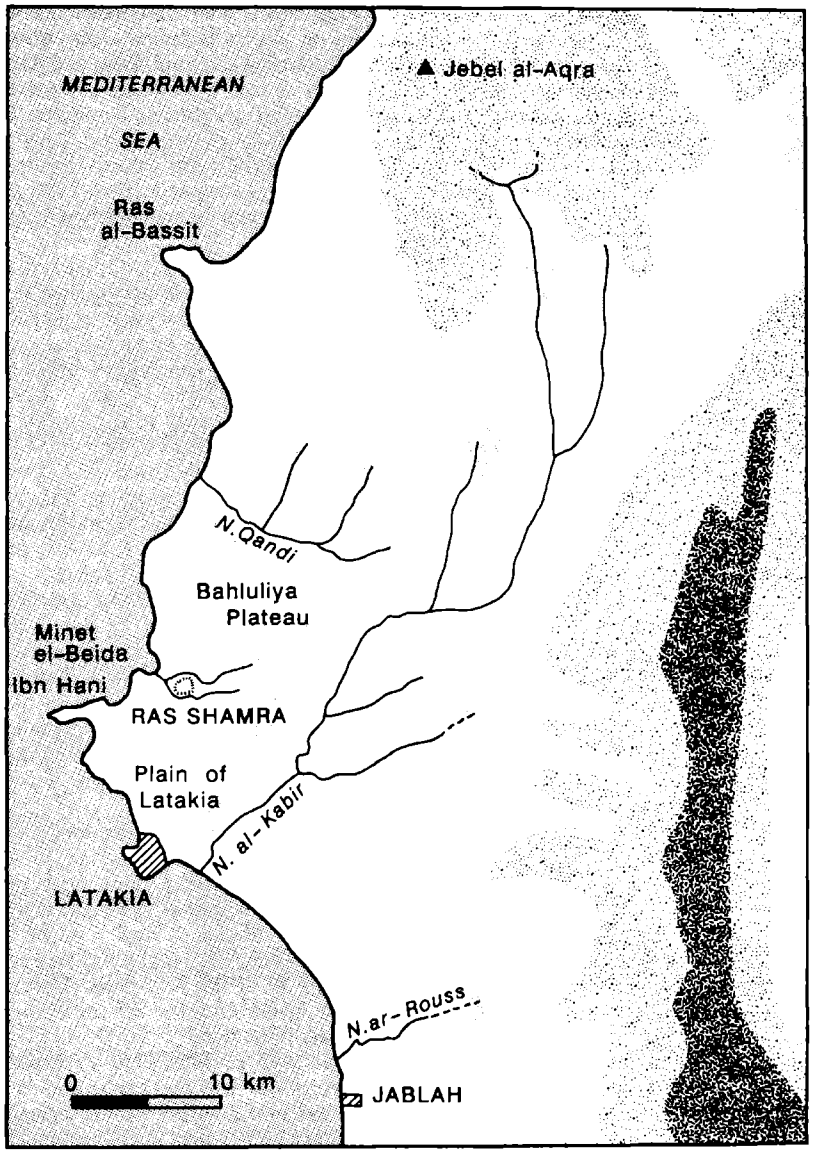
3. From 1953 to 1974. The inhabited areas in proximity to the palace were explored during these seasons. The residential quarters (sometimes called the "Aegean quarter") have allowed us to know homes rich in information, both by a series of discovered texts (for example the "House of Rapʿanu") and by the complexity of the organization and the diversity of the objects (for example, the House of Alabasters, 1973–74).

This area also revealed vast enclosures, also sometimes qualified as palaces: the Southern Palace (or Little Palace), excavated in 1964–65 (which yielded an archive of texts), and the North Palace, dug 1968–71, that was perhaps a royal palace preceding the LB Palace.

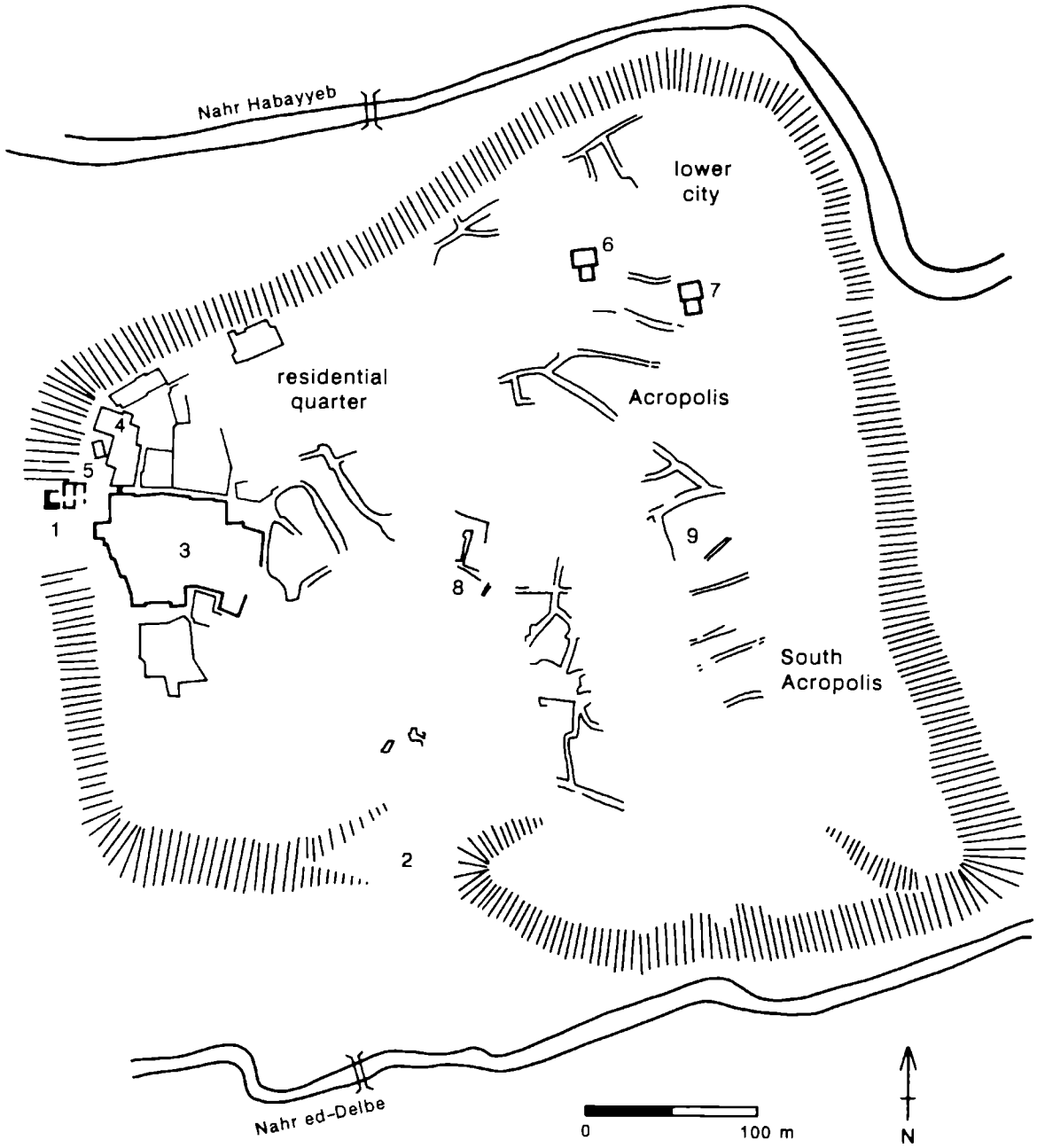
The large trenches, which run approximately N–S, were opened beginning in 1959 in the E half of the tell, to explore other living areas. The South City Trench, begun in 1959, and the South Acropolis Trench, dug from 1961 to 1964, have both produced groups of texts. From 1971 to 1973, the excavation of the installation called post-Ugaritic was continued toward the middle of the tell (a settlement of fairly limited extent, from the Persian and Hellenistic periods).

Moreover, the necessity of understanding the history of the site before the Late Bronze Age (of which levels appear everywhere) led to undertaking deep probes in a systematic fashion: one begun in 1953 and maintained until 1960 to the W of the temple of Baal; a probe of the Royal Palace Garden, 1954–55; and, above all, *Sondage H,* from 1962 to 1974, to the W of the Acropolis. Traversing 18 meters of occupation layers since the 7th millennium, it provides the stratigraphy of the site.

4. From 1975 to 1988. The excavations from 1975 to 1976 were devoted to the exploration to the NW part of the tell, and to the excavation of a large house of the LB period. Since 1978, work at the site has been linked to the study of city planning and to the city itself: excavation of the field located in the center of the city, an architectural study of the "South City Trench" (dug in 1959), plus the area northwest of the tell (dug 1937–39). In 1986, excavation of the southern area began, near the supposed entrance of the city: a new group of texts was discovered near the place that had, in 1973 (following modern public works), yielded an important series of texts.



UGA.01. Area map of Ras Shamra, showing extent of the kingdom of Ugarit. *(Courtesy of M. Yon. Copyright by Mission Française Ras Shamra)*



UGA.02. Site plan of Tell Ras Shamra. *1*, fortified gate; *2*, S entrance; *3*, royal palace; *4*, four-pillared building; *5*, Hurrian temple; *6*, temple of Baal; *7*, temple of Dagan; *8*, central area and sanctuary of Rhytons; *9*, house of the Magician Priest.

5. Ras Ibn Hani (1975–1986). A salvage excavation was undertaken in 1975 on a small tell located by the sea at Ras Ibn Hani, less than 5 km SW of Ras Shamra. A new Ugaritic settlement was discovered there (ancient Biruti ?), with palaces and fortifications which yielded new texts. It has been explored since its discovery by a Franco-Syrian mission directed by Adnan Bounni and Jacques Lagarce.

B. Geographical Setting and Natural Conditions

The kingdom of Ugarit extended over a surface of about 2,000 km^2, and occupied approximately what today is the Mohafazat of Latakia. It extends from Jebel Aqraʿ in the N to the Jable region in the S, limited by the Mediterranean Sea to the W and the Alaouite Mountains (Jebel Ansariyeh) to the E.

The capital was established on Tell Ras Shamra. Located only 10 km N of the city of Latakia, the tell is on a plain, about 1 km from the bay Minet el-Beida, where the port was located. It is surrounded by a large architectural plain, fertile and fairly well irrigated, separating the hills from the sea, then the mountain Jebel Ansariyeh, which stands more than 1,000 m tall. The northern horizon is marked by the silhouette of Jebel Aqraʿ rising to more than 1,800 m, the ancient Mt. Zaphon (the Mount Casius of the Romans), whence ruled Baal, god of storms.

The presence of these mountainous areas and the proximity of the sea ensures that the region surrounding the tell has a climate favorable to Mediterranean cultures. The mountain chains to the E protect the plain from the drying winds of the Syrian steppe, all the while retaining the rain coming from the sea. The temperatures are thus fairly mild, and the rains, spread out over seven or eight months from fall to spring, amount to more than 800 mm each year.

The tell itself is ringed by two small waterways—the Nahr Habayyeb to the N and Nahr ed-Delbe to the S—that join W of the tell to form the Nahr el-Feid, which empties into the bay at Minet el-Beida. These rivulets, linked to the rainfall, are dry through several summer months, but the water table is not deep; it feeds several springs that flow at the foot of the tell, and numerous wells spread out over the city. The presence of dams to the north and south helped to maintain the level of the water supply during the summer drought.

The temperate climate which the plain enjoyed in ancient times permitted cultivation of the traditionally Mediterranean type: vines, olive groves, and cereals (as Ugaritic economic texts and archaeological evidence testify), as well as arboreal cultivation (almond and pistachio trees) and the raising of small livestock. In addition, the hills and mountains were covered with forests (of which hardly a trace survives today), in particular cedars, pines, and cyprus trees.

The exploitation of natural resources, agricultural areas, and forested land played a role in the commercial activities of maritime exchanges with countries near and far (as far as Egypt or the Aegean world) as well as supplying the inhabitants themselves. The availability of wood and stone influenced construction techniques and the development of architecture. Besides the evidence that we have from texts, archaeological observations speak worlds: the presence of numerous oil presses has been noted; buildings were constructed using stones from the Mqaté quarries, several hundred meters N of the tell; walls were supported with wood timbers from the mountains, and reinforced with wooden beams and reeds from nearby streams; terraces were made out of clay.

It is difficult to determine exactly what determined the fortune of a particular site at certain periods. Numerous elements of sociological demographic and historical character explain the avatars of a kingdom which, after having known such development, simply disappeared completely at the beginning of the 12th century. One must, however, underline the fact that this development was due to geographical realities: on the one hand, climatic conditions favorable to agricultural growth, and on the other hand, its location of the Mediterranean coast. An excellent port permitted Ugarit to trade with countries accessible from the sea (Egypt, the Levantine coast, Cyprus, the Anatolian coast, the Aegean) at the same time that it welcomed caravans from the interior that put it in touch with Mesopotamia, N and interior Syria, the Hittite world, the Mitannian kingdom, and other powers.

C. Historical Summary: 7th–2d Millennia B.C.

Sondage H provides evidence that the beginning of human occupation of the site can be dated from the 7th millennium. During this epoch, the Neolithic (which was the period of sedentarization in Syria-Palestine), it appears that groups of farmers (as well as hunters and fishermen) established themselves there (Level V C). New techniques appear about 6000 B.C. in agriculture (raising domestic animals), as well as in agriculture (houses with a quadrangular plan, constructed of stone with plastered floors), and in the fabrication of containers made out of mineral-based materials ("white ware" in plaster, as in other contemporary sites; and above all, fired ceramics, of which we can follow the improvements for a millennium). This Neolithic phase can be subdivided in two: *Level V B* (6000–5750) and *Level V A* (5750–5250). These two levels have equivalents in other sites more or less nearby (Amuq A and B, Bouqras II, the beginnings of Tell Sukas, ancient Neolithic Byblos, Tell Ramad III, Mersin in Cilicia, and Hassuna). The distribution points to the development of a civilization with common traits over a large part of the Near East.

Chronological Table of Occupational Sequences at Ras Shamra

Approximate Dates	Life on the Tell	Level	Period
ca. 6500	First settlements	V C	Prepottery
ca. 6000	Pastoralism; ceramics; stone architecture	V B	Pottery
ca. 5250	Differentiated architecture; craft specializations	IV	"Halaf" (Chalcolithic)
4th millennium	Appearance of copper	III C	Final Chalcolithic "Ubaid"
		III B	
ca. 3000	Urban center; streets; fortifications; copper smelting	III A	Early Bronze

ca. 2200	Abandonment		
Beginning of 2d millennium	Arrival of Amorite population; urban development; walls, palace	II	Middle Bronze
ca. 1650	Abandonment? Cultural decline?		
ca. 1600	New urban period	I	Late Bronze II
15th–13th century	Ugaritic kings known from texts		Late Bronze III
ca. 1360	Amistamru I		
1360–1330	Niqmadu II		
1330–1324	Arhalbu		
1324–1274	Niqmepa		
1274–1240	Amistamru II		
1240–	Ibiranu		
–1225	Niqmadu III		
1225–1180	Ammurapi		
ca. 1180	Destruction and abandonment under attacks from the sea		
5th–4th century	Minor settlement on the tell		Persian Period
1st century	A few traces of occupation		Roman Period

It seems that the Neolithic period was a time of great development at Ras Shamra, if one is to judge by growing technological advancement and population density. On the other hand, the Chalcolithic (Level IV) period is first of all characterized by a reduction in the inhabited area; it seems that the passage from the Neolithic to the Chalcolithic coincided with serious troubles and with the arrival of new oriental elements that led to a profound transformation. One recognizes, around this date, the mark of a civilization called *Halaf*, characterized by decorated ceramics of excellent quality, that spread to the N of Mesopotamia and Syria. At this point, the architecture of Ras Shamra diversified, the artisans began to specialize (in ceramics, for example), the raising of small livestock (sheep, goats) increases. This period lasts from about 5250 to 4300 B.C.

The period that spans the end of the 5th millennium and all of the 4th (Level III C and B) seems to have been a less prosperous period for Ras Shamra; it was still characterized by ties with Mesopotamia, and it corresponds to the period called *Ubaid*. A notable development was the appearance of copper.

The final phases of Level III (Level III A) correspond to the Early Bronze Age. From around 3000 B.C. on, there was again considerable increase in the occupation of the site, apparently without a break from Level III B. The city center presents a true urban character, with small streets and ramparts for protection. The architecture, which seems at first to have been made of fired brick (EB I), increasingly employed stone, in particular in defensive constructions. Tools, still essentially lithic, also included metal objects (copper and bronze). The variety of ceramics suggests relationships with contemporary sites in Cilicia, northern Syria, and Palestine (Khirbet Kerak ceramics for example), and also with the Syrian interior (with the "simple ware" of the Amuq and Orontes region). The EB III phase at Ras Shamra, as in other regions, experienced a rapid development in metallurgy. Bronze production served largely in the fabrication of arms (lance heads, daggers), but also of tools (flat axes, needles) and of ornaments (pins). It is in this period, around 2400 B.C., that one finds for the first time the mention of the name Ugarit (*Ug-ga-ra-at*^{ki}) in a list of toponyms found at Elba, in the Syrian interior.

Around 2200 B.C., as is the case for other sites in the Levant, the tell was abandoned for a period of at least a century (maybe two) during the troubled period that in Egypt also marked the end of the Old Kingdom.

It was thus a new life on the site that began around 2000 B.C., during the Middle Bronze Age (Level II), with the arrival of new nomadic populations (such as the Amorites from the Syrian interior) who, little by little, became sedentary in Syria. Some among those established on the Ugarit acropolis seem to have been metallurgy experts; the presence of ornaments discovered in their tombs—ornaments that were also on silver figurines of divinities—led the excavator to designate these people as "necklace wearers." Other than the necklaces, their arms (triangular daggers, socketed lances, fenestrated axes) are characteristic, and the discovery of the molds was proved that they were made on the spot. No architecture is known from the MB I (this may be an accident of excavation, or the civilization may have conserved its nomadic traditions); only large collective tombs have been found. It is with the MB II–III (ca. 1900–1650) that one sees a new urban civilization develop in spectacular fashion, in which traditions from the Syrian coast fuse with contributions of the new arrivals. The city then covered almost the entire surface of the tell and was protected by an impressive rampart, the glacis of which is still visible in some parts (in keeping with the type of defensive construction common in the Levant). Among the MB structures that remain, one will obviously note the two temples located on the acropolis (see D.3 below) as well as the "Hurrian Temple" to the NW of the tell; it is probable also that the building designated as the North Palace (N of the Royal Palace) was constructed at the end of the MB but was abandoned during the construction of the LB Palace.

The excavations have yielded numerous objects from this period. One of the most striking features is the abundance of Egyptian objects, often with hieroglyphic inscriptions: a pearl with the name of Sesostris I (1970–1936 B.C.), funerary figurines bearing the name of an unknown deceased person, statues and sphinxes found mutilated. This mutilation, which appears to have been voluntary (statue of Chnoumet, daughter of Amenemhet II around 1900 B.C., or the sphinx from the temple of Baal), has given rise to different interpretations. Were these acts linked to international difficulties? Or were these statues the spoils of war from the period of Hyksos domination in Egypt? What is important to remember is the considerable place held by Egyptian relations with the kingdoms of the Levantine coast. But the name of Ugarit is also mentioned

in the Mari texts (the Ugaritic king's desire to see the Palace of Mari; visit by the king of Mari to Ugarit; mention in the economic archives referring in particular to the tin trade), bearing witness to constant relations between Upper Mesopotamia and the coastal kingdom. In the absence of confirmatory information, hypotheses that posit political domination by the pharaohs of the 12th Dyn. over Ugarit, while not excluded, remain only theories.

The end of the MB (ca. 1650 B.C.) and the period from the first phase of the LB until the end of the Amarna period (15th century) remain obscure, for Ugarit as well as for other Levantine sites. All that can be said is that Ugarit went through a troubled period and a decline that went perhaps as far as a temporary abandonment of the city. But the destruction was not complete, for the temples of the Acropolis remained until the end of Ugarit; the city, in addition, retained its name.

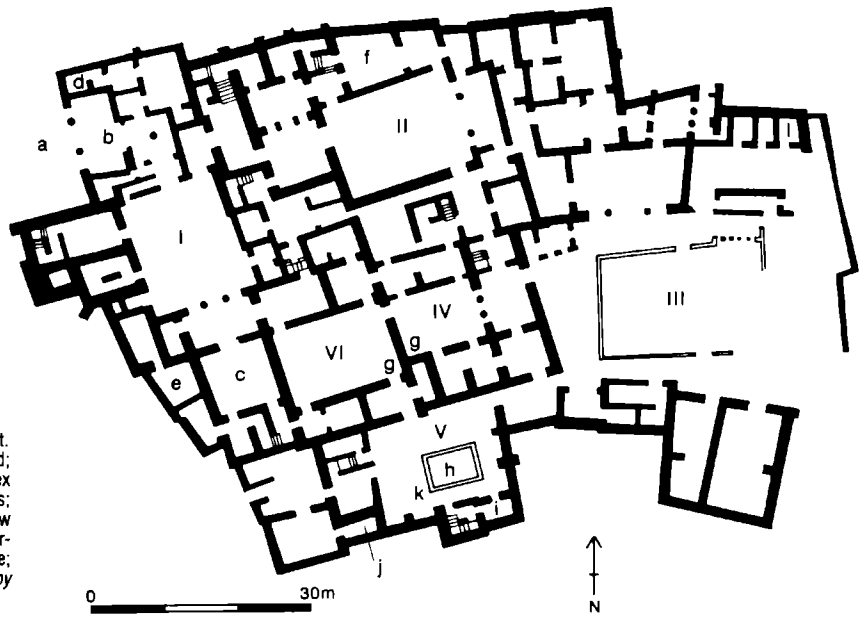
But after these years of obscurity, the LB period (Level I) once again saw an expansion of the urban center, with spectacular enrichment of the kingdom and greater and greater importance given to royal power. One can follow the development from the 15th to the 12th centuries, because from this point on the succession of kings and their relations with foreign powers can be established, thanks to texts found in the Amarna archives and at Ugarit, and to seals that marked official documents.

There is no question here of retracing the history of the kingdom of Ugarit, linked as it was to the powers that surrounded it and exerted their influence in turn—Mitanni, Egypt, Hatti—as well as to those neighboring nations with which Ugarit had amicable or hostile relations according to circumstance or period—Carchemish, Amurru, Siyannu, Kadesh, or the coastal nations like Sidon or Byblos. At the most, one can recall a few significant moments which marked local history.

It seems that from around 1400 to 1350 B.C., Ugarit was under Egyptian control. A fire in the palace around 1360 must have destroyed the earlier archives it contained, because it was in the reign of Niqmaddu II (1360–1330) that the surviving royal archives began; but the documents from Amarna and the passages from the archives of Niqmaddu II seem to show that Niqmaddu's father, Amistamru I, was in a position of submission to Amenophis III (whose cartouche was found at Ugarit). The domination was not direct; thus, a treaty by Niqmaddu with the king of Amurru appears around 1350 to have imposed a sort of Amorite protectorate, but always within the Egyptian sphere of influence.

In 1350, the expedition of the king of Hatti, Suppiluliuma, against Mitanni and its Syrian vassals succeeded in bringing Mitanni under Hittite domination, and it also brought Ugarit, Amurru, and Kadesh into the same sphere of influence. Under the reign of the king of Ugarit, Niqmepa, after a period of trouble with Nuḫašše and Carchemish, Hittite domination stabilized.

At the end of the 14th century, the role of the king of Carchemish as the administrator of Hittite politics in Syria became more precise: in many cases he was charged with resolving conflicts between Ugarit and a neighboring country (Siyannu to the S or Mukish to the N) on behalf of the Great King, whose domination over this region was firmly established. At the time of the Ugaritic king Amistamru II (mid-13th century), the rivalries and alliances between Ugarit and Amurru were explained in particular by extremely complex matrimonial politics, of which the royal correspondence chronicles the vicissitudes; one can see the international political implications through the place held by the kings of Hatti and Carchemish in these operations. Numerous texts also mention commercial and judicial agreements to resolve differences in transactions, or to ensure the security of caravans; the presence of Hittite functionaries at Ugarit is evident. But commercial relations between Ugarit and Egypt and regions under Egyptian control (such as Palestine) seem to have revived, in particular after the Hittite-Egyptian treaty between Hattušiliš III and Ramesses II in 1270.



UGA.03. Plan of the royal palace at Ugarit. *a*, paved court; *b*, main entrance; *I*, courtyard; *c*, throne room; *d*, western archive; *e*, annex office archives; *II, IV, VI*, courtyards; *f*, tombs; *g*, central archives; *V*, courtyard; *h*, shallow pool; *i*, southern archive; *j*, southwestern archive; *k*, oven and tablets; *l*, eastern archive; *III*, garden. *(Courtesy of M. Yon. Copyright by Mission Française Ras Shamra)*

It is clear, especially beginning in the middle of the 13th century, that the kingdom of Ugarit, whose wealth was based on a flourishing economy (maritime commerce in particular), concentrated the sources of prosperity in the hands of the royal power. On the other hand, the weak military capacity of the kingdom worsened still more. The king Ibiranu (1240) did not voluntarily participate in the war effort of the Hittite sovereign. At the end of the 13th century, with King Ammurapi, the last Ugarit period began. The raids by the "Sea People" that harassed the coastal states as well as the Hittite king, as far as Egypt, and in which the king of Alashia-Cyprus played the role of informer (perhaps a double agent), were clearly the cause of the destruction of Ugarit, as well as of numerous other sites.

But the annihilation of the Ugaritic power necessarily had other causes which explain the total and definitive abandonment of the city by its inhabitants. It is certain that the equilibrium that ensured the stability of the kingdom was undermined from within. The evolution that saw the royal power develop in an unbridled fashion during the 13th century (also noticeable in the city in the constant improvement to the royal palace, as well as in the centralization of all economic power in the palace administration) led to a concentration of all goods around the palace; the countrysides, incapable of supporting the augmentation of fiscal needs, were little by little depopulated in favor of the city, where one was closer to the king. Thus was created a disequilibrium which proved to be fatal between regions of agricultural production and commercial sectors, between inhabitants and royal civil servants: the "sons of Ugarit" gave way to the "people of the king."

The date of the destruction has been fixed at approximately 1180 B.C. Homes were abandoned by their inhabitants, pillaged, and burned. Following this, no other urban center was ever located on the site; the evidence of subsequent occupation (Persian and Hellenistic periods, Roman period) only affects small portions of the tell, and it no longer shows any collective organization that represents a village or a city, contrary to what had happened for 5000 years; the villages had become a city and then the capital of a kingdom.

D. The City of the Late Bronze Age

The city that remains visible is limited by the present surface of the tell, which rises almost 20 m above the surrounding plain. It today covers a surface of more than 20 hectares, but it is certain that this measurement does not account for the entire Late Bronze Age city. We know in fact that the northwest limit of the tell has shrunk by more than 50 m, eroded by the course of the Nahr Habayyeb, giving one side the appearance of a cliff. To the E and above all to the S, the presence of modern plantations prevents an exact determination of the extent of the ancient habitation in the area that separated the archaeological site and the present course of the Nahr ed-Delbe.

1. Boundaries, Access, Configuration. The fortifications were of vital importance, in a region as flat as the coastal plain and as close to the sea, from which an enemy could arrive. We know that the MB city was surrounded by ramparts, and that remains true for the LB city. However, we are far from having discovered the entire outline of the city wall. To the N, as we have just said, nothing remains other than a trench (from 1934) N of the acropolis. To the E, where the incline is less steep, the soundings have revealed the remains of a wall. To the S, nothing appears other than, in the still-visible relief of the land, fairly clear levees of earth angled to the S–E and S–W which could correspond to a sort of bastion on both sides of the depression that runs from the S toward the center of the tell.

To the W, excavators have brought to light an imposing fortress that protected the entrance to the royal palace. It includes a stone glacis (angled at 45 degrees), and a square tower of 14 m with enormous walls, protecting a tenaille door and an entrance by a zigzag ramp (now gone). Of this ensemble, there remains a postern—today the most spectacular element—made out of huge corbeled blocks, which gave access behind the tower by a zigzag corridor. These fortifications are thought to have been built in the MB period; but rebuilding and constant transformations affected the whole, up until the end of the LB period. (The access ramp was modified, the postern later blocked.) This whole area was profoundly transformed by the construction of the royal palace, and the subsequent improvements also affected the fortified gate that protected it to the W.

The strategic importance of this gate confirms the existence of a continuous rampart around the entire city; this fortified part protected the royal palace, which was also protected toward the city by a tambour door across the street that runs to the N; but this door was but a modest defense in comparison with the enormous exterior door. One cannot help but think that the palace, so well defended from the W, was more easily accessible to enemies that came from across the city. Later excavations will perhaps answer further questions about the defense of the city, particularly to the S.

One would like to know what points of access permitted entry, from the plain and from the port, into a city completely surrounded by walls. The only constructed entrance known today is the fortified gate that has just been mentioned, which led to the palace compound. But it is impossible to see this as the principal entrance to the city; the loaded caravans transporting merchandise from the port surely did not use the official entrance to the royal palace; and the gates that defended it (in the tower to the W and across the street to the E) were each too narrow for such passage. The regular traffic must have been elsewhere.

Observation of the outline of the tell on the S slope shows a kind of large depression, which begins at the S limit between the two levees of earth already mentioned and rises fairly steadily toward the center of the tell (to the west of the South City Trench). It lies on the axis of the bridge-dam recently excavated, which supported the access route from the plain. One is thus tempted to see this as an important access road into the city, perhaps the principal road that, crossing the Nahr ed-Delbe, led the plain to the interior of the city (the exploration of this road was undertaken in 1986 to clarify this question). But it is certain that other approaches were also used to come from the plain, in particular from the E side, where the

relief leads toward agricultural lands by a relatively regular and easy slope.

The configuration of the whole of the city shows several areas of occupation within the area delineated by the contours of the tell. Currently, out of more than 20 hectares, slightly more than 6 (thus less than a third) have been explored on the surface. This does permit, nonetheless, characterization of certain quarters and an analysis of the elements of the town plan of living conditions (with regard to which recent work is particularly interesting).

A considerable portion of the surface of the city was, during the last moments of Ugarit at least, reserved for the royal power: this part includes not only the royal palace but also the installations and outbuildings that were linked to it, whose architecture isolates them from the rest of the city. The "acropolis" area is of interest in understanding the major temples known today. The rest of the area was residential quarters.

2. Palace Complex. The royal palace constitutes the most spectacular monument of Ugarit, both in its dimensions and in the quality of the construction, which used largely cut stone, but also uncut stone, wood, and clay. It was built in several phases over the course of the 14th and 13th centuries, the successive improvements corresponding to the expansion of royal power.

The very elaborate organization of its plan in the final state implies a differentiation of spaces with diverse functions: administrative (the management of the affairs of the kingdom was mixed with administration of the palace), public and official, and private. Some functions took place on the ground floor and others on one floor (or more?) above; witness the presence of at least a dozen stone stairs and some walls preserved as high as the first floor.

The principal entrance is located to the NW; from the paved courtyard that leads to the fortified gate, one enters the palace through a large vestibule with two columns, surrounded by benches. One then proceeds into a vast courtyard (courtyard I), which leads through another portal flanked by columns to a reception room, doubtless the throne room. All around these different spaces are arranged smaller rooms with various functions (guard rooms, administrative offices), with stairs leading to other floors. The archives were found in these rooms: the Western Archives (administrative documents and correspondence) and the annex office of archives, whose texts are mostly in Ugaritic, but also in Akkadian, not to mention several tablets in Hurrian.

To the S and E of this very official area are found complexes organized around other courtyards. The courtyards II, IV, and VI are also surrounded by smaller rooms with various proposed functions; N of courtyard II are the tombs which constituted the royal necropolis, according to the principal found in numerous private homes: the family tomb is in the home. In the area of courtyards IV and VI are found the Central Archives, mostly in Akkadian (180 as against less than 50 in Ugaritic). They are primarily a collection of juridical texts and royal contracts, with a series of 135 impressions of dynastic seals that has allowed the reconstruction of the succession of kings from the 15th to the 12th centuries. The complex around courtyard V, to the S, constitutes the most recent addition; a shallow pool (8 m × 6 m) adorns the center of the courtyard, fed by a series of channels. In the rooms located to the S, the very important Southern Archives have been found (texts on relations with Hatti), and to the W of the courtyard the South-Western Archives (with a notable proportion of texts in Hurrian); in the courtyard itself, near the pool, tablets were found in an oven dating from the last phase of the city's history, and are thus extremely precious.

The E part of the palace (of which the E limit is unfortunately badly preserved) contains a vast garden (courtyard III), around which were probably the private apartments; in a room to the NE of this courtyard, very luxurious ivory furniture has been found (a bed headboard, a pedestal table, a horn). A door, protected by guards, gave access from the city to this part of the palace. The rooms located to the far E surely had administrative functions; it is indeed there that the Eastern Archives were found, containing above all economic texts (two thirds in Ugaritic, about one third in Akkadian, several Hurrian texts, and one Hurrian-Akkadian bilingual).

Several buildings located to the N of the paved courtyard at the entrance should also be included as part of the palace area: first the buildings beyond the palace street, buildings called the Arsenal and the Military Governor's Residence; then, the complex containing the Four-Pillared Building, with a huge paved room and a monumental entrance with a staircase (and sometimes wrongly designated the Royal Stables), built without a doubt in the 13th century; and finally the Hurrian Temple, older than what surrounds it. The temple's sacred character enabled it to survive intact, despite the change in orientation of the new constructions at the end of the LB period. This complex, including the palace, was carefully defined and protected from the city by continuous walls and well-defended doorways. It also benefited from very elaborate improvements which were reserved for it, like canals to carry water, or the great sewer that crossed and drained only the royal area.

The palace itself, which extends over 120 meters from E to W and as much as 90 m from N to S, occupies almost 7000 m^2, and the royal area as we know it today, about 10,000 m^2. This large proportion with respect to the rest of the city, the development and the progressive extension of palatial buildings, and the concentration of archives found in the palace confirm the conclusions that one could draw from studying administrative and fiscal texts, lists of villages and professions, according to which the royal power did not cease to extend its influence during the 13th century.

3. The Temples. The temples located on the highest part of the site, the acropolis, were named respectively the Temple of Baal (because of the discovery there of a stele depicting the god Baal with sword and thunderbolt [see Fig. UGA.04] and the "stele of Baal Ṣapān") and the Temple of Dagan (on the strength of two steles bearing the name of this god discovered nearby). These conventional names are retained here.

The better preserved is the Temple of Baal, located to the W within an enclosure of which part of the wall remains. Strong foundations support a podium upon which is built the temple, comprising a vestibule, which is reached by a staircase on the facade, and a larger rectan-

UGA.04. Stele of Baal with thunderbolt from the Temple of Baal. *(Courtesy of M. Yon. Copyright by Mission Française Ras Shamra)*

gular room, longer on one side than the other; one can still see in this room the remains of a monumental staircase of cut stone (at least in this part) that extends to three sides of the building: it is thus possible to estimate the height of the building—a minimum of 16 or 17 m above the ground. The temple must have appeared like a kind of tower, on top of which was a terrace where part of the ceremonies took place. So in the legend, King Keret is invited to offer a sacrifice "at the summit of the tower" (*KTU* 1.14.2.21–22). If one considers the fact that the acropolis itself rises some 20 m above the surrounding plain, the height of this tower at its summit would have made it a part of the terrain visible from afar and would have served as a landmark at sea. Seventeen stone anchors that have been found in this temple—incorporated in the construction of the walls, or deposited as votive offerings like steles (none in the temple of Dagan)—show the evident veneration of this sanctuary by sailors. In the courtyard in front of the temple is found a square altar of cut stone. The quality of the offerings, of which some vestiges have been found despite the pillaging of the city (for example the golden cup and plate, decorated with hunting scenes and the royal chariot), indicate the importance of the cult that was conducted in this temple.

The Temple of Dagan, of which only the foundations remain, can be analyzed in the same way, and contains the same characteristics that would warrant its reconstruction as a tower. Near these temples that are separated from the city by their enclosures are found small blocks of residences served by roads. But this quarter does not seem to be a simple and common quarter of modest habitations; one of these houses, called the House of the High Priest, has produced since 1929 an important group of arms and bronze tools, of which certain ones carrying dedications to the "High Priest." See Fig. UGA.05. These inscriptions furnished one of the keys to deciphering Ugaritic; nearby, groups of tables were discovered, including the most important mythological texts.

Other sacred places have been found in the city, starting with the Hurrian Temple already noted in the palace complex, which seems to be a smaller version of the same structure as the two contemporary acropolis temples.

But recent work also shows the existence in the city of sanctuaries more integral in the whole complex with direct access to the streets. Certain of these even seem to be part of city blocks, of which the rest is occupied by domestic buildings. Their sacred character is recognizable on the one hand by the architectural organization, as in the case of the "rhyton sanctuary" recently discovered in the center of the city. Its decentralized plan, the platforms constructed for offerings, and the benches along the walls are similar to the types of LB architecture common in the eastern Mediterranean, in Cyprus, for example, but above all in Palestine. The sacred function of certain of these buildings, whose floor plans are often poorly preserved or difficult to interpret, follows also from the objects that have been discovered there. This includes furniture necessary for the ceremonies (libation rhytons, cultic stands, incense burners) and representations of divinities (statuettes and steles), or still other objects tied to divinatory practices, such as the inscribed livers and lungs found in the South Acropolis Trench (House of the Magician Priest).

UGA.05. Dedicatory inscribed adzes from the house of the High Priest. *(Courtesy of M. Yon)*

The existence of these places of worship found throughout the city is evidence of the presence of religious activities among all the inhabited areas, and not just the areas which were reserved for it. One cannot exclude either the existence of domestic cults, a manifestation of popular religion side by side with frequentation of the great temples, if one is to judge by the number and the dispersion in all areas of the site of small figurines, whether it be pendants in precious metal or the effigy of the goddess (Astarte?), or more humble figurines modeled in terracotta.

4. Public and Domestic Architecture. As we have seen, the unearthed portion of the tell only covers about 6 hectares, of which one fifth is occupied by the palace complex. The remarks that will he made about the Ugaritic domestic architecture concern the S slope of the tell, the best known, and the part one reaches first upon entering the city by what seems to be the principal entrance.

The main road has not yet been precisely located and excavated (even if one can see its approximate location). From the residential quarter to the South Acropolis Trench, the vaguely parallel streets that more or less follow natural contours are linked to each other by small, short, straight streets running N–S. They thus outline the small blocks, of many different forms, without any concern for regularity or exact orientation. This network of streets is superimposed upon an older network, which was created over the centuries by the disordered evolution of a living habitat, by unsystematic reconstructions and modifications of properties.

We have seen in the history of the excavations the different living quarters excavated over a thirty-year period; we will limit ourselves here to noting several significant points, in particular from the texts that have been discovered.

The residential quarter in immediate proximity to the palace consists essentially of private houses, of which certain were occupied by rich merchants, royal functionaries, or representatives of foreign powers. Several caches of tablets have been found in this quarter: in the House of Rasapabu (varied texts, above all legal and economic); the House of the Scholar (literary, lexicographic, and technical texts); the House of Rap'anu (legal and economic texts, but also religious and, above all, diplomatic). The House of the Bronze Armorer contained a pile of bronze arms and tools, of which one sword is marked with the cartouche of the Pharaoh Merneptah.

The areas referred to as the center of the tell, the South City Trench, and the South Acropolis Trench, are also areas of private dwellings. The libraries are rarer: noteworthy are the House of Literary Tablets (South City Trench), which has furnished a variety of texts. The house called "of the priest of the models of inscribed lungs and livers" or "Magician Priest" (South Acropolis Trench) seems to come more from the sacred architecture tradition (see D.3 above) than from that of ordinary private dwellings; it contained religious texts in Ugaritic and in Hurrian.

The city blocks, themselves of varied dimensions, are divided into living units (houses) closely linked with one another and imbricated, so that not one of them alone constitutes an autonomous architectural unit. That is why the interior partitions have changed over the course of the history of each block, according to inheritances and sales: it was sufficient to pierce a hole or board up a doorway to modify the size or the orientation of a house.

The construction used largely stone (cut stone for the lower portions in the most beautiful houses, and rubble stone everywhere else), wood (for timber framing and beams), unbaked brick (attested in recent excavations), and mud-daubed reeds (for the ceilings and terraces). The

plans of the houses are variable, but one notes in many cases a very functional partition of space, visible in the ground plan: access to the street is from a vestibule whence the interior traffic patterns branch out, horizontally by the doorways and vertically by a staircase, the first flight of which is of stone. One area is reserved for domestic activities, recognizable from culinary utensils (stone, ceramic, bone), another perhaps for the treatment of textiles, and another area for storage, with jars and sunken silos. The living quarters on the next floor up must be reconstructed. Fairly frequently, a separate area, with its own entrance but linked to the rest of the house, housed a family tomb. These private homes abutted industrial establishments, whether for agricultural production (oil pressing, for example) or jewelry or figurine workshops.

The population of the city of Ugarit is difficult to compute. For the latest phase of its history, historians have tried to extrapolate from the texts and from the surface area of the houses and their presumed density of inhabitants. A number of 6,000 to 8,000 inhabitants for the 13th-century city has been given, and about 25,000 inhabitants for the entire kingdom, but these are only estimates. The archaeological indications lead one to believe, in any case, that the population of the city increased during the 13th century; the increase in population density agrees with what can be inferred from the texts.

E. Material Culture

Life appears to have been very rich and refined at Ugarit, with a high development of certain techniques and an interest in improvements that make life more comfortable in an urban setting within a very restricted space.

1. Daily Life. The architectural remains show the existence of improvements that were sometimes very elaborate, facilitating the conduct of daily life. This is the case, for example, with everything having to do with water, for the royal area especially, as well as more modestly for the life of ordinary inhabitants (wells, aqueducts, reservoirs in stone vessels, and drainage by a monumental sewer for the palace quarter; cesspools found mainly in houses and streets in the rest of the city). By the same token, certain industrial buildings required complex installations, such as the oil presses with a counterweight press (of which there are several examples on the tell). This is only a small proportion of such establishments, for many of the industrial complexes, using only portable equipment made out of perishable material (wood in particular), left no archaeological trace.

Nonetheless, these activities, familial or larger, used instruments in stone, ceramic, carved bone, metal, etc., of which some have come down to us. Household utensils are represented by numerous stone mortars and pestles used to grind cereal; sickle blades of carved flint used to cut wheat or the reeds for roofs; fish hooks, knives, axes, and adzes; toiletries in bronze (razors, small tweezers, pins); everything that concerns textile production (a weaver's weight, spindles and spindle holders, sewing needles); and an abundance of utilitarian dishes, made locally for the most part, or more delicate pieces, imported from Mycenean Greece and from Cyprus. A great number of objects attest to the technical competence of certain Ugarit artisans whose works show highly developed technique and artistic research: glyptics on stone, for example, or better yet, ivory or metalwork and ceramics.

2. Cultural Life. In the archaeological record, artistic concerns appear above all in the plastic arts. Sculpture, however, is poorly represented, by only a few steles, and by what is called the "minor arts": the making of figurines or containers decorated in metal (bronze and gold); engraving and sculpture on ivory. But in these techniques the Ugarit artists produced objects that numbered among the most accomplished in the Levant during the LB period. To cite only the most famous, one should recall the headboards in sculpted ivory from the royal palace, or the golden cup and plate from the Temple of Baal. In all these cases, these are not productions for an ordinary clientele; the artists worked for kings and gods. However, the rich also possessed luxurious objects decorated with art.

Concerning artistic activities of a more abstract nature, literature and music, also closely linked to religious preoccupations, written testimony given by the tablets is more explicit in content. But the material remains also bring their contribution: thus, musical instruments discovered in the dig (like bronze cymbals, or castanets, or even an ivory horn) evoke ceremonies in the rituals or mythic stories. As to literature—ignoring the medium of modeled fired clay (the tablet), which is itself an archaeological object, as well as the stylus of bone which allowed one to impress the cuneiform signs—it relied on the teaching of writing, of which we have evidence. A building has not been located which can be designated as a school, but the presence of several alphabet primers, lexicographic documents, and students' copies in several places in the city prove that Ugaritians learned to write, and that they were familiar with technical vocabulary and foreign languages according to very precise pedagogical techniques. But here again it was without doubt only a fraction of the population who formed the professional category of scribes.

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TEXTS AND LITERATURE

"Literature" in the title of this section is to be understood in the broadest sense as "written document" and "Ugaritic" in the broad sense as "deriving from the ancient city-state of Ugarit." The purpose of this overview is, therefore, to describe briefly the documents unearthed at Ras Shamra that date from the period ca. 1400 B.C. (the only period, to date, which has furnished documents in number). The main emphasis will, nevertheless, be on the texts written in the Ugaritic script and language. (Since the Ugaritic language is written only in Ugaritic script, "Ugaritic" will henceforth be used to refer to both the script and the language.)

Ancient Ugarit was a cosmopolitan center and its scribes were well versed in both the local West Semitic language today called "Ugaritic" (ancient name unknown) and in Akkadian, the *lingua franca* of the late 2d millennium throughout the Near East. The extent of the scribes' erudition in Mesopotamian learning is becoming clearer as hundreds of Sumero-Akkadian lexical and literary texts, discovered primarily during the 20th–22d campaigns (1956–58), are published. In addition to these principal languages, texts also exist in Hurrian (both in the Ugaritic script and in the Sumero-Akkadian syllabic script), Egyptian, Hittite (syllabic and hieroglyphic), and in a largely undeciphered script known as "Cypro-Minoan." From later periods, there is the odd Phoenician text, as well as Greek, Roman, and Arabic coins.

A. Religious Texts
  1. Mythological Texts
    a. Baal-Anat Cycle
    b. Story of Kirta
    c. Story of Aqhat
    d. Minor Texts and Fragments
  2. Ritual Texts
B. Epistolary Texts
  1. Formulae
  2. Royal Letters
  3. Non-Royal Letters
C. Administrative Texts
  1. Lists
  2. Official Acts and Commercial Documents

A. Religious Texts

Virtually all overtly religious texts are in Ugaritic and reflect West Semitic religious concepts. The few (Sumero-) Akkadian literary texts published to date belong for the most part to the category of wisdom literature, with the admixture of human and divine elements characteristic of that genre, and they tend to repeat or at least resemble known Mesopotamian texts. The Hurrian religious texts are primarily ritual in nature and reflect closely the standard Ugaritic cult. The Ugaritic texts fall into two broad categories: myths and cultic texts, the former in poetry and the latter in prose. These major categories can again be subdivided.

Some of the myths are long literary productions that deal only with deities, others are of similar length but tell of relationships between heroes and divinities, while a third category consists of various shorter poetic texts which deal primarily with divinities but without a clear attachment to any of the major myths. Because the texts from this third category are written on single tablets, usually damaged, it is often difficult to decide the precise literary type and the *raison d'être* of a given text.

The cultic texts also belong to several sub-categories: (1) rituals, which relate the events of a cultic cycle, the sacrifices, the offerings, the processions; (2) deity lists; (3) divinatory texts of various kinds.

1. Mythological Texts. We do not attempt to attach separate terms to each of the Ugaritic literary types because the Ugaritic types do not fully correspond, be it by subject-matter or by form, to the Homeric or Germanic types which have given rise to such terms as "epic," "legend," or "saga." Since all of the texts grouped under this heading include a divine element, we use "myth" in the broad sense of "a literary production which deals with the acts of the gods, with or without an explicit human element." The phrase "literary production" is important here, for in all of these texts one may perceive a conscious attempt to produce a literarily refined work—this literary intention is manifest in the poetic form of these works. It is indubitable that in many cases, perhaps most, the specifically "literary" form has a long prehistory of oral transmission and elaboration; it is thus the artistic (or "belle-lettristic") aspect of these works that we intend to convey by the term "literary production" (and not primarily the fact that they are written down: the writing down was probably a relatively minor part—however important it may be in practical terms for the survival of the myth to our day—of the "literary production").

a. Baal-Anat Cycle. The precise relationship of the tablets commonly known as the *Baal-Anat Cycle* (*CTA* 1–6 = *KTU* 1.1–6) is uncertain and the object of much debate. The common title is a fair one, however, for wherever the text is well enough preserved to permit comprehension, it is clear that the main protagonists are Baal, god of the storm and hence of agricultural fertility, and Anat, Baal's wife-sister, perpetual "young girl" (*btlt* ≅ Heb *bĕtûlâ*), and goddess of both love and war. In these texts El is a father-figure, head of the pantheon, and attended by his wife

Asherah, but these two ancient deities do not initiate action and are not the primary focus of any of the principal narratives. It is rather Baal who is the focus: he defeats his enemy *Yammu* ("Sea"), he requests and receives a palace like the other gods but is shortly thereafter himself defeated by *Môtu* ("death"), but is in the end resurrected and serves again to bring rain and plenty upon the earth.

The principal literary question regarding the Baal-Anat texts is whether they form a true cycle or simply a collection of somewhat disparate stories. The only basis of a truly cyclical interpretation yet proposed is the seasonal one (de Moor 1971), where the trials and victory of the weather could be directly related to the cycle of the seasons. Coupled with this seasonal interpretation has often been the assumption that the myths reflect a ritual cycle tied in with the seasonal cycle. A unitary interpretation, but not necessarily a cyclical one, would be to see in these texts a glorification of the young deity Baal (comparable to the glorification of Marduk in certain Mesopotamian texts): in such a view the ultimate victory of Baal could only be obtained by the defeat of the various enemies which appear in the poems (Sea, River, Death, Leviathan, etc.) and his own defeat by Death would be seen as an episode rather than as a repeating occurrence.

b. Story of Kirta. The *story of Kirta* (written *KRT* in Ugaritic; vocalization uncertain) is of an entirely different kind (*CTA* 14–16, = *KTU* 1.14–16). In it the clearly human though legendary royal figure Kirta struggles with the dual problem—ironically inseparable—of perpetuating his "house," i.e., his progency and hence his dynasty, while preserving his own existence (against divine retribution for sin) and maintaining his own hold on the throne (against an ambitious son). The very beginning of the first tablet is lost but soon thereafter one learns that Kirta has lost seven wives, one after the other.

CTA 14: (10) Kirta's household has been destroyed,
(11) Kirta's place has been removed;
(12) His rightful wife [the first] he cannot find,
(13) His proper spouse;
(14) A [second] wife he marries but she disappears,
(15) The mother's offspring who was his;
(16) A third dies in childbirth;
(17) A fourth by illness;
(18) A fifth Rashap (19) gathers in;
A sixth the lads (20) of Sea;
The seventh of them (21) falls by the sword.
(22) Kirta sees his household destroyed,
(23) His "seat" completely removed.

Saddened by the sight, Kirta weeps and falls asleep. El appears to him in a dream and enjoins him to seek a wife in the far-off city of *ʾudm*. Kirta undertakes the expedition and on his way vows to Asherah that if successful he will give twice his bride's weight in silver, even thrice her weight in gold, to the goddess. The mission is successful, the new bride produces children, but Kirta neglects his vow and is punished by a mortal illness. El contrives to heal him (the text is damaged and has preserved no reference to a rite of penitence) but on recovering his health Kirta is faced with an attempt by his son *yṣb* to take the throne. The final tablet preserved ends with Kirta's curse on his ambitious son. It is certain that this is not the end of the story, however, for the tablet is intact and the text stops in the middle of a sentence.

The meaning of this story for the Ugaritians is uncertain, but because it was written by one of the leading scribes under one of the kings named Niqmaddu (*CTA* 16 VI 59 = *KTU* 1.16: 59, to be compared with *CTA* 6 VI 53–57 = *KTU* 1.6 VI 54–58), one may assume that Kirta's dynastic problems eventually received a solution that was meaningful to the kings of Ugarit, whose own dynasty, according to their own understanding (see RS 24.257 = *KTU* 1.113; Pardee 1988, chap. 5), went back at least to the early 2d millennium.

c. Story of Aqhat. The *story of Aqhat* (*CTA* 17–19 = *KTU* 1.17–19) is another long narrative containing human and divine elements. Here the royal element is largely absent, though the problem of obtaining progeny is as important as it was in the Kirta story. The poem as preserved opens in medias res with Daniel requesting of El a son and receiving a favorable answer. The son, Aqhat, becomes a hunter whose bow, a fine composite bow produced by the craftsman-deity Kutharu, is coveted by the goddess Anat. When Aqhat refuses to give up the bow, Anat has him killed. Aqhat's father recovers the body for burial and the hero's sister undertakes to wreak vengeance on Anat's hired assassin. Here the third tablet ends, again, apparently, before the end of the story. Three other fragments (*CTA* 20–22 = *KTU* 1.20–22) apparently deal with the same story, for Daniel is mentioned by name in them, but they are so fragmentary and the subject-matter is so different, that their attachment to the main tablets is not certain.

Though apparently copied by the same scribe as the Kirta text (see *CTA* 17 VI 56 = *KTU* 1.17 VI 56), royal dynastic concerns are much less evident here and the retention of the name Dan(i)el as an ancient wisdom figure in the book of Ezekiel (28:3) makes the identification of the work as a didactic one tempting. The only element in the text which may reasonably be said to belong to the category of wisdom sayings, however, is the list of "Duties of a Son," repeated four times in *CTA* 17 (= *KTU* 1.17):

I (27) Who sets up the stela of his ancestor-god,
In the sanctuary (28) the sun-disk of his clan;
Who causes to rise from the earth his incense,
(29) From the dust the perfume of his place;
Who attacks (30) those who spurn him ("him" = his father)
Drives out those who oppress him;
(31) Who takes his hand when he is in his cups,
Bears him up (32) when he is drunk with wine;
Who presents his emmer-offering in the temple of Baal,
(32) His gift in the temple of El;
Who rolls his roof on (33) a muddy day,
Washes his garments on a miry day.

Listing is a well-known characteristic of wisdom literature and the list just translated may constitute a link between

the Aqhat narrative and a more abstract form of wisdom literature.

d. Minor Texts and Fragments. The two best-known texts—because published early on—not belonging to one of the collections of cycles just described are the myths of *The Birth of Shahar and Shalim* (*CTA* 23 = *KTU* 1.23) and of *The Marriage of Nikkal* (*CTA* 24 = *KTU* 1.24). The first text belongs to the category of short mythological texts alluded to above because of its brevity, its lack of direct links with the larger mythological texts, and because it contains non-mythological elements, in this case instructions for a ritual. It has particularly captured the attention of specialists of West Semitic religion in part because El is the principal protagonist but not least because it contains some of the more lurid passages of a literature which is not especially graphic in sexual matters. *The Marriage of Nikkal* is stated explicitly to be a song (it begins *ʾašr* "I sing"). It contains a myth recounting the marriage of the West Semitic lunar god Yariḫu with the Mesopotamian lunar goddess Nikkal.

From a series of individual texts and fragments published sporadically since the 1930's it has become clear that we know only the tip of the Ugaritic mythopoeic iceberg and that the range of literary types contained therein was surely broader than we might believe on the basis of the major mythological texts. Only a sampling can be indicated here:

1) *CTA* 10–12 (= *KTU* 1.10–12): three texts dealing with Baal but outside the context of the Baal-Anat cycle cited above.
2) RS 15.134 = *PRU* II 1 = *KTU* 1.82: a long and relatively complete text that appears to be primarily mythological but of which the meaning is disputed.
3) RS 19.039 = *PRU* V 1 = *KTU* 1.92: another primarily mythological text, but rather badly broken, in which the goddess Athtart, not a leading figure in the standard literature, plays a major role.
4) RS 24.258 = *Ugaritica* V 1 = *KTU* 1.114 begins with a mythological narrative of the drunkenness of El and ends with a medical prescription in prose for the relief of hangover.
5) RS 24.244 = *Ugaritica* V 7 = *KTU* 1.100 contains a mythological and poetic account of how a mare-goddess is relieved by the god Horon of the threat posed by venomous serpents.
6) RS 24.252 = *Ugaritica* V 2 = *KTU* 1.108 recounts in poetic form an invitation to *Rapi'u*, "king of Eternity" (probably a title for *Milku*, a god of the underworld) to participate in a drinking feast with other deities; after a long lacuna the text ends with a blessing, probably intended for the king of Ugarit, to be effected by the intermediary of the Rephaim, the shades of former kings.

Alongside these documents which are primarily mythological and poetic in form, one can mention a few documents which are even more mixed in type:

1) Inserted at the end of the prose ritual text RS 24.266 = *Ugaritica* VII, pp. 31–39 = *KTU* 1.119 is a poetic prayer enclosed within instructions for when it is to be offered:

(26) When the strong one attacks your gates,
The warrior (27) your walls,
You shall lift your eyes to Baal:
(28) "O Baal, cast the strong one from our gates,
(29) The warrior from our walls.
A bull, (30) O Baal, we sanctify,
A vow, O Baal, (31) we fulfill;
A [first]-born (or: a [ra]m), O Baal, we sanctify,
(32) A food-offering, O Baal, we fulfill,
A drink-offering, O Baal, we make;
(33) We go up to the sanctuary of Baal,
We take the path to the temple of Baal."
(34) Baal will hear your prayer,
(35) He will cast the strong one from your gates,
The warrior (36) from your walls.

2) RS 24.257 = *Ugaritica* V 5 = *KTU* 1.113: On the recto is a text divided into short paragraphs but too badly broken to permit one to ascertain whether the form is poetic. On the verso is a list of the kings of Ugarit back to the founding of the dynasty more than half a millennium earlier. Many have seen in the joining of the texts on the same tablet evidence for a celebration in honor of the deceased members of the dynasty.
3) RS 24.272 = *Ugaritica* V 6 = *KTU* 1.124 appears to be a prose text but one that recounts a mythological consultation of the hero-deity *Ditanu* in order to obtain the healing of a sick child. After the description of the consultation come two oracles pronounced by *Ditanu*, both of which appear to contain quasi-naturalistic devices (placement of spices for the cleansing of the house) for the recovery of a sick person.
4) RS 34.126 = *Syria* 59 (1982) 121–28 = *KTU* 1.161 bears a text of mixed characteristics: The form is poetic, but it appears to be primarily ritualistic. At the death of a king, the deceased ancestors are invoked, sacrifices are offered, and a blessing is pronounced on the house of the new king. In this text, the poetic form is very likely owing to the mythological nature of the list of ancestors (only the two kings that immediately preceded the deceased king are well-known figures; the rest are apparently of great antiquity for their names are virtually unknown and they are called "the Rephaim of the earth" and "the ancient Rephaim").

2. Ritual Texts. More than one hundred ritual texts have been found at Ras Shamra, most of them in Ugaritic, some in the Hurrian language, written in both the syllabic script and in the alphabetic script (*Ugaritica* V, pp. 447–544), none in Akkadian.

The Ugaritic ritual texts are expressed with an exasperating concision: an animal or another item is mentioned in conjunction with a divine name and often in conjunction with a designation for the type of offering in which the object is classified, e.g., *šrp* "burnt offering," *šlmm* "peace offering." Unfortunately, the attribution to a deity is not always indicated by means of a preposition and the lack of vocalization prevents us from perceiving a possible attribution expressed by a case-ending. There are occasional

references to preparations or to processions, e.g., RS 24.291 = *Ugaritica* VII, pp. 41–44 = *KTU* 1.132: 1–3 "On the 19th (day of an unnamed month) one makes the bed of (the deity) Pidray with the cover(s) of *mlk* ('the king' or the deity 'Milku'?)"; RS 19.015 = *PRU* 4 = *KTU* 1.91: 10–11 "When Athtart-*šd* enters the royal palace, when the Rashap-deities enter the royal palace. . . ." The texts are often divided into sections by horizontal lines drawn across the tablet, by references to times (e.g., *lll* "at night"), or by numbers indicating the days of the month. Such references are far too infrequent, however, to permit the reconstruction of a cultic cycle. Indeed, it is very possible that the few texts that have come down to us were prepared in or for several different sanctuaries and that they represent, therefore, a multiplicity of cults and, perhaps, of cultic cycles. If such is the case, we are far indeed from being able to reconstruct a cultic cycle.

The exasperating concision of these texts has resulted in some rather basic questions still being undecided. Were these ritual texts meant to be "descriptive" or "prescriptive" (Levine 1963)? If they were prescriptive, why the multiplicity of forms of the cult and the apparent lack of serialization (i.e., there is not a "Book of Leviticus" from Ras Shamra)? If they were descriptive, why are many of the verbs expressed in the "imperfect," the verbal form which in prose is normally reserved for the description of non-completed acts? Our own preference is to see these imperfects at the very least as denotations of the habitual and in the apparent multiplicity of cult forms a reflection of multiple cult centers.

There are also some uncertainties as to the meaning of basic formulae: what precisely does *brr* mean in the formula *yrthṣ mlk brr* "the king washes himself *brr*" or *ḫl* in the phrase *ʿrb špš wḫl mlk* "at the setting of the sun, the king is *ḫl*"?

a. Expiatory Ritual. A very special ritual, one that was not limited to a specific sanctuary or cult, was the expiatory ritual RS 1.002 = *CTA* 32 = *KTU* 1.40. Several fragments of duplicates and of similar texts have been discovered since the publication of the original text (+ RS 17.100 = *CTA* Appendix I = *KTU* 1.84; RS 24.270A = *KTU* 1.122; RS 24.652 G, K = *KTU* 1.154)—this relatively large number of exemplars of a particular type of text may be seen as a sign of a broad usage. Though the texts are fragmentary and not perfectly understood, it is clear that the literary type is that of the ritual (the terms *dbḥ* "sacrifice," *ṯ* "offering," *š* "sheep," and *ʿr* "jack" appear), that various types of sin are being dealt with (the terms *ʾap* "anger," *qṣrt npš* "impatience," and *qtt* "disgusting deed" appear, as well as the verb *ḥṭʾ* "to sin"), and that the inhabitants of Ugarit (*bn/btʾugrt* "son, daughter of Ugarit") and their royal household (*nqmd, ʾaṯt* "Niqmaddu, [his?] woman/wife") were involved.

b. Deity Lists. We are fortunate in having among the few Ugaritic religious texts three exemplars of a list of divine names, two in Ugaritic (RS 1.017 = *CTA* 29 = *KTU* 1.47; RS 24.264 + *Ugaritica* VII, pp. 1–3 = *KTU* 1.118), one in syllabic script (RS 20.024 = *Ugaritica* V 18). This confluence of texts in two different scripts gives us the identification made by the Ugaritic scribes of Levantine deities with their Mesopotamian counterparts, often better known, and is evidence of at least one partial form of standardization of the Ugaritic pantheon—"partial" because the text contains only thirty-three entries of which six are the repeated word *bʾlm* "a Baal." Furthermore, a ritual text, RS 24.643 = *Ugaritica* V 9 = *KTU* 1.148, contains a list of offerings made to a series of deities of which the names and the order of mention are almost the same as in the divinity lists just described (just three divine names from near the end of the list are missing in the ritual text: *ʾuṯḫt, mlkm,* and *šlm,* nos. 30, 32, and 33 of the lists). We know from the other ritual texts that other deities were worshipped in the Ugaritic cult, for not only are many other divine names mentioned but RS 24.643 is the only ritual to reflect even approximately the known "pantheon" list in its particular order. Moreover, there are other lists of divine names in other orders (e.g., RS 4.474 = *CTA* 30 = *KTU* 1.65; RS 24.246 = *Ugaritica* V 14 = *KTU* 1.102; RS 26.142 = *Ugaritica* V 170, the last in syllabic script). One can only conclude that the three identical lists and RS 24.643 reflect one cult, that of Ṣapon (RS 1.017 is headed *ʾil ṣpn* "the gods of Ṣapon," while the ritual text bears the heading *dbḥ ṣpn* "sacrifices of Ṣapon"), the Ugaritic equivalent of the classical Olympus, and that other cults, perhaps less catholic, would have had their own "pantheon" lists.

The other deity lists just mentioned furnish evidence for such a hypothesis. RS 24.246 = *Ugaritica* V 14 = *KTU* 1.102 contains on the recto a list of divine names (fourteen lines) and on the verso a list of names that resemble personal names but which are generally unattested as such and which all contain a divine name or epithet. The divinities are, of course, mentioned in other ritual texts but we have no evidence, aside from this tablet, that the names which appear on the verso were ever the object of a cult. RS 4.474 = *CTA* 30 = *KTU* 1.65 deals exclusively with the household of El. It begins with a hierarchical list of El's family, also known from the expiation ritual (RS 1.002) mentioned above: "El, the sons of El, the circle of the sons of El, the assembly of the sons of El, Thukamuna-wa-Shunama, El and Athirat." The text continues with a series of attributes of El ("grace of El," "constancy of El," "well-being of El"), two uses of the word *ʾil* (≅ El) as an appellative ("the god *ḫš*," "the god *ʾadd*"), two forms of Baal ("Baal of Ṣapon" and "Baal of Ugarit"), and ends with a series of prepositional phrases ending in the word El ("by the sword of El," "by the adze of El," etc.). This enigmatic set of associations was certainly connected at least partially with cultic ritual (cf. the partial overlap between this text and RS 1.002).

c. Extispicy Texts. Another form of ritual was extispicy, the examination of internal organs from sacrificial animals for the purpose of predicting the outcome of a particular enterprise. From Mesopotamia there are both clay liver models inscribed with a prognosis and long collections of such omens each of which consists of the sign ("If the liver is in such-and-such a form . . .") followed by the prognosis ("such-and-such will happen"). The excavations at Ras Shamra have given us a small collection of inscribed liver models (some with Ugaritic texts, some only with marks indicating the interpretable features of the liver), one inscribed lung model (several discrete Ugaritic inscriptions), and two collections of omina (one dealing with

omens based on abnormal animal fetuses, the other with omens based on abnormal human fetuses).

The liver models with Ugaritic inscriptions are votive rather than ominophorous, e.g., "Sacrifice of Bayyay, son of Sharay, to Athtart who is in Athtart" (RS 24.323 = *Ugaritica* VI, pp. 172–73 = *KTU* 1.142). The reference is to a sacrifice to the goddess Athtart in her particular manifestation in the village of Athtart, probably the village that is known as the "Estate of Athtart" *(gt ʿtrt)* in the administrative texts.

The lung model (RS 24.277 = *Ugaritica* VI, pp. 165–72 = *KTU* 1.127) bears a series of votive inscriptions ("sacrifice of . . . ," "sheep of . . .") which are arranged on the three principal planes of the model at various angles to each other and separated by lines incised in the clay. It also contains an ominological statement not dissimilar to the prayer to Baal (RS 24.266) cited above: "If the city is about to be taken, if death attacks the inhabitants, the households of the inhabitants shall take a goat and they shall (thus) see afar (i.e., what will happen)" (lines 29–31).

A striking example of Mesopotamian culture translated into the Ugaritic language is that of the divinatory texts based on abnormal fetuses of animals or humans. The genre was well known in Mesopotamia and is commonly designated by the first words of the omen, *shumma izbu*, "If the abnormal fetus. . . ." The form of the omen is that of the extispicy omens described above: the protasis describes the particular features of the abnormal fetus (e.g., "If the fetus has no tongue . . .") while the apodosis provides the prognosis (e.g., ". . . the king will destroy the enemy land"). The genre is represented by two texts from Ras Shamra, one, the better preserved, dealing with abnormal animal births (RS 24.247 = *Ugaritica* VII, pp. 44–60 = *KTU* 1.103 + 1.145), the other, only a small fragment from the left side of the tablet, dealing with abnormal human births (RS 24.302 = *Ugaritica* VII, pp. 60–62 = *KTU* 1.140). (For both texts see Pardee 1966.) There is also a very poorly preserved tablet, from the neighboring site of Ras Ibn Hani, of an omen text based on planetary phenomena (RIH 78/14 = *Syria* 57 [1980] 352–53). These texts preserve the structure (a long series of single-sentence omens, each based on a different observed phenomenon), the form (protasis, apodosis), and the terminology (e.g., "king," "land," "enemy," "destroy," "sword," "troops") of the better-known Mesopotamian texts and it is almost certain that the Ugaritic versions were derived at some point from Mesopotamian models. The exact route by which these literary models reached the Levant is uncertain, however, for no known text of the genre from any source has the same sequence of omens as the Ugaritic exemplars.

d. Hurrian Religious Texts. Another aspect of the internationalism of the Ugaritic ritual texts may be seen in the important group of Hurrian religious texts found at Ras Shamra. Because the Hurrian texts are often in rather bad condition and because the Hurrian language is still poorly understood (it is non-Semitic), the Hurrian texts have not as yet made a major contribution to our understanding of Hurro-Ugaritic religion. The ritual texts and the deity lists are similar to the Ugaritic texts already described; in addition, there appear to be prayers or hymns of a length as yet unparalleled in Ugaritic (e.g., RS 15.030+ = *Ugaritica* V, pp. 463–64). The intermixture of the Hurrian and West Semitic aspects of Ugaritic culture is perhaps most clearly visible in the ritual texts, for they furnish several examples of linguistic mixture in a single text. The mix takes all forms: texts entirely in Hurrian (in both alphabetic and syllabic scripts), texts principally in Hurrian but with key phrases in Ugaritic (e.g., RS 24.291 = *Ugaritica* VII, pp. 41–44 = *KTU* 1.132), texts principally in Ugaritic but with a discrete Hurrian section (e.g., RS 24.643 = *Ugaritica* V 9 = *KTU* 1.148: 13–17), texts with Ugaritic vocabulary but Hurrian morpho-syntax (e.g., RS 24.291 = *Ugaritica* VII, pp. 41–44 = *KTU* 1.132). The speakers of Hurrian are best known from references in non-Hurrian sources to the state of Mitanni (*floruit* 14th century B.C.); its capital, Washukanni, has never been identified with certainty and the native archives for the Mitannian state are thus still to be excavated. This rather shadowy people was well represented in the Ugaritic population of the 13th century, as we know from proper names. The ritual texts in Hurrian do not differ in any significant way from the Ugaritic ones, consisting primarily of sacrifices to either Semitic or Hurrian deities, with key formulae, especially verbal phrases, often in Ugaritic. There was, therefore, an important degree of symbiosis between these two ethnic elements of Ugaritic society (to the extent that ethnicity was represented by language) and it would appear that the organization of the cult was primarily the Ugaritic (i.e., West Semitic) one, for the operative cult terms were Ugaritic.

B. Epistolary Texts

There are approximately eighty letters in the Ugaritic language from Ras Shamra and Ras Ibn Hani and approximately double that number in Akkadian. As is to be expected in a culture where the knowledge and use of writing was still the privilege of a small minority, most of these documents originated from the upper social classes, especially from the court itself.

1. Formulae. The Ugaritic epistolary formulae are relatively tightly set, though a good deal of variation is permitted within the standard pattern. In general, the literary convention is that of an oral message, in which the written tablet would have served as an *aide-memoire* (e.g., RS 18.40 = *PRU* V 63 = *KTU* 2.40: 1–4: "To the king my lord say: Message of Thapiṭbaʿlu your servant"). The temporal perspective is that of the writer, and the so-called epistolary perfect is used for acts associated with the writing of the letter (e.g., RS 16.265 = *PRU* II 19 = *KTU* 5.9: 7–8: *ʾiršt ʾaršt lʾaḫy lrʿy* "A request I make [lit. "I have requested"] to my brother, my friend") (Pardee and Whiting 1987). In social situations involving a superior and an inferior, the former is usually named first (e.g., RS 18.113A = *PRU* V 8 = *KTU* 2.42: 1–3: "To the king, [my lo]rd, say: Message of the centurion, your servant"). A set of greetings may intervene between the address and the body of the letter, especially if the letter was written to a family member and/or to a social superior (RS 11.872 = *CTA* 50 = *KTU* 2.13: 1–8: "To the queen, my mother, say: Message of the king, your son: May the gods guard you and keep you well"). A request for a response to the present letter can either follow the greetings or come at the end of the letter (e.g.,

RS 15.008 = *PRU* II 15 = *KTU* 2.16: 16–20: "And may my mother return word to me of every good thing").

A typology of Ugaritic letters such as those proposed for Hebrew and Aramaic letters by P.-E. Dion has not yet been devised (see LETTERS [ARAMAIC]). The following discussion is organized by social status of correspondents; this status was reflected in both formulary and content.

2. Royal Letters. There are few Ugaritic letters in which a reigning sovereign is mentioned by name; usually only titles are used, even in international correspondence. There are a few such cases, however, where the king is addressed by name: e.g., "Message of the Sun [the king of Hatti] to Ammurapi: Say: . . ." (RS 18.038 = *PRU* V 60 = *KTU* 2.39: 1–2); "[Messa]ge of Puduḫepa, quee[n of Hatti: To] Niqmaddu say: . . ." (RS 17.435+ = *Ugaritica* VII, pp. 121–28 = *KTU* 2.36: 1–2). When the king of Tyre wrote to the king of Ugarit, he referred to the addressee only as "the king of Ugarit, my brother" (RS 18.031 = *PRU* V 59 = *KTU* 2.38: 1–34). Thus the personal name of the king of Ugarit is mentioned by his Hittite overlords while a king of equal rank uses only titles. Judging from the more voluminous Akkadian correspondence, the pattern observable in these three letters may be described as a general tendency, viz., the king of Hatti addresses the king of Ugarit by name, the local rulers do not. Thus in RS 17.132 = *PRU* IV, pp. 35–37, we find "Thus (says) the Sun, the Great King: To Niqmaddu say: . . . ," while the king of the neighboring state of Amurru uses a formula without the name: "Thus (says) the king of Amurru: To the king of Ugarit, my son, say: . . ." (RS 17.152 = *PRU* IV, p. 214). That the use of the addressee's name was not simply a question of the superior-to-inferior relationship is shown by another letter from the king of a neighboring country to the king of Ugarit in which the social positions of the last letter cited are reversed but the name of the king of Ugarit is not mentioned: "To the king of Ugarit, my father, say: Thus says Ariteshub, the king of Ushnatu, your son: . . ." (RS 17.143 = *PRU* IV, p. 217). As many scholars have pointed out, the social relationship of the correspondents is reflected primarily in the order of mention of the two names. The use of the royal name either reflects Hittite practice or else implies a degree of formality not in use between fellow Levantine kings. Unfortunately, we do not have a letter from the king of Egypt to serve as a check, but there are two Ugaritic versions of letters from kings of Ugarit to Egyptian kings (RIH 78/3 + 30 = *Syria* 57 [1980] 356–58; RS 34.356 = *Sem* 32 [1982] 10–12) and, though damaged at the crucial spots, it is unlikely in both cases that the addressee's name was mentioned. The first of these letters is especially remarkable in that it provides for the first time in Ugaritic a series of greetings similar to those that characterize the Amarna letters written in Akkadian from the kings of Palestine and Syria to the king of Egypt in the early fourteenth century. The first twelve lines of RIH 78/3 + 30, the entirety of the recto as the tablet is preserved, are taken up by these greetings: "[To the Sun,] the great king, the king of Egypt, [the goo]d [king,] the just king, [the king of ki]ngs, the lord of all the land [of Egyp]t, say: Message of [Ammistam]ru, your servant: At the feet of [my lord] I [fall.] With my lord may it be well; [may it be well?] with your personnel, with your land, [with your horses,] with your chariots, [with your X, with all that belongs] to the Sun, the great [ki]ng, the king of Egyp[t, the good king,] the ri[ghteous king, the king of Egypt . . .]."

There are several letters from various persons associated with the royal throne. The most important of these personages is perhaps Talmiyanu, who writes to the queen of Ugarit as his mother, but is not known ever to have taken the throne of Ugarit—at least under the name Talmiyanu. The clearest indication of Talmiyanu's blood relationship to the throne is in RS 8.315 = *CTA* 51 = *KTU* 2.11:1–4: "To my mother, our lady, say: Message of Talmiyanu and of Aḫatumilki, your servants." In these formulas two different pronominal suffixes are used (*ʾum-y* "my mother," and *ʾadt-ny* "our lady") to distinguish the blood relationship of Talmiyanu from the simple inferior relationship of Aḫatumilki (if "mother" had been simply a title of respect, the distinction need not have been made).

The content of the royal letters is similar to that of the hundreds of known Akkadian letters from the region: usually matters of tribute and trade, duties to the "Great Kings" of Hatti and Egypt and responsibilities to the fellow kings of the region. Most of this correspondence is in Akkadian, with Ugaritic usually reserved for personal letters between members of the royal family. It is generally believed that the few Ugaritic letters of international character are translations of Akkadian originals: the two outgoing letters to Egypt mentioned above must either be drafts or translations for archival purposes. One such Ugarit version, the letter from Puduḫepa referred to above, deals primarily with matters of tribute (*ʾargmny*) and trade (*qnʾum, pḥm* "purple- and red-dyed textiles") (RS 17.434+ = *Ugaritica* VII, pp. 121–34 = Pardee 1983–84: 6, 29–31). On the other hand, the letter (also cited above) from an unnamed Hittite king to Ammurapi, the last known king of Ugarit, strikes a more ominous note: "As regards the letter which you sent (to me) the Sun concerning food, the Sun (himself) is perishing" (RS 18.038 = *PRU* V 60 = *KTU* 2.39). The famine that struck Hatti near the end of her existence (ca. 1200 B.C.) has been well documented and RS 18.038 is apparently a further witness to that situation (Astour 1965).

There were also not only formal statements of brotherhood, but acts of brotherly kindness are recorded as well. In the body of the letter from the king of Tyre to the king of Ugarit (address to "my brother" cited above), one finds the following account: "Your boats, that you had sent to Egypt, were foundering (lit. 'dead') off Tyre. They were caught in a bad storm. But the salvage-master took all the grain in the baskets (i.e., the cargo of grain) then I in turn took from the salvage-master all the grain, all the people (lit. 'every soul'), and all the good, and I returned (it all) to them. Your boats are in Acco, stripped (i.e., the sails were destroyed in the storm). My brother should worry about nothing!" (RS 18.31 = *PRU* V 59 = *KTU* 2.38: 10–27).

Finally, in a letter of which the address is broken but which can be ascribed to the royal correspondence because of the content and because the prostration and greeting formulas are addressed "to my mother," appears an as yet enigmatic reference to the anointment of an Amurrite princess: "Yabninu has gone to the king of Amurru and has taken (with him) one hundred (shekels of) gold as well as rugs for the king of Amurru. He has also taken oil in

his horn and has poured it on the head of the daughter of the king of Amurru [. . .]" (RS 34.124 = *KTU* 2.72). It is likely that there is a connection between this text and the so-called case of the Great Lady, which involved the repudication by Ammistamru, king of Ugarit, of an Amurrite wife (*PRU* IV, pp. 125–48; Fisher 1971), but the meaning of the ceremony (consecration, purification?) and its precise historical context (marriage, remarriage, execution ?) remain unclear. Anointment is well known from a wide selection of Levantine sources and was practiced in more than one circumstance; there are especially close verbal parallels in biblical Hebrew (Pardee 1977: 14–19).

3. Non-Royal Letters. One may assume, for the reason stated in the introduction to the epistolary documents, that most correspondence occurred between highly placed members of Ugaritic society. Occasionally titles are used which show such to have been the case: "Head Shepherd" (RS 1–5.[001] = *CTA* 59 = *KTU* 2.2: 1), "Chief of the priests" (RS 1.18 = *CTA* 55 = *KTU* 2.4: 1). In other letters, access to a royal personage is mentioned: "How is it with the letter-tablet that I sent to Thariyelli [the queen mother]? What has she said?" (UH 138 = KTU 2.14 = Bordreuil 1982: 6–9); "GNRYN to Milkuyatan: Mention me favorably to the king" (RS 15.007 = *PRU* II 20 = *KTU* 2.15: 1–3).

There is a larger number of letters in Akkadian in which titles are used and from these one can gain a clearer perspective on the workings of the royal bureaucracy, e.g., RS 11.730 = *PRU* III, pp. 12–13: "Thus (says) the king of the land of Birutu: To the Governor of the land of Ugarit, my son, say: May it be well with you. May the gods keep you well. My son, I herewith send my messenger in order that he carry out my wishes in your land. You, my son, be on the lookout for his welfare [lit. 'put your eyes good on him']"; RS 20.239 = *Ugaritica* V 52: "Thus (says) Mada'e: to the Governor [of Ugarit] say: May it be well with you. May the gods keep you. As for my cattle which the men of Rakba stole, since you said '[The king] is leaving [Ugarit,] so remit the case of your cattle to me and let's bring it to a conclusion', so now let's bring the case to a conclusion and get my cattle back. But, if they don't give me back my cattle, the elders of Rakba, Babiyanu son of Yadudanu, Abdu along with his son and Addunu his son-in-law, and the millurion, must all come and enter the temple (i.e., swear an oath); (then only) will they be absolved."

In other cases, all that can be gleaned from the letter and the prosopography of the correspondents is the relative relationship of the correspondents: e.g., RS 29.93 = *Ugaritica* VII, pp. 75–78 = *KTU* 2.70: "To Yadurma, our master, say: Message of Pinḥathu and of Yarimhaddu, your servants. Greetings to our master. May the gods guard you and keep you well. At the feet of our master twice seven times we fall from afar. Here Bin-Ayyana is continually making requests to your maid-servant [i.e., one of the writers, probably Yarimhaddu]. So send a message to him and refuse him (these requests). As for me, I have taken on a workman and repaired the house. So why has Bin-Ayyana come back and taken two shekels of silver from your maid-servant? Now as concerns your two servants [i.e., the two writers], there with you (is) everything, so give them food, for thus the household of your (two) servants is continually requesting. And when your servant [i.e., the other writer, Pinḥathu] arrives to greet you, then he will have made for my lord a *ḫupnu*-garment, (paid for) with his own wherewithal" (Pardee 1979–80: 23–35; Pardee 1981–82: 260, n. 9; Pardee 1987: 210–11).

Some letters have all the flavor of a son writing home: "Uzanu, son of Bayyay [to . . .]; may Baal inquire after your health. As for me, your son, I am alive (and well). At the orders of the Sun I am staying in the house of TRTN. The woman (of the house) is not furnishing my food nor is she furnishing my wine" (RS 17.117 = *Ugaritica* VII, pp. 392–98 = *KTU* 5.11 = Pardee 1982). The statement that the "Sun" (king of Hatti or, conceivably, of Egypt) is concerning himself with the welfare of the writer indicates that our hero is in the foreign capital with the highest possible recommendations. Differences in formulae and orthography show that this letter and a companion piece (RS 17.63 = *Ugaritica* VII, pp. 389–92 = *KTU* 5.10 = Pardee 1982) were in all probability written in that city by a scribe whose dialect and literary traditions differed from those we know from the texts written within the kingdom of Ugarit.

One Ugaritic letter permits a glimpse into the training of a scribe. RS 16.265 = *PRU* II 19 = *KTU* 5.9 is a practice tablet which begins with a model letter, then degenerates into simple writing exercises. The model letter is highly interesting, for in it we find something that is missing in most of our documents from the kingdom of Ugarit: humor. The first dose of humor is rather subtle, for it consists of an accumulation of blessings that is unparalleled in precisely this form in any genuine Ugaritic letter. The second dose is much broader, however, for it reflects the age-old (!) identification of students with wine: the apprentice scribe lists various forms of the verb "to give" then, after this build-up, he states the object of the request, a cup of wine: "Message of Ithatilli to Whomever: May the gods guard you, may they keep you well, may they strengthen you for one thousand days, for ten thousand years, throughout the ages of time. A request I would make of my brother, of my friend: May he give (= grant) it to his brother, to his friend (his) friend for all time. May you give; give; give indeed; will you not give?; give a cup of wine that I might drink it."

C. Administrative Texts

Altogether approximately 900 non-literary texts written in alphabetic cuneiform have been discovered. This number is far larger than that of literary texts. In syllabic cuneiform this situation is reversed: virtually all of the approximately 1250 tablets and 600 fragments are non-literary and the very few literary texts that have been found are almost all copies of Mesopotamian works.

Alongside the well-defined and well-attested text types written in alphabetic cuneiform to which the bulk of this section is devoted, there are some categories that are difficult to define precisely because of the scarcity of examples. These peculiar texts are susceptible to serious errors of interpretation because of the lack of similar texts—perhaps yet to be discovered—which would show the standard features of these texts and thereby shed light on their structure and meaning. As an example: on the two sides of a tablet, the only one of this type known to date (RS 18.025 = *PRU* V = *KTU* 4.338), are two texts

which may be independent of each other: one is a personnel list, where each name is followed by a number; one the other face is what was originally taken to be the indication of a sum of money deposited for the purpose of guaranteeing a sea-faring ship. Several years after the original publication the proposal was made to see in the text a translation into Ugaritic of an Akkadian original, or, more precisely, a summary of a longer Akkadian text, a rental contract, to which a guarantee has been added, covering several ships:

(10) Five hundred and forty (shekels)
(11) of ship-money, all together,
(12) which were provided as a guarantee for ships
(13) to the king of Byblos;
(14) the king of Byblos also
(15) received fifty (shekels) of silver
(16) for the outfitting of his ships
(17) in *ʿrm*. (This) amount
(18) is their market value. (Pardee, 1975)

On the other hand, personnel lists at Ugarit, though often enigmatic as to their real context and function, are numerous and the text on the recto of this tablet can only be said to fit that broad category: "List of personnel who have entered the house of the king and who were not inscribed on the list." Then the text continues

(4) *yrmʿl* 3
(5) *šry* 2
(6) *ʾirśy* 3
(7) *yʿdrd* 3
(8) *ʾayaḫ* 2
(9) *bn.ʾaylt* 1

In this case, as in many others, we do not know what the number associated with each personal name designates: amounts received, amounts paid out, or the number of underlings for whom the person named is responsible.

If we accept that the rental/guarantee text just mentioned is only the first of its kind to be discovered at Ugarit, can we also say that the presence on one tablet of a contract and of a list of personal names is itself a feature of local procedure? The appearance of these two types of text, both often quite laconic (contracts and lists), far and away the most frequently attested in Ugaritic and Akkadian, as well as in most other corpora of texts since the invention of writing, may well have been without an intention of association. Nevertheless, it illustrates one of the difficulties that the historian of Ugarit meets with when trying to distinguish among his sources those that originated within the administration and economy of the state as opposed to those that represent private enterprise. How indeed is it possible to decide whether the individuals mentioned on the recto of the tablet have anything to do with the ships mentioned on the verso as having been rented by the king of Byblos to the king of Ugarit? Are they passengers whose names were omitted from the original manifest or "royal" sailors (". . . have entered the house of the king") inscribed on a supplementary list? The figures would in these cases designate respectively the fare or the salary. Or are the texts unrelated and heterogeneous, one registering contributions from persons well known at the Ugaritic court or perhaps subsidies paid out to them, the other a document of international administration?

One can say, fortunately, that the great majority of the texts recorded are homogeneous and that the difficulties we meet in endeavoring to interpret them are principally owing to the lacunary state of many of the tablets, or, when they are complete, to the laconic formulation by which they are generally characterized. We will distinguish here between those which can, on the one hand, be grouped under the general heading of "lists" and, on the other, as "official acts" or "business documents." There are examples of each of these two major groups in several of the languages used at Ugarit, but principally in Akkadian and Ugaritic.

1. Lists. a. Personal Names. (1) Undefined. The purpose of lists with no defining element largely escapes us, as would a page torn at random from a modern register or extracted from the middle of a file. There are usually twenty or more names and the patronym is usually present but may be missing (e.g., *PRU* II 69). *PRU* V 22 contains about twenty-five names, all beginning with the sign (ʾi), the first example of a list organized by alphabetic principles (compare the list of realia and personal names in *CTA* 112). The *raison d'être* of such texts is enigmatic unless a tablet bears a heading which may be understood as applying to everything that follows.

(2) Definition by Family Terms. Generally speaking, the Ugaritians seem to have considered the patronym the most important element to be stated when identifying a person, for it is usually given and may indeed function as the only identifier (*CTA* 105), both masculine (*bn* PN "son of PN") and feminine (*bt* X "daughter of X"). Long lists, such as *CTA* 102, rarely omit the patronym.

There are a few examples of matronymic identification, probably to be explained as owing to the maternal line being the better known (see *PRU* III, p. 180). The rare examples of fratonymy (*CTA* 82 I 5 *ršpʾab ʾaḫ ʾubn; PRU* V 118: 10 *lbw ʾuḫ pdm*) and sororonymy (*PRU* III, p. 85: 4–5 *e-we-en-ni-na aḫi šar-mi-la*) probably designate individuals who have been adopted into brotherhood, such as the cases of Artiteshub adopted by Ilinergal (*PRU* III, p. 75) and Yadduaddu by Lady Inuya (*Ugaritica* V 81).

Elsewhere, some or all of the names in a list are followed by a list of their dependents, such as heirs (*w nḫlh* "and his heir"). The heirs of the heirs may in turn be indicated (*w nḫlhm* "and their heirs"); indeed, "his heir" and "their heirs" may be indicated one right after the other for no apparent reason (*CTA* 113 II 10, 22; 116: 3). There are also formulae of the type "PN and his companion" (*PRU* V 83: PN *w rʿh*); "PN_1 and his pupil" (*PRU* II 48: PN *w lmdh*); "PN_1 + X number of persons belonging to him" (RIH 83/25+ [unpublished] PN_1 *tt npš lh*). On these relational terms, see Liverani (1979: 1320–21). Whether the designation of accompaniment be collective *(nḫlh, npš)*, plural *(nḫlhm)*, or individual *(rʿh, lmdh)*, the names of the persons in question are not indicated. Cases may also be found (RIH 83/17+ [unpublished]) where "household of PN" (*bt* PN) clearly designates families who have received or given the quantities indicated on the tablet.

These lists enrich our knowledge of a very complex local onomastic repertory and the several different alphabetic

and syllabic writing systems are an important aid in the reconstruction of the diverse linguistic origins of these names. It may be observed that previously unknown personal names are appearing more and more rarely as new texts come to light and one may conclude that most of the personal names in use at Ugarit during the 14th–13th centuries are now attested—though we cannot be so optimistic about our understanding of the meaning of these names. Considering that the alphabetic writing system was invented in the early 14th century and disappeared with the kingdom of Ugarit in the early 12th century, we may estimate that seven or eight generations passed during the usage of the Ugaritic alphabet. Depending on the method of demographic estimation in use, the number of personal names susceptible of being inscribed in the alphabetic script would be somewhere between 150,000 and 300,000. One may today reasonably entertain the hope that the time is nearing when the administrative documentation from the capital itself and from Ras Ibn Hani and similar dependent towns of the kingdom—virtually all yet to be excavated—will enable us to gain a clearer perception of the socio-geographic distribution of the proper names in use in the kingdom of Ugarit in the period 1380–1180 B.C.

(3) Definition by Toponyms. Alongside the lists of personal names in the narrowest sense of the term, those that omit any definition or that are only defined by the patronymic or other familial term, there are texts in which personal names are grouped according to geographical origin. The geographical definition is indicated by the name of the provincial town, which is to be understood as including the territory under its administrative control. Note first cases where geographical definition is added to one of the categories just discussed, e.g., *RIH* 83/5: 19 [unpublished], where the name *grgš* is defined patronymically as "son of *šmᶜnt*" and geographically as "from the town of *ʾary*" (cf. *PRU* II 35 B I 21). Documents characterized principally by toponymic definition often bear the heading "list" *(spr)* and the gentilic suffix *-y* is very frequently attached to the geographical term. The list may simply indicate geographical origin (*PRU* II 60 B; *PRU* V 21 *spr ʾušknym* "list of persons from ʾUshkanu") or a group of persons from the same town who belong to the same profession (*PRU* II 60 A *spr . . . nskm rqdym* "list . . . of metal-workers from Riqdu"). But there is also a text in which *rqd* appears in line 1, followed by a list of patronyms, all of which must be Riqdian (*PRU* II 46). The gentilic usually corresponds to a known place name, some of which have been localized, e.g., *gbᶜly*, modern Gableh in the Gablian plain to the south of Ugarit, or *ʾilštmᶜ*, modern Stamo in the same region.

We lack a study of local frequencies of personal names. Such a study would in any case be far from definitive because of the relative rarity of texts linking personal and geographical names. But an example of the sort of linkages that can be proposed is the following: it is plausible that the proper name *ṣdqn* on the seal discovered in 1928 at Minet el-Beida (RS 1.[050] = *KTU* 6.5), chronologically the first attestation of the name in Ugaritic, is to be connected with the patronymic form *bn ṣdqn* which appears in two lists (*PRU* V 16, 17; perhaps also read *ṣdqn* for *ṣdqm*, a Maḫadian mentioned in *PRU* II 41) of citizens of Maḫadu *(mʾiḫdym)*, a port city (cf. *CTA* 84: 1 *ʾanyt mʾiḫd[(ym)]* "ships belonging to Maḫad[ians]") that is almost certainly to be located at Minet el-Beida. Another example: the alphabetic writing of the name *ᶜbdᶜnt* is only attested twice, neither time with a geographical designation, but the syllabic form *Abdi-a-na-tu₄* appears in a text dealing with Arruwa (*Ugaritica* V 27), a city in the southern part of the kingdom of Ugarit (Bordreuil 1984). A king of Siyannu, a southern neighbor of Ugarit, bears the same name (*PRU* IV, p. 76) as does a personage named in a confirmation of property rights (*PRU* III, p. 91) that mentions the towns of Mulku, another southern locality in the kingdom of Ugarit (Bordreuil 1989), and Galba, a city in Siyannu. One may legitimately propose a connection between this name and the southern regions of Ugarit, especially the Gablian plain. In this very fertile area, close to the Alawite mountains, the source of the many streams that cross the plain, it is no surprise to find a predilection for the goddess Anat. Further research even into the data already at hand would surely lead to great progress in this sort of identification.

(4) Definition by Occupational Titles. (a) profession lists without personal names: over thirty professional terms on both sides of a single tablet (*PRU* II 26: e.g., priests, artisans, squires).

(b) a number designating a total of persons who are defined by their profession alone RIH 83/2 [unpublished] contains thirty-three terms designating a profession, generally in the plural, followed by various numbers. The number "one" occurs three times, followed by a professional term in the singular (*mḥṣ* "refiner," *[m]ṣl* "cymbal-player," *kkr* "silo-keeper"). One should assume that the numbers correspond in all cases, as in the Akkadian text *PRU* VI 93, to the number of persons representing various specialties, listed together on this tablet for a reason unstated and undeterminable on the basis of present data. On the other hand, the number 6½ found in *CTA* 74:17 leads one to analyze this and the other numbers in this text as sums of money or quantities of commodities paid in or out.

(c) personnel identified individually or grouped according to professional categories, as in *PRU* II 32: 1 *spr bldm* "list of replacements" (or "commercial agents"). The logic of these associations sometimes escapes us. For example, the two anonymous "gooseherds" *(ṯn rᶜym ʾuzm)* mentioned at the head of the list *PRU* II 140 are followed directly by several "small (shepherds)" *(sġr)* named individually. Occasionally the man in charge of such groups is named: the group of shepherds in *PRU* V 72 is "in the hand of (= under the control of) *ʾiytlm;* in *PRU* II 53 *ᶜbdʾil* is said to be "under" *(tḥt)* someone named *ʾilmlk*.

(d) personnel identified individually as being in the service of the palace. Several of the personnel *(bnšm)* mentioned in *PRU* V 14 are said to be under the control of the king, the queen, or the prefect. They may also be categorized according to their place of assignment, such as the "personnel of the king *(bnš mlk)* who are at Tabqa" (*PRU* V 66); other texts (e.g., *PRU* V 76) designate personnel as being in various places. In *PRU* V 71, among "the *mdrġlm* who are not under the control of Talmiyanu" there is a certain *ʾlytlm* who is defined by his patronymic (<*bn*> *śgryn*), then by his place of origin *(ʾary)* and by his place of assignment *(yny)*.

(e) persons of the same profession grouped according to their ethnic origin: certain of the personnel *(bnšm)* in *PRU* V 14 are defined by the gentilic suffix as being from Ashdod *(ʾaddy)* or from Maḫadu *(mḫdy)*. These names are followed immediately by the patronymic name *bn yyn mdrġl*, whose title does not include the gentilic -*y* and does not express an ethnic origin. Such sequences permit the hypothesis that certain gentilics designated the function itself—a situation similar to that with the "Swiss" guards at the Vatican. How else may one explain *mṣrym*, literally "Egyptians," in RIH 83/2 (unpublished), a list of professions already discussed above, or in *PRU* II 89:7? We may surmise that most of the standard professions practiced at Ugarit are now known (see list in Sznycer 1979: 1423–24), for new lists, such as RIH 83/2, add little to the previously known lists (e.g., *PRU* II 26). One exception is the title "royal guards" (*mrʾu mlk;* compare Akkadian [*mu*]*r-ú šarri* in *PRU* VI 93:2 and the cylinder seal of *rbnkšy mrʾu mlkʾi* in Bordreuil 1986: 292–98). Nonetheless, the precise meaning of some of these terms, such as *tnnm, trrm, ʾinšt,* etc., is still unknown (cf. Heltzer 1982, to be used with caution).

b. Place Names. As we have seen above, when place names appear along with a personal name they can provide precious data for the provincial demography of the kingdom of Ugarit. The study of Ugaritic toponymy is, however, still in its infancy. We will realize better the importance of geographical names as we examine below those that appear in royal economic and administrative texts and their contribution to the localization of various agricultural and pastoral activities. We will first discuss how they are grouped together and the conventions regulating the sequences into which they fall, irrespective of the *realia* with which they are associated, so as to extract data for localizing the borders of the kingdom as well as for the localization of several provincial towns.

(1) Districts. We have known for some time that certain texts with obligations to the throne are organized on a regional basis. The damaged text RIH 83/7+ (Bordreuil et al. 1984: 426; Bordreuil 1984: 1–2) records two conscriptions of individuals for the royal *corvée:* on the verso one finds the total of those sent from ġr (*tgmr ḫrd ġr* "total of the *ḫuradu*-troops of Ġuru") and on the recto a list of several towns, known from other texts to belong to "ʾAraru of the towns" (*PRU* II 173:2–3 *ʾarr d qrḫt*)—i.e., a district—as well as what each of these towns sent *(lʾik)*. The *ḫuradu*-assessment for the month named *ʾittbnm* was given as a list of names (*PRU* V 11 and RS 11.830 = *PRU* III, p. 190). The word *ġuru* means "mountain" and should, therefore, designate the Alawite range to the E, and Araru may denote the southern region of the kingdom of Ugarit, where the town Arruwa (*ar-ru-wa* in syllabic script: *PRU* IV, pp. 72, 77) was located, in all likelihood the eponymous capital of the district. Leaving aside the territory which was in immediate dependence on the city of Ugarit itself, the third provincial district must consist of the northern portion of the kingdom, the region associated with the Gebel al-ʿAqra, Mount Ṣapānu in Ugaritic, a term that is used in several toponym lists to distinguish the northern town of Ijalba *(ḫlb ṣpn)* from its four homonyms in the kingdom (see Astour 1981).

(2) Borders. The existence of administrative districts within the kingdom can today be deduced on the basis of a few laconic allusions gleaned from various texts. But the existence of borders that were relatively precisely fixed and internationally recognized is not only attested but, in one case, that of the northern border with the state of Mukish, known precisely from four of the documents by which the decisions of the Hittite suzerains fixing that border were communicated. These documents (*PRU* IV, pp. 10–17), the initial act by Shupiluliuma addressed to Niqmaddu II and its confirmation by Murshili II to Niqmepa, have, in spite of their damaged state, preserved for us a total of forty-two place names stretching from the Orontes to the Mediterranean. One can follow this list *grosso modo* and situate several of the places with relative precision.

The northern border. The first entries on the list, badly damaged, probably designated localities in the Alawite range: a name such as Birsiḫe (no. 4), perhaps near modern Qalaʿat Burze, is followed immediately by "the waters of Ḫundurashi" (no. 5), probably a designation of a nearby marshy area on the Orontes. A second section begins at Magdala (no. 11, = *mgdly* in *PRU* II 81, followed there by *ykn*ʿ*m* = Yakunami, no. 19 on the frontier list), traditionally identified with the Bdama upland region, on the watershed between the Nahr el-Kebir and the Orontes, near which the modern Lattakia-Aleppo road passes. It is possible to say on the basis of recent research that the northeastern, northern and northwestern borders of the kingdom of Ugarit followed for all intents and purposes the Nahr el-Kebir basin. This means that, heading north from Magdala/Bdama along the ridges by which the Nahr el-Kebir/Orontes watershed is defined, the border would have followed the northern edge of the Urdu basin, at approximately the 800-meter line. From there it angled slightly southwest, towards Ḫalbi (no. 36, = Ḫalba of Ṣapānu, modern Qassab), leaving the mountain of the gods (Mount Ḫazi in Akkadian and Hittite texts, Ṣapānu in Ugaritic, Mount Cassios in Classical texts, modern Gebel al-ʿAqra) in a sacred (?) extraterritorial area. The last section of the border is the best known: it follows approximately the crest of Mount Nanu (no. 36′, = *nnʾu* in Ugaritic script, Strabo's Anti-Cassius, Thronos according to Stadiasmus) as far as Ḫimuli "in the sea" (no. 42, a small island a few kilometers to the north of modern Ras al-Bassit).

The southern border. The edict of Shupiluliuma had done little more than confirm the pre-existing border between Mukish and Ugarit (and its path through a mountainous zone where no large towns belonging to either country were located) and could hardly constitute a threat to vested interest. The situation in the heavily populated southern region was quite different. That border was established by Murshili II as part of a political *rapprochement* between Siyannu and Carchemish, and this act put an end to what must have been some form of political unity between Ugarit and Siyannu (*PRU* IV, pp. 17, 71–78). This division was operated on a fertile and well-watered region with many villages. Unfortunately, the precise allotment of these villages between the two kingdoms can no longer be ascertained because so many data are missing. Nonetheless, without denying the possibility of foreign enclaves existing within the borders of Ugarit, some of which may still be represented in modern place names (e.g., Suksi =

Tell Soukas, Tell Siano), one can estimate that the southern border followed the course of the short but abundant Nahr es-Sinn, which originated in a spring situated near the shelf that closes off the southern Gabla plain (Bordreuil 1989).

Sequences. The toponyms listed on the complete tablet *PRU* V 73 *(mlk, ʾar, ʾulm, mʿrby, ʾuškn)* belong to a single district and may even be situated quite close together, for *PRU* V 33 places them in the district of *ʾarr*, the southern district of the kingdom, as we have seen. On the other hand, the 39-line tablet *PRU* V 74, also complete, includes these same toponyms but along with other places, some of which belong to the same district, but most of which must be situated in other regions. No single solution allows a division of the tablet according to a regional distribution. One can say, however, that the last five names of the list certainly belong to the northern region, particularly *ykn*ʿ*m* (line 37) = Yakunami, no. 19 on the northern frontier list just discussed. *PRU* V 75 is even more confusing, for it mixes personal names with southern place names (*ʾulm*, line 3) as well as with northern ones (*ḫlby*, line 25, = no. 36 of the border list); compare *PRU* III, p. 189 (= RS 11.790).

One may hope that some of the many tells in the southern plain will one day reveal their ancient name to a fortunate excavator and thus fill the gaps in our present state of knowledge. But it would be unrealistic to count on such archaeological finds in the northern mountainous areas, for most construction there must have been of wood and will only have left faint traces. Fortunately, the place names by which this border was defined correspond well enough with several modern toponyms to allow for at least approximate localization of some towns and localization by triangulation for others. One must keep in mind, however, that the sequences may vary, depending on differing itineraries taken by the tax collectors and other administrators on whose documents we rely today when we do historical geography.

Thus Mount Nanu, associated in the Hittite texts from Yazilikaya with Mount Ḫazi (= Ṣapānu), which appears in the northern border list as Mount Nanu (No. 36′) and is to be identified with the Anti-Cassius (Bordreuil 1989), permits the identification of Ḫalbi (no. 36) with Ḫalba of Ṣapānu, a town that is probably to be situated on the southern slopes of the Gebel al-ʿAqra, near the springs of modern Qassab, at an altitude of about 900 meters. It is no surprise, then, to find grouped on one list (*PRU* VI 118; see Bordreuil 1989) the names of cattle owners from the villages of Nanu and Ḫalba; nor to learn from another (RIH 84/13; see Bordreuil 1987) that several different persons are ascribed ownership of cattle pastured in Suladu, another border town (no. 40) probably located to the west of Ḫalba and Nanu. If we take these few indications at face value, they imply that the raising of cattle, and probably of sheep and goats as well, was a major industry in the northern mountainous areas.

Along these same lines, the occurrence in several texts of the sequence Shalma (no. 37 on the border list, a name still current in the region), Aḫatu, and Yakunami (no. 19), in Ugaritic script *šlmy, ʾaġt, ykn*ʿ*m* (RS 18.479), takes us further to the east, toward the Urdu basin where the waters from several springs on the Gebel al-ʿAqra and the Gebel Kusseir flow into the Nahr el-Kebir. Aḫatu/*ʾaġt* is certainly to be situated there. The attribution of several containers of flour "for the life of the weavers" of *ʾaġt* (RS 86/2237) allow the conclusion that the shearing of the sheep raised locally, the washing of the wool (facilitated by the abundant sources of water), the spinning, and even the weaving of cloth, could be carried out locally. Without the most recent data, it would have been difficult to imagine such decentralization of the trades, however rational it may now appear." Similarly, is the "estate of the Mulukians" (*CTA* 74: 5) not to be linked to the fertility of the Gabla plain, where the management of irrigation must have contributed, as it did elsewhere, to the creation of municipal institutions?

Finally, one must be aware of the possibility of homonymy in the place names of the kingdom of Ugarit. Though we cannot yet give a complete list nor explain the origins of this homonymy, we can point out several cases: the four Ḫalba's (*ḫlb* + *ṣpn*, *ʿprm*, *krdm* and *gngnt*); one *ʾar(y)* in the south (*CTA* 68; *PRU* II 134; *PRU* V 40: 4; 73; 74; RS 16.248 = *PRU* III, p. 48; RS 18.01 = *PRU* IV, p. 230; perhaps RS 17.43 = *PRU* IV, p. 217) and another in the north (*CTA* 69: 3; *PRU* 81; 176; *PRU* V 40: 23); one Shalma on the NW border near Mount Nanu (no. 37) and another in the NE part of the kingdom, in the direction of the Alawite mountains (*PRU* V 58). There is one Mount Ayali on the N border (no. 32) and another, attested only in Ugaritic *(ʾayly)*, south of Qaasab, near modern ʿAyn al-Haramyieh (*PRU* V 26 and 118). In the two latter cases, the distance between the two localities is above 20 km and since we are dealing with small towns, recourse to an explanation by homonymy is more satisfactory than pleading fantasy or distraction on the part of the scribe.

c. Receipts and Disbursements. (1) Deliveries and Taxes/Tribute. We saw above (C.1.b.[1]) that RIH 83/7+ records a list of contributions sent *(lʿik)* by several towns organized geographically in the list. But such precision is rather the exception. *PRU* VI 134 enumerates the lances (?) furnished by several villages. *CTA* 67 apparently enumerates quantities of jars of wine furnished by several towns of the kingdom, with a total, written in Akkadian, of 148 units. On the other hand, we have no way of knowing whether the jars mentioned in *PRU* II 84 (b gt + place name "in the estate of . . .") were in the process of delivery to the capital, or whether the list represents inventory. RIH 83/5 (Bordreuil et al. 1984: 431) is more explicit: it clearly deals with tax collection in the northern villages *(tgmr ksp dʿly w d* [. . .] "total of the silver which went up [. . .]." The total is stated to be 200 shekels of silver.

(2) Inventory Lists. C. Virolleaud introduced the phrase "états de solde" to refer to a great number of texts consisting of personal names followed by an indication of a quantity or weight. The numbers are sometimes written according to the Mesopotamian system of symbols (*PRU* V 16, 58 [toponyms], 87, 151; RIH 83/8 [unpublished]), sometimes spelled out as Ugaritic words according to the local system. The total *(tgmr)* is sometimes indicated at the end of the list, but one can rarely be sure whether it refers to distributions, perceptions, or payments, except in texts such as *PRU* II 131, where each numerical entry is followed by *šlm* "has paid" (only partial payments everywhere except in line 2); *PRU* V 36 *prs̀ qmḥ d nšlm* "*prs̀*-measure of flour

which has been paid for (?)"; and RIH 83/7+, already quoted above, where the numbers correspond to what was sent *(l²ik)* by each town. In some cases the reference is to payments of money, probably for salaries. This is made explicit in *CTA* 113 by a marginal note in Akkadian (X *kaspa ša mariani* "X-amount of money of the Mariyannu"), but such a solution is only a surmise for *PRU* II 28–30. It is clear that the expression "four (jars of) wine for the Mariyannu" *(²arbʿ yn l mrynm)* in *PRU* II 89 means that the jars of wine are intended for the Mariyannu. But one does not find a corresponding expression phrased in purely monetary terms ("X-amount of money for Y-professional term"). All examples are of quantities of foodstuffs or of other products intended for a given professional group. We do not even know if such issues of goods consist of periodic payments in kind or of bonuses from an employer.

(3) Regular Distributions. Other texts illustrate periodical distributions (monthly, according to the extant texts) of rations *(ḫpr)*. The recipients are sometimes identified: "list of rations for the royal personnel during the month *"ittbnm"* (*PRU* V 11 *spr ḫpr bnš mlk b yrḫ ²ittbnm*). There are also records of food distributions *(²akl)* according to locality: by estates *(gt,* as in *PRU* V 13), or by households *(bt,* as in *PRU* II 99). These consist of legumes (*ʿšdm*—precise variety uncertain), of cereals (*kšmm* "emmer," *ḥṭm* "wheat," *šʿrm* "barley"), as well as wine *(yn)* and vinegar *(ḥmṣ)* measured by jars *(kdm)*. Some texts (e.g., *PRU* II 98; V 13) indicate that a certain amount of the grains distributed to each estate should be set aside as seed. That is usually the largest part, with other parts to be used to feed oxen (draft oxen?) and for rations to personnel *(ḫpr bnšm)*.

(4) Disbursements. It is difficult to say whether the texts in *PRU* 106–15 are records of extraordinary disbursements (elegant garments, precious stones) or whether they are everyday operations, as in *PRU* II 109 *spr npṣm d yṣ²a* "list of garments which were delivered (literally: went forth)." *PRU* II 107: 5–8 *mlbš ṯrmnm k yṯn w b bt mlk mlbš ytn lhm,* "when the garments of the *trmnm* became old, new garments were given to them in the house of the king (= from the royal palace)," refers to a distribution of clothing for the statues of divinities.

The distribution of raw materials to artisans is another form of disbursement. *CTA* 147 records a disbursement, of eight talents and 1200 (shekels) of bronze, to the metalworkers *(ṯlṯ d yṣ²a . . . l nskm ṯmn kkrm ²alp kbd [m]²itmkbd)*, whereas *PRU* V 51 refers to a large order *(²iršt)* from the *yṣḫm* (a professional term of uncertain meaning). Another text (*CTA* 119) records the distribution of small arms (bows and quivers) to persons from various towns in the southern district, though the subtotals are three times given incorrectly. *PRU* II 123 does not indicate for whom were intended the arms and accessories listed there, but the successive mention of forty bows and one thousand arrows allows the conclusion that the usual consignment of arrows per quiver was twenty-five. *PRU* II 121 records the receipt by the palace (*ʿrb bt mlk* "entered the house of the king") of eight chariots *(mrkbt)*, outfitted with harnesses *(ṣmd)*, two of which are not equipped with weapons. Of fifty-seven royal personnel *(bnš mlk)* who were under the supervision of *(bd* "in the hand of") someone named *prṯ*, twenty-nine received *šślmt*-cloth and twenty-eight *šʿrt*-cloth (*PRU* II 25). According to *PRU* V 98, certain shepherds *(rʿym)* receive *šʿrt*-cloth while their subordinates *(šġrm)* receive *šślmt*-cloth (cf. *PRU* II 118 and *PRU* V 52).

(5) Gifts. Reference to gifts is by the term *mnḥ* "to offer." Either receipts or disbursements may be so designated, depending on whether the tablet was prepared for the giver (perhaps *CTA* 141) or for the beneficiary. Sometimes there is no indication of origin (e.g., RIH 78/2; Bordreuil and Caquot 1980: 362). The meaning of *ndb* in the heading of RIH 78/19 (ibid., p. 364) is more ambiguous: it could designate sheep that have been "furnished." *PRU* V 107 may also be a list of gifts, though this is not stated explicitly.

d. Inventories and Stocks. (1) Movable property. The most important and valuable movables are the tribute items for the Hittite court (RS 11.732 = *PRU* III, p. 181) and the "trousseau" of the queen of Ugarit Aḫatumilki (RS 16.146 + 161 = *PRU* III, pp. 182–86). Such lists are usually more modest (*PRU* V 102; VI 168; AO 21.088 = Caquot and Masson 1977: 10–15; RIH 83/24 + 84/2 = Bordreuil 1987: 289–90) and more varied (*PRU* VI 155). They can sometimes remind us of the classified section of a newspaper: we learn from *PRU* V 48 that a stock of various metal instruments may be obtained in Atallig—prices and quantities are indicated. The same text adds the information that a family from *mr²il* has settled in the area of *ḫrbġlm*. The items in a given text are usually, however, more homogeneous: wood (*PRU* VI 113), metals to be worked (*PRU* VI 140), instruments (*PRU* VI 141, 142, 157), vessels (*PRU* VI 147), wine (*PRU* II 91, 92), cereals (*PRU* VI 98–111), oil (*PRU* II 96: production of an olive orchard owned by the queen in the Nahr el-Kebir valley), fowl (*PRU* II 129), ovids-caprids (*PRU* VI 120; RIH 78/19 = Bordreuil and Caquot 1980: 364–65), bovids (*PRU* VI 118, an account of bovids in northern towns; 115, an account of bovids managed by a certain family), equids (*PRU* II 138, 139), or garments (RS 15.76 = *PRU* VI p. 99). In *PRU* V 38 various items are classified by estate: teams of draft animals *(ṣmdm)*, or employees *(bnšm)* under the responsibility of an assherd *(rʿy ḥmrm)* or of a gardener *(ngr mdrʿ)*. Alongside multi-entry lists of items distributed to several persons, *PRU* V 50 enumerates the private effects of an individual traveler, perhaps a tradesman who, burdened with his scales *(mznm)* and bedding *(mrbd, mškbt)*, had to travel armed *(mrḥm)* because of the dangerous roads.

(2) Real Estate. The parcels of land mentioned in these texts are usually "fields," without further qualification. The marginal note on *PRU* V 11 refers to twenty-six employees *(bnš)*, with the concluding notation *bʿl šd*, that could mean either "agricultural workers" (literally "workers of the field") or "land owners." The latter meaning is suggested by the occurrence of the same phrase in *PRU* II 39 where it appears to describe masons *(ḥrš bhtm)*. It may be preferable to see here artisans who have acquired property rather than part-time workers in both agriculture and construction. *PRU* V 23, where some twenty *bnšm* are said to own oxen, supports this interpretation. Individually owned property was not restricted to the territory of one's own village; thus according to *PRU* V 26 inhabitants of *snr* and *m²idḫ*, northern towns in the area of modern Ras al-

Bassit, owned steep (*ʿqb*) fields in *ʾayly* in the mountainous area to the east of their towns (on *ʾayly*, see above). *PRU* II 79 lists vineyards (*šd krm*) after fields, whereas *PRU* II 81 deals exclusively with vineyards. Salt flats are mentioned in *PRU* V 96 and in RS 19.18 (= *PRU* IV, p. 291). The latter text situates them near Atallig, thus confirming the localization of this town near the sea (cf. *PRU* V 56 *ʾany . . . d bʾatlg* "boat . . . that is at Atallig").

2. Official Acts and Commercial Documents. Under this heading are grouped texts relative to the royal administration, whether issued by the palace or addressed to it, as well as those representing private business, finance, and contractual obligations, though the documents are so laconic as often to preclude a decision regarding the origin of the text.

a. Palace Documents. Judging from the extant data, one must conclude that seals inscribed in alphabetic cuneiform were rare (Bordreuil 1986: 292). From one of them, a seal mounted as a signet ring, imprints have been discovered, one on a tablet (RS 16.270 = *PRU* III, pp. 41–44), the other on a bulla (RIH 83/21). Its inscription reads "seal of ʿAmmiyidtamar, king of Ugarit" (Bordreuil and Pardee 1984). Not only were such seals rare but they were used rarely: official documents dated in the reigns from that of Niqmaddu II until that of his grandson Niqmaddu III, whether recording acts *before* the king or acts *of* the king, are authenticated by means of the dynastic seal (see *Ugaritica* III, pp. 77–78). Tablets of foreign origin will, of course, bear the seal impression of the sender, often the Hittite king.

(1) Documents Issued from the Ugaritic Palace. *Acts before the king.* Following J. Nougayrol (*PRU* III, pp. 27–28), these have been classified as: *gifts* to a spouse (RS 16.263 = *PRU* III, p. 49, Niqmaddu II), to sons (RS 16.143 = *PRU* III, pp. 81–83, Niqmepa), or to other parties (RS 15.146 = *PRU* III, p. 58, Niqmaddu II [?]); *purchases* (RS 15.119 = *PRU* III, pp. 86–87, Niqmepa); *sales* (RS 15.136 = *PRU* III, pp. 121–22, Ammistamru II); *exchanges* (RS 15.70 = *PRU* III, p. 130, Ammistamru II); *division* of familial property (RS 15.90 = *PRU* III, p. 54, Niqmaddu II); *adoptions* into sonship (RS 15.92 = *PRU* III, pp. 54–56, Niqmaddu II), or into brotherhood (RS 16.344 = *PRU* III, p. 75, Arihalbu); *mutations* from status of earnest money to property (RS 16.131 = *PRU* III, pp. 138–39, Ammistamru II); and *verdicts* (RS 16.205 = *PRU* III, pp. 153–54, Ammistamru II).

Acts of the king: royal *gifts* (*PRU* II 8, 9; RS 15.127 = *PRU* III, p. 132; *PRU* VI 28–31), with (RS 15.109 = *PRU* III, pp. 102–5, Niqmepa; VI 27, Ammistamru II) and without (RS 15.85 = *PRU* III, pp. 52–53, Niqmaddu II) counter-gifts, and with conditions (RS 15.114 = *PRU* III, pp. 112–13, Ammistamru II); *alienation* of property (RS 15.137 = *PRU* III, p. 134, Ammistamru II); *re-attribution* of property located in special zones (*PRU* VI 55, Ammistamru II); *exchanges* of landed property (RS 16.197 = *PRU* III, pp. 150–51, Ammistamru II [?]), of houses (*PRU* III, pp. 164–65, between Ammistamru and a private citizen); *purchase* of land by the queen (*Ugaritica* V 159–61); *manumission* of slaves (RS 16.267 = *PRU* III, p. 110, Ammistamru II); *granting* of franchises (RS 16.238 = *PRU* III, pp. 107–8, Ammistamru II); *confirmation* of gifts (RS 16.249 = *PRU* III, pp. 96–98, Niqmepa), of purchases (RS 16.174 = *PRU* III, p. 63, Niqmaddu II), of property rights (RS 15.88 = *PRU* III, p. 88, Niqmepa); *last wishes* (RS 16.144 = *PRU* III, p. 76, Arihalbu).

(2) International Documents. These texts enable us partially to follow the relations between Ugarit and her neighbors from the reign of Niqmaddu II until that of Ammurapi, the last king of Ugarit. RS 17.132 (*PRU* IV, pp. 35–37) is a proposal from the Hittite king Shupiluliuma for an alliance with Niqmaddu against the states of Nuhashe and Mukish. In exchange for this protection, Ugarit is to pay an annual tribute calculated on the basis of her wealth, adding up to 22,000 shekels-weight of wool cloth, eleven tunics, two gold cups and three silver cups, to be divided among the king, the queen, the crown prince, and the four principal dignitaries of the Hittite court (RS 17.227 = *PRU* IV, pp. 40–44; this text is also known in a Ugaritic version, RS 11.772 = *CTA* 64). With this list of "gifts" one should compare the lists recorded in RS 11.772 and 11.732 (*PRU* IV, pp. 44–48). Ugarit obtained as reward for her loyalty substantial frontier modifications, particularly at the expense of her northern neighbor Mukish. These changes were sanctioned by RS 17.340 (*PRU* IV, pp. 48–52; see above C.1.b.[2]) and confirmed by Murshili II, first for Niqmaddu, then for his successor (RS 17.338, etc. = *PRU* IV, pp. 85–101). Murshili II also intervened with his authority to redefine the southern border of Ugarit after the seccession of Siyannu (RS 17.335 = *PRU* IV, pp. 71–78), a territorial reduction that led the Ugaritic palace to request a reduction of tribute (RS 17.382 = *PRU* IV, pp. 80–83). Finally, we have the record of a proposal from the king of Carchemish, Initeshub, for a military alliance against Nuhashe (RS 17.334 = *PRU* IV, pp. 54–55).

Several international matters were decided by the Hittite sovereign Tudhalia IV during the reign of Ammistamru II. For example, it was he who ruled against the sons of the queen of Ugarit, perhaps the reigning king's own brothers, who were removed from the line of succession as a result of palace intrigues the details of which are still unknown to us (RS 17.352, etc. = *PRU* IV, pp. 121–24). Another case was that of Ammistamru's divorce from the daughter of the king of Amurru (RS 17.159, etc. = *PRU* IV, pp. 126–28; RS 1957.1 = Fisher 1971), who was also the daughter of the king of Amurru (as well as the sister of the queen involved in the preceding case?)

On the other hand, it was Inteshub of Carchemish who had to set the damages for destruction that occurred during a frontier incident with Siyannu (RS 17.341 = *PRU* IV, pp. 161–63). He also, logically enough, was responsible for setting up the accord with regard to the civil penalties incurred by a thieving merchant of Hittite origin (RS 17.128 = *PRU* IV, p. 179) and the penalty for murder committed against citizens of Carchemish living in Ugarit or as citizens of Ugarit in Carchemish (RS 17.230 = *PRU* IV, pp. 153–54; an analogous decision by Hattushili III directed to Niqmepa is known from RS 17.229 = *PRU* IV, p. 106; cf. RS 17.146, 18.115 = *PRU* IV, pp. 154–60). In RS 17.158 (= *PRU* IV, pp. 169–74) we find the record of such a sentence being applied, with the stipulation that the royal decision was without recourse. Some of these acts were declared by the king of Ugarit then submitted to arbitration by Initeshub. Two undated documents record

judgments by the king of Carchemish, probably Initeshub, in cases of (unjust?) imprisonment during which the detainee died (*PRU* VI 35–36). This same monarch ratified an act of Ammistamru whereby a man convicted of larceny was redeemed and assigned to the royal retinue (RS 17.108 = *PRU* IV, pp. 165–66). According to other texts, the king of Ugarit could be one of the parties in a suit and Initeshub the judge (RS 17.129 = *PRU* IV, pp. 166–67). At the conclusion of a case lost by a Ugaritic citizen, the king of Ugarit paid out to the winning party, by the intermediary of the prefect of Ugarit, the amount of the irrevocable fine set by Initeshub (RS 17.110 = *PRU* IV, pp. 178–79). Initeshub's gift of a building to Ammurapi was certified by an official act from Initeshub (RS 17.68 = *PRU* IV, p. 164). An act from the time of Ammistamru, certified by a long list of witnesses (RS 17.319 = *PRU* IV, pp. 182–84), records the return of certain stolen property to merchants of Ura, who renounce the right to further judicial action against Ugarit in the matter. From the same period is a verdict by Queen Puduḫepa of Hatti rendered in the case of a sunken Ugaritic ship (RS 17.133 = *PRU* IV, pp. 118–19).

The reign of Ibiranu seems not to have got off on the right foot: when he took the throne of Ugarit, he neglected to send greetings and presents to the Hittite sovereign (RS 17.247 = *PRU* IV, p. 191). The king of Carchemish wrote to remind him of his obligations, urging him to send, before the arrival of the Hittite inspector, the contingents of soldiers and chariots that he was required to furnish (RS 17.289 = *PRU* IV, p. 192), as well as logs, specifications for which had already been sent (RS 17.385 = *PRU* IV, p. 194). He was further enjoined to accord treatment in accordance with his rank to a son of the Hittite king who was scheduled to take up residence in Ugarit (RS 17.423 = *PRU* IV, p. 193). The king of Carchemish returned to the territorial question in a text confirming the borders of Ugarit as set out by Armaziti (RS 17.292 = *PRU* IV, p. 188). In yet another text (RS 17.314 = *PRU* IV, p. 189), this same Armaziti dismissed the complaint of a tax-collector against a merchant in the service of the queen of Ugarit, whereas in an international juridical degree witnessed by little merchants from Ura he was himself condemned to pay a fine to the king of Ugarit and to a third party (RS 17.316 = *PRU* IV, p. 190). Finally, we may cite a letter of introduction addressed to the prefect of Ugarit for an agent of a high Hittite official named Ebina'e; included in the letter was a stipulation requiring exemption from taxes (RS 17.78 = *PRU* IV, pp. 196–97).

To the reign of Niqmaddu (III ?) may be attributed a document recording the redemption by the king of several persons from the control of a certain Kiliya, king of Zinzaru (RS 18.02 = *PRU* IV, p. 201). Another text (RS 18.20 = *PRU* IV, pp. 202–3) attaches a heavy fine to any attempt on the part of a merchant named Kumyaziti, perhaps from Ura, to appeal a decision in favor of the Ugaritic king rendered by a high official of Carchemish.

From the reign of Ammurapi we know a verdict by Talmiteshub according to which certain goods belonging to the Ugaritic king should be returned to him by Eḫlinikkaly, daughter of the Hittite king (RS 17.226 = *PRU* IV, p. 208). In return (?), the king had to give back to her certain goods that she had brought in as dowry (RS 17.355 = *PRU* IV, pp. 209–10).

(3) International Commerce. The geographical location of the port city of Ugarit, at the end-point of various routes extending into Asia and with Cyprus only a few kilometers away by sea, gave her a natural door onto the Aegean world and dictated that this industrious people should devote itself largely to international, even intercontinental, commerce. Not only do we find the mention of "shipbuilders" (*ḥrš ʾanyt: PRU* II 40) and of "sailors" (*ṣbʾu ʾanyt: CTA* 79: 7), but, as we have seen above, of an actual guaranteed contract for the rental of ships (*PRU* V 106). Despite its fragmentary condition, one can detect in *PRU* V 56 reference to loading a (foreign?) ship docked in Atallig. Maritime shipping at that time involved cabotage (sailing near the shore and putting in near to shore at night), which more or less automatically entailed stopping at every port. *PRU* V 95 reflects this practice, for it records the following commodities and destinations: 660 jars of oil for an Alashiot (Cypriot), 130 for an Egyptian, 100 for a Rishian, and another quantity (now broken) for an Ashdodite. The text does not state explicitly that these items for customers in various localities made up the cargo of a single trip, but the enumeration does bring to mind the customary cabotage route between Ugarit (the town of *rʾiš* was within the kingdom of Ugarit), Ashdod, Egypt and out into the Mediterranean (to Cyprus?). The activities of foreign merchants were regulated by an edict of Ḫattushili III (RS 17.130 = *PRU* IV, pp. 103–5), stipulating that the merchants from Ura in Cilicia could not reside in Ugarit during the winter. Thus they could not establish permanent residence in Ugarit but, on the other hand, the king of Ugarit was obligated to assure that debts owed to them by Ugaritians were honored, if necessary by surrendering the debtor and his family to the creditor as slaves. Certain monetary payments by Ugaritians from southern localities (*PRU* VI 138) seem to be in connection with the crew of a ship, involving at least ten men. Do these payments represent venture capital for a maritime commercial operation? From RIH 83/22 (Bordreuil et al. 1984: 431–33) we clearly see that commercial activities by Ugaritians (here perhaps men of Reshu) had a broad geographical extension, as far as Carchemish, where an emissary with partial financial backing from the king is depicted as going in order to take care of a problem *(ḥtb)* related to ships. Did these ships belong to the king of Ugarit, as did the *ʾan[y]t mlk* of *PRU* V 57? In a merchant metropolis as cosmopolitan as Ugarit, a table of weights and measures (*Ugaritica* V, pp. 251–57—recovered in a sadly fragmentary condition) as well as polyglot vocabularies (*Ugaritica* V, pp. 230–51) were indispensable for a proper knowledge of the equivalence between different systems, local or regional, for converting from one system to another, and for understanding terminology in another language.

b. Private Documents. (1) Royal Guarantees. There is one mixed document (*PRU* VI 45) that covers three different transactions: first a redemption of real estate, followed by a royal donation of land and of servants. But such a diverse document is exceptional. Most fall into relatively discrete categories. These are, following Nougarol's classification: *gifts* to a wife (RS 8.145 = *Syria* 18 [1937] 246), to a son (emancipation: RS 16.129 = *PRU* III, pp. 32–33), to

a daughter (dowry: RS 16.61 = *PRU* III, p. 39), to a daughter-in-law (RS 15.85 = *PRU* III, pp. 52–53); *purchases* of real estate (RS 15.37 = *PRU* III, p. 35); *sales* of real estate (RS 15.182 = *PRU* III, pp. 35–36); *redemption* of goods and real estate ("RS 8.213" = false number for RS 8.146 = *Syria* 18 [1937] 247) or of servants ("RS 8.208" = false number for RS 8.303 = *Syria* 18 [1937] 248 = *PRU* III, p. 110).

(2) Guarantees Before Witnesses. *PRU* VI 40 records the purchase of the paternal domicile by a sibling from his brothers; this was attested by five witnesses. The document was written by a scribe who is named and who is also one of the five witnesses. Elsewhere, three brothers give a quitclaim to a fourth brother (*PRU* VI 50) before eight witnesses—again the scribe was one of the witnesses. The various types of adoption were also effected before witnesses: There were four witnesses (one of whom was the scribe) to *PRU* IV 37. On the other hand, we have adoptions into brotherhood before witnesses (*Ugaritica* V 81) and before the king (RS 16.344 = *PRU* III, p. 75). Texts such as *PRU* V 116 prove that the scribe was not always one of the witnesses.

Witnesses seem to have played an important part in sales on credit (*PRU* V 53, 116). One such transaction is found in two slightly different versions (RIH 83/12 [see Bordreuil et al. 1984: 430–31] and 84/8): the second text may contain a correction of the first. The seller's witnesses (one witness per entry in these texts) is given as usual; then a certain *bʿl mšlm* is added, who may be the buyer's witness (Bordreuil 1987: 295). Other texts (*PRU* II 161; V 46, 79; RIH 84/3 [see Bordreuil 1987: 294]) refer to the *ʿrbn*, the "guarantor" whose presence probably facilitated the launching of a commercial enterprise undertaken by partners in different localities.

(3) Declarations. *Property transfers.* These were expressed as follows: "field *(šd)* of PN_1 is transferred to *(l)* PN_2" (*PRU* V 89). The location of the real estate can be included in the formula of transfer (e.g., *PRU* V 29). In *PRU* II 104 are references both to individual fields under the management of the *skn* ("prefect") and to a large estate *(gt)*, whereas in *CTA* 82 fields are organized according to the professional categories of the owners.

Invoices and debts. *PRU* II 110 indicates the value of certain tunics and of the jewels with which they were decorated. When the document was prepared these items were either in the process of delivery or already delivered—the document itself is probably an as-yet-unpaid invoice. *PRU* II 109 is a "disbursement" document but the price of the principal item is mentioned, and one may interpret this text as a sort of invoice if one is willing to admit that the price of the other articles is assumed to be known. *PRU* II 131 is, as was observed above (C.1.c.[2]), a summary of partial payments that have already been made. *PRU* V 100 and 101 (the latter of which bears the heading *ḫtbn*) contain lists of amounts of metals, garments, precious stones, cattle and sheep. The total values in the two texts are, respectively, 250 and 1300 shekels of silver. RS 22.03 (Bordreuil 1981) is a message enumerating several deliveries already made. *CTA* 66 may be termed a *pro forma* invoice: it enumerates the number of days (of work?) that certain northern towns of the kingdom are to render *(tššlmn)*. The Ashdodite products listed in *PRU* VI 156 are certainly "for sale" *(ana makāri)*. *PRU* II 143 is apparently unique: it seems to divide up among several persons the proceeds of the sale of a field, ownership of which had previously been divided between two persons in a ⅔ to ⅓ ratio. *PRU* VI 116 is an account of sums paid by the inhabitants of Nanu for pasturage rights. RS 31.80 (= *KTU* 4.755) enumerates sums paid by *yrmn* to different persons to be credited to the "house" account *(šlm ʿl bt)*.

According to *PRU* II 132 a woman of Siyannu owed twenty shekels of silver. Such recourse to credit seems to have been relatively common: a group of three Ugaritic tablets from Ras Ibn Hani casts new light on the workings of the credit system. The first of the three, twenty-two lines long (RIH 84/33 [unpublished]), contains a list of debts (X *ksp ʿl* PN "X amount of money upon [= to the debit account of] PN") owed by several persons hailing from various provincial towns, beginning with those from Ushkanu. The second document (RIH 84/6 [Bordreuil 1987: 295]) repeats in nine lines the same amounts followed by the personal names of the first four lines of RIH 84/33 preceded by the word *ʿm* "with, toward," the preposition used to express a credit amount (cf. *PRU* II 143: *ʿmn*). The third text (RIH 84/4 [Bordreuil 1987: 294]) repeats the end of the list of debtors from RIH 84/33 and adds there more debtor accounts. The three tablets may be organized chronologically as follows. The first is RIH 84/33. It lists the amount of each debt and the identity of the debtors; it is organized according to the debtors' towns of residence. RIH 84/6 came next. It records the first repayments, corresponding to the names at the head of the first text. Some time later, RIH 84/4 was written for the purpose of noting payments in arrears. It omits the names of those who had already made their payment and brings the list up to date by adding debts incurred subsequently.

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PIERRE BORDREUIL

ʿULA, AL- (PLACE). See DEDAN (PLACE).

ULAI (PLACE) [Heb *ʾûlāy*]. The river beside which Daniel received his vision of the two-horned ram and the he-goat (Dan 8:2, 16). It flowed past the N section of ancient Susa, the capital of Elam which later became the winter capital for the Persians. Modern scholars have determined that the Ulai was actually an artificial irrigation canal, starting about twenty miles NW of ancient Susa at the Choaspes River (modern Kerkha), and extending in a southeasterly direction to the Coprates River (modern Abdizful, Waterman 1947: 319). The canal was known as *u-la-a* in Akkadian sources (see Parpola 1970: 366 for references) and Eulaeus by classical authors (Pliny, *HN* vi.27). Ashurbanipal took credit for making its waters red with the blood of his enemies in 640 B.C.

Some have argued that the word translated "river" or "canal" in Dan 8:2, 3 and 6 (*ʾûbal*) is a corruption for the Akkadian loanword *abullu* ("city gate"), known in various forms in Mishnaic Hebrew, Targumic Aramaic, and Syriac (Hartmann and Di Lella *Daniel* AB, 223–24; Ginsberg 1948: 57). The LXX, Syriac and Vg support this reading. Thus, Daniel would have received his vision, not beside the banks of the Ulai, but at "the Ulai Gate" in Susa (contrast RSV with NJB at Dan 8:2). This gate presumably opened onto a road leading to the canal N of the city. The unusual expression *bên ʾûlay* in v 16 has been understood as "between the gate" based on a variant in Theodotion (Hartman and Di Lella *Daniel* AB, 227). Lacocque takes *ʾûlay* in v 2 as a wordplay on its homonym meaning "perhaps" as an expression of hope or prayer. In this way, the name of the river (or gate) was carefully chosen to express the possibility that the exiles may experience a miraculous reversal of their situation (*Daniel* CAT, 157).

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BILL T. ARNOLD

ULAM (PERSON) [Heb *ʾûlām*]. **1.** The Manassite son of Sheresh, who is mentioned only in 1 Chr 7:16–17. His name is from the Hebrew *ʾûl* and probably meant "first" or "leader" (Noth *IPN*, 231). According to the MT, his brother was Rakem (the LXX omits Rakem from the genealogy), and his son was Bedan. Some form of textual corruption is undoubtedly responsible for the introduction of the latter in v 17 with the phrase, "The sons of Ulam." While an early copyist may have replaced the singular form "son" with the plural "sons" (the Vulgate reads "son"), it is also possible that an earlier form of the genealogy named additional children of Ulam.

2. A Benjaminite tribal leader, whose sons were archers in the military (1 Chr 8:39–40). Ulam was the firstborn son of Eshek, and his two brothers were Jeush and Eliphelet. Ulam's sons and grandsons were numerous—totaling 150 (190, according to a few LXX mss)—and were recognized for their military prowess.

The two verses that treat Ulam and the other sons of Eshek are problematic for several reasons. First, they represent a change of syntax from the earlier forms in the chapter to the form: "the sons of PN: PN and PN" (Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 127–28). In addition, the verses are only loosely attached to the rest of the chapter. While Eshek, the father of Ulam, is linked to Azel and called "his brother" in vv 38–39, when Azel and his sons are listed again, along with other Benjaminites, in 9:35–44, the family of Eshek is unmentioned. Therefore, it has been

proposed that vv 39–40 may have been a genealogical fragment—perhaps from a military census, as the military vocabulary suggests—that was inserted at the end of chap. 8 (Curtis and Madsen *Chronicles* ICC, 167; Braun WBC, 127–28). Finally, the number of Ulam's sons and grandsons (150) seems a bit high (Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 82).

Benjaminites appear again as bowmen in 2 Chr 14:7 (— Eng 14:8), where they number 280,000 and constitute a major contingent of Asa's army. While most interpreters believe that this number is far too large, some think that authentic military records lie behind it and suggest that "Judah" and "Benjamin" had come to designate the S army's heavy and light divisions, respectively (Junge 1937: 37–45; Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 262–63). Others, however, deny that the verse reflects the conditions of Asa's reign and believe that the author of Chronicles composed it to show how God had blessed Judah (Welten 1973: 79–82).

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M. PATRICK GRAHAM

ULCER. See SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

ULLA (PERSON) [Heb *ʿullāʾ*]. While Ulla's three sons are listed in the Asherite genealogy in 1 Chr 7:39, this figure stands detached from the surrounding material. Missing from the Syriac, he is not connected to earlier figures nor does his lineage continue beyond his sons. Scholars have proposed that Ulla is a textually corrupt form of a previous name in the genealogy; suggestions include Shua, Shual, Amal, and Ara. See also Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT.

JULIA M. O'BRIEN

ʿUMEIRI, TELL EL- (M.R. 234142). Neither the biblical nor ANE identification for this Transjordanian tell some 10 km S of Amman is yet known for sure. Ibach has suggested it to be the Amorite Heshbon (1978: 209–13; cf. Num 21:21–30) while Redford (1982: 66–70; cf. Judg 11:33) considers it to be biblical Abel-keramim. Geraty (1985: 87) has wondered if it might be one of the towns mentioned in Jer 48:21–25. Its linguistic root can be related to the meaning "to be plentiful, copious, abundant, abound (water); to overflow" (Geraty 1985: n. 6). If so, the name would obviously have reference to the tell's spring, the only natural water source between Amman and Madaba.

The name ʿUmeiri actually applies to three tells roughly 250 m apart, now divided not only by a wadi but also the freeway from Amman to its international airport to the S. These tells lie on a major ancient N-S route at the point where the Madaba Plains join the Ammonite hill country. In fact Tell el-ʿUmeiri (West) is the first fortifiable hill (with water) on this route N of the plains. The NE tell is the latest in terms of its occupation history: Islamic Period. The SE tell is smaller and earlier in terms of occupation: Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine Periods. The W tell is largest, approximately 16 acres in size and higher—ca. 900 m in elevation, some 60 m above the wadi. At its base is the major natural water source. The slopes of the tell incorporate several terraces but rise steeply on all sides except the W where the hill joins a ridge. Considerable evidence of architecture is to be seen on the site, especially on the summit. The summit, though irregular, is fairly flat. It drops off abruptly on all sides along a scarp which has proved to be the line of a defensive wall. Huge quantities of sherds can be found on the surface of the site. These range in date from Chalcolithic through the EB, MB, and LB (especially on the slopes) to Iron Ages I and II (primarily on the summit), and a very few Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine.

Andrews University initiated the excavation of Tell el-ʿUmeiri in 1984 both as a successor to the excavation of Tell Hesban and as part of a more comprehensive Madaba Plains Project that has included the excavation of three other sites as well as a regional survey within some 5 km radius of the tell (designed in part to provide understanding of changes over time in the food system of the region). This was the first excavation of the tell though a few explorers and archaeologists had previously visited the region, notably Ibach (1978; 1987), Franken and Abujaber (1979), and Redford (1982). Successive seasons of excavation have taken place in 1987 and 1989.

The excavations at Tell el-ʿUmeiri have taken place in seven Fields and have discovered stratified remains from EB III (ca. 2500 B.C.) to the Early Roman Period (ca. 1st century A.D.).

1. Early Bronze Age. The earliest remains found were on the S and N shelves of the mound and indicate that an EB town covered the complete site. The most extensive of these remains came from the S shelf (Field D) where three broad terraces organized roads and domestic dwellings. The most coherent of these remains came from the middle terrace where a street ca. 1.5 m wide separated two housing units, along one wall of which was a line of stones, perhaps intended to hold fodder for a tethered beast of burden. On the other side of the street three walled spaces produced significant remains with bins and a cobbled hearth suggesting food processing and perhaps animal sheltering. A large storeroom contained the remains of 28 storage vessels of various types, mostly jars. Protected by the debris from the superstructure of the house which fell on top of the jars during its destruction and preserved by the fire that ravaged the building, the vessels still contained carbonized seeds of the foods used by the ancient family that lived there. These included legumes (lentils and garbanzos), fruits (grapes and figs), and grains (wheat and barley). Two jugs may have contained oil. Many of the vessels were the bottoms of jars reused as large bowls; apparently nothing was discarded that had a use.

On the N slope (Field G), a "V"-shaped topographic feature suggested wall lines descending the slope but excavations uncovered no such feature. Instead an unstratified dump seemed to sit on top of EB tumble.

The EB Age was the age of urbanization when people

first settled in large groups, many times with massive fortification walls surrounding the settlement. Tell el-ʿUmeiri seems to represent a modest expression of this process. The housing complexes were made up of living-rooms, storerooms, courtyards, and animal shelters. Each complex was a series of structures built around courtyards, unlike the coherent, single-house structures of later periods. It is almost as if, in this early period of urbanization, people had simply moved their farms tightly together. No fortification wall for the town has been found as yet and, because the southernmost materials have been strongly eroded, it would appear that none existed on the S slope. However, the town was apparently well-planned with housing units separated by narrow, straight streets, and built on well organized terraces climbing up the slope of the hill. The finds suggest an orderly, neat, and efficient use of space and resources for a population that was perhaps the largest Tell el-ʿUmeiri ever saw. All subsequent settlements were smaller in size.

2. Middle Bronze Age. The site seems to have been resettled toward the end of the MB Age. The inhabitants abandoned the S shelf and reduced the intensity of occupation on the N slope and E shelf. However, the excavations in Field B, on the W slope of the summit, have probed ca. 1 m into an earthen rampart containing a few potsherds from MB II. The top layer of the rampart sloped at ca. 30° and was made of beaten earth with a few thin lenses of crushed lime.

3. Late Bronze Age. The first earth layers from the LB were uncovered in 1989 at Tell el-ʿUmeiri, in Field F, on the eastern shelf. Although no architectural remains could be isolated, the layers produced a Cypriot Base Ring sherd and a well-preserved Astarte fertility plaque common to the period.

4. Iron I Period. In 1989 it became clear that the casemate fortification system found previously in Field B on the W side of the summit was of Iron I date. Outside the casemate wall, an earthen rampart almost 2 m thick was constructed immediately on top of the MB rampart. The relationship of the layers in the rampart to the courses in the casemate outer wall, suggests that the rampart was to provide support against the weight of debris building up inside the wall. All three layers of the rampart produced Iron I pottery. At the bottom of the rampart a revetment wall supported the rampart where a dry moat plunged into bedrock ca. 4 m. The rock and clay that was excavated from the dry moat went to lay the first layer of the rampart. The W slope was the most vulnerable to attack and the occupants of the site apparently wanted a strong fortification system—perhaps the first so far found in Palestine that included a casemate wall, a rampart, and a dry moat.

Excavations inside the casemate room and further inside the town revealed a deep destruction layer ca. 2 m thick which marked the end of Iron I in this field. The destruction layer consisted primarily of burned mudbricks and stones, but also included burned wooden roofing beams. The fire was so hot that it turned some of the wall stones to lime. Beneath the destruction debris in the casemate room were smashed storage jars, most of which had collared rims, typical of Iron I throughout Palestine. Several of these large jars contained the same potter's mark on the handles, but none sported precisely the same type of collar.

Over this destruction the remains of an early Iron II storeroom were found. In Fields A and F an ash layer provided the stratigraphic boundary between Iron I and Iron II as well. It would thus seem that the destruction which ended Iron I at Tell el-ʿUmeiri was sitewide. Is it possible that this destruction was caused by the army of King David attacking the Ammonites? Bathsheba's husband, Uriah the Hittite, was killed at the walls of nearby Rabbath-ammon when David conquered that city (2 Sam 11). Could ʿUmeiri, probably one of the Ammonite border towns, have been destroyed during this same campaign? Although the pottery in the casemate room would seem to be somewhat earlier than the early 10th century B.C., when David lived, it is possible that such large storejars lasted for long periods of time.

5. Iron II and Early Persian Periods. Field A (at the W end of the summit) produced extensive remains from at least two phases stretching from the Late Iron II period into the beginning of the Persian Period. Three large buildings dominated the excavated area during the earliest phase. Only two or three rooms of a large building with very thick walls have been found in the S, but the central building has been completely exposed. It consisted of four rooms—three long rooms abutting a broad room, a style typical in W Palestine, but now found more frequently in Transjordan as Iron Age sites are excavated. The third building (on the N) was oriented at a right angle to the four-room house and included a broad room with at least five long rooms abutting it. One of the rooms was formed with a row of pillars. This third house had doorways connecting all the rooms. It appears that at least the first two buildings were basement structures, that is, the walls were built into a large pit dug for the whole structure. No individual foundation trenches were found for any wall and immediately outside the buildings Iron I layers were found. Surfaces were found only in the N building where a typical domestic repertoire of objects, such as grinding tools, was found. However, the thick walls, the basements, and the large size of the two S buildings suggest they were used for non-domestic, administrative activities. Perhaps they should be connected with the royal seal found in this area in 1984.

On a ceramic cone found in the sift from soil near the mound's surface was a seal impression depicting a winged scarab flanked by two standards surmounted by sun discs and crescent moons and the Ammonite letters: *lmlkm-ʾwr ʿbd bʿl-ysʿ* ("belonging to Mikom-ʾur, servant of Baʿal-yashaʿ"). The design is typical of the 7th/6th century B.C. (Younker 1985) and the script dates to ca. 600 B.C. (Herr 1985: 172). Both of the personal names in the inscription constitute "firsts" in biblical archaeology. The name of the owner, Milkom-ʾur, is the first known occurrence of the well-known Ammonite divine name Milkom as one of the elements in an Ammonite proper name. Obviously, the person with this name was a prominent government official, because in these Iron Age seals, the name which follows the one identified as "servant of" is invariably royal. In this inscription, the royal name, too, is a "first": Baʿal-yashaʿ is the first extra-biblical confirmation of the Ammonite king BAALIS mentioned in Jer 40:14. The slight

difference in spelling between Jeremiah and the seal impression can be explained linguistically (Geraty 1985: 100; Herr 1985: 172).

Other important inscriptional finds from the Iron Age include a seal impression of Thutmose III found on an Iron I jar handle (Redford 1990); an early 6th century B.C. seal reading *lsmʿz*, "belonging to Shemʿaz" (Geraty, Herr, LaBianca 1988: 250); an early 7th century B.C. scaraboid seal inscribed on both sides with the name of the owner, *lʾlʾms bn tmkʾl*, "belonging to ʾElʾamas son of Tamakʾel"; and two seal impressions from different jar handles but apparently made by the same seal, reading, *lbʾrʿmn*, "belonging to Beʾerʿammon," where it is likely that the national name ʿAmmon was used as the theophoric element.

Other major structures from Iron II were found in Field F on the eastern shelf. Three parallel walls may have made up a small gate structure with a narrow passageway between the eastern two walls. A later phase of structures was built over the walls of Field A, seemingly ignoring the earlier walls completely. Unfortunately, the surfaces that went with these walls have been destroyed by agricultural activities on top of the mound in the Middle Ages, but the pottery associated with them was Early Persian.

6. Early Roman Period. A small plastered pool or ritual bath with steps was excavated at the N edge of Field A. If there were associated structures, these were destroyed in subsequent use of the tell summit. The pool was dated by two Early Roman sherds which were found in the foundation of the structure which otherwise exhibited only Persian pottery.

7. Middle Ages. Because the pool mentioned above is normally subterranean and no associated buildings or pottery of the Roman Period were found anywhere in the immediate region, it appears that the Roman buildings have disappeared and that the present day surface of the mound has been lowered considerably since Roman times. It may be suggested that agricultural activity combined with wind erosion has lowered the top of the tell by as much as a meter. This may account for the large quantities of pottery and objects found in topsoil in Field A—wind erosion removed the soil but left stones, pottery and objects. Farmers removed the stones to the many large rock mounds scattered over the site.

8. Water Source. An important water source for the whole region lies at the base of the tell to the N. The Madaba Plains Project is attempting to date the construction associated with this source in Field E. So far it has been found that earth layers from Iron I were cut by a plaster and cobble installation built during Iron II times. The Iron II remains were, in turn, cut by an Early Roman plastered channel. Then, during Byzantine times, all structures were cut by a deep foundation pit for a tunnel leading to the well house.

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LAWRENCE T. GERATY
LARRY G. HERR

UMM AL-BIYARA (M.R. 191970). A steep hill rising above the Nabatean city of Petra. There is clear evidence of an Edomite settlement on the top and Glueck, who first sounded the site in 1933 (1933: 13–14), identified it as biblical SELAʿ, the Rock of Edom (Judg 1:36; 2 Kgs 14:7; 2 Chr 25:11–12; Isa 16:1; 42:11; Jer 49:16; Obad 3). Morton (1956: 26–26) sounded the site in 1955 and supported Glueck's conclusions. However, excavations by C.-M. Bennett, who sounded the site in 1960 and conducted two seasons of excavation in 1963 and 1965 (Bennett 1966) have cast doubt on this identification as she found no pottery dating prior to the end of the 8th century B.C. This is not in accord with 2 Kgs 14:7 and 2 Chr 25:11–12 in which Selaʿ is mentioned as an object of attack during the campaign of Amaziah, king of Judah (798–769 B.C.). Starcky (1964) also argued against the identification of Umm al Biyara with Selaʿ on textual grounds, preferring a more northerly location. Bennett (1966: 375) suggested that biblical Selaʿ be identified with a modern site of the same name a few km N of the Edomite capital of BOZRAH. Surface surveys there, however, have also produced no pottery earlier than the late 8th/7th centuries B.C. (Hart 1986). The matter remains unproved but current scholarship follows Starcky and Bennett and places biblical Selaʿ at either modern Selaʿ or at another site as yet unidentified.

Umm al Biyara is located in central Edom inside the Nabatean city of Petra near the modern village of Wadi Musa (El-Ji). It is several km off the presumed course of the Kings' Highway (the major N-S route through Transjordan) which must have passed near TAWILAN. By following the Wadi Musa W, it is possible to reach the Wadi Arabah.

The site is situated on the flat top of an isolated sandstone massif and is virtually inaccessable. A series of steps, cut during the later Nabatean period, has obliterated any evidence of the Iron Age access route but it must have been a difficult trackway. The name Umm al Biyara means in Arabic "Mother of Cisterns" and more than 50 large cisterns supplied water for the community.

Buildings are constructed of the local sandstone which

breaks easily into slabs along natural striations. Houses were built on either side of a long N-S wall which ran along the entire area of excavation. Bedrock formed the only floor, and there is little evidence of plaster on either floors or walls. The area was partly destroyed by fire at which point the settlement was abandoned.

Finds indicate a domestic settlement rather than a fortress, despite the strong natural defenses of the site. In many rooms, large caches of loom weights were discovered. Pottery is typically Edomite in shape but, in contrast to other Edomite sites, is unpainted. It is not clear whether the reasons for this are chronological or relate to the nature of the site.

An absolute date is given by a royal seal impression which reads, "QWS G. . . . King of E . . ." This is almost certainly Qos Gabr whom we know from Assyrian annals to have been king of Edom around the year 670 B.C. A general 7th century B.C. date for the site is most likely.

In the Nabatean period (4th century B.C. to 2d century A.D.) a temple was built on the edge of the site, a stairway cut into the slope, and various tombs cut in and around the base of the hill. There is no evidence of any subsequent occupation.

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STEPHEN HART

UMM EL-JIMAL (39°19′N; 36°22′E). The modern name, Umm el-Jimal, means "Mother of Camels" (or possibly "Mother of Beauty"). The ancient name is not known. H. C. Butler speculatively chose Thantia from the Peutinger Table (Butler 1911: xiv–xvi), but D. Kennedy has argued convincingly that Thugrat el-Jubb, a site farther S on the *via nova Traiana*, is Thantia (Kennedy 1982: 148–52). H. MacAdam has since suggested plausibly that Surattha from Ptolemy's *Geography* was ancient Umm el-Jimal (MacAdam 1986: 17). Thus far there is no epigraphic evidence to support these theories and the ancient name remains uncertain.

A. Location and Topography

Umm el-Jimal is located in the semi-arid region of N Jordan, on the edge of the basalt plain created by prehistoric volcanic eruptions from Jebel Druze, which is fifty km to the north in S Syria. This plain, called the S Hauran, is made up of deep basalt bedrock covered with a fertile layer of reddish volcanic soil that receives about 100 mm of rainfall per year. This rainfall is barely sufficient for an occasional wheat crop, but with careful collection and storage of the runoff, it is possible to follow the spring wheat harvest with irrigated crops of produce. In the Late Roman, Byzantine, and Umayyad periods, Umm el-Jimal was one of dozens of prosperous rural towns and villages scattered on the plain between Dera'a to the W and Deir el-Kahf to the E.

The great Roman highway, the *via nova* constructed during Trajan's rule, passes Umm el-Jimal 6 km to the W on its way from Bostra to Philadelphia (Amman). Umm el-Jimal itself lay on a side road that left the *via nova* at Qasr el-Ba'ij, and went on to Umm el-Quttein and Deir el-Kahf. This side road was part of a network of secondary roads that connected the S Hauran's towns and villages with major market centers like Bostra and Suweida, and the desert oasis of Azraq.

Umm el-Jimal nestles in a fork created by the joining of two wadis that bring the runoff waters from the lower slopes of the Jebel Druze. The earlier village was located on the W bank of the eastern branch, while the standing town lay on the E bank of the west branch.

B. History of Exploration and Excavation

Umm el-Jimal was "rediscovered" in the middle of the 19th century, and has been the subject of sporadic scholarship ever since. However, the major work done before the present study was the Princeton University Expedition to southern Syria in 1905 and 1909 led by Howard Crosby Butler. As a result, reporting and research on the site must be divided into two phases: "Before Butler" and "After Butler." Butler himself lists the following visitors to the site (Butler 1913: 151): C. Graham (1857), W. H. Waddington (1861–2), M. de Vogue (1861–2), C. Doughty (1875–6), S. Merrill (1876), W. H. Thomson (1877), H. Frauberger (1890), G. R. Lees (1893), G. Schumacher (1894), R. Dussaud and F. Macler (1901), and G. Bell (1905). These visits yielded some descriptive reporting, the sketching of a few buildings, and the recording of some inscriptions. They formed the basis of the more intense work done by Butler and his team of specialists in 1904–5 and 1909.

This intensive survey involved the mapping of the site including its public buildings, churches, reservoirs, monumental tombs, and twenty of the 131 housing complexes. All the visible Greek, Latin, Nabatean, Safaitic, and Arabic inscriptions were collected under the supervision of E. Littmann. The publications of these materials remain an invaluable reference for the site (Butler 1913; Littmann 1913). N. Glueck included Umm el-Jimal in his study of the extent of Nabatean influence in Syria in *Explorations in Eastern Palestine* (Glueck 1951). In 1956 G. U. S. Corbett did a detailed study of the Julianos Church from which he concluded convincingly that Butler's naming and dating of the church in the 4th century is based on a reused funerary inscription and therefore incorrect (Corbett 1957). Since 1972, Bert de Vries has been working on the site, completing Butler's mapping of the town in 1972–3 and directing teams of excavators in 1974, 1977, 1981, and 1984. The results of this work have been the completion of the architectural survey done by Butler and the determination of a more precise architectural and cultural history based on stratigraphic chronology.

C. History of the Site

Umm el-Jimal was occupied for 700 years from the 1st century A.D. to the 8th century, and again early in the 20th century. There were four distinct occupations over this period.

1. 2d–3d Century Village. In the 2d–3d centuries A.D., it was a rural village that received its impetus from late Nabatean sedentarization, but its prosperity from the incorporation of the region into the Roman Empire after the peaceful transformation of the Nabatean heartland of Jordan into the *provincia Arabia* (the Roman Province of Arabia). Thus from Trajan (A.D. 106) to the end of the Severan Dynasty (A.D. 235) the village appears to have had an undisturbed and relatively prosperous rural life, as inferred from the hundreds of tombstone inscriptions in Greek and Nabatean, most of which were reused as corbels and stairway treads in the later, still-standing town. These inscriptions give us the Arabic and Hellenized names of several generations of villagers: "Asad, (son of) 'Akrab, age 30" (in Greek); "Masik, son of Zabud" (in Nabatean).

This relative tranquility ended in the middle of the 3d century, when the village became a victim of the wave of turmoil that ravaged the Roman Mediterranean; a likely hypothesis is that it was ruined during the civil war triggered by Queen Zenobia of Palmyra's rebellion against Rome. After the destruction, the village and its cemeteries provided building materials for the later fortifications and houses. Ruined to foundation levels, the site remains a 300–400 m diameter "moonscape" of rubble 200 m E of the SE corner of the later town.

2. 4th–5th Century Fortifications. The second Umm el-Jimal was a military station on the *limes Arabicus*, the 4th–5th century fortified frontier defensive system created and constructed by the emperors Diocletian and Constantine. Already in the 2d century, the Roman imperial authorities had begun construction of a gate and a wall next to the village, on the site of the standing town. This is known from a dedicatory inscription (recorded by H. C. Butler from the ruins of the "Commodus Gate") commemorating the construction of a defensive wall during the co-regency of Marcus Aurelius and his son Commodus. The construction of the great reservoir and the Praetorium followed. See Fig. UMM.01 (nos. 9 and 2). But after the destruction of the village, Diocletian's imperial reorganization resulted in the construction of a major fortification, the *castellum* (nos. 133–4) on the E side of what later became the town. Now Umm el-Jimal functioned as a stitch in the blanket of total defensive security in which Diocletian had attempted to swaddle his empire. The 4th–5th century consisted of the Commodus Gate, the Praetorium, Reservoir no. 9 and the fort, but without the Barracks, the houses, and the churches.

3. 5th–8th Century Town. This military security may have enabled or forced the civilian resettlement of the site, to set the stage for Umm el-Jimal's third persona, that of a prosperous rural farming and trading town of the 5th to 8th centuries. The transformation from military station to civilian town was gradual, and is typical of the general transformation from imperial to late antique culture that took place in the E Mediterranean in the 4th century. This resulted from the failure of Diocletian's system of massive defenses along the E frontier and the reaction to the debilitating economic oppression such a system required. Ironically, as imperial military security weakened and decentralized, the prosperity of the E frontier increased to reach a peak in the 6th century.

At Umm el-Jimal the Tetrarchic (refers to the type of imperial government inaugurated by Diocletian) *castellum* lost its military function in the early 5th century, and may have been converted into a market place, as inferred from the nature of the artifacts found in the streets between its barracks. At the same time the Barracks (Fig. UMM.01, no. 1) was constructed as a bivouac for the diminished Early Byzantine garrison inside the town walls. The last vestige of paganism, a small Roman temple (Fig. UMM.01, no. 8), dated to the earlier Nabatean era by H. C. Butler, was constructed at this time.

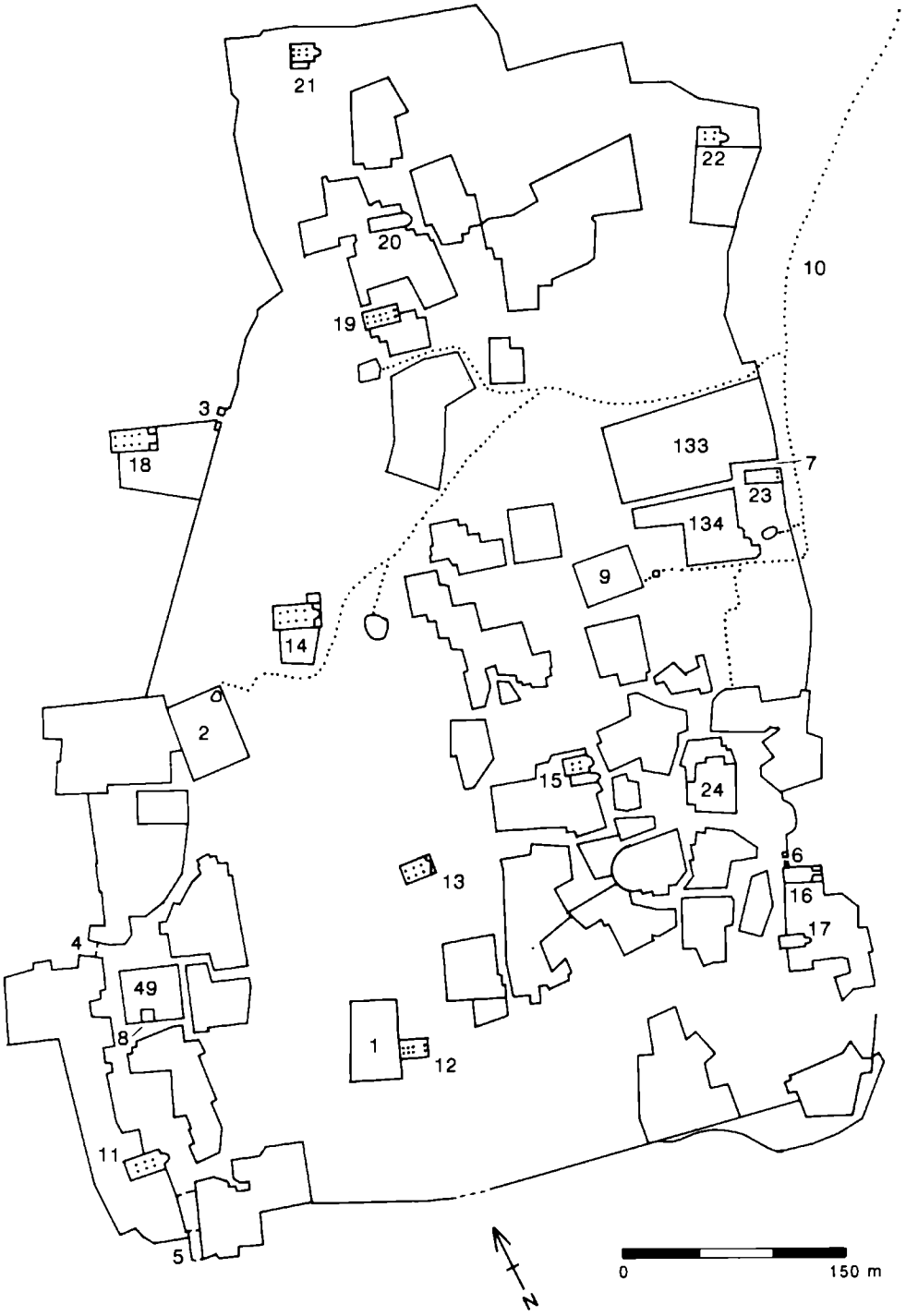
This little temple was soon engulfed in a domestic complex constructed by Christians (no. 49), one of 131 such complexes that were in use in the 6th century. The conversion to Christianity also brought churches of which 15 were constructed in the late 5th and 6th centuries. The Barracks building went through a major remodeling that included the construction of the SE corner tower, a symbol of the localized defense prevalent during the period of the Ghassanid phylarchy (the Arabic tribal rule which Byzantine emperors used to protect the E flank of their empire from the mid-6th century to the Islamic conquest). Thus the town enjoyed its moment of greatest prosperity at the time that centralized imperial controls were at their weakest.

Undoubtedly, the fortunes of Umm el-Jimal were diminishing during the rather catastrophic decades of the late 6th century, when the E suffered the twin ravages of plague and Persian wars. Centralized control returned in somewhat different form after the Muslim conquest under the Umayyad caliphs ruling from Damascus (A.D. 661–750). Occupation at the site was uninterrupted to the end of the Umayyad period. The population continued to occupy at least the central structures (the Praetorium and House XVIII), and at least one church (no. 22) was remodeled in the Umayyad period. The Praetorium was extensively refloored and decorated with frescoed plaster, and appeared to be a prosperous equivalent of contemporary desert castles like Qusair 'Amra. However, Umayyad controls could not stem the tide of depopulation that had begun in the previous century. When the earthquake of A.D. 747 hit, neither manpower nor economic resources remained with which to rebuild as they had done in more prosperous times.

4. 20th Century Twilight. For more than 1100 years the city lay virtually abandoned and untouched. Though buildings experienced the continuous slow crumbling that non-maintenance causes, as well as occasional earthquake jolts, the durable basalt masonry and the high quality construction enabled a remarkable state of preservation. Thus when the Druze were expanding S from their mountain perch, some of them found Umm el-Jimal an attractive place to remodel. Before 1935 a number of buildings had their walls reconstructed, and corbeled roofs newly laid on arches set in the Roman style. When the Druze left to move S to Azraq and Amman, they abandoned a place that appears even more remarkably preserved than when travelers and explorers like Butler and Bell visited it earlier in this century.

D. Culture

The role that Umm el-Jimal played in recorded historical developments is difficult to determine, because its an-



UMM.01. Site plan of Umm el-Jimal, showing neighborhood housing complexes. *1*, barracks; *2*, praetorium; *3*, Gate of Commodus; *4*, W gate; *5*, SW gate; *6*, E gate; *7*, NE gate; *8*, pagan church; *9*, main reservoir; *10*, main water channel; *11*, SW church; *12*, barracks chapel; *13*, Numerianos church; *14*, cathedral; *15*, double church; *16*, Masechos church; *17*, SE church; *18*, W church; *19*, Klaudianos church; *20*, "Julianos" church; *21*, N church; *22*, NE church; *23*, E church; *24*, house XVIII; *49*, Christian domestic complex; *133–34*, castellum.

cient name is unknown. Without the help of literary sources, the nature of the settlement has to be understood from the ruins themselves.

Umm el-Jimal is no Jerash. The place is plain, without frills. But this has great significance. Whereas Jerash is monumental, a symbol of the glory of Rome, Umm el-Jimal is ordinary, a symbol of the real life of Rome's subjects. Umm el-Jimal gives us a glimpse of local people, Arabs, Nabateans, and Syrians, living ordinary lives. These people were the backbone of the Roman order and economy. They belonged to the frontier tribes who settled at the urging of Nabatean water technology and Roman military order. One could say they benefitted from the security Rome brought; one could also say they suffered under the iron fist of Rome's military might. Their ruined buildings reveal that they coped rather well at times.

Umm el-Jimal's ordinary houses give clues to the habits of their residents. The architecture of these plain houses makes it clear that the residents were chiefly farmers. In most the bottom floors were barns and stables; the enclosed courtyards doubled as living rooms for humans and pens for animals. Outside, the elaborate water collection systems of both the 2d century village and the 6th century town, combined with the terraced fields along the wadis, indicate extensive cultivation. Both the ruins of the village and the standing buildings of the town indicate enough economic surplus from the export of animals and produce to nearby cities to enable the construction of the plain, but sturdy and comfortable houses that characterize the entire region.

These houses were built exclusively of the local steel-grey basalt. The prevalent use of corbeled rather than vaulted or pedimented roofs, with resulting narrow rooms and flat roofs, adds to the solidity and practicality of this no-frills, high quality architecture. The combination of somber color, surprising rows of corbels and excellent preservation give the place its unusual attractiveness today.

The income from agriculture may have been bolstered by caravaneering as well. Places like Umm el-Jimal and Umm el-Quttein are convenient stopovers for goods in transit from Arabia and the Gulf via the Wadi Sirhan and Azraq to Bostra and Damascus. To explain the existence of these places as "Caravan Cities," however, is an exaggeration. The backbone of local economy and sustenance was the agriculture that flourished from the twin benefits of superb water engineering and excellent soil.

Who were these residents? It is tempting to call them Nabateans, because the site has one of the largest numbers of Nabatean inscriptions anywhere. However, indications are that Nabatean was an adopted culture. The villagers who wrote the Nabatean texts used much more Greek, another second language, if poor grammar and spelling are any indication. And practically none of the typically Nabatean pottery was used. The post-3d century town people used no Nabatean at all, only Greek.

The best interpretation is that the earlier village was settled by local Arab tribes under Nabateanizing influence from the nearby capital at Bostra. These villagers probably spoke an Arabic or Aramaic dialect, and super-imposed both Nabatean and Roman cultures on their own desert ways as they became sedentary. The names on their tombstones, though written in Greek, are mostly Arabic/Aramaic in ethnic identity (Sartre 1985: 199–200). After the destruction of the Nabateanized village in the 3d century, the builders of the new town were other regional Arabs who adapted and refined the earlier hydraulic and architectural technology, but had no interest in the Nabatean language and religion.

It is also a misnomer to call the people of this later town Roman or Byzantine. True, the pottery they used was mostly typical of the Roman and Byzantine pottery of the Mediterranean. But the architecture and the way of life is indigenous, with only some Greek and Roman influences. The answer to the question, therefore, is that the people of Umm el-Jimal belonged to local Arabic tribes who settled into rural communities in the context of Nabatean, Roman, Byzantine, and Umayyad political and cultural expansion and control.

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UMMAH (PLACE) [Heb *ʿumâ*]. A town in the tribal allotment of Asher (Josh 19:30). Most scholars consider the name Ummah as an error for Acco, a major town which is absent from Asher's list here, but appears in Asher's list of "Conquest Lacunae" (cities that the respective tribe did not manage to conquer) in Judg 1:31. In certain periods in Hebrew paleography, *mem* and *kap* are easily confused, which would lead to the erroneous *ʿmh* for *ʿkh.* Notice also that LXX^{C} reads *kai Akko.* If this error is not accepted, then the location of Ummah is unknown.

SIDNIE ANN WHITE

UNCLEAN AND CLEAN. These terms designate negative or positive ritual and moral conditions in persons and sometimes in objects. Uncleanness or impurity is basically defined as that which is a threat to or opposes holiness, and hence must be kept separate from that sphere. On the relationship of purity and impurity to the profane (i.e., nonholy or common) and holy, see HOLINESS. Impurity may arise from natural and necessary conditions, such as bodily discharges, or from sinful situations.

OLD TESTAMENT

In the OT, the concern about purity and impurity preponderates in the Priestly writings (= ᵓP; including the Holiness Code, Leviticus 17–26). This corpus presents extremely systematic legislation on this topic. Because P deals with purity so completely and lucidly, this article will mainly describe its legislation. Non-P evidence will be appended in most sections. For comparison of purity ideas in later Jewish and Christian literature and in the ANE, see Milgrom *Leviticus* AB; Neusner 1973; Paschen 1970: 83–200; Wright 1987b.

A. Terminology
B. The Impurities
  1. Permitted Impurity
    a. Classes
    b. General Purification and Dedication Rites
  2. Prohibited Impurity
C. Other Excretions, Blemishes, Foods, and Mixtures
D. Purification and Rectification Procedures
  1. Permitted Impurities
    a. Ablutions
    b. Sacrifices
    c. Passage of Time
    d. Disposal
  2. Prohibited Impurities
E. The Rationale and Theology of Impurity
  1. Strengths and Places of Impurity
  2. Nondemonic Character of Impurity
  3. Rationale for Impurities

A. Terminology

In P and in the rest of the OT the main Hebrew roots for describing purity and impurity are as follows: (1) for purity: *ṭhr* (verb: *Qal* "be pure," *Piᶜel* "purify; declare clean" ["clear away" Job 37:21], *Puᶜal* "be cleansed, purified," *Hitpaᶜel* "purify oneself"; nouns: *ṭōhar, ṭōhŏrâ* "purity, purifying" ["splendor" Ps 89:45]; adj.: *ṭāhôr* "pure"; the adj. is also used of the gold of cultic implements and incense in P to refer to elemental, not ritual, purity [but see Exod 31:8; 39:37; Lev 24:4; cf. Zech 3:5; 2 Chr 13:11]; the root is also used outside of P of stones and gold); for impurity: *ṭmᵓ* (verb: *Qal*, "be/become impure," *Nipᶜal* "defile oneself; be impure," *Piᶜel* "defile; declare unclean," *Puᶜal* "be polluted," *Hitpaᶜel/Hotpaᶜal* "defile oneself, become unclean"; noun: *ṭumᵓâ* "impurity"; adj.: *ṭāmēᵓ* "impure").

Other roots deal with purity (this and the following paragraph list only verb forms and other parts of speech from these roots that deal specifically with the idea of purity): *brr* (verb: *Qal* "purify; clean," *Nipᶜal/Hitpaᶜel* "purify oneself, be pure," *Piᶜel* "purify," *Hipᶜil* "cleanse, polish"; nouns: *bōr* "purity; lye, soap," *bōrît* "lye, soap"; adj.: *bar* "pure, clean"); *zkh* (generally carrying a notion of "be innocent"; verb: *Qal* "be pure; justified," *Piᶜel* "purify," *Hitpaᶜel* "purify oneself"); *zkk* (verb: *Qal* "be bright, guiltless," *Hipᶜil* "purify, wash"; adj.: *zak* "pure, blameless"); *zqq* (generally of refining metals but the *Piᶜel* verb "purify" is used in Mal 3:3 of people; cf. the *Puᶜal* Ps 12:7); *ḥṭᵓ* (verb: *Piᶜel* "purify; offer a purification sacrifice," *Hitpaᶜel* "purify oneself"; noun: *ḥaṭṭāᵓt* "purification sacrifice"); *ḥpp* (attested only in Job 33:9; adj.: *ḥap* "pure"); *kpr* (verb: *Piᶜel* "appease, make appeasement; purify"; *Puᶜal* "be expiated, purified," *Hitpaᶜel/Nitpaᶜel* "be expiated" [BDB, 498]; noun: *kippurîm* "appeasement, expiation"); *lbn* (verb: *Hipᶜil* "turn white; purify"); *nqh* (mainly refers to judicial and religious innocence but at points has contacts with the idea of purity, particularly the noun *niqqayôn* "innocence, cleanness"; cf. the adj. *nāqî* "innocent, clean"); *ṣdq* (generally with a judicial or religious significance of being innocent, right, true; as a *Nipᶜal* verb in Dan 8:14 with a sense "be purified"); *ṣrp* (of purifying or smelting metals used figuratively; verb: *Qal/Piᶜel* "refine, purify," *Nipᶜal* "be refined, purified"; see also *ntk*); *qdš* (generally referring to holiness but the *Piᶜel* and *Hitpaᶜel* are sometimes used to mean "purify [by bathing]"; see HOLINESS); *tmm* (once as a *Hipᶜil* verb meaning "destroy" impurity; Ezek 22:15). To be considered with the terminology of purification are words or roots dealing with ablutions or related methods of purification: *glḥ* ("shave"; cf. *taᶜar* "razor"); *dwḥ* ("wash"); *zrq* ("throw; sprinkle"); *kbs* ("launder"); *nzh* ("sprinkle"); *mrq* ("scour"); *neter* ("natron"); *rḥṣ* ("bathe, wash"); *šṭp* ("overflow; rinse"). Cf. *bᶜr* ("burn, consume"); *ṭbl* ("immerse, dip"), *śrp* ("burn").

Other roots dealing with impurity are: *gᵓl* (II) (verb: *Nipᶜal* "be polluted," *Piᶜel/Hipᶜil* "pollute," *Hitpaᶜel* "defile oneself"; noun: *gōᵓel* "defilement"); *ḥll* (technically of making something holy profane but often with a notion of defilement [see HOLINESS]; verb: *Nipᶜal/Puᶜal* "be profaned, defiled," *Piᶜel/Hipᶜil* "profane, defile"); *ḥnp* (verb: Qal "be polluted, profane; be evil," *Hipᶜil* "pollute, desecrate"; nouns: *ḥōnep, ḥănuppâ* "impiety"; adj.: *ḥānēp* "impious, wicked"); *niddâ* ("menstrual discharge; impurity"; as "abomination" in Lev 20:21); cf. *ṭnp, ktm, piggûl* (see HOLINESS). To this list could be added roots and words that refer to the notion of abomination (*zimmâ* "wickedness"; *šqṣ/šeqeṣ* "abomination"; *tᶜb/tôᶜēbâ* "abomination"; etc.) and those for specific impurities (*zwb* "to flow; have a flux"; *ṣāraᶜat* "surface/scale disease"; etc.).

Bordering the terminology of purity/impurity is that of holiness (see HOLINESS) on the one hand, and sin, guilt, and righteousness (see SIN; RIGHTEOUSNESS) on the other. On the terminology, see Paschen (1970); Zatelli (1978; a semiotic approach; cf. Bean 1981); and *TWAT/TDOT* under the foregoing terms.

B. The Impurities

P displays a broad spectrum of impurities, from those lasting one-day which are quite innocuous to those that are extremely severe arising out of sin. These can be divided into two types. One type is permitted impurity. Though any form of this impurity can harm the sacred by

contact and stronger forms of this impurity can aerially pollute sanctuary sancta (see below), this type is not disallowed because of its *natural* and *necessary* occurrence. It includes impurities relating to death, sex, disease, and the cult. P discusses this type most frequently. It characteristically has simple methods of rectification (ablutions, sacrifices, time elements, or disposal). The locus of pollution is always the person, and, as indicated above, the sanctuary in severe cases. The other type is prohibited impurity. Though the effect of this impurity may be extremely severe, its effects may be no more severe than those of permitted impurity. This type of impurity grows out of situations which are controllable and are not natural or necessary, such as delaying purification from impurity, polluting specific sancta, sexual transgressions, idolatry, and murder. Punishments, beyond sacrificial requirements, often are necessary for rectification. The locus of uncleanness may be the person, but prescriptions talk more of the pollution of the sanctuary or land. For a distinction between types of purity based on nonbiblical anthropological evidence that has points of resonance with the classification presented here, see Rosen 1973.

1. Permitted Impurity. a. Classes. Leviticus 11–15 and Numbers 19 contain P's main discussion of permitted impurity, though throughout the corpus other brief references are found. These impurities can be organized into four classes: (a) death related, (b) sexual, (c) disease related, and (d) cultic. Each class is comprised of main impurities (see below) which are capable of generating secondary conditions of impurity in other objects or persons. In some cases, these secondarily impure persons or objects can cause tertiary impurity in other persons and objects. In one case a fourth level impurity is found. Hence, each main impurity, a "father of uncleanness" in rabbinic terminology, can generate a family of lesser impurity (its "offspring"). The number of "fathers of impurity" is quite limited, but with the ability of extended propagation the number of possible impure conditions is quite large.

(1) Death Related. (a) Human Corpse. The most severe of all the permitted impurities is the human corpse, called the "father of the fathers of uncleanness" in later rabbinic tradition (Rashi on *b. Pesaḥ.* 14b, 17a; cf. *m. Kelim* 1:1–4; *Ṭohar.* 1:5). Persons and objects polluted by it are impure for seven days (Num 19:11, 16, 19; 31:19, 24). Pollution occurs when the persons or objects touch the corpse or are merely in the same enclosure with it (19:11, 13, 14, 18). Pollution comes not only from a corpse, but from a human bone, a slain body, or a grave (19:18; 31:19). Corpse-contaminated persons and objects can pollute other persons and objects by touch for a one-day duration (19:22 [*ṭāmē'* refers to the corpse-contaminated person]; Lev 22:4–7).

Various restrictions and purification procedures apply to corpse-generated impurities. The corpse itself, whose impurity cannot be rectified, is removed from the area of habitation for burial (Lev 10:4–5).

Two views of restriction appear for corpse-contaminated persons. According to Num 5:2–3 and Num 31:13–24, corpse-polluted persons are to be excluded from the camp. Numbers 19, however, implies that such persons could remain in the area of habitation. The stricter rule in Numbers 5 and 31 is probably to be understood as applying only to the wilderness camp, a type of war camp. War camps have more rigorous purity rules (Deut 33:10–15; 1 Sam 21:4–7). The leniency of Numbers 19 is explained by its being the law that was to apply to settled communities after the conquest. Of course, corpse-contaminated persons and objects were restricted from anything holy, including festal occasions (cf. Num 9:6–14; see below on Lev 21:1–4, 10–12; Num 6:6–12).

Corpse-contaminated persons become pure by being sprinkled on the third and seventh days of their impurity with the water of purgation (*mê niddâ;* 19:9, 12, 13, 18–21; 31:19, 23), a mixture of water and the ashes of the red cow (19:2–11). On the seventh day, impure persons bathe themselves and launder their clothes and are pure at evening (19:19; 31:24). Corresponding to the ablution for persons is the requirement that objects be passed through fire if they can endure it, or be immersed in water if they cannot (31:19–24; see Wright 1985). Polluted earthenware is broken (an exception to this is made in Num 19:15; see Wright 1987b: 93–113). Ezekiel, whose legislation in chapters 40–48 is closely related to P's, requires a corpse-contaminated priest to bring a *ḥaṭṭā't* (purification) sacrifice (44:25–27; cf. the Nazirite's similar requirement in Num 6:6–12; see below).

Persons and objects polluted by corpse-contaminated persons and things are impure for one day (Num 19:22) and have no restrictions from profane (nonholy) matters. Persons polluted for one day bathe, and objects are washed (these ablutions are implied from the larger context). All these become pure at evening. See HEIFER, RED; WATER FOR IMPURITY.

Outside of P a similar picture obtains. One who is corpse-contaminated can pollute objects (specifically foods, Hag 2:13). Corpses after a battle pollute and need to be buried (Ezek 39:12–14; called a purification of the land). Graves pollute (cf. Isa 65:4). In this regard, the OT generally shows the concern to bury outside of towns, presumably because of the concern of corpse contamination. An exception appears in the case of Judahite kings who were generally buried inside the City of David or Jerusalem (1 Kgs 2:10; 11:43; 14:31; 15:8; etc.; see Wright 1987b: 115–28). Corpses desecrate sanctuaries (Ezek 9:7; 43:7–9) and cities (Jer 19:11–13). The food of mourners was considered unclean (Hos 9:4; cf. Deut 26:14). See Wright 1987b: 169–72, 196–200.

(b) Animal Carcasses. Typically related to the impurity of the human corpse is that of the animal carcasses. Leviticus 11, the main source in P for this subject, is hard to understand and betrays a complex historical development. As it presently stands the chapter seems to distinguish between a large group of animals which cause pollution when *eaten* and a more limited group within this larger class that cause pollution when merely *touched* or *carried.* Those that pollute by ingestion are: all land animals that do not have a split hoof and do not chew the cud, or those with these characteristics that have not been properly killed (cf. vv 2–8, 24–45); water animals that do not have fins and scales (vv 9–12); and certain listed birds and certain flying insects (vv 13–23). Only *some* of these animals appear to pollute by simple contact: the camel, hyrax, hare, and pig of vv 2–8; large land animals such as the

horse and bear implied by the criteria of vv 24–28; only eight types of small land animals (*šeraṣîm:* reptiles and rodents; see CRAWLING AND CREEPING THINGS) in vv 29–38; and improperly killed large land animals that are potentially edible in vv 39–40. In sum, all large land animals and only eight types of small land animals pollute by touch; other small land animals and sea and air animals do not. See Wright 1987b: 200–06.

The chapter has a further complexity of *prohibiting* ingestion or contact with some of these animals. Almost all the animals described above as being able to pollute by ingestion are prohibited to the diet (Lev 11:2–4, 8, 9, 11, 13, 20, 21, 41, 42). A prohibition of touching, however, is found only in the case of the carcasses of the camel, hyrax, hare, and pig (v 8; cf. vv 4–7; vv 41–45 and 20:25 appear to refer to eating, not touching). That eating and, in some cases, touching are prohibited shows that animal impurities do not fall completely under the category of permitted impurities. The method of contracting pollution from other classes of impurities helps solve this anomaly. Other impurities arise by means of *external* contact (apart from self-generated impurity of the fathers of pollution). Only with animal carcasses does impurity come from both external contact and internal consumption. The reason for the prohibition of eating appears to be the dietary laws' particular purpose to serve as a sign of Israel's holiness—its separateness from the nations (11:44–45; 20:25–27; a holiness rationale for food prohibitions appears at the earliest level of Israelite legislation, Exod 22:30; and is perpetuated in Deut 14:21). Other purity rules are oriented more toward the inner workings of the cult and the Israelite people; the concern for purity lies in its effect upon the sphere of the holy. Impurity in these other cases is allowed if handled correctly. The dietary laws, however, though they fit in the system of cultic purity, have the additional symbolic significance of manifesting Israel's relationship to God vis-à-vis other nations. Avoiding ingestion of certain animals is a sign of Israel's commitment to its covenant with God. Hence, eating impure animals is prohibited. It is possible that the care to observe the covenant led to the prohibition of touching the large land animals in Lev 11:4–8, a "fence" to insure observance (compare the echo of this in Gen 2:17; 3:3). In the end, it should be observed that the text never prescribes any punishment for transgressing these prohibitions.

The extent of animals prohibited to the diet must be defined more precisely. Israelites, of course, may eat any of the animals that are pure according to Leviticus 11. But while most polluting meat is prohibited, eating carcasses of clean animals that have been improperly killed is presumably allowed (vv 39–40). Compare Leviticus 17 which after establishing a mood of prohibiting items from the diet (i.e., animal blood, vv 10–14) only gives purification procedures for eating the carrion of pure animals, not prohibitions against it (vv 15–16). Thus appears a marginal class of meat which, though able to pollute by ingestion, is not prohibited (cf. 7:24). But if a lay Israelite may eat such meat, a priest, because he is holy, may not (22:8; cf. Ezek 44:31). For a similar distinction in prescription for lay Israelites versus priests, see below on corpse contamination of priests.

Touching, carrying, or eating carcasses of large land animals and the eight small land animals causes a one-day impurity. Of note is the difference in pollution caused by *touching* one of these animals versus *carrying* them. A person who only touches one of these carcasses needs only bathing, while the person who carries part or all of the carcass needs laundering also (Lev 11:24–25, 27–28, 39–40). Vv 39–40 equates the effect of eating with carrying. Polluted objects are washed. Polluted persons and objects require no restriction from the profane sphere. Leviticus 11 does not say anything about the pollution effect and purification requirements when an animal is eaten except in the case of an improperly killed animal in vv 39–40. Presumably the procedures would be the same as those in these verses. On animal impurities in P see also Lev 5:2; 7:21; 27:11, 27; Num 18:15.

Outside P, the food prohibitions in Deut 14:3–21 parallel closely P's rules in Leviticus 11 (on the relationship, see Moran 1966; Milgrom *Leviticus* AB). Other short legal passages are Exod 13:13; 22:30; 34:20. Some passages reflect the idea that holy persons are to not to eat impure foods: Samson's mother while carrying her son who would be a Nazirite (Judg 13:4, 7, 14; she is not expressly called holy); Ezekiel, a priest (Ezek 4:14). This last passage manifests the theme of exiled Israelites eating unclean food in foreign lands (v 13; cf. Hos 9:3–4; Daniel 1; on the impurity of foreign lands and foreigners, see Josh 22:19; Amos 7:17; Ezra 6:21). The J (Yahwist) flood tradition has Noah bringing seven pairs of clean animals versus one pair of unclean animals (Gen 7:2; 8:20). The P tradition, in contrast, requires only one pair of each type of animal (6:19–20; 7:15–16; 7:8–9 is a mixture of the traditions). For the abhorrence of impure animals in an idolatrous context, see Ezek 8:10.

(2) Sexual. For the discussion of these impurities, see DISCHARGE. Listed here are the five fathers of impurity in this class and biblical references in and outside of P: a seminal emission (Lev 15:16–18; cf. Exod 19:10–11, 14–15; Deut 23:10–15; 1 Sam 21:4–7); menstruation (Lev 15:19–24; 18:19; 20:18; cf. Gen 31:35; 2 Sam 11:4; Isa 30:22; Ezek 7:19; 22:10; 36:17; Lam 1:17; Ezra 9:11); a lochial discharge after birth (Lev 12; cf. Job 14:1, 4); an abnormal sexual discharge in a male (Lev 15:2–15; 22:4–6; Num 5:2–3; cf. 2 Sam 3:29); an abnormal menstrual discharge (Lev 15:25–30).

(3) Diseases. For the discussion of the impurity under this category, see LEPROSY. The impurity of this class, leaving aside the pathological conditions of abnormal sexual discharges of the foregoing class, is that of *ṣāraʿat*, commonly but erroneously translated "leprosy." The term actually includes a number of skin lesions in humans (e.g., psoriasis, etc.) and certain fungal growths in houses and in fabrics (cloth and leather). Five fathers of impurity belong to this class: humans diagnosed as having *ṣāraʿat* (Lev 13:1–46; 14:1–32; 22:4; Num 5:2–3; cf. Exod 4:6–7; Num 12:10–15; Deut 24:8; 2 Sam 3:29; 2 Kgs 5; 7:3–10; 15:5 = 2 Chr 26:16–21; perhaps Job 2:7–13; 18:13); humans suspected of having *ṣāraʿat* (Lev 13:1–46); a person purifying from *ṣāraʿat* (14:8–10); houses (Lev 14:33–53); fabrics (cloth and leather; Lev 13:47–59).

(4) Cultic Impurities. These impurities are those that arise in cultic rites or situations that have the goal of rectifying prohibited and other permitted impurities.

While these are not natural as is the case with the foregoing impurities, they are necessary in order to rectify other, noncultic impurities. The cases here reveal a paradox: something or someone that is pure, even holy, which is used or serves as an officiant to remove impurity becomes impure, sometimes to the extent of being able to pollute other persons and things.

(a) The *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* Sacrifice. The *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* (purification offering) purifies various sancta (altars and sanctuary rooms) from impurity (Exod 29:36; Lev 8:15; cf. Ezek 43:20–23; 45:18). The pollution it removes derives from either the more serious permitted impurities (lochial and abnormal sexual discharges, Lev 12:6–8; 15:14–15, 29–30; *ṣāraʿat* in persons, 14:19, 31; corpse contamination of a priest in Ezekiel, 44:27), or from sinful situations (the mismanagement of permitted impurities, inadvertent corpse contamination of a Nazirite, and inadvertent and intentional sins; on these see below). The sacrifice is also used in dedicating the burnt offering altar (see below). These impure conditions or sins pollute the sancta from a distance; impure persons or transgressors need not be in the sanctuary precincts to cause the pollution. Depending on the type of the *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* (see below), purification may be achieved by placing its blood on the horns of the burnt-offering altar (Exod 29:12; Lev 4:25, 30, 34; 8:15; 9:9; 16:18–19; for a bird see 5:9), placing it on the horns of the incense altar (Exod 30:10; Lev 4:7, 18), sprinkling it on the *kappōret* and in the adytum (16:14, 15), or sprinkling it in the shrine (4:6, 17; cf. placement on the door posts in Ezek 45:19). The particular locale of the sanctuary that is polluted (indicated by where the blood is used) depends on the character of the impurity or sin. Severe permitted impurities and inadvertent sins committed by individuals (cf. Lev 4:22–35) pollute only the outer altar. Sins by the community or by the high priest pollute the incense altar and shrine (the outer room of the tabernacle) (4:2–21). Intentional sins (*peša'îm;* 16:16) and presumably other unrectified sins and impurities pollute the adytum (the most holy place). In this graded scheme, it is noteworthy that serious permitted impurities affect only the outer altar.

There are two types of *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* sacrifices. The types are determined by the use made of the blood or the party for whom the offering is made. The one type is that whose blood is used only at the outer altar and whose meat is eaten by priests (Lev 4:22–35; 6:20–23; 10:16–18). It is not clear if this type pollutes. Certain procedures surrounding it suggest some pollution exists: blood must be washed out of a garment, metal vessels in which it is cooked need to be scoured, and earthenware cookery needs to be broken (Lev 6:20–21). That the priest may eat of it suggests that it is virtually pure. It is doubtful if the priests' eating is an act of purification—the removal or disposal of an impurity (cf. Lev 10:17). The other type is that whose blood is used in the shrine or adytum of the sanctuary, or which was offered for the priests' benefit (Exod 29:10–14; Lev 4:2–12, 13–21; 6:23; 8:14–17; 9:8–11; 10:18; 16:27). This type is not eaten. The carcass is disposed of by burning outside the camp in a pure place (Exod 29:14; Lev 4:11–12, 21; 6:23; 8:17; 9:11; 16:27). This type pollutes persons and, by deduction, objects for one day (cf. Lev 16:27–28).

Lev 6:20 hints that the blood of the *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* is impure. If so, pouring out the blood remaining after the initial blood applications and sprinklings at the base of the altar could be considered an act of disposal (Exod 29:12; Lev 4:7, 18, 25, 30, 34; 5:9; 8:15; 9:9).

Persons polluted by the *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* bathe and launder; objects are washed. On the *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* in general, see Milgrom 1983b: 67–95; Wright: 1987b: 129–59; 219; cf. Janowski 1982: 183–276.

(b) The Scapegoat. In the yearly Day of Atonement ritual, the people contribute a goat to carry sins to the wilderness (Lev 16:8, 10, 21–22). Aaron confesses over it "all of the transgressions of the Israelites and their crimes including all their sins." The goat is then taken to the wilderness (vv 21–22). The one dispatching the animal becomes unclean, implicitly for one day, and needs laundering and bathing (v 26). The scapegoat as a carrier of evil is never reclaimed but let loose in the wilderness (but cf. *m. Yoma* 6:5–6). See Wright 1987b: 15–31, 217–18; AZAZEL.

(c) The Red Cow, Its Ashes, and the Water of Purgation. To remove corpse contamination a special ash and water mixture is sprinkled on a polluted person (see on corpse contamination, above). The ash is made by burning a red cow with scarlet, hyssop, and cedar wood outside the camp in view of the sanctuary (Num 19:2–10). Both the ash made in this rite and the water mixture in which it is used pollute. The priest officiating in the ash making ritual, the one who burns the cow, and the one who gathers the resulting ash become impure. Their impurity lasts one day and they need to bathe and launder (Num 19:7, 8, 10; bathing for the case of the last verse is deduced). When the ash is used to purify a corpse-contaminated person, a pure person is to sprinkle the water mixture (v 18). This person, paradoxically, becomes impure and needs to bathe (deduced) and launder (v 21). A person who merely touches the water needs only bathing (the ablution is deduced; v 21). By deduction, objects would become impure too by contacting the water or ashes. The ashes, because they are impure, are stored outside camp (v 9). See Wright 1987b: 215–17; Milgrom 1983b: 85–95.

(d) *Ṣāraʿat* Bird and Bird Blood. To help purify a person or house that have recovered from *ṣāraʿat,* a priest sprinkles a mixture of water and bird blood on the patient by means of a live bird, hyssop, scarlet material, and cedar wood. The live bird is let loose toward the area outside of the habitation (Lev 14:2–7, 49–53). That the dispatched bird and blood-water mixture cause pollution is surmised from the analogous case of the scapegoat. The pollution would be similar to that case. See Wright 1987b: 75–86, 214–15.

b. General Purification and Dedication Rites. P contains several purification rites that do not rectify a particular impurity but which serve to establish the purity of persons or objects so that they may perform or be employed in cultic service. These can be considered under the class of permitted impurities.

(1) Purification of the Levites. The levites, chosen to serve in the place of the Israelite firstborn to perform the labor of the sanctuary and assist the priests, are purified by shaving, laundering, and being sprinkled with "water of purification" (*mê ḥaṭṭā'ṯ;* Num 8:6–7, 15, 21; probably not the same as the *mê niddâ* for corpse contamination).

This ablution, with accompanying sacrifices, establishes the levites' purity (but not holiness) so they may assume their responsibility.

(2) Purification of the Altar. As part of the temple consecration rites, the burnt-offering altar is purified with *ḥaṭṭāʾt* sacrifices (Exod 29:36; Lev 8:15; cf. 16:10–14; Ezek 43:20–27). Here the purification is part of a larger process of sanctification. See HOLINESS.

(3) Priestly Ablutions. Aaron and his sons are washed before they are dressed in their priestly clothing and consecrated (Exod 29:4; 40:12; Lev 8:6). This purification is similar in purpose to that of the levites and the altar. Before priests can serve on a daily basis in the sanctuary, they need to wash their hands and feet (Exod 30:18–21; 40:30–32; cf. 2 Chr 4:6). Ablution for purification is otherwise a full body washing; hence this limited washing is unique. The high priest on the Day of Atonement is to bathe entirely ("his flesh") at the beginning of the rite before putting on special linen clothing (Lev 16:4) and after the *ḥaṭṭāʾt* blood manipulation and dispatch of the scapegoat when he changes out of the special clothing (v 24). The initial washing is like the priests' preparatory hand and feet washings. That the whole body must be washed probably has to do with the intensive rite that follows in which the priest enters the most sacred room of the sanctuary (vv 12–15). The latter ablution seems to mark the priest's exit from the intensive portion of the ritual (a desanctification rite) to the regular sacrificial rites that follow (vv 24–25).

2. Prohibited Impurity. This type of impurity arises from the mismanagement of permitted impurities or other moral breaches. On the classification of these impurities into two categories, see below on purification procedures for prohibited impurities. The discussion here takes the examples in P case by case with non-P examples appended where applicable. With permitted impurities pollution affected persons, and in more severe cases, the sanctuary. Here the loci of impurity expand to include the land as well.

a. Delaying Purification. Delay of purification from permitted impurities exacerbates the effect of an impurity. This is considered sinful and is consequently penalized. Those who contract pollution from impure objects, animal carcasses, or from human impurities including a corpse, and find out about it or remember it after the period prescribed for purification has passed need to bring a *ḥaṭṭāʾt* sacrifice, presumably in addition to their required ablutions (Lev 5:2–3; cf. vv 1–13). The requirement for a *ḥaṭṭāʾt* shows the sanctuary has been polluted. Corpse-contaminated persons who do not purify pollute the sanctuary and will suffer *kārēt* "cutting-off" (premature death or extinction of progeny; Num 19:13, 20; see Wold 1978). The verses in Numbers 19 are talking of conscious avoidance of purification while those in Leviticus 5 are talking of an inadvertent lapse. Hence, attitude determines the type of penalty assessed. See also Lev 17:15–16; cf. 15:31.

b. A Corpse-Contaminated Nazirite. A Nazirite is not to come in contact with the dead (Num 6:6–7). The reason for this is that he, particularly his head, is holy (vv 5, 8, 11, cf. 7). Accidentally contacting the dead is a sin (v 11). On the eighth day, after the passage of seven days during which he presumably purifies as any other corpse-contaminated person (vv 9–10), he brings two birds for a *ḥaṭṭāʾt* (purgation offering), and *ʿōlâ* (burnt offering), and a ram for an *ʾāšām* (reparation offering; vv 10–12). The purgation-offering bird, perhaps aided by the burnt-offering bird, cleanses the sanctuary sancta. The reparation offering appears to rectify the sacrilege that occurred when the Nazirite's head was desecrated (Milgrom 1976: 66–70). The shaving of the head does not seem to be purificatory, but rather to remove a desecrated sanctum (v 9; cf. v 18). Since v 9 says that the contact was sudden *(bepetaʿ pitʾōm)*, hence unexpected and accidental, it can be presumed that a more strict penalty such as *kārēt* "cutting-off" would apply if a Nazirite intentionally contacted a corpse.

c. Corpse Contamination and Priests. Regular priests are not to contact any corpses except those of their near relatives (Lev 21:1–4). A high priest is prohibited from contact with any corpse, like the Nazirite (vv 10–11; cf. Lev 10:1–7). Though P lists restrictions, it does not mention what penalties apply should priests become impure nor does it hint at the issue of intentionality (the rectification procedure in Ezek 44:25–27 applies to legitimate priestly corpse pollution).

The cases of corpse contamination regarding the Nazirite and priests reveal again an important notion in Priestly law: the higher the holiness of a person, the more the restrictions from impurity. Israelites may become impure by any corpse; regular priests may become impure only by corpses of close relatives; the high priest and Nazirite are not to become impure by any corpse. Recall from the discussion on animal carcasses, above, that while Israelites could eat the improperly killed carcasses of pure animals, priests could not (Lev 22:8).

P gives stricter rules for priests only in the cases of corpses and carrion of pure animals. Limitation of stricter rules to these two cases makes sense in P's system. These rules represent two modes of contracting pollution: ingestion for the animal carcasses and external contact for corpses. This difference in the manner of pollution indicates that the two prohibitions are to be explained apart from one another. The significance of the eating prohibition has already been treated in the section on animal carcasses, above. Eating, as opposed to touching, is the main focus of proscription because of the significance of the diet as a sign denoting Israel as a holy people. The prohibition about corpses is explained in relation to impurities that cause pollution by external contact. A priest is not to contact corpses because they are the most severe external pollutant, bringing an impurity lasting seven days. All other externally contracted impurities last for only one day (one exception is impurity contracted through intercourse with a menstruant, but this is prohibited to all in the Holiness Code; see below). A priest is apparently allowed to contact the lesser impurities as long as he does not pollute what is sacred (22:2–9). Indeed, though a priest is prohibited from eating the carcasses of improperly killed pure animals, he apparently is not prohibited from touching these as well as other animal carcasses (v 5). Other impurities that are as severe as a corpse, or more severe, are self-generated (*ṣāraʿat* and an abnormal sexual discharge). These cannot be prohibited because of their nature.

d. Sins and the Day of Atonement. Both inadvertent

and intentional sins pollute the sanctuary as is clear from the requirement of a *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* sacrifice (Lev 4:1–5:13; 16:3–20; Num 15:22–31). While the offerings of offenders purify impurity from unintentional sins throughout the year, extensive *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* rites efface impurity from deliberate sins (and certainly that from any other unremedied sin or impurity) on the annual Day of Atonement. The *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* rites together with the dispatch of the scapegoat, alleviate the effect of the people's sin and thus in a sense purify the people themselves (Lev 16:30). Deliberate sins of which offenders repent appear to become equivalent to inadvertent sins. Sacrificial expiation at the time of admission and confession would rectify these (5:1, 5–13; Num 5:6–8; see Milgrom 1976: 108–21; 1983a: 249, 252). On other aspects of the *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ*, see above on cultic impurities and below on purification procedures.

The majority of passages outside of P that mention purity or impurity deal with that connected with righteousness or sin (for pollution from sexual sins, idolatry, homicide, and polluting the sacred in particular, see the sections below). The loci suffering pollution or which are pure are the people (2 Sam 22:27 [= Ps 18:27]; 22:25; Isa 64:4–11; Jer 33:4–9; Ezek 14:11; 20:38, 43; 22:2–14; 24:11–13; 36:25–32; 37:23; 39:23–24; Hos 5:3; 6:10; Mic 2:10; 6:11; Ps 51:4, 6, 9, 12; 119:9; Prov 16:2; 20:11; 21:8; Job 8:6; 15:14–15; 25:4–5; 33:9; Lam 1:8–9; Neh 13:30; cf. the various phrases: a clean heart: Jer 4:14; Ps 24:4; 51:12; 73:1, 13; Prov 20:9; 22:11; clean hands or washing hands: Gen 20:5; 2 Sam 22:21; Ps 18:21, 25; 24:4; 26:6; 73:13; Job 17:9; 22:30 [cf. Deut 21:6]; unclean lips: Isa 6:5; cf. pure speech in Zeph 3:9; Job 33:3; Sirach 40:21; see other examples, below, on the rectification of impurity); the land (Gen 3:17; Isa 24:5–7; Jer 12:4; Ezek 22:24; Ezra 9:11); and the sanctuary (2 Chr 36:14; the sin here is probably idolatry). Cf. also Hab 1:13; Zech 3:5; Job 4:17; 16:17.

Punishment for sinful impurity is often exile or other destruction (Isa 64:4–11; Ezek 20:38; 22:2–14, 24, 31; 24:11–13; 39:23–24; Mic 2:10; cf. Ezra 9:11). This punishment serves as a means of rectification and purification. Another consequence may be agricultural failure (Gen 3:17; Isa 24:5–7; Jer 12:4; see on homicide, below). The people's repentance and their restoration from exile may be discussed in terms of purification (Jer 33:4–9; Ezek 20:43–44; 36:25–32). Finally, Ezekiel has temple purification rites similar to those of the Day of Atonement (45:18–20). See DAY OF ATONEMENT.

e. Sexual Transgressions. According to Leviticus 18, sexual sins pollute persons (vv 20, 23, 24, 30) and the land (vv 25, 27, 28). Polluting the land results in expulsion from it (vv 25, 28) and *kārēt* "cutting-off" for the people (v 29). The sins that cause this pollution are incest (vv 6–18), adultery (v 20), homosexuality (v 22), and bestiality (v 23). Overlapping with permitted impurities is the case of intercourse with a menstruant (v 19; also 20:18; cf. 15:24). This sexual relationship is forbidden with a penalty of *kārēt* attached. In addition to Leviticus 18, the pericope about the suspected adulteress designates an actual adulteress as impure (Num 5:13, 14, 19, 20, 27, 28, 29). Calling those involved in improper sexual relationships impure is a way of calling the persons sinful.

Outside P, sexual transgressions pollute persons and the land. A man who commits adultery with a woman (Ezek 18:6, 11, 15; 33:26), rapes her (Gen 34:5, 13, 27), or has an incestuous relationship with her (Ezek 22:11) defiles her. A woman who is divorced from a first husband and marries a second cannot, after divorce from the second man or after his death, remarry the first. She is impure. Should she marry him, the land would be defiled (Deut 24:1–4; cf. Jer 3:1–10).

f. Idolatrous Impurities. Offering a child to Molech (an idolatrous god) pollutes the sanctuary (Lev 20:2–5; God's name is also desecrated; cf. 18:21). The offender is to be put to death by stoning. God will also apply the *kārēt* "cutting-off" penalty to the person. Consulting the dead, an idolatrous act, also defiles a person (19:31).

Non-P literature is replete with the idea of the pollution of idolatry, idolatrous implements, or general apostasy. Idolatrous implements are considered impure (Isa 30:22; Ezek 7:19–21). The idols or their worship pollutes the devotees (Josh 22:17; Jer 2:23; Ezek 20:7, 18, 26, 31; 22:3–4; 23:7, 13–14, 17, 30; 36:25, 29, 33; 37:23; Ps 106:36–40; cf. Gen 35:2; Hos 5:3–4; 6:10), the sanctuary (Jer 7:30; 32:34; Ezek 5:11; 23:37–39; 2 Chr 36:14), and the land (Jer 2:7–9; Ezek 36:17–18; cf. Jer 13:27 of Jerusalem). Child sacrifice, which often is an accompaniment of idolatry, is a cause of pollution (Ezek 20:26, 31; 23:37–39; Ps 106:37–38). Deuteronomy places idolatrous implements under *ḥērem* ("extreme dedication") status which means that as the Israelites conquer Canaan they are to destroy the implements (7:5, 25). One who misappropriates idolatrous materials falls under *ḥērem* status (Deut 7:25–26; cf. Josh 6:18; 7:12; 1 Kgs 20:42). One under this status is liable to death (Lev 27:29; Deut 13:13–19; Joshua 7). One who sacrifices to other gods also falls under *ḥērem* status (Exod 22:19). Kings and Chronicles talk of reforming Judahite kings removing idolatrous installations in the temple and Jerusalem and disposing of them in the Kidron valley (Asa: 1 Kgs 15:13 = 2 Chr 15:16; Hezekiah: 29:5, 15–16, 18; 30:14; Manasseh: 33:15 [the Kidron is not specified here]; Josiah: 2 Kgs 23:4, 6, 12; cf. 2 Chr 34:3–5, 8). Idolatrous materials are also disposed of by burying (Gen 35:4) and burning (Exod 32:20; Deut 7:5, 25; 9:21; 13:17; 2 Kgs 10:26; 23:15; 1 Chr 14:12). In Deut 9:21 Moses discards the dust of the golden calf into a stream running down the mountain (cf. Deut 21:1–9). Terming idols and their worship impure grows out of the perception of their threat to Israelite religion and to God's holiness. See Feldman 1977: 45–47; Wright 1987b: 279–90; see also Zech 13:2.

g. Homicide. This impurity is distinct from that of corpse contamination. Corpse contamination arises from the *state* of the corpse itself; homicide pollution arises from an illicit *act* of killing. Only those deserving of capital punishment (e.g., under a *mišpat māwet*, Deut 19:6; Jer 26:16) and enemies in war not under agreements of protection (Josh 2:19; 2 Sam 21:1–10; 1 Kgs 2:5) may be killed without the result of homicide pollution. But any corpse, including any that results from homicide, pollutes persons and objects for seven days as described above (cf. Num 31:13–24).

In P, homicide brings pollution on the land whether the killing was intentional or unintentional (Num 35:33–34). The death of the murderer removes the pollution (vv 12,

16–21, 31; cf. Gen 9:5–6). In the case of manslaughter, the slayer must reside in a city of refuge until the death of the high priest. The priest's death apparently purges the pollution (Num 35:12, 15, 22–25, 28, 32). If the manslayer leaves the refuge city and the victim's avenger kills him before the death of the high priest, the pollution would appear to be alleviated (vv 26–27). P may have considered the sojourn of a manslayer in a refuge city as effectively negating the pollution, as long as he stayed there (cf. vv 32–33). Persons are also the locus of bloodguilt. This is described as the blood (*dām*) of a victim being on the killer (cf. v 27; see below).

Evidence from other parts of the Bible complements what is found in P. Illicit killing brings pollution on the land and on people (Deut 22:8 uniquely mentions bloodguilt on a house or household). When child sacrifice in idolatry is viewed as murder, then the sanctuary as a locus of homicide pollution can be added (see above). The land may suffer agricultural failure as a result of homicide. The land will not produce well for Cain because of Abel's murder (Gen 4:10–12; 2 Sam 21:1–14; Hos 4:2–3; Ps 106:38). Deut 21:1–9 prescribes a rite for removing to a remote locale pollution caused by a murder in which the culprit is not known, apparently to prevent agricultural failure (vv 8–9 also indicate that pollution lies on the community). See HEIFER. Other passages that deal with land pollution or possibly so include Deut 32:43; 2 Sam 1:21–22; Isa 26:21; Ezek 9:9; 36:17–18. Though not a case of murder, the pollution that an exposed body hanging overnight causes is comparable (Deut 21:23). In regard to persons as a locus of pollution, those guilty of murder, and even their family and descendants, may suffer physical, economic, and social decline and other oppression (Judg 9:22–57; 2 Sam 3:29; 16:7–8; 1 Kgs 2:31–33; Prov 28:17; cf. Jer 22:3–5).

As in P, execution of the offender (cf. Exod 21:12–21, 28–32; Deut 19:1–13; 2 Sam 3:27; 2 Kgs 2:28–34) or of his family or descendents (cf. 2 Sam 21:1–14) rectifies the bloodguilt. The rite in Deut 21:1–9 is a temporary measure for allaying the effects of blood pollution until the murderer is found. Asylum at an altar according to earlier legislation (Exod 21:13–14; cf. 1 Kgs 2:28–29) or in refuge cities according to later legislation (Deut 4:41–43; 19:1–13; Josh 20:1–9) is available.

The terminology for homicide pollution is discrete from that of other impurities. The usual terminology for purity or impurity is found infrequently (the few examples include: Deut 21:8 *kpr*; 32:43 *kpr*; Isa 59:3 *g'l*; Ps 106:38 *hnp*; Lam 4:13–15 *g'l*, *tm'* [perhaps menstrual imagery is mixed here], and P's Num 35:33–34 *tm'*, *hnp*, *kpr*). Bloodguilt or blood pollution is usually described with *dām* (lit. "blood") which is said to be on a person (Deut 19:10; Josh 2:19; Judg 9:24, 2 Sam 3:28–29; 16:7, 8; 1 Kgs 2:5, 33; Jer 2:34; 26:15; 51:35; Ezek 23:45; 35:6; Joel 4:21; Jonah 1:14; Prov 28:17) or on cities and the land (2 Kgs 24:4; Ezek 9:9; 24:6–9 [mixed imagery]; Hos 6:8). This *dām* needs to be removed and returned to the true culprit (2 Sam 16:18; 1 Kgs 2:31–33). See Wright 1987a; PUNISHMENTS AND CRIMES; DEATH.

h. Polluting the Sacred. Many cases in the previous sections reveal the concern to keep what is unclean from polluting what is sacred. Examples in P include removing corpses from the sanctuary area, keeping certain impurities from sacred persons, cleansing the sanctuary with *ḥaṭṭā't* sacrifices, and requirements of excluding severely impure persons from the habitation (cf. Num 5:2–3). In addition, P lists general prohibitions about bringing what is impure into contact with what is holy. Priests, priestly households, and Israelites are not to contaminate sacrificial meat and other offerings (Lev 7:19–21; 22:3–7; Num 18:11, 13). If they do, they are liable to the *kārēt* "cutting-off" penalty. A parturient during her second stage of impurity is not to make any contact with sancta or go to the sanctuary (Lev 12:4). People impure from corpse contamination are to defer celebration of the passover, a sacred occasion with offerings, to the second month (Num 9:6–13). It was one of the duties of the priests to teach the distinctions between pure and impure and the holy and the profane so that improper contact of the spheres would be avoided (Lev 10:10; cf. 11:47; Ezek 22:26; 44:23).

The non-P literature has many attestations of this notion. Impurity is not to contact offerings (Deut 12:15, 22; 15:22; 1 Sam 21:4–7; Hag 2:14; Mal 1:11; cf. Deut 26:14). Sacrificial feasts and cultic gatherings require the purity of both priestly and lay participants (1 Sam 16:5; 20:26; Joel 2:16; Ezra 6:20–21; Neh 12:30, 45; 2 Chr 5:11; 29:34; 30:3, 15, 17–20, 24; 35:6; cf. Gen 35:1–5; Job 1:5; for God's eschatological "sacrifices," cf. Isa 13:3; Zeph 1:7; for pagan worship, cf. Isa 66:17). Cultic implements and persons contacting them must be pure (Isa 52:11; 66:20; 1 Chr 15:12, 14). Pollution must be kept apart from sanctuaries (Neh 13:9; 2 Chr 23:19 [cf. v 6]; 2 Chr 29:5, 15; cf. 1 Kgs 11:15; 1 Chr 23:28). Foreign incursion into the sacred precinct defiles it (Ps 79:1). With the intent to insure the purity of the temple, Ezekiel condemns the preexilic practice of burying the corpses of kings too close to the sanctuary (43:7–9; cf. the effect of corpses in 9:7). This burial, plus other abominations of the people, are said to pollute God's name. Hence there appears another sanctum which must be protected from pollution (the root *ḥll* is used to describe the desecration of God's name with essentially the same meaning, see HOLINESS). Besides the temple, holy persons such as priests are to maintain purity (Ezek 4:14; 44:31; cf. Judg 13:4, 7, 14). Sacred occasions, such as the Sabbath, were protected from profanation (Neh 13:19, 22; see HOLINESS). Theophanic experiences in which God's power is miraculously manifested require purity: the revelation at Sinai (Exod 19:10–15, 22), the coming of the quail (Num 11:18), the crossing of the Jordan (Josh 3:5), the determination of Achan's guilt (Josh 7:13). Those with seminal emissions must remain outside war camp, where God's presence is found, until they are pure (Deut 23:11–15). Only the pure (i.e., repentant and righteous) can pass over the way from captivity (Isa 35:8). Jerusalem, the redeemed holy city, will not have those uncircumcised or unclean come to her (Isa 52:1). Josiah used impurity to defile illicit cult installations (2 Kgs 23:8, 10, 13, 16).

C. Other Excretions, Blemishes, Foods, and Mixtures

Certain bodily excretions and abnormalities, as well as certain foods and mixtures of substances, are not strictly impure though abhorrence or prohibitions may be at-

tached to them. These should not be confused with the impurities discussed in the foregoing.

P does not discuss urine, excrement, sweat, and saliva and thus presumably they are not impure in its system. Only the spittle of one with an abnormal sexual discharge is polluting, but this is because the person is impure (Lev 15:8). Other sources display an abhorrence of these excretions (excrement and urine: Deut 23:13–15; Ezek 4:12–14; cf. 1 Kgs 14:10; 2 Kgs 18:27; Isa 4:4; 28:8; 36:12; Prov 30:12; cf. Isa 30:22 with the emendation of *BHS;* perspiration: Ezek 44:18; saliva: cf. 1 Sam 21:14; Isa 50:6; Job 30:10; [17:6?]). Of these, excrement comes closest to being described as impure. There is no indication that blood, pus, hair, fingernails, body odors, or body oils were considered impure or particularly abhorred. See DISCHARGE.

Priests with bodily blemishes or defects are restricted from performing sacrifices, but are not impure (Lev 21:16–23). That such priests may eat the most holy offerings shows this is so (vv 22). Not only must one be pure to eat these offerings, but one must be pure to enter the sanctuary court where these offerings had to be eaten (Lev 6:9, 19; 7:6; 10:12–13, 17; 24:9; cf. Ezek 42:13–14; 46:19–20). Similar to a blemished priest is a blemished animal. As the former cannot officiate at the altar (Lev 21:23), so the latter cannot be sacrificed at the altar (22:17–25; a slight defect is allowed for a freewill offering, v 23; cf. Mal 1:7–8). Moreover, as blemished priests are pure, so blemished animals are pure. This means that such animals are not prohibited from the Israelite diet. Apart from P, Deut 23:2, which says one with crushed testicles or a severed phallus cannot enter the "congregation of the Lord" does not refer to natural bodily blemishes or to the specific issue of cultic access and thus cannot be used to prove blemishes exclude one from the sanctuary. 2 Sam 5:8, however, does represent a tradition where the blind and lame were excluded from the temple. But note that the basis for the custom is David's hatred of such persons, not impurity.

Finally, blood (Gen 9:4; Lev 3:17; 7:26–27; 17:10–14; 19:26; Deut 12:16, 23–25; 15:23; 1 Sam 14:32–34; Ezek 33:25), fat (Lev 3:17; 7:22–25), the thigh muscle (Gen 32:33), produce of trees in their first three years (Lev 19:23–25), cooking a kid in its mother's milk (Exod 23:19; 34:26; Deut 14:21), and mixtures (of seeds, fabrics, or animals; Lev 19:19; Deut 22:9–11) are not prohibited on the basis of impurity. Rather, the basis of prohibiting some of these is their holy nature (see HOLINESS).

D. Purification and Rectification Procedures

1. Permitted Impurities. In P, rectification of permitted impurities is achieved by four methods: ablutions, sacrifices, the passage of time, and disposal. The first two methods are exclusive of the fourth. Impurities that are not rectified by disposal have at least the elements of ablutions and the passage of a period of time. Only some of these latter impurities require sacrifices.

a. Ablutions. This category includes true ablutions such as bathing of persons and washing of objects but also the related cleansings of laundering clothes, sprinkling water and water mixtures, shaving, and passing through fire. Bathing for humans (complete washing of the body) and washing for objects is a basic element in all purification rites for permitted impurities in P. Where such prescriptions are not given, they are to be assumed (see Wright 1987b: 185 n. 38, 212). A person who makes a more severe form of contact (e.g., carrying versus touching; see above on animal carcasses) or who suffers an impurity that lasts longer than one day requires laundering as well (Lev 11:24–25, 27–28, 39–40; 14:46–47; Num 19:21). Apart from these cleansings, shaving (Lev 14:8, 9; Num 8:7), sprinkling of water or water mixtures (Lev 14:7, 51; Num 8:7; 19:13, 18, 19, 20, 21) may be required. The fire purification in Num 31:21–23 is equivalent to washing (see above, on corpses). Washing of hands and feet is required of priests prior to their cultic service (see on general purification rites, above). Outside of P, bathing (Deut 23:12; indicated by *qdš* in Exod 19:10, 14, 22; Num 11:18; Josh 3:5; 7:13; 1 Sam 16:5; 2 Sam 11:4 [cf. v 2]; Isa 13:3; 66:17 [pagan worship]; Joel 2:16; Zeph 1:7; Job 1:5; 1 Chr 15:12, 14; 2 Chr 5:11; 29:5, 15, 34; 30:3, 15, 17, 24; 35:6; the bathing in 2 Kgs 5:10, 12, 13 is healing not purification) and hand washing (Deut 21:6) are found.

b. Sacrifices. In addition to ablutions, more serious permitted personal impurities in P require a *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* (purgation offering), and sometimes other sacrifices. These include a person healed from *ṣāra'at* "scale disease" (a female lamb or a bird for a *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ*; a male lamb or a bird for an *'ōlâ* [burnt offering], a male lamb for an *'āšām* [reparation offering], and a *minḥâ* [cereal offering], Lev 14:10–32), persons with abnormal genital discharges (two birds, one for a *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ*, and the other for an *'ōlâ*, 15:14–15, 29–30), a puerperal woman (a bird for a *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ*, and a male lamb or bird for an *'ōlâ*, 12:6–8). To be compared here is Ezekiel's requirement that a corpse-contaminated priest bring a *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* (Ezek 44:27).

The function of the *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* sacrifice has already been discussed (see above on cultic impurities). The requirement of a *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* is not to purify the impurity of a person's body, but to purify its *external* effects on the sancta. The blood is never applied to a person; the sacrifice is only done on the person's behalf. The statements saying that a person is pure that occur in the text after prescriptions for bringing a *ḥaṭṭā'ṯ* (Lev 12:7, 8; 14:20; lacking in 14:32; 15:15, 30) appear to mean that all the effects stemming from the person's impurity have been terminated, not that the offering has purified the persons themselves. The case of a person purifying from *ṣāra'at* does not qualify this observation. This person brings a different offering, an *'āšām*. Uniquely, its blood is applied to the right ear, thumb, and toe of the person. Though it may be argued that this blood rite purifies the person, it is better seen as simply a rite of transition symbolizing the passage of the person from a state of restriction and exclusion to a state of full reintegration into social and religious life (cf. a similar use of sacrificial blood in Exod 29:20 and Lev 8:23–24 which is not for purification). In other words, the healed person has already achieved bodily purity before sacrifices are brought.

Aside from the significance of the blood application, the larger reason for bringing the *'āšām* in this case is not immediately clear. A strong argument has been made that, since this type of sacrifice is generally brought for sacrilege against the sancta, there is a suspicion that the person

committed sacrilege and was afflicted with *ṣāraʿat* as a punishment (cf. 2 Chr 26:16–19). An *ʾāšām* is necessary to rectify this suspected trespass against the sancta (Milgrom 1976: 80–82). If this explanation is correct, the issue of sacrilege and the *ʾāšām* should be discussed under the category of prohibited impurities (the impurity of *ṣāraʿat* itself, however, would remain in the arena of permitted impurities). Yet, that human *ṣāraʿat* is the most severe among all the purifiable permitted impurities and that only this permitted impurity requires an *ʾāšām* whose blood is used in an exceptional way suggest that the sacrifice may be required to alleviate the effects of this particular impurity, which are not necessarily sinful, arising *after* the onset of the disease.

Another issue is how sacrifices other than the *ḥaṭṭāʾt*, purgation offering, fit into the purification scheme. The effect of these sacrifices in the context of purification and elsewhere is described by the verb *kipper*. The verb has the meaning of "to make appeasement, propitiation" (with the *ʿōlâ*, burnt offering: Lev 1:4; 16:24; cf. 9:7; 12:8; 14:20, 31; 15:15, 30; Num 6:11; 8:12; the *ʾāšām*, reparation offering: Lev 5:16, 18, 26; 7:7; 14:21; 19:22; Num 5:8; the *minḥâ*, cereal offering: Lev 5:13 [a version of the *ḥaṭṭāʾt*]; cf. Ezek 45:15, 17; the *minḥâ* may have also been a substitute for an *ʿōlâ*). Even with the *ḥaṭṭāʾt* where the verb in some instances can be construed as "to purify," the notion of appeasement is present (Lev 4:20, 26, 31, 35; 5:6, 10; 16:6, 11, 16, 17, 18, 20, 27, 30, 32, 33, 34, etc.). The underlying notion is that the effects of sins and impurities have estranged God, so sacrifice is made to rectify these effects and thus reconcile God with those who have sinned or have become severely impure. For the *ḥaṭṭāʾt* the appeasement comes through purification of the sancta with unique blood rites and the burning of portions of the animal on the altar; for the other animal offerings it comes through the throwing of blood on the sides of the altar and (including the *minḥâ*) burning portions on the altar. Purification rites with accompanying appeasement offerings are found in other societies of the ancient Near East (see Wright 1987b: passim).

To be mentioned with sacrifices is the red cow rite (Num 19:2–10). It is a called a *ḥaṭṭāʾt* (vv 9, 17), but as such it is unique. Similar to the red cow and *ḥaṭṭāʾt* rites in general structure and function, though not a sacrifice, is the bird ritual for a person or house recovered from *ṣāraʿat* (Lev 14:4–7, 49–53).

c. Passage of Time. For purification the passage of a certain period of time is necessary. All impurities last at least one day, until the evening following contraction of the impurity. The one-day impurities, too numerous to list, include, for example, pollution arising from a seminal emission, touching an animal carcass, touching a menstruant, and touching a corpse-contaminated person or object. The next longest period of impurity is seven days. Included here are menstruation (Lev 15:19) and corpse contamination (see above). After proper ablutions, these impurities dissipate on the evening of the seventh day. Those who recover from *ṣāraʿat* and abnormal sexual discharges pass through a seven day period as well, but they also bring offerings on the eighth day (Lev 14:8; 15:13, 28). Presumably their personal pollution ends on the evening of the seventh day and all that is necessary on the eighth is the bringing of sacrifices; the people do not need to wait until the evening of the eighth day. To be compared to seven day impurities are the week long quarantine periods for suspected *ṣāraʿat* spots in persons, fabrics, and houses (Lev 13:4, 5, 21, 26, 31, 33, 50, 54; 14:38). The parturient has the longest fixed period of impurity (Leviticus 12). It consists of two stages: a severe stage like that of menstruation which can pollute the profane and a less severe stage which is not a threat to the profane. For a male child the first period lasts seven days and the second, thirty-three, totaling forty. For a female child the periods are doubled (14 + 66 = 80). The parturient brings sacrifices after her impurity, probably on the forty-first or eighty-first day (but see DISCHARGE). The length of fixed periods of impurity that persist more than one day are common biblical numbers or their multiples (7, 14, 40, 80). Other impurities last indefinitely or would if not destroyed. Included here are irreclaimable impurities (the human corpse, animal carcasses, semen, the water of purgation, red cow ashes, the scapegoat, *ḥaṭṭāʾt* carcasses and blood, the bird and blood used in the *ṣāraʿat* purification rite, *ṣāraʿat* infected fabrics and building materials) and diseases in humans (an abnormal sexual discharge, *ṣāraʿat* in persons; plus the furniture of these persons).

Outside of P, the impurity of a seminal emission lasts only one day, expiring at evening (Deut 23:10–12). Encounters with the holy demand advanced purification, by one day (Num 11:8; Josh 3:5; 7:13; cf. Gen 35:1–7; Job 1:5) or two days (Exod 19:10–15).

d. Disposal. Permitted impurities in P that cannot be purified are disposed of or made innocuous in some way: burying corpses outside the habitation (see above); burning *ḥaṭṭāʾt* carcasses (outside the habitation in a pure place; see above) and *ṣāraʿat* infected fabrics (Lev 13:52, 55, 56, 57); sending the scapegoat and the live bird of the *ṣāraʿat* rite away from the habitation (see above); dumping *ṣāraʿat* infected building materials outside the camp in an impure place (14:40, 41, 45); pouring out *ḥaṭṭāʾt* blood at the base of the outer altar (see above); washing semen out of clothing (15:17); breaking impure earthenware (6:21; 11:32–33; 15:12; Num 19:15). Presumably other incorrigible impurities whose disposal is not prescribed were treated similarly (animal carcasses, leftover water of purgation, and blood and carcass of the slaughtered bird in the *ṣāraʿat* purification rite). Note that the ashes of the red cow, though not disposed of, are stored outside the habitation (Num 19:9).

2. Prohibited Impurities. Though in P prohibited impurities cover a wide heterogeneous field, two categories can be discerned based on rectification procedures and attitude. One is where an offender's life is not at stake and the person can be reintegrated eventually into the religious community through various purification rites. The sins in this category are unintentional: an inadvertent delay of purification, a Nazirite's or priest's unintentional pollution from prohibited corpses, an inadvertent sin, and unintentional homicide. Also included here is impurity remaining from deliberate sins of which a person has repented. The other category is where the person's life is forfeit and where purgation of the temple by the community is necessary. Sins in this category are deliberate, unconfessed transgressions: deliberately delaying purification, a Nazi-

rite's or priest's intentional pollution from prohibited corpses, wanton sins, polluting sancta, sexual irregularities, sacrifice to Molech, and murder.

Rectification of impurities of the unintentional class is achieved by: (a) following purification procedures for permitted impurities when the sinful impurity is of the same type and (b) offering required sacrifices (usually just a *ḥaṭṭāʾt* "purgation offering"; a corpse-contaminated Nazirite brings an *ʿōlâ* "burnt offering" and *ʾāšām* "reparation offering" as well; see above). The case of a manslayer is rectified differently. The killer remains in a refuge city until the high priest dies (see the section on homicide, above). No sacrifice or bodily purification is required. The requirements of purification for sins excluding unintentional homicide are essentially the same as those of serious permitted impurities that require sacrifice. This overlap reveals the blurred line that actually divides permitted and prohibited impurities.

Rectification of impurities of the deliberate class is achieved by (a) the execution of the culprit (for murder and Molech worship) or (b) the divine penalty of *kārēt* "cutting-off" (explicitly for Molech worship, sexual sins, delay in purification, and polluting sancta), and (c) purifying the sanctuary on the Day of Atonement and the dispatch of the scapegoat (for all deliberate sins). For sexual sins expulsion from the land is listed in addition to *kārēt*. See the discussion of specific cases, above.

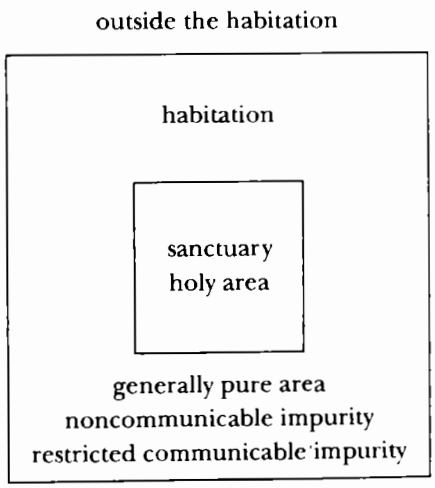
In literature outside P the picture is less systematic and usually only deliberate sins receive attention. Various punishments, such as exile, agricultural failure, or individual tragedies (see the discussion of prohibited impurities) achieve rectification. Specific methods of purification or punishment are found. As in P, homicide requires the death of the killer if intentional or asylum if accidental (Exod 21:12–21; Deut 19:1–7). Disposal of impurities is found: disposing of, burning, or burying idols (see above) and removing blood pollution to an innocuous locale in Deut 21:1–9. Literary images of disposal are found in Mic 5:5–11 and Mic 7:19. Ablution occurs as a literary figure of repentance and purification: bathing (e.g., Isa 1:16; 4:4; Jer 4:14; Zech 13:1; Ps 51:4, 9; cf. Ezek 16:9); washing with soaps (Jer 2:22; Mal 3:2); hand washing (Ps 26:6; 73:13; Job 9:30; cf. 31:7); sprinkling (Ezek 36:25; Ps 51:9); fire (Isa 6:6–7; Ezek 24:3–12). Related to purification by fire is the image of refining people and purifying them as metals (Isa 1:25; 48:10–11; Jer 6:29–30; 9:6; Ezek 22:20–21; 24:11–12; Zech 13:9; Mal 3:2–3; Ps 17:3; 66:10–12; Dan 11:35; 12:10; used of the purity of God's word in Ps 12:7; 18:31 = 2 Sam 22:31; Ps 119:140; Prov 30:5; cf. Ps 19:9, 10 [see the *BHS*]; Prov 15:26).

E. The Rationale and Theology of Impurity

The previous discussion has presented several points relating to the nature, function, and theology of impurity. Several other points deserve special discussion.

1. Strengths and Places of Impurity. In P's system, impurity is not transmitted from a "father of impurity" to other persons and objects, and from them to still others, and so on, ad infinitum. Rather, the chain is usually only two or three generations long (including the "father"). Only in the case of sexual intercourse with a menstruant (or, deductively, with a woman in the first stage of impurity after childbirth or a woman with an abnormal sexual flow) is there a chain four generations long. Though impurities at the head and in the middle of pollution chains have various lengths and purification procedures, those at the end of such chains have a common character: they last only one day and have simple purification requirements (bathing or washing; sometimes laundering for persons). For a graphic description and thorough discussion of the chains of impurity, see Wright 1987b: 179–228.

An analysis of the chains of uncleanness reveals two different types of impurities: communicable, those that can pollute other profane (i.e., nonholy) persons and objects; and noncommunicable, those that cannot pollute the profane. These two impurities are treated differently in their relation to the nonholy sphere. While noncommunicable impurities suffer no restriction in regard to the profane, communicable impurities if not excluded from the area of human habitation are at least restricted in it (cf. Lev 13:45–46; Num 5:2–3; and see above on disposal). Correlating this data about the exclusion and restriction of communicable impurities with data concerning places the biblical text qualifies as "holy," "pure," and "impure" (holy: Exod 29:31; Lev 6:9, 19, 20; 7:6; 10:13, 17; 14:13; 16:24; 24:9; pure: 4:11–12; 6:4; 10:14; impure: 14:40, 41, 45) reveals what conception P has about the qualities of various locales in a town or camp with a sanctuary in its midst. See Fig. UNC.01. Any type of impurity is to be excluded from the sanctuary area which is to be kept holy. Communicable impurities are to be excluded from or restricted in the area of human habitation around the sanctuary. Noncommunicable impurities are tolerated in the habitation since they are short-lived and do not perpetuate themselves. Thus there is a descending tripartite gradation of the qualities of holiness, purity, and impurity: holiness prevails in the sanctuary area; general, but not complete, purity within the habitation; and unrestricted severe impurity outside the habitation. Though the area



UNC.01. Purity spatial boundaries according to the P source.

of human habitation seems to be rather full of impurity, the impurity is actually minimal. With communicable impurities restricted in the habitation, the populace would be minimally exposed to pollution from these sources. Noncommunicable impurities last only one day and would terminate at evening when proper procedures are followed. Furthermore, the purity of the habitation is enforced by sanctions against prolonging noncommunicable impurities (e.g., Lev 5:2–13; 17:15–16) and requirements to destroy items such as earthenware that have noncommunicable but incorrigible impurities. See Wright 1987b: 231–247.

This model of impurity exclusion can be compared to the garden and sin story in Genesis 2–3. The garden is much like a sanctuary since God's presence is there (see Wenham 1986). When the woman and man eat from the forbidden tree, they are expelled from the garden, much as one with impurity would be excluded from the sanctuary or one with a serious communicable impurity would be excluded from the habitation. The analogy, however, goes deeper than just the notion of exclusion. It can be argued that eating from the forbidden tree represents a person's (or persons') growing-up. Before eating the woman and man are like children: without wisdom or knowledge, sexually immature, unashamed of nakedness, immortal (i.e., as children who are not entirely cognizant of their mortality), and not responsible for or aware of sin. After eating the couple becomes wise and knowledgeable, sexually mature (in the J story only after the eating does the subject of reproduction come up, 3:16, and naming the woman Eve "life," the "mother of all the living" occur, v 20), ashamed of their nakedness, mortal, and sinful. This suggests that the latent reason for the pair's expulsion from the garden is their acquisition of a mature, mortal, human nature. The sources of permitted impurity in P have a similar character. They arise from distinctly human conditions which parallel the traits acquired by the man and woman: death, disease, and sexual processes. Animal and cultic impurities do not invalidate the analogy. The former is parallel to corpse impurity and the latter exists only as a response to the other types. Hence, from a structural point of view, the garden story and P's purity laws reflect similar ideas: the mortal condition is incompatible with God's holiness. When mortal characteristics become excessive, they must be excluded from the divine realm.

2. Nondemonic Character of Impurity. The foregoing indicates that impurity is human centered. It arises mainly out of persons' bodily conditions and sins and is otherwise largely under their responsibility (note only dead animals—inanimate objects which persons must manipulate—pollute; live animals with wills of their own do not). The focus on humanity as the cause of impurity draws attention to another aspect of biblical impurity: its lack of a demonic character. This is exceptional in the ancient Near Eastern milieu where most other religions consider demonic presence to accompany corpses and certain bodily discharges and diseases or consider demons as the source of evils and impurities. The Bible's monotheistic ideal rejects any demonic impurity. The closest connection of impurity with the demonic is the figure Azazel as the goal to which impurity is sent on the Day of Atonement (Lev 16:8, 10, 26). This figure, however, seems to be virtually impotent and insignificant. See AZAZEL. Outside of P, see Zech 5:5–11.

3. Rationale for Impurities. The issue that most interests scholars is the rationale for pollution: why certain conditions are considered impure and how the impurities function in the religious community. Some reasons are not entirely satisfactory: (a) phenomena or conditions are labelled impure because they cause disease; (b) phenomena or conditions of other cultures are called impure to prevent idolatry and assimilation; (c) things that stink, that are displeasing to the sight, or animals with abhorrent characteristics are labelled impure; (d) animals that compete with humans ecologically or economically are called impure to keep them from being raised (e.g., the pig competes with man for the same food); (e) phenomena or conditions are called impure because they are beset with or caused by demons; (f) phenomena or conditions are called impure because they are sinful; (g) the laws have symbolic moral significance (e.g., the cow's cud chewing signifies remembering God and reviewing what one has learned to better remember it). Though some of the foregoing rationales can be brought into play for explaining how a few individual phenomena came to be perceived as impure historically (see [a]–[d]), many cannot explain the complete system of impurity in P as it presently stands. For critiques of most of these views see Kornfeld 1965; Chan 1985; Milgrom *Leviticus* AB; Wenham 1981; and Wright 1989.

Other interpretations, though not without difficulties, offer more fruitful avenues for understanding impurity in P: (h) G. Wenham (1983) and J. Milgrom (*Leviticus* AB) have argued that impurities are connected with death (cf. Kornfeld 1965; Paschen 1970: 55–64; Feldman 1977: 35–41; and see Meigs 1978). For Milgrom, the system is symbolic and reminds the people to cleave to life and reject death. (i) Milgrom (1983b: 104–118; 1989; *Leviticus* AB, on Leviticus 11; see Wright 1989) finds an additional, ethical significance in the dietary rules. The limitation of meats in the diet teach that animal life is to be held in reverence. (j) The most productive insights have come from anthropologists, especially M. Douglas. The list of contributors to the anthropological study of purity is long and explanations have been diverse (for a sample see the rationales for sexual discharges listed in DISCHARGE, and see, e.g., Bean 1981; Meigs 1978; Rosen 1973). Only Douglas's three main contributions can be summarized here. (1) She defines purity as normality and wholeness. (2) This judgement of purity derives not from objective physical reality, but from the cultural understanding of a particular society. Purity rules are symbols—a language—which express and reflect larger social concerns. The rules work in concert with other structures of thought to deliver and support a common message. (3) The body is a locus where purity concerns are manifested. It is a symbol for—a microcosm of—the larger social body. Concerns about things entering and exiting the body reflect concerns about the boundaries of society. Many of Douglas's observations have been developed from or applied to the biblical evidence. Since she is not a biblical scholar, however, her (and other anthropologists') conclusions must be cautiously used. Nevertheless, her observations have been of

benefit to biblical scholars. An example of this is Wenham's (1981) and particularly Milgrom's refinement of ideas in her essay, "Deciphering a Meal (1975: 249–75), which structurally analyzes the social significance of biblical food laws. These studies offer a basis for developing a clearer understanding of the purity and holiness laws in P.

A tripartite correlation can be made between the divine-human sphere and the animals that members of this sphere use in meal situations. See Fig. UNC.02a. God's sacrificial "diet" consists of pure domestic animals (bovines, sheep, goats, and birds of the pigeon class); Israel's diet consists (ideally) of the same pure domestic animals plus pure game animals; the diet of foreign nations consists of all animals, pure and impure. One of Douglas' main points is that individual parts of such structural divisions are given significance by the other members; any

a

God	Sacrifices	Sanctuary
Israelites	Pure Animals and Game	Israel's Land
Foreign Nations	All Animals	Outside the Land

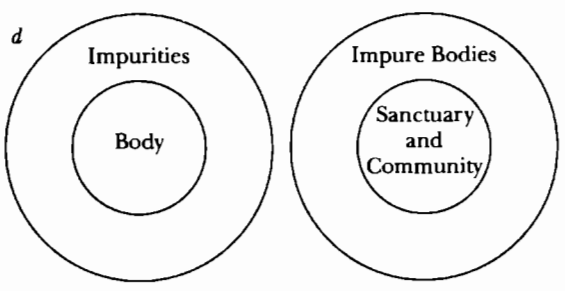
b

God	Altar Portions	Sacrifices
Priests	Most Holy Portions and Parts of *šĕlāmîm*	
Israel	Other Parts of the *šĕlāmîm*	

c

High Priest	Most Holy Place	Sanctuary
High Priest and Priests (?)	Holy Place	
Priests and Israelites	Court	

d



UNC.02. Purity symbolism in the P Source: *a*, divine-human sphere correlating proper "diet" with place of residence; *b*, purity distinctions in relation to the sacrifices; *c*, purity distinctions in relation to the sanctuary; *d*, symbolic relation of impurities to the human body (left) and symbolic relation of impure bodies to the religious community (right).

one member of the division implicitly calls the others and their meaning to mind. Hence, when Israelites seek out and eat proper meat, they reinforce, emphasize, and perhaps consciously recall the supremacy of God as well as their distinction from other nations. The food laws, then, help define the boundaries of the social group. Milgrom adds to the correlation of persons and foods a spatial aspect (Fig. UNC.02a): God's habitation is the sanctuary, Israel's is the land of Canaan, the nations live outside the land. Thus, not only what one eats, but where one resides reflects and defines the larger social and theological issues of the community. The threefold structure of the sanctuary camp seen in Fig. UNC. 01 may also be correlated with the divisions of persons and foods as an alternative spatial division. This structure echoes on a small scale the larger spatial division of sanctuary, land, and foreign land. This is particularly so in the context of the wilderness camp where everything outside the habitation is foreign land.

Symbols within symbols can also be discerned. The element of sacrifice in the threefold classification of different foods can be subdivided itself and correlated with a subclassification of divine and human beings. See Fig. UNC.02b. God receives burnt offerings and fat pieces of other offerings on the altar; priests receive portions of the most holy sacrifices and portions from the Israelites' *šĕlāmîm* (well-being?) offerings; Israelites receive other portions of their *šelāmîm* offerings. In contrast to the larger correlation of foods and peoples in Fig. UNC.02a that shows how food laws may define the external boundaries of the group, this correlation suggests that the sacrificial food laws serve to reinforce and clarify the positions or roles of different subgroups within the group. Nevertheless, the distribution of sacrificial portions, being part of the food laws in general, would structurally reinforce group definition vis-à-vis other nations. Theologically, it would again emphasize Israel's relationship to God.

Another symbol within a symbol is found in the spatial models (either in Figs. UNC.01 or UNC.02a). This division correlates a subdivision of the sanctuary area with different subgroups of Israelites who are allowed access to the various areas in the sanctuary. See Fig. UNC.02c. Admittedly, the correlation is not as neatly tripartite as the foregoing, but it is still instructive. The high priest, the holiest person according to P, is the only one who may enter the most holy place (adytum). This he may do only once during the year on the Day of Atonement. The high priest also has the responsibility of performing the regular service in the shrine (the outer room of the tent), though it is possible the regular priests could do this or assist (cf. Exod 27:21; Lev 16:17; Num 4:5–20; see Haran 1978: 205–29). The regular priests, who are holy, and the levites and pure Israelites, who are not holy, served or worshipped in the court (some have argued that the court was divided into a back- and forecourt, and that the Israelites and levites were restricted to the latter; Haran 1978: 184–87; Milgrom 1971: 17–18). As in the case of the rules about who may eat portions of various sacrifices (Fig. UNC.02b) the rules regarding access to places in the sanctuary area encode and reinforce the social distinctions between different classes within the group. This model can be added to that in Fig. UNC.01 to show theologically that the further one moves toward the center of a sanctu-

ary habitation and the sanctuary itself, the more godlike (i.e., holy and pure) the person's character must be.

Finally one other symbol within a symbol may be observed. See Fig. UNC.02d. On a microscopic level, the body is subject to impurity. Unclean foods entering it and certain discharges and diseases pollute it. On a macroscopic level, human bodies have their place in the larger spatial models adduced above. On this level, impure human bodies threaten the larger communal and religious body. Just as impure foods are not to be taken into the body, an impure body, depending on the strength of its impurity, is not to be taken into or be given free reign in the community's habitation or be taken into the holy place. Just as the body serves as a symbol reflecting the society's concerns about the group and its boundaries, so the camp structure and its impurities represent on a larger scale these social concerns.

This analysis shows how interwoven purity concerns are with issues of space and holiness and demonstrates the structural redundancy or synonymy in the symbolic system in different areas and at different levels.

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DAVID P. WRIGHT

NEW TESTAMENT

Just as the cultic determination of unclean and clean in the OT is seen as the absolute will of God as revealed in the Torah, so in NT times the concept of unclean and clean is regarded as the absolute binding inheritance from early Judaism. The question of unclean and clean in the NT is principally a question of the authority of the Mosaic law. However, since the authority of the Mosaic law is a matter of debate in the NT, the laws of ritual cleanness are also a point of controversy. The question of unclean and clean, however, must not in every case be seen in light of the debate concerning the Mosaic law.

A. The Community at Qumran
B. The Proclamation of Jesus
C. The Synoptic Gospels
D. Paul and the Pauline Tradition
E. Hebrews
F. The Gospel of John

G. Cult and Ritual in the NT
H. The Early Church

A. The Community at Qumran

The determination of unclean and clean plays an important role in Judaism of the NT due to its groundedness in the OT. This is especially evident in the writings of Qumran because of their great emphasis on purity. The members of the community are set apart because of their purity. One must grasp the self-understanding of the community in terms of unclean and clean. Clean are the men of the community ("purity of those who have pledged themselves to holiness"), unclean are those who trespass the words of God (1QS 5:13f.), those who do not join the community (1QSa 2:3–5; 1QH 6:20f.). The ethical and the cultic aspects of purity are interwoven for the community at Qumran. For example: the cultic aspect comes to expression in the water of purification (1QS 3:4–6). The ethical aspect comes to expression in the context of the cult; the wicked priest defiles the sanctuary with his personal wealth (1QpHab 8:3–13). More difficult is the interpretation of CD 12:1–2 where a man is not to lie with a woman in "the city of the sanctuary" lest they defile the city of the sanctuary with their uncleanness.

It would be very one sided to see the determination of unclean and clean only in terms of the OT and surrounding Judaism. The NT must be understood as a Hellenistic writing, therefore one must not overlook the Greek conception of unclean and clean, both philosophical and religious (Pl. *Phd.* 113d).

B. The Proclamation of Jesus

The most significant words of Jesus concerning the question of unclean and clean are found in Mark 7:15. The authenticity of this saying is still a matter of debate among scholars. Despite scholarly debate, evidence speaks for the authenticity of these words of Jesus (Kümmel 1978; Hübner 1975–76). In this saying the cultic regulations of Leviticus are abrogated in principle and reinterpreted, for nothing that goes into a person from without can make that person unclean, not even the foods that are declared unclean in the Torah. It is only that which comes out of an evil heart that makes one unclean. If one maintains the authenticity of this logion, then it is difficult to suppose that this saying was so radically formulated without consideration of consequences as far as food is concerned. Here the differentiation between unclean and clean is implicitly abolished. The concept of unclean and clean is transposed from the cultic to the ethical level. It must be said, however, that the differentiation between cultic and ethical is a modern conceptualization drawn upon to aid interpretation.

Jesus' disregard for the laws concerning unclean and clean foods is carried over to his treatment of persons. When Jesus sits at table with tax collectors and sinners (Mark 2:15–17; Luke 15:1–2), he provokingly rejects the boundary between what is unclean and what is clean.

Given Jesus' radically new understanding of reality and his conduct resulting therefrom, it is no wonder that many of his opponents regarded him as one possessed by an unclean spirit (Mark 3:30; K. Hübner 1985).

The transformation of the concept of cleanness from the cultic to the ethical level comes to clearest expression in Matt 5:8. Here cleanness of heart entails the direction of the entire existence of a person toward goodness of being, which in the last analysis is entirely a gift of God. Perhaps, having before him Psalm 24 or Ps 51:12, this concept is one familiar to the evangelist. Jesus' teaching on purity of heart is later reflected upon in 1 Tim 1:5; 2 Tim 2:22; 1 Pet 1:22 and Acts 15:9.

C. The Synoptic Gospels

As a further answer to the question of the Pharisees and Scribes in Mark the logion Mark 7:15 follows the corban-saying (Mark 7:9–13) in the redaction of Mark 7. Here the authority of the Torah is not directly put into question, but rather a Pharisaic halakah. It is therefore doubtful that the writer of Mark understood this logion as radically as Jewish himself did (Käsemann 1970: 207). Käsemann further contends that:

> Whoever contests that uncleanness envades a person from without runs up against the presuppositions and words of the Torah and the authority of Moses himself. Moreover, he runs up against the presupposition of the entire cultic character of antiquity with its sacrificial and propitiatory practices.

Since the concept of *nomos* "law" does not occur in Mark, and the debate concerning the law is never actually thematized, the question remains as to the extent to which the gentile readers of Mark, ca. A.D. 70, held Jesus' critique of the law as central, either because of his critical stance or because of its actual content. The appended inauthentic Hellenistic catalog of vices (Mark 7:21–22) demonstrates with its summary in v 23 that the evangelist is primarily interested in how uncleanness is the evil that emerges from the hearts of evil persons.

In the redaction of Mark 7:21–22, Matthew inserts (Matt 15:1–20) the sense of Mark 7:15. The radical stance, however, is toned down in Matt 15:11. Against the backdrop of the rabbinic discussion of that time, Matthew emphasizes that which makes the hands and foods unclean is not in every case that which makes the person unclean. Matthew 15:11 remains on the level of halakah as embodied in the question of v 2 (which is eventually answered in v 20). With this Matthew leaves Leviticus 11 unscathed, true to his intention to leave the authority of the Torah intact wherever possible (Hübner 1986: 176–82).

Contrary to some scholarly opinion, Luke did find Mark 7 in his Markan *Vorlage*. However, he purposely omitted it because his conception of the life of Jesus, which originates "according to the law of Moses" (Luke 2:22, 27, 39), recognizes no abrogation of the law. This happens partially in the "age of the church" (Conzelmann 1977) which is reported in the book of Acts. Luke thereby transposes the nullification of the cultic dietary laws to the period after Pentecost (Acts 10–11). Peter, who according to Luke knows nothing of Mark 7:15 and after Pentecost still refuses to eat the heaven sent "common and unclean" food, must himself be instructed: What God declares as clean must not be regarded as unclean (Acts 10:14–16, 11:9). The abrogation of the cultic dietary laws follows the partial abrogation of the law in the "age of the church," or is also

the case with the abrogation of circumcision for gentile Christians (Hübner 1986: 189–91).

The remaining references pertaining to the question of unclean and clean, as far as the teaching of Jesus is concerned, do not provide a unified picture. The tradition histories of Luke 11:37–41, 44 and Matt 23:25–28 are problematic and hardly admit a solution. The tenor of this saying is that it is not enough to practice cultic purity while ignoring ethical purity. Therefore, cultic and ethical cleanness are not seen as opposites but as a requisite combination. The polemic against the Pharisees that comes to expression here is to be traced back to the evangelists, perhaps even to Q, but is not to be traced back to the historical Jesus (Hübner 1986: 185–89).

The OT language of purification (Leviticus 13) emerges in Mark 1:40–45 (= Matt 8:1–4; Luke 5:12–16) as it does in Luke 4:27; Matt 10:8; Matt 11:5 (= Luke 7:22). Jesus himself most likely already drew on Leviticus 13, however, this manner of conceptualizing does relativizes Jesus' saying in Mark 7:15. Furthermore, it must not be concluded from Luke 7:14 that Jesus disregarded the laws of impurity from contact with the dead, nor is it to be concluded from Mark 5:25–34 (= Matt 9:20–22; Luke 8:43–48) that Jesus ignored the OT conception of impurity from sexual contact. However, the rejection of these purity laws would comport well with Jesus' comparatively revolutionary religious intent. In the Synoptic Gospels all nineteen occurrences of uncleanness *(akathartos)* occur as "unclean spirit" (or its plural), as well as two of the five references in Acts (Acts 16:13, 18:2).

D. Paul and the Pauline Tradition

In Rom 14:14, 20 Paul states that nothing is in itself unclean, rather all is clean (cf. Titus 1:15). Here there is a close connection to the saying in Mark 7:15, though it cannot be determined whether or not Paul knew this saying. The attempt to derive Mark 7:15 from Romans 14 or Paul's conceptual milieu is fascinating, for the question does not arise why early Christianity was shaken by disputes over the law though fundamentals of the law were nullified by Jesus in Mark 7:15 (Räisänen 1986: 216). Galatians 1:13–14 is to be weighed in this argument: Paul persecuted the early congregations as a zealot for the ancestral tradition, that is, as a zealot for the law. It must be understood that the Christians, in their early years of existence, were persecuted as Jewish transgressors of the law. Since these Jewish Christians were for the first time coming into contact with gentiles, one must here think of the levitical dietary laws.

On the whole, Paul's disputes with the congregations were concerning the question of cultic purity. In Galatians 2:11–16 Paul demonstrates how he stood in the face of certain Jewish Christians from Jerusalem. For the followers of James, though they may not be called Judaizers in the strict sense of the word, table fellowship between Jewish Christians and, one may suppose, unclean gentile Christians was sacrilege. Paul permits the members of the Corinthian Church to eat meat which is unclean and has been offered to idols, as long as it does not bother the conscience of those who are weak in faith (1 Corinthians 8, cf. Romans 14–15). In these disputes concerning that which is clean and that which is unclean one can see how difficult it was for Jewish and gentile Christians to grow together into one Church.

Romans 13:8–10 gives the impression that the commandment to love one's neighbor (Lev 19:18) incorporates every commandment in the Torah (including the unnamed cultic commandments in v 9 ". . . and any other commandment . . ."). In Rom 14:14, 20 on the other hand, the cultic laws of purity are nullified without direct reference to the law. One does not find a conceptual balance in Romans but a lack of reflection on the part of Paul which he probably would have redressed had he addressed himself again to the question of the law after Romans.

In the letters of Paul it is evident that words with the root *kathar-* hardly play a role (2 Cor 7:1 is part of a non-Pauline interpolation, 2 Cor 6:14–7:1). With the exception of Rom 14:20 one encounters only *akatharsia* "uncleanness" (Rom 1:24, 6:19; 2 Cor 12:21; Gal 5:19; 1 Thess 2:3, 4:7; deutero-Pauline: Eph 4:19, 5:3; Col 3:5) *akathartos* "unclean" (1 Cor 7:14), and *koinos* "common" (Rom 14:14; deutero-Pauline: Eph 5:5 cf. 2 Cor 6:17). Typical for the language of Paul's ethic is the multiple parataxis *akatharsia* "impurity, immortality" and *porneia* "fornication" which suggests synonymity (2 Cor 12:21, Gal 5:19) and the opposing of *akatharsia* and *hagiasmios* "uncleanness and holiness" in 1 Thess 4:7, the latter understood as moral sanctification (see also Rom 6:19).

The ethical understanding of cleanness also emerges in the post-Pauline writings, for example in the exhortation for the deacons to hold the faith with a clear conscience in 1 Tim 3:9 (cf. also 2 Tim 1:3). This ethical understanding is especially prominent in Jas 1:27: a pure and undefiled conscience consists of the care of widows and orphans, and in keeping oneself unstained from the "world" (see also Jas 4:8). In the Pauline tradition one finds the concept of cleanness used soteriologically (Eph 5:26, Titus 2:14). This usage, however, is not found in the writings of Paul. In the context of baptism, cleansing is understood as redemption (Eph 5:26), whereupon *katharizein* "to cleanse" and *hagiazein* "to sanctify" coverage in terms of their meaning (see also Heb 1:3; 2 Pet 1:9; 1 John 1:7, 9).

E. Hebrews

In the epistle to the Hebrews there is a unique line of argumentation in which Pauline thinking undergoes a specific modification. The word *katharizein* "to cleanse" is found primarily in Hebrews 9 and 10, within the section of Hebrews 7–10 in which the writer of Hebrews reflects upon the law. After a break in the train of thought in Heb 10:1 the law is taken positively, it is and always has been God's law and is a shadow of things to come. In Heb 7:18, however, the law is castigated for its weakness. In the context of the "dialectic" the writer of Hebrews advances in 9:12–14 an argument from lesser to greater cause for the eternal redemption that Jesus effected through his blood, although it is actually an argument by contrast: if indeed the blood of rams and bulls sanctifies by the purification of the flesh, then even more so will the blood of Christ cleanse our conscience from dead works (see also Heb 9:22–28, 10:2). Thus, the OT cultic cleanness was brought to its fulfillment in a certain sense, but in reality it was negated along with cultic thinking per se.

F. The Gospel of John

In the gospel of John, cleanness is also understood soteriologically, though rarely in a sacramental sense, despite the reference "the one who has bathed" in John 13:10. Baptism is not part of the theological message of chap. 13. According to John 15:3 it is through the words of Jesus that the disciples are clean.

G. Cult and Ritual in the NT

The foregoing presents fairly a well-unified picture: cleanness is no longer understood as cultic/ritual in the NT, rather as ethical/soteriological, and soteriological/sacramental. Therefore, over against the OT and ancient thought (the Greek enlightenment should also be considered here), a radically new understanding of reality for the relation of God to humanity is gained.

There emerges an opposing force in the NT that appears quite pragmatic and harmless, though in the Patristic period (see below) has a disasterous effect and renews reactionary thinking in the categories of uncleanness and cleanness once overcome by Jesus and NT reflection.

Consistent with his intention to portray the life of Jesus as conforming to the law from the beginning, Luke (Luke 2:22) speaks of the purification of the mother of Jesus, who was made unclean through the birth of a child, in accordance with Lev 12:1–8, though incorrectly. The partial lifting of the law effects, in turn, the definitive abrogation of the dietary laws (Acts 10). Yet this abrogation is relativized by the apostolic decree in Acts 15:19–21 (the cultic text tradition, not the ethical one, is original; cf. Kümmel 1965, and Conzelmann *Die Apostelgeschichte* HNT, 92 *porneia* "fornication" must not be taken in terms of Leviticus 17 as Waitz 1936; cf. Hübner 1986: 48, n. 31). The Apostolic Decree maintains a minimum cultic standard which in v 21 is not pragmatically grounded but is grounded in the authority of Moses (see also Acts 15:28–29; 21:25). In principle the gentile Christians are ritually set apart from the rest of the world. Cultic and ritual thinking contrary to the proclamation of Jesus and the writings of Paul along with the understanding of reality is alive once again. It is the broadest consensus among exegetes that the Apostolic Decree was not decided at the council on the gentile mission (Gal 2:11–21); rather, this assignation was made first by Luke or perhaps by his tradition (cf. 1 Corinthians 8).

H. The Early Church

The more the Church recognized the OT as genuine and authoritative, the more its levitical laws of purity became part of the tide of its theological and ecclesial reception. Dorothea Wendebourg (1984) has shown how, against the phenomenon of the cultic purity laws as set forth in Luke-Acts (now a special hermeneutical problem) the laws of purity determine the praxis and biblical interpretation of the early Church and how they once again negate an essential and specific characteristic of the NT; the aforementioned new understanding of reality. There were attempts to retain the theological meaning of the laws of purity and, at the same time, to practice the freedom from them: allegory (cleanness and uncleanness really denote religious/moral qualities) and typology (cultic cleanness is to be understood as a prefigurement of the death of Christ or of baptism). In the Apostolic Fathers one can see how little cleanness is understood in a ritual sense, for they often speak of a "clean heart" or a "clean conscience" (*Ep. Barn.* 1; *2 Clem.; Shepherd of Hermas*, esp. *Shep. Herm.* 23:5 [see further Kraft 1963]). The ethical accent is clear in the injunction to make oneself clean (*Shep. Herm.* 56:6). Of the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, the *Epistle of Barnabas* should be noted. In *Ep. Barn.* 10:2 the levitical commandments concerning food are so interpreted that even Moses appears to have understood them allegorically: "This is, then, not a commandment of God that they should not eat [these things] much more did Moses speak in the spirit." So Barnabas, for example, interpreted the prohibition of partaking of flesh of swine as a prohibition of developing close contact with persons who are similar to swine (*Ep. Barn.* 10:3).

Clement of Alexandria (d. ca. 215) and Methodius of Olympus (d. ca. 311) see the cleansing that takes place through baptism as the reason why ritual defilement through sexual intercourse or unclean foods cannot occur (*strom.* 3, 12.82.6; Meth. *arbitr.* 12.6—he bases his argument in 7.6 on the sayings of Jesus and on Paul). However, on the way to the adoption of the Stoic axiom that sexuality is only justified for the purpose of procreation, precisely for sexuality levitical purity regulations gradually became authoritative. In his Montanist phase, Tertullian, upon the prompting of Lev 19:2, declares prayer and sexual activity mutually exclusive (*On Exhortation to Chastity* 10.2–4, 7.1–2 advances Lev 21:14 as an argument to which a priest, for his purity's sake, may not marry a woman who has already been married). Origen, upon the prompting of Leviticus 12, grounds infant baptism on the impurity of reproduction and birth (*In Lev.* 8:3ff; cf. Wendebourg 1984: 158–60).

To a certain extent, the praxis of the church corresponds to the theoretical ruminations of the theologians. The so-called Apostolic decree shows forth its effect over time:

> In the early imperial Church, at the latest, the range of foods forbidden to the decent person expanded beyond blood and foods containing blood. Over the centuries this range came to include all possible sorts of animals found here and there to be repulsive and eventually resembled the list offered by the OT. There developed a system of punishment and purification rituals for people and things which had come into contact with certain animals (Wendebourg 1984: 161).

Regarding sexuality, there is a shift in perspective, as far as the relationship between worship and sexuality is concerned. Despite many regulations which abide in the spirit of the NT, it eventually becomes a matter "of prescriptions, in no way inferior to those in the OT" (Wendebourg 1984: 162). Above all in Alexandria, sexual processes, because of their supposed impurity, were increasingly regarded as a barrier to the receiving of the sacraments. Besides Origen, Bishop Dionysius (2d century) and Bishop Timothy (4th century) should be named: for the sake of cultic purity they forbade conjugal intercourse on weekends and baptism during menstruation (see Wendebourg 1984: 166). Although the thought of the cultic impurity of sexual life is not explicitly stated, no one may understand canon 33

of the Spanish Council of Elvira (ca. 306) without such a background (Wendebourg 1984: 167). This council, among other things, placed rigorous restrictions on the sexual life of all priests, deacons, and other clerics. This disposition gained acceptance in the Western churches but not in the Eastern churches, where an attempt to accept such measures at the council of Nicea foundered on the objection of Bisop Paphnutiur (Socr. *h.e.* 1.11). The Eastern church recognizes only celibacy of bishops and monks.

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UNDERWORLD. See DEAD, ABODE OF THE; HADES, HELL; DESCENT TO THE UNDERWORLD.

UNFORGIVABLE SIN. The concept of the unforgivable sin is based on Jesus' words in Mark 3:28–29 (= Matt 12:31; Luke 12:10), "Truly I say to you, all sins will be forgiven the sons of men, and whatever blasphemies they utter; but whoever blasphemes against the Holy Spirit never has forgiveness but is guilty of an eternal sin." The NT has two other passages which also seem to refer to an unforgivable sin. One is Heb 6:4–6, "For it is impossible to restore again to repentance those who . . . commit apostasy, since they crucify the Son of God on their own account and hold him up to contempt." The other is found in 1 John 5:16: "If anyone sees his brother committing what is not a mortal sin, he will ask, and God will give him life for those whose sin is not mortal. There is sin that is mortal; I do not say that one is to pray for that." Before any general conclusions about the nature of the unforgivable sin can be drawn, all of these passages need to be examined in their unique contexts.

The references to the unforgivable sin in Mark and Matthew occur as part of the ongoing confrontations between Jesus and the scribes and Pharisees. In this particular confrontation, the question at issue is the source of the power manifested in Jesus' ministry. The scribes and Pharisees have accused Jesus of casting out demons by the power of Satan, not the power of God (Mark 3:22–30 [= Matt 12:24–32]). Jesus answers the scribes' and Pharisees' accusations by first pointing out the absurdity of the assumption that Satan would undermine his own authority. He then warns the scribes and Pharisees that they are not only guilty of refusing to acknowledge the spirit of God, but are also manifesting their own spiritual perversity. Those who are so spiritually perverse as to call Jesus' healing ministry evil, are in danger of completely rejecting the spirit of God and with it any possibility of forgiveness. Such persons place themselves out of reach of God's forgiveness, not because God's forgiveness is limited, but because they would refuse it as evil.

The reference to the unforgivable sin in Luke 12:10 (= Matt 12:31) is found as part of Jesus teaching on persecution: "He who denies me before men will be denied before the angels of God. And every one who speaks a word against the Son of man will be forgiven; but he who blasphemes against the Holy Spirit will not be forgiven." In this context, the unforgivable sin is most often understood as apostasy, the denial of Christ by one who has previously acknowledged and followed him. However, this statement makes a clear distinction between blaspheming against the Son of Man and blaspheming against the Holy Spirit. The former sin, blaspheming against the Son of Man, will be forgiven and it is this sin which seems to be a reference to apostasy. For this reason, some see the sin of blasphemy against the Holy Spirit as a rejection of the Holy Spirit as it is manifested in the disciples and the Church. The type of hostility toward the Holy Spirit which results in the persecution of Christians as evildoers, is the same type of spiritual perversity which sees Satan as the source of Jesus' healing power. This hostility cannot be forgiven, because it rejects the Holy Spirit which is the agent of God's forgiveness.

Hebrews 6:4–6 contains a clear reference to the sin of apostasy, the denial of Christ by one who has been a professing Christian: "It is impossible to restore again to repentance those who . . . commit apostasy, since they crucify the Son of God on their own account and hold him up to contempt." But is the apostasy referred to here an

unforgivable sin? The author of Hebrews probably has a definite pastoral situation in mind. At the end of the 1st century, Jewish-Christians were under considerable pressure to denounce Christ and return to Judaism. This passage is a warning about the seriousness of such a choice. Here apostasy does not refer to denying Christ under persecution, but to a deliberate rejection of Christ in favor of the Law or some other means of salvation. Those who did this would clearly have cut themselves off from the forgiveness which God offers in Christ. The clue to identifying this type of apostasy is the complete absence of repentance for the sin of rejecting Christ.

The somewhat obscure reference to the "sin which is mortal" in 1 John 5:16 also seems to refer to a sin for which there is no forgiveness. This sin results in death (the meaning of "mortal sin") rather than life. Since 1 John 5:13 declares that those "who believe in the name of the Son of God . . . have eternal life," it is probable that this "sin which is mortal" involves the rejection of the Son of God and results in spiritual death. On the basis of this passage alone, it is difficult to say exactly what this "sin which is mortal" might be.

The NT acknowledges the possibility that one can be so closed to the spirit of God that one is incapable of receiving God's forgiveness. But this possibility is never seen as limiting God's willingness to forgive in any way. Blasphemy against the Holy Spirit is never equated with any particular sin; even the sin of denying Christ will be forgiven. The only thing which could possibly result in an unforgivable sin is a person's refusal to receive God's forgiveness. This refusal might take several forms. One would be the type of spiritual perversity which would reject God's forgiveness because it would see that forgiveness as an evil rather than a good. Another would be a deliberate turning away from the forgiveness offered in Christ by one who had already experienced that forgiveness. But even these forms of refusal would have to be permanent to be unforgivable. The NT consistently confronts its readers with God's willingness to forgive those who turn to him in repentance and are willing to accept the forgiveness offered in Christ. The unforgivable sin is only mentioned as a possibility. God's forgiveness in Christ is a permanent offer.

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UNITY/UNITY OF HUMANITY. Unity is the totality of that which is diverse and varied. It is a oneness which does not obliterate what is distinctive about its members. "Unity does not mean uniformity, but solidarity, the tension-filled interconnection between those who differ among themselves" (Käsemann 1968: 56). The language field can somewhat be defined. The word *heis* ("one") appears 337 times in the NT; frequently it simply means "one" or "someone" without any theological significance. At other times it is of extreme theological importance. Other terms are less frequent but more often of theological significance; *henotēs* occurs in Eph 4:3, 13, and in Ignatius ten times; *henōsis* does not appear in the NT but is used eight times by Ignatius.

In the NT unity is of particular concern at two points: the unity of humanity and the unity of the Church. The unity of humanity is a concept which was widely extant in the ancient, particularly Hellenistic, world. For Paul it was an organizing principle of his anthropology and represented in part his response to the anthropology of his contemporaries.

The unity of the church was a burning issue for Paul, the gospel of John, and to a lesser degree the Synoptics. The older view of scholarship that an initial study within the Church was threatened only by the rise of later heresy was successfully challenged by Bauer in 1934 (Bauer 1971). From the beginning, in fact, the Church was confronted with both doctrinal and sociological disunity.

A. Unity Outside the NT
B. Unity in Paul
C. Unity in the Gospels
D. Ignatius of Antioch

A. Unity Outside the NT

Outside the NT there are four major arguments for the unity of humanity. The first was the concept of one God. From the 4th–3d centuries B.C.E. on interest in monotheistic belief increased in the West, as national boundaries were destroyed by Alexander. Syncretism ensued, giving impetus to general monotheistic thought; the one divinity was supranational, no matter how many names were used in its praise (Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 377F–378A; *De E apud Delphos* 393B–C; Apuleius, *Met.* 11:2, e.g.).

Monotheism in antiquity was represented above all by the Jews. Israel first conceived Yahweh as the only God for Israel and then eventually as the only God of the whole world (Exod 20:3; Deut 6:4; Jer 2:11, 5:7; Isa 45:5, 46:9–10). In Jewish Greek literature monotheism was taken for granted (*Sib Or.* 3:11, 15–16, 571, 718; Philo *Op* 61.172, *Spec. Leg.* I.12.67). In rabbinic Judaism the unity of God was *the* central concept; a Jew, in fact, was defined as one who professed the unity of God (*Esth. Rab.* 6:2). Unity was expressed most clearly and profoundly in the *shema* (Deut 6:4–9). The one God of the rabbis also had a relationship with all people (*Sipre Deut.* art. 31), having created them in God's image (*ʾAbot* 3:18; *b. Nid.* 31a).

The second major argument for the unity of humanity was the recognition of one universal human nature. In the Greek experience such self-identification became necessary when the Greeks encountered the barbarians. Were these beings people or not? The resulting struggle of thought led to the first philosophical theories of humanity's unity, propounded by the Sophists. They assented to the Athenian ideal of the equality of citizens but rejected written laws in favor of nature *(physis)*. Thus for Protagoras, "Of all things the measure is man, of the things that are that they are, and of the things that are not, that they are not." (80 B I = DK II, p. 263, lines 3–5; cf. Pl. *Prt.* 333D; *Tht.* 167C) Hippias built on the law-nature dichotomy: "I think of you all as kinsmen and family members and fellow-citizens by nature, not by law" (*Prt.* 337C–D). His concern was with *anthrōpos*, with humanity as humanity. Antiphon argued that humanity was free from the constraints of law (87 B 44A = DK II, p. 346, col. 1, line 1-p. 349, col. 4, line 22), including distinguishing the noble-born from the low-born and separating barbarians from Greeks (87 B 44B = DK II, p. 352, col. 1, line 35-p. 353, col. 2, line 35). The medical authors also argued

for a common human nature based on their observations as wandering physicians. Differences between nations arise through variations in climate and geography, not in human nature (*De aere* chap. 16). People have, therefore, the same nature (*De natura hominis*), a fact which in part leads to the Hippocratic Oath, in which all patients without regard to sexual and social differences are the objects of the physician's medical care (*Jusjurandum*, lines 24–28).

Objections to these concepts of a unified humanity were raised. Socrates concentrated on humanity as "soul" (*psychē*), the primary component of which was the *logos*, or "reason." His emphasis on reason divided humanity into wise and foolish. For Plato the human being was a temporary union of soul and body, with the soul clearly being the dominant and eternal factor (*Phdr.* 246C). Souls varied, and their differences provided another way of distinguishing people (*Resp.* 439C–441B). For Aristotle the divine element in humanity was expressed in the fact that human beings have *nous*, "mind," together with the fact that they alone have *logos* and therefore the ability to reason and speak. Yet at the same time Aristotle maintained distinctions between people, arguing for natural divisions between ruler and ruled, men and women, slaves and free (*Pol.* 1253b33, 1254a9–13, 1254b19–1255a2, 1260a8–24, 1269b5–1270b7; *Gen. An.* 767b8–10). Much of the Greek tradition could be summarized in the thanksgiving variously attributed to Thales, Socrates, and Plato that "I was born a human being and not a beast, next, a man and not a woman, thirdly, a Greek and not a barbarian" (Diog. Laert 1.33; Lactant. *Div. Inst.* 3.19).

In Stoicism reason was felt to be common to all people. Whether or not a person utilized that reason he or she still retained it, a fact which was a strong component in the Stoic drive for equality and for involvement by the wise person in the world's affairs (Marcus Aurelius *Med.* 4.4). At the same time the emphasis on reason led to division between the wise and the foolish (von Arnim 1964: 1.216–29, p. 52, line 25-p. 55, line 3; 3.544–684, p. 164, line 3-p. 171, line 19; Cic. *Acad.* 2.44.136; Epict. *Diss.* 1.3.3–4; 2.8–10).

Movement toward the idea of humanity's unity was greatly affected by the influence of Rome, as the Roman Empire provided a successor to the political world unity sought by Alexander. The history of Polybius was the earliest document of Greco-Roman times to view humanity as a unity; the Romans had mastered all the *oikoumenē*, "inhabited world." Cicero (1st century B.C.E.) sought consciously to put into practice the ideals commonly associated with Alexander and the Stoic Panaetius, especially the ideal of a unified humanity in society (*Off.* 3.6.31; 3.17.69). Beginning with reason, Cicero posited therefrom a kinship of people which resulted in *humanitas*, "humanity" or "urbanity" (*Leg.* 1.7.22–23; *Tusc.* 5.13.38–39; *Orat.* 2.53.212, 3.15.58; *Fin.* 5.19.54). All people have the same common, divine origin and thus are one (*Leg.* 1.8.24–25; 1.10.28–30, 32).

Among the representatives of the later Stoa, the brotherhood and equality of humanity were assumed. Five major arguments can be isolated: all people are equally amenable to moral instruction (Sen. *Ben.* 3.18.2; *Ep.* 31.11, 44.2, 66.3); all are children of God (Epict. *Diss.* 1.13.3–4; Dio 7.138, 12.27; Marcus Aurelius *Med.* 2.13, 3.4.4, 4.3.2,); all have sinned (Sen. *Clem.* 1.6.3,4; *Ira* 2.7.1–2.9.4, 3.26.4; *Ben.* 1.10.3); all are equally ruled by fate and death (Epict. *Diss.* 1.27.9; Sen. *Ep.* 91.16, 123.16); and all are citizens of the same great kingdom, frequently expressed through use of the image of the body (Sen. *Ep.* 95.51–53; *Ben.* 4.18.2–4; Epic. *Diss.* 2.5.24–26, 2.10.3–5; Marcus Aurelius *Med.* 2.1; 8.34; 7.13; 11.8). A practical result of such thought was the conclusion that slave and free person were equal (Sen. *Ben.* 3.22.1; Philo, influenced by Stoicism, in *Spec. Leg.* II.16.69). On the whole, the Stoics did not extend the practical results of their position to women, in contrast to the earliest Christian churches.

The OT had a unified concept of anthropology. That is, the human being was to be viewed wholistically and not divided into constituent parts. It is also to be noted that the word *adam*, "man/humanity," refers not to a single individual, but to the collective. Therefore, Genesis 1–2 do not limit to Israel the creation of a special relationship with God. Created humanity is a unity. Hellenistic Judaism, on the other hand, had a strongly dualistic anthropology, as is seen in Philo, who is dominated by body-soul dualism (*Migr* 2.9–12; *Gig* 3.12–15; *Leg. All* III.22.69). At the same time Philo exhibited a vibrant anthropological universalism which included active care for others (*Dec* 10.41–43; *Virt* 25.131; *Spec. Leg* I.38.210–11). Yet neither he nor the rabbinic tradition extended that care in the direction of equality for women, although Philo did adopt the Stoic view of slavery.

On the question of the unity of Jew and gentile, there are opposing tendencies. On the one hand, the particularism of Israel had deep roots in the Hebrew experience. Yahweh had chosen Israel as God's special people (Deut 7:6–11, 10:12–22, 14:2, 26:18–19, 28:1; Exod 6:6–8). The people of Israel were to remain pure and holy, but the gentile nations were defiled and unclean. Separation from the gentiles was especially emphasized in postexilic writers (2 Chr 28:1–4; Ezra 6:19–22). On the other hand, there were strong universalistic elements which built on indications throughout the Hebrew Bible of a universalistic concern for all people (Gen 12:3; Deut 4:5–6; 1 Kgs 8:41–44; Isa 2:2–4, 18:7, 25:6–8, 42:6–7, 45:18–25, 49:6, 55:4–5, 56:1–8; Zech 2:11–12, 8:20–23; Ruth; Jonah). Even the humanitarian legislation regarding the resident alien or sojourner encouraged a positive attitude toward non-Israelites (Exod 22:21–22; Deut 14:28–29, 24:14–18, 26:12–13, 27:19; Lev 24:22). Hellenistic Jewish authors universalized the Jewish religion even more by presenting it in Greek dress, which provided the bridge for Judaism to become a proselytizing religion. Partnership instructive are *Pseudo-Eupolemus*, *Artapanus*, Sirach, *Aristobulus*, *Eupolemus*, the *Sibylline Oracles*, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, the *Letter of Aristeas*, *Joseph and Asenath*, the Wisdom of Solomon, Philo, and Josephus. In this process, Abraham became an extremely important figure, since he was both gentile and Jew and the first proselyte (*Ps-Eup.* in Eus. *P.E.* 9.17; Philo *Migr; Virt* 39.212-19).

The particularistic-universalistic dichotomy is also found throughout rabbinic literature and is epitomized in the different approaches of Hillel and Shammai in the famous story about the reception of a convert (*b. Šabb.* 31a). Among those more positively oriented toward proselytizing the figure of Abraham as proselyte and missionary was

quite important (*b. Sukk.* 49; *Mek. Nez.* 18:9–36; *Gen. Rab.* 30:8, 39:14, 46:2, 48:2–9, 54:6, 84:4). Yet Abraham was also pre-eminently for the rabbis one who fulfilled the law (*m. Qidd.* 4:14; *Cant. Rab.* 8; *Midr. Ps.* 116:10), and the rabbis introduced this prayer into the synagogue liturgy: "R. Judah says: Three blessings one must say daily: Blessed (art thou), who did not make me a gentile; Blessed (art thou), who did not make me a woman; Blessed (art thou), who did not make me a boor" (*t. Ber.* 7:18).

In Judaism one of the most important ways that the unity of humanity was affirmed was by the use of the figure of Adam. In his very name Adam comprehended all geographical areas and thus implicitly all people (*Sib. Or.* 3:24–26; *2 En.* 30:13–15). He was the ancestor of all of humanity (Philo *Op* 47.136). In rabbinic Judaism that concept was expressed by Adam's huge body, which filled the entire world (*Gen. Rab.* 8:1) and which was composed of dust from all parts of the world (*b. Sanh.* 38ab; cf. *Pirqe R. El.* 11 [6b], where the four basic colors of humanity are found in Adam). In his pre-fall body were to be found all of his descendants (*Exod. Rab.* 40:3). At other times Adam as the prototype was stressed as a way to talk about a unified humanity (*b. Sanh.* 38a; *m. Sanh.* 4:5). Negatively, his sin affected all (*2 Bar.* 48:42, 56:5–8; *4 Ezra* 7:116–19; *Gen. Rab.* 19:6; *Sipre Deut.* 323 [138b]).

A third argument for the unity of humanity was the unity effected by the bonds of society, particularly that of law. For Plato the chief bond was *dikaiosynē*, "justice," which meant to fulfill one's role within society (*Resp.* 372A, 433A). In both of his ethical treatises Aristotle closely related justice and love (*philia*, the love of friends; *Eth. Nic.* bks. 8 and 9 [1155a–1172a] and *Eth. Eud.* bk. 7 [1234b–1246a]). Love was viewed as a primary bond between people, proceeding originally from parental love and extending as a common bond from the family until it embraced one's relationship with all people (*Eth. Nic.* 1155a17–32), thus creating from disparate elements a harmonious, reciprocal fellowship *(koinōnia)* which united those who were part of it (*Eth. Nic.* 1159b31, 1160a8–13; *Pol.* 1251a1–7).

Of most significance for the Stoics was the conception of a universal law which united all people. For them the nature of humanity, with its *logos*, was intimately bound with that of the world law and world reason, the *logos orthos* ("right reason"; Diog. Laert. 7.88; Cic. *Leg.* 1.7.23). The law was a powerful unifying force, binding together God and humanity (cf. *SVF* 2.1129, p. 327, lines 21–28). That law, moreover, was one law (Cic. *Leg.* 1.15.42; *Rep.* 3.22.33; Epict. *Diss.* 1.11.12–13, 1.22.4), which was also viewed as a natural law (Chrysippus, *SVF* 2.599, p. 184, lines 31–32; Diog. Laert. 7.128; Cic. *Leg.* 2.5.13, *Nat.D.* 1.14.36). Because the law was natural it was also universal and had clear implications for the fellowship of all people (Cic. *Off.* 3.6.27–28). Related is the idea of a law of nations, *ius gentium*, which is above civil law (Cic. *Off.* 3.5.23, 3.17.69).

In the OT society originated from the activity of God in electing the people of Israel. God thus initiated a covenant (*bĕrît*), which resulted in a legitimate order (Exod 19:5). The Law (Torah), then, was the positive response of the people to a delivering God and that God's call to obedience. In the postexilic period the Law assumed an ever more central role, so that the necessity of obedience to that Law became the basis of the community's life. In Hellenistic Judaism the Law of the OT covenant became a universal law potentially applicable to all people (*Sib. Or.* 3:755–59). In Philo the Jewish Law was also identified as the law of nature (*Sacr* 39.131; *Op* 19.61; *Vita Mos* II.3.13–14, 2.8.48). Abraham was the test case, for he followed the unwritten law of nature (*Migr* 23.127-28, *Abr* 1.4–6, 3.16, 46.275–76). Another way that Jewish authors expressed the concept of one law was by means of the Noachian laws, which were the laws given before the Mosaic law and which were considered binding on all people (*Jub.* 7:20; *b. Sanh.* 56a; *b. ʿAbod. Zar.* 64b; *t. ʿAbod. Zar.* 8:4; *Gen. Rab.* 16:6, 34:8; *Deut. Rab.* 2:25; *Cant. Rab.* 1:16).

The fourth major argument for a unified humanity was the notion of one world, or cosmological cosmopolitanism, in which the world/*kosmos* was viewed as one vast city/*polis* which included all people. Crucial was the ideology which grew up around Alexander the Great. A first element in that ideology was his positive treatment of barbarians, based on their virtue, as well as his adoption of barbarian customs and dress (Strab. 1.4.9; Plutarch, *De Alex. fort.* 329B, *Alex.* 27.4–5, 45.1–3; Arrian 1.23.8; Diodorus Siculus 17.7.4–5). A second element was the understanding in antiquity that he sought to unify the races and thus the world (Arrian 4.19.5, 7.4.4–8, 7.8.1–12.4; Curtius 10.3.10–14; Plutarch, *De Alex. fort.* 327E–332A, *Alex.* 27.3–6). Once this image of Alexander was formulated, it itself became a factor in the further development of the conception of humanity's unity. In addition there were the practical results of his career, the most lasting of which were the economic and cultural unification of the Greco-Oriental world. His empire implied the existence of one world.

In rejecting the supreme importance of the city-state, the Cynics used cosmopolitanism as a specific tool of protest against society, which for them represented the negative influence of law over against their positive concept of nature. Thus the goal became to live according to nature (Diog. Laert. 6.71). In rejecting the city Diogenes scornfully called himself a cosmopolitan, "a citizen of the world" (Diog. Laert. 6.63) whose commonwealth was "as wide as the universe" (6.72; for Crates see 6.85, 93, 98). Stoic cosmopolitanism was more positive and more society-oriented. For them the world/*kosmos* was itself a unified organic being (Diog. Laert. 7.87, 142–43; *SVF* 2.527, p. 168, lines 11–14). The world was further conceived as being one vast city (*SVF* 2.645, p. 194, lines 16–17 and 2.528, p. 169, lines 26–29; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 36.29–30; Philo *Jos* 6.29).

The Middle Stoa and Later Stoa, led by figures like Panaetius, sought to effect cosmopolitan ideals in the government of Rome, and Cicero held out to Roman governors the ideals of *humanitas*. Citizenship in the commonwealth of the *kosmos* was universal, as all people contained reason (Cic. *Leg.* 1.7.23, 1.23.61; *Fin.* 3.19.64; Sen. *Ot.* 4.1, *De Ira* 2.31.7, *Ep.* 28.4, *Vita* 20.5; Epict. *Diss.* 1.9.1–6, 10.2–3; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 36.35–38; Marcus Aurelius, *Med.* 3.11.2, 4.3.2, 4.4, 6.44, 10.15, 12.36). The Stoic ideal of the cosmopolis was made concrete in Rome (Ael. Aristid. *Or.* 26.36). The world of the NT was thus a militarily united world in which much thought and propaganda were devoted to supporting that unity.

Within Judaism cosmological cosmopolitanism is to be found in Philo. The first aspect of his cosmopolitanism was

negative: Abraham at the command of God became homeless (*Abr* 14.67, 18.86; *Virt* 39.218, *Gig* 13.61), as did in general the people of God (*Gig* 13.61). Yet Philo's cosmopolitanism also had positive content, as Abraham found a "truly vibrant and living commonwealth" in true belief (*Virt* 39.219), a home which was open to all (*Virt* 33.175, *Spec Leg* 1.9.51, *Vita Mos* I.28.157). Philo viewed the world as a *megalopolis*, with one polity, one law, and one nature (*Jos* 6.29), founded on the basic Jewish confession that God is one (*Op* 61.171). (For more detail on unity outside the NT, see Taylor 1981.)

B. Unity in Paul

For Paul humanity was united, first of all, in its opposition to God (Rom 1:18–3:23a). Neither those with the Law nor those without it are safe from God's wrath (2:12). The gentiles are not at a disadvantage, for they have the unwritten law (2:14–16), which brings them quite close to natural law. Yet Paul did not use law as a positive bond. For Paul law united negatively in binding all people under sin (3:20). All are under sin (3:9) and all have fallen short of the glory of God (3:23a).

A second aspect of the negative unity of humanity is unity in death. Death for Paul was the result of sin (Rom 7:9–13; cf. 1:32 and 7:5; 1 Cor 15:56). The connection between sin and death is made very explicit in Rom 6:20–23. In v 23 Paul equated death with the punishment of the sins of the individual; similar is Rom 5:12d, where Paul, having stated the universality of sin and death in mythological language, concluded by saying that sin and its result, death, have occurred because all people have sinned. While similar to Stoicism's emphasis on the universality of death, Paul's conception was not fatalistic. Rather, death came by sinning, so that it was viewed as the result of the sin which had broken humanity's relationship with God.

Related to the first two aspects is the third: unity in the *kosmos*, "world." For Paul the unredeemed person was bound up with existence in the "world." The world tries in its wisdom to know God on its own terms, but it fails (1 Cor 1:20–21). The note of judgment on the world is expressed when Paul speaks of "this world" (1 Cor 3:19; 5:10; 7:31, 33–34), but it is also evident when he speaks only of "the world" (1 Cor 11:32; 2 Cor 7:10; Phil 2:15) or of "this aeon" (Rom 12:2; 1 Cor 1:20, 2:6 and 8, 3:18; 2 Cor 4:4).

A final negative argument for the unity of humanity was unity in Adam. In Rom 5:12–21 Paul developed the thesis that sin entered the world through the "one man," the *heis anthrōpos*, Adam. He avoided further mythological speculation, however, such as one finds in Gnosticism, and instead of locating the origin of sin outside the human being, localized that origin firmly in Adam himself. Through that sin death enters, but death is appropriated by the individual as he/she participates in the sinful realm by sinning (5:12d). The emphasis on the one man/humanity provided a new argument: there is one humanity which is already implicated in the one sin of the one man Adam. The unifying figure of Adam is also used in 1 Cor 15:21–22 where the weight is on the connection of Adam and death.

The only divine intervention that could effect the unity of humanity in any lasting way Paul found in the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus, through whom humanity was positively to be unified into one. The universal significance of the cross and the (potential) unity of all humanity in that salvific event can be seen in the Adam-Christ typology. In Rom 5:14 Adam is the type of the one to come in his universality and effect on all people. Just as Adam is universal, so is Christ. Just as Adam's sin included all, so does the sacrifice of Christ. Jesus Christ is "the one man" over against the one man Adam (5:15, 17–19). Each stands as the head of humanity; each comprehends in himself all people. Similar thought is developed in 1 Cor 15:20–28, 42–49, where once more the two men and their opposite effects are juxtaposed. Whereas through the one man death came, through the other man the elimination of that effect has come about by the resurrection of the dead. The second man (Christ) thereby reverses the negative direction initiated by the first. That view is particularly clear in 15:45, when Christ is identified as "the last Adam," i.e., the Adam of the end, the one to set right the negative effects of the first Adam. All people bear the image, or form, of the man of dust, Adam, in whom all of humanity is united. The believer, however, will be able to shatter that image by participation in another image, that of the man of heaven (vv 45–46).

The final goal for Paul was therefore the unity of humanity. As elsewhere, the oneness of God is foundational to humanity's oneness (Rom 3:28–30; 1 Cor 8:4–6; Gal 3:20; cf. Eph 4:6). It is the same one God who has been revealed to all (Rom 1:18–32) and that same one God has acted through the one man Jesus. The unity of humanity is in fact the goal of the whole redemptive process. For Paul, however, it is foolish to speak of any positive unity of humanity apart from the eschaton. Thus the concept of the unity of humanity is ultimately a future concept to be realized only at the resurrection (Pannenberg 1972b; 1972c). On the last day the believers who are alive will be changed and the dead in Christ will be resurrected (1 Cor 15:51–55; 1 Thess 4:13–18). For Paul that existence will be somatic (1 Cor 15:35–44, 2 Cor 5:1–5), which is an indication that Paul viewed the future, resurrected existence as human existence and not an absorption into the divine. The result of resurrection is that the unity of humanity in death will be destroyed, just as justification destroyed the unity of humanity in sin. Death is the last enemy but it will be overcome by resurrection (1 Cor 15:26, 54–57).

Paul and the tradition which followed him used various symbols to illustrate the final goal of the unity of humanity. "New creation/creature" is found in Gal 6:14–15 and 2 Cor 5:17–18. The former passage likely has a baptismal reference and refers to the restoration of the believer to the true human reality to which God calls all people. The believer is a new creature who stands apart from the divisions of the old age. The second passage points especially to the present-tense experience of that new creaturehood which will be fully realized in resurrection. A second symbol used by Paul is that of the image of God which refers in the first place to Christ (2 Cor 4:4; cf. Col 1:15). No person since the fall has that image and it is only Christ who can give it back. The "image of God," therefore, can be viewed as the destiny of all who believe in Christ; i.e.,

this symbol can be understood as a statement by Paul of the positive unity of humanity possible in Christ. While Paul can write of a conforming to the image which begins at baptism (Rom 8:29, 2 Cor 3:18; Col 3:10), the concept is future-oriented (1 Cor 15:49), even if the process does begin in the present. A third symbol is utilized in the deutero-Pauline tradition. Whereas Paul in the undisputed letters stops short of designating believers as a new humanity, Ephesians does just that in 2:14–16. Christ makes one new humanity by eliminating the distinctions of law which have resulted in the two humanities (Jew-Greek) who are at enmity with each other (Gal 3:28, Col 1:21–22). The reference is clearly a corporate one. The new humanity is created "in himself," i.e., in Christ, and that new humanity is further identified with the "one body" (of Christ) in v 16. Related is the thought expressed in 4:13–16 of a perfect humanity toward which the ministry of the church enables Christians to develop. The concept is further developed in Col 3:9–11 and Eph 4:22–24, where Christians are directed to put off the old humanity and put on the new humanity, in distinction from Paul in whom the new existence is a covering of the old (2 Cor 5:4). There is also in the deutero-Paulines a unity even beyond the unity of humanity. God has "a plan for the fulness of time, to unite all things in him [Christ], things in heaven and things on earth" (Eph 1:10). All history—both human and cosmic—will ultimately be united in Christ (cf. 1:22–23; Col 1:15–20; 1 Cor 15:28). In Col 1:15–20 Christ is once more viewed as the agent of unity, although his work is understood in terms of creation as well as redemption. Thus he is the first-born of all creation, in whom and through whom and for whom all things were created. He is also the goal of creation. In addition, it is in Christ that the creation holds together (v 17).

Paul rejected other ways to unity besides the unity offered in Christ. One way to unity that he explicitly rejected was that of the Mosaic law. While Paul could say many positive things about the Law (Rom 7:10, 12; 9:14; 10:5; Gal 3:12b), he viewed the Law as weakened by the flesh and therefore powerless to save (Rom 8:3). Even when the Mosaic law was fulfilled Paul rejected it in favor of Christ (Phil 3:4–9). The Law was until Christ; with his arrival comes faith and the effective end of the Law (Gal 3:19–25; Rom 10:4). Thus no one is justified through works of the Law (Rom 3:20; Gal 3:10–14), and the Christian has in fact died to the Law (Rom 7:4–6; Gal 2:19–20). His approach to law becomes paradigmatic of his approach to other arguments for the unity of humanity: all religious and political striving for unity was put by Paul under the categories of sin and death.

Paul had similar difficulties with cosmological cosmopolitanism. *Kosmos,* as we have seen, was not a particularly positive term for Paul. On the other hand, Paul lived every day of his life with the practical results of Roman imperial political cosmopolitanism. The sheer fact that he thought of humanity in such broad, inclusive terms may be due in part to his contact with Roman political realities. Phil 3:20 does, however, possibly indicate a redefinition of Roman cosmopolitanism. It may be that Paul in effect was saying that the true Rome, the Christian commonwealth *(politeuma),* was not in Italy but in heaven and that the Christians had realized the ancient dream of cosmopolitanism, albeit in an altered form (cf. Phil 1:27, where Paul uses the verb *politeuomai,* "I lead my life, conduct myself as a citizen"). Related is his approach to peace. While there is no explicit confrontation in his letters with Roman *pax* (with the possible exception of 1 Thess 5:3), his redefinition of peace did in fact end any thought, within 1st-century Christian circles, at least, of imperial, governmental peace as a way to unite humanity. Peace in the NT is above all the eschatological salvation of the whole person, and so peace is the normal state of the new creation (1 Cor 14:33; cf. Rom 15:33; 16:20; 2 Cor 13:11; Phil 4:9; 1 Thess 5:23). The God of peace gives peace, and the apostle expresses his wish that peace would be granted to his listeners when he repeatedly gives his standard epistolary greeting in the words, "grace to you and peace" (Rom 1:7; 1 Cor 1:3; 2 Cor 1:2; Gal 1:3; Phil 1:2; 1 Thess 1:1; Phlm 3; also Eph 1:2 and Col 1:12). The Christological basis of that peace is stated in Rom 5:1 (cf. Col 1:19–20 and Eph 2:14–17). Peace is the result of having been justified, of having been included in the Christ act. Peace for Paul is therefore not a human achievement nor the gift of the state.

Another argument for unity rejected by Paul was that of human wisdom or reason (1 Cor 1:17–31). Paul preaches the gospel "not in eloquent wisdom" but by means of the cross of Christ (v 17), thus setting wisdom and cross in opposition to each other. Indeed, the cross is folly to outsiders (v 18), but God has "made foolish the wisdom of the world" (v 20). Paul could write positively of wisdom, but by it he meant Christ, "the power of God and the wisdom of God" (v 24). Thus wisdom as a worldly concept is rejected; only divine wisdom has unifying power, which is in part illustrated by the reversal of the type of wise-foolish distinction preached by the Stoics and others (vv 26–29).

While the unity of humanity is for Paul an eschatological concept, there are present positive results which can be grouped under unity in baptism and unity in the body. The classical passage on unity in baptism is Gal 3:26–29. The identification of the Galatians as the "sons of God" (v 26) extends to gentiles a concept usually applied to Jews only; v 27 explains how it is that gentiles are the sons of God: by baptism. Further, the act of being baptized and the act of putting on Christ are identified. Putting on Christ "describes the Christian's incorporation into the 'body of Christ' as an act of 'clothing,' whereby Christ is understood as the garment" (Betz *Galatians* Hermeneia, 187). The result of putting on Christ is unity with him, or being "in Christ Jesus" (v 28). The negative result of that unity is stated first, as Paul utilizes the major divisions existing between people: "there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is not male and female." The divisions which had separated humanity are now considered overcome in Christ.

The elimination of the Jew-Greek distinction was one of the chief issues in both Galatians and Romans (Romans 1–3, especially 2:25–29; 10:12; Gal 5:6; 6:15; cf. 1 Cor 7:19; Phil 3:3) and was rooted in Paul's concept of apostleship, as he understood himself as a Jewish apostle in mission to gentile people (Gal 1:15; Rom 1:1–5, 14, 16; 11:13). He thus sought to unite two worlds in a way not unlike the unification goals attributed to Alexander by trying to include the gentiles in a new social and eschatological reality.

A primary symbolic gesture of the elimination of this division was the monetary collection taken by Paul among his predominantly gentile-Christian congregations for the Jewish-Christian poor in Jerusalem. The symbolic unity to be expressed by the offering is indicated by his choice of the word *koinōnia,* "fellowship" as a term referring to the offering (Rom 15:26; 2 Cor 8:4 and 9:13). Paul also expressed the unity of Jew-Greek by means of the figure of Abraham, who was justified prior to the law and therefore served as the prototype of the Christian believer who is justified by grace through faith (Gal 3:6–18; Rom 4:1–25; 9:6–13; on his redefinition of Israel see Gal 6:15–16; Phil 3:3; Rom 2:25–29). At the same time the difficulty of effecting that unity is indicated by the Jerusalem conference and the misunderstandings which resulted from it (Acts 15; Galatians 2; Achtemeier 1987). The social and legal distinction between slave and free likewise for Paul existed no more (1 Cor 7:20–23). The third pair is more difficult to interpret. Elsewhere Paul does not speak in favor of the elimination of all distinctions between the sexes; rather, he seeks to eliminate the value judgments which are assigned to the male-female division (contra *TDNT* 2: 440–41). Thus in the Pauline churches women lead worship (1 Cor 11:5, within an admittedly convoluted passage) and serve as deacon, missionary leader, and apostle (Rom 16:1–7). Paul concludes Gal 3:28 with the positive result: "you are all one in Christ Jesus." The "one" may refer to one *anthrōpos;* one body; or (simply) unity or oneness. All three options argue for a unity of humanity which transcends human limitations and the value judgments placed on the distinctions between people. Nor is that unity available only in the future; it is proleptically present now in the Church. Baptism, besides being the rite of initiation, is the act by which the unity of humanity is constituted (cf. 1 Cor 12:13; Col 2:11–15; 3:11).

The identification of the believer with the Christ event is more clearly stated in Rom 6:1–11. In v 5 the positive unity of humanity expected at the resurrection is rooted in the two past historical events of Christ's death and the believer's own death in baptism. Moreover, the new life is corporate in nature: "*We* have been united." The unity is a unity in the first place with Christ, but it is also a unity with other believers. That unification, within the context of a baptismal reminder, is also evident in Eph 2:11–22 and in 4:3–6, where "the unity of the Spirit" is a unity *(henotēs)* created by the Spirit, which in the Pauline tradition is normatively given at baptism (v 5). Just as the Spirit is one (v 4), so are the Christians to be one (body).

The second major way in Paul that one can identify the present positive results of the unity of humanity is in the unity of the Church, for the Church is the beginning of the new humanity (Pannenberg 1972a: 154). The context within which Paul worked out that Church unity, however, was one of division (1 Cor 1:10–17, e.g.; the Jew-gentile conflicts throughout his ministry; the opponents in 2 Corinthians and elsewhere). Paul responded in part by reminding his readers of the unifying cross of Jesus (1 Cor 1:18–25). Above all, he recalled to his readers the concept of the body of which they were a part. Paul argued that the body was not to be devalued since it belongs to the Lord (1 Cor 6:13, 20). Devaluation of the body could also affect one's understanding of the body in the Lord's Supper, and so Paul argued that from the one loaf of the Eucharist the many are constituted into one body (10:14–17; note the uses of *koinōnia* in v 16). Thus one body (v 17) indicates the horizontal somatic unity of believers in the Lord's Supper. Behind the unity of the believers is, of course, the one Lord and his one, crucified-resurrected body (v 16). It is by participation in that body by means of the Lord's Supper that the Church is constituted as body. The Lord's Supper both creates the unity of humanity in the body of Christ and is the most obvious manifestation of it. For that reason the social divisions evident at the Lord's Supper were especially abhorrent for Paul (1 Cor 11:27–34a; Theissen 1982). Thus the one unable to discern the body (of the Church) brings judgment upon him/herself (v 29). In response to the situation, Paul reminded the Corinthians of the community-constituting nature of the Supper by quoting the words of institution (vv 23–26). At the same time, he pointed to the anticipatory nature of the meal as it looks forward to the messianic banquet with the exalted Jesus (v 28). The Lord's Supper, therefore, is of great importance as a symbol of the future: the Church, which represents the future community of the new humanity, does its task of representation precisely in the Supper. The Supper is the paradigm of the unity of humanity.

The unity of the Church is further indicated by Paul's use in 1 Corinthians 12 of the body and its gifts. It is the same Spirit, the same Lord, and the same God who are the source of all gifts (vv 4–6). The unity of the body is found in baptism by the one Spirit which is given to all baptized Christians. In Rom 12:3–6 Paul again uses the analogy of the body, although he emphasizes more the unity which comes from incorporation into Christ (cf. Rom 6:1–11). In Ephesians the Church is once more called Christ's body (1:23, cf. 2:16; 5:31–32) which is to be built up by the ministry of the Church's leaders (4:12) as it functions as a unified body with every part working properly (4:16). Moreover, the goal of the Church's ministry is unity (*henōtes,* v 13), particularly the unity of faith (on the figure of the apostle Paul as a unifying factor in the post-Pauline period see DeBoer 1980; Collins 1975). That is, the unity of the Church is part of the Church's essence. What is also clear in Ephesians 4 is that the activity of being built up is ongoing, not complete; each part is needed for the proper functioning of the body, yet the growth of the whole entity is what is emphasized. The basis of the growth is love (cf. Col 3:12–15).

All people, however, do not believe. For Paul they therefore do not take part in the positive unity in Christ. Thus, whereas originally humanity was bound together in unity in Adam/sin, a unity which was broken by the Christ event, in the present age humanity is not only not united but is even more fundamentally divided than before the Christ event into those who believe and those who do not. So in Paul humanity is divided into the spiritual and the unspiritual (1 Cor 2:14–3:4); those inside the Church and those outside it (1 Cor 5:9–13); the flesh-walkers and the Spirit-walkers (1 Cor 8:4–9); those of the Spirit and promise and those of the flesh (Gal 3:3; 4:21–31; 5:16–26; 6:8); the seeing and the unseeing (2 Cor 4:3–14); the believers and the unbelievers (2 Cor 6:14–18); the righteous and the sinners (Rom 5:19); those of the Spirit and those of the

written code (2 Cor 3:6); those of the Spirit and those of the law (Romans 7, Galatians 3–4); and above all, those in Christ and those in Adam (Rom 5:12–19; 1 Cor 15:20–28, 42–49). Another way in which Paul expressed division among people was by the designation of Christians as a third race. So in 1 Cor 1:22–24 he seems to write of three groups: Jews, Greeks, and those who are called from both the Jews and the Greeks, namely, the Christians. The Christians appear as the new, third audience (1 Cor 10:32). In time this incipient concept was developed by others, so that Christians were called a third race (*Kerygma Petrou*, in Clem. *Str.* 6.5.39–41; *Diogn.* 1; *Apologia Aristidis* 2.1; 16; 17; Tert. *Ad Nat.* 1.8, *Scor.* 10; Clem. *Strom.* 3.10.10).

In sum, Paul was neither unique in posing the problem of the unity of humanity nor naive in the solution he proposed. Constantly in dialogue with a secular and religious world which had tried many proposals for unity, Paul determined that only the universality of Christ's cross could effect that long-desired goal.

C. Unity in the Gospels

In the Synoptic Gospels unity/oneness/unity-of-humanity is not developed as independent theological motifs. Certainly one can identify a commitment to one God (Mark 12:29, 32), although it tends to remain implicit. At the same time there is a dualistic strain, as the world is not unambiguously under the reign of God but is the battleground between God and Satan, as is seen in the career of Jesus from temptation to cross (Matt 4:1–11 [= Mark 1:12–13; Luke 4:1–13]; Luke 22:3, 23:35 [= Matt 27:41–42; Mark 15:31–32]). The conflict is seen also in the parables of Jesus. So, e.g., the sower sows the seed, but the birds devour it (Mark 4:3–4 [= Matt 13:3–4; Luke 8:51]), which is understood in the allegorical interpretation to be Satan (v 15 [= Matt 13:19; Luke 8:12]). In response, Jesus calls into being a new unified people, symbolized in the disciples. The unity of the new, eschatological people is revealed in the common table, which reaches a highpoint but is by no means limited to the Last Supper. The Synoptics are also concerned, in their own way, to express the unity of humanity. So in Mark there is a clear geographical pattern of movement, in which Jesus crosses the lake in such a way as symbolically to unite Jew (on the west) and gentile (on the east; 4:35–41; 5:21; 8:13). Jew and gentile are also united in the one loaf (6:30–44, 8:1–9, 8:14–21). At the same time, male and female are carefully balanced so that what happens to a male happens also to a female (1:21–26 and 1:29–31; 5:21–24a, 35–43 and 9:14–29). In Luke there is emphasis on the poor, with special attention being given to women (Elizabeth and Mary in chap. 1; 10:38–42) and to the non-Jew (10:30–37). In the second volume of Luke–Acts there is, of course, a universal mission to all people, symbolized by the reversal of the Tower of Babel at Pentecost (chap. 2), together with a brief statement about unity in a primal figure (17:26). In Matthew the Magi represent the gentile world's coming to the universal messiah (2:1–12). Yet, again somewhat parallel to Paul, the fulness of that potential unity will be realized only when the eschatological kingdom of God has fully arrived (Matt 6:10 [= Luke 11:21).

Oneness is the key to proper interpretation of the gospel of John. The key to unity in John is christological unity, specifically the unity of the Son with the Father. Jesus is the one shepherd, the one who is the exclusive shepherd of God's people (10:16). In 10:30 the christological oneness is stated most clearly: "I and the Father are one." Still, the Father and the Son are distinct even within their unity (10:38). The final major passage dealing with christological oneness is 17:11, 21–23. Even here, though, John does not work out a clearly delineated statement on the relationship of the Father and the Son, although it is obvious that they are united in such a way that it is impossible to have one without the other. It is also obvious that "the relationship of the Father to the Son and of the Son to the Father is the prototype of true solidarity" (Käsemann 1968: 69).

A second aspect of unity in John is that salvation is being one with the heavenly reality. So in 11:52 the death of Jesus is not only for Israel but for the purpose of gathering into one the scattered children of God. The distinctions between people are thus relativized, as we have seen also in Paul. Yet the goal of oneness is still to be realized rather than being an already fully present reality (17:11). The agent of that salvation is the one human being, *heis anthrōpos*, Jesus (11:50; 18:14). A final major aspect of unity in John is ecclesiological unity, which is seen already in 10:16, where John includes the "one flock, one shepherd" formula. The one flock is a future goal: either, with the majority of commentators, of Jew and gentile (cf. 12:20–23), or with Appold, of present and future believers (Appold 1976: 264). In either case, the oneness of the flock is based on the oneness of the shepherd. In 11:52 the believers are to be gathered into one, regardless of where they are. The high priestly prayer of Jesus in chap. 17 expresses the hope of the Johannine Jesus for the future oneness of the church, again based on the model of the oneness of Father and Son (vv 11, 21–23). While one could argue that the prayer contains an implicit directive to Jesus' followers, it is in fact a prayer to God for God to bring about unity. To the extent that the earthly Church is in unity with the Father and the Son, to that extent it reflects the unity toward which it is moving and being called. The line of development is thus from the unity of Father and Son, to that of Son/Revealer and believer, to that of believers with each other. Similar ideas predominate in 1 John, where believers abide in the Son and in the Father (2:24) and where fellowship (*koinōnia*) between believers is based on fellowship with the Father and the Son (1:3, 6–7).

At the same time that unity is a major theme in John, so too is dualism, which is more clearly present here than elsewhere in the NT. People must be saved from the world and that salvation is made possible through the Revealer from heaven who speaks the word to which the elect will respond. Thus reality is divided into light-darkness (1:5, 9), law-grace (1:17), spirit-flesh (3:6, 6:63), life-condemnation (3:14–21), truth-falsehood (8:44), free-slave (8:34–35), and believer-unbeliever (passim). In the later portion of the Johannine tradition called Revelation, the battle between God and the forces of evil is primary.

D. Ignatius of Antioch

The trajectories of Church unity arising from Paul and John are further developed outside the NT in Ignatius, in whom unity is of the greatest significance. Negatively, sin for Ignatius was basically division (*Philad.* 2.1). It was that

lack of unity which made humanity so vulnerable to the forces of evil. Unity, then, was the supreme gift (*Magn.* 1.2; 15). It is through Jesus Christ that unity is obtained; it is only unity with and in him that produces true harmony among people. Thus unity is possible only within the Church and is in fact promised by God (*Trall.* 11.2). It is for that reason that Ignatius so strenuously urged unity with and obedience to the bishop: "Be united with the bishop and with those who preside, for an example and lesson of imperishability" (*Magn.* 6.2; cf. Ign. *Eph.* 4; *Philad.* 3.2). Or, in Johannine terms, "As, then, the Lord did nothing apart from the Father, either by himself or through the apostles, since he was united with him, so you must do nothing apart from the bishop and the presbyters" (*Magn.* 7.1; cf. *Philad.* 7.2, *Eph.* 5.1–2, *Mag.* 13.1–2, *Tr.* 7.2). It is the bishop who guarantees the true unity of the Church (*Smyrn.* 8.2), becoming virtually identified with Christ as the guarantor of unity (*Trall.* 2.1, *Eph.* 6.1, *Smyrn.* 9.1). So, too, the ministry of Ignatius has been devoted to unity (*Philad.* 8.1). Finally, as in Paul but developed even further, the Eucharist is the sacrament of unity. There is one flesh of Christ and one Eucharist. Therefore, the Church, too, is to be one (*Eph.* 20.2; *Philad.* 3–4; *Smyrn.* 1.2, 7.1).

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UNIVERSE. See COSMOGONY, COSMOLOGY.

UNKNOWN GOD, INSCRIPTION TO THE.

According to Acts 17:22–31, Paul addressed a group of Epicurean and Stoic philosophers when he was at Athens. He based his speech, the so-called "Areopagus Speech," on an altar inscription that read: "To an unknown god" (17:23). As of yet, no epigraphic evidence has been found that corresponds to Paul's alleged inscription, i.e., an altar inscription to an unknown god. Moreover, there is no literary evidence, apart from Acts and related Christian texts, that conclusively answers the question whether or not there ever was an altar *(bōmos)* with such an inscription.

Hugo Hepding published in 1910 a mutilated inscription that probably derives from the 2d century and was discovered in the precinct of Demeter in Pergamum. He argued that the inscription should most plausibly be restored to read:

theois agn[ōstois]	To unk[nown] Gods
Kapit[on]	Capito[n]
dądoucho[s]	torch-beare[r].

It is just as probable, however, that the inscription read: *theois hag[iōtatois]*: "To [the] most holy Gods" (Deissmann 1972: 288–91; Haenchen *Acts* MeyerK, 521 n. 2). This evidence is too uncertain to answer our question conclusively.

However, the literary evidence does attest to altars addressed to "unknown *gods*" (PWSup 1: 28–30). In his *Description of Greece,* which was written in the latter-half of the 2d century, Pausanias (I.1.4) says that near the harbor of Phalerum stood a sanctuary of Demeter, temples of Athena Sciras and Zeus, "and altars of the gods named Unknown *(bōmoi de theōn te onomazomenōn agnōstōn).*" Similarly, he reports (V.14.8) that at Olympia, near the great ash-altar dedicated to Zeus, there was "an altar of Unknown Gods *(Agnōstōn theōn bōmos).*" Philostratus (ca. 170–245 C.E.), in his *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* (VI.3.5), attests to the proverbial piety of Athens when he says it is a place

"where altars are set up in honor even of unknown gods" *(hou kai agnōstōn daimonōn bōmoi hidruntai)*. Diogenes Laertius (ca. 200–250 C.E.) reports that "nameless altars" *(bōmous anōnymous)*—altars reflecting uncertainty to which particular local deity they should be dedicated, or altars dedicated to gods whose names were forgotten—could be found in different parts of Athens *(Lives of Philosophers* 1.110).

Strabo (ca. 64 B.C.E.–21 C.E.) reports (*Geog.* 3.16) that among the Celtiberians sacrifices were made to a "nameless god" *(anōnymō tini theō)*. A nameless deity is, however, not necessarily equivalent to an unknown deity; only sheer speculation can equate this Celtiberian deity with Athens. Also speculative is the ingenious thesis that the Athenian altar in question was really dedicated to Yahweh, god of the Jews, who was unknown by name (Gärtner 1955: 242–47).

In sum, this evidence argues for the existence of altars "to unknown gods" near Phalerum, at Olympia, and in Athens, but it offers no support for altars dedicated "to *an* unknown god" or "to *the* unknown god." In other words, all the evidence agrees *against* our inscription by speaking either of deity in the plural or of a "nameless" rather than an "unknown" god. The evidence indicates that the usual form for an altar inscription in Greek was with the deity's name in the genitive case (". . . *of* the" deity). The dative, singular form of the inscription in Acts 17:23 (". . . *to* the" deity), therefore, is unusual. Inscriptions in the latter form are more frequent in the 2d century and seem to indicate a change in fashion (Lake and Cadbury 1933: 242) (examples: Isidore of Pelusiam's letter to Hero [*PG* 78, col. 1128]; Pseudo-Lucian's *The Patriot* 9; and Pseudo-Athanasius' *On the Temple of Athens* [*PG* 28, col. 1428]).

How then should we interpret Paul's reference in Acts 17:23? On the one hand, it is *possible* that a dative, singular inscription existed and is yet to be discovered (if it survived). On the other hand, it is *probable* that there never was such an inscription. The latter probability is implied by Jerome (ca. 340–420 C.E.), who states that the Athenian inscription was in the plural, and read: "To the Gods of Asia and Europe and Africa, to unknown and strange gods *(diis ignotis et peregrinis)*," and that Paul *changed* the inscription, evidently to suit his purposes (*Commentary on Titus* I.12). Similarly, other Christian writers, who certainly know Acts, appear to be aware of the Athenians' concern with "unknown *gods*" (example: Tertullian [ca. 160–240 C.E.] in *To the Nations*, II. 9, and *Against Marcion*, I. 9; Augustine [354–430 C.E.], in *The City of God*, 6.3).

It is interesting to note that Euthalius, a 4th century Christian grammarian, knows the same inscription mentioned by Jerome, but renders its last phrase ("to unknown and strange gods") in the *singular* rather than the plural (*PG* 85, col. 692), obviously an assimilation to the text in Acts. This accommodation is, according to Lake (1933: 243), further reflected in the Christian authors Oecumenius (*PG* 118, cols. 237–38) and Theophylact (*PG* 115, cols. 745–48, 997–1000).

Thus, Jerome, Tertullian, and the alteration of Euthalius lend support to the evidence presented thus far that there were altars in Athens raised to unknown gods. They differ from Pausanias and Philostratus in that they have the name of the deity in the dative, rather than the genitive case.

The question concerning the origin of "unknown gods" is usually explained by resorting to several ancient traditions (Lake and Cadbury 1933: 240–246; Gärtner 1955: 244–45). Diogenes Laertius recounts a tradition concerning Epimenides (ca. 600 B.C.E.), a Cretan wise-man and wonder-worker who purified the city of Athens from a pestilence. "He [Epimenides] took sheep, some black and others white, and brought them to the Areopagus; and there he let them go whither they pleased, instructing those who followed them to mark the spot where each sheep lay down and [to] offer a sacrifice *to the local divinity (tō prosēkonti theō)*. And thus, it is said, the plague was stayed. Hence even to this day altars may be found in different parts of Attica *with no name inscribed upon them (bōmous anōnymous)*, which are memorials of this atonement" (LCL, 1.110). This was a widespread and ancient tradition: Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.) probably refers to it (*Athenian Constitution* I) and Plutarch (ca. 46/48–120/125 C.E.) knows it (*Solon* 12). It connects the existence of "nameless altars" with deities who were unknown beyond their local region(s) and who were perceived to have acted favorably toward Athens. It should be noted that the phrase *tō prosēkonti theō* ("to the god in that place"), in the dative singular, does present the possibility that other inscriptions in this form existed prior to the 2d century when they apparently became common (Strabo 3.16). This, however, is moot (Lake and Cadbury 1933: 242).

Herodotus (ca. 480–425 B.C.E.) recounts another legend that concerns a crisis in Athens and relates the origin of the Pan-cult there. He says that Pheidippides, the Marathon runner, was accosted by Pan and told to say to the Athenians: " 'Why is it that you take no thought of me, that am your friend, and ere now have oft been serviceable to you, and will be so again?' [. . .] they [the Athenians] founded a temple *(hiron)* under the Acropolis, and for that message sought the god's favor with yearly sacrifices and torch-races" (LCL, 6.105). In this way the Athenians overcame their ignorance of Pan. This account of the Attic Pan-cult is also a widespread tradition. For example, it is recounted in Pausanias (1.28.4; 8.54.6) where Pheidippides' name is spelled Philippides. It is also found in Christian writings, where, due both to confusion and apologetic interests, it is variously altered and appended to support the reading in Acts. For example, the Pan-temple is identified with the altar "to an unknown god" (see Isidore of Pelusiam, Isho'dad Bar Salibi, and Bar Hebraeus in Lake and Cadbury 1933: 244–45; Dibelius 1956: 39–41; Gärtner 1955: 244–45).

The Attic Pan-cult tradition alludes to another, and probably the principal, reason for raising altars to unknown deities: the fear of neglecting to pay homage to some unknown god or goddess and thus either failing to procure the deity's benefits, or incurring his or her wrath. St. John Chrysostom (ca. 354–407 C.E.) provides a similar explanation (*PG.* 60, cols. 268–69). According to Minucius Felix (fl. ca. 200–240 C.E.) the same anxiety was felt by the Romans, who also dedicated altars to unknown gods and spirits of the dead (*Octavius* 6.2). See also *CIL* X 1552 (Grant 1986: 29–42, 178–181).

The meaning of the phrase *agnōstos theos* is difficult; it occurs nowhere in the OT and is found in the NT only in Acts 17:23. Eduard Norden, whose research remains fun-

damental for any discussion of this issue, proposed that it be understood in connection with gnosticism (1913: 56–83). Despite the fact that the theme of "the unknown god" is vital to gnosticism (Rudolph 1983: 58, 61–65, 67), Norden's theory is hardly likely because the gnostic idea of a deity beyond rationality has no connection with the Areopagus speech. Similarly, the phrase should not be defined on the basis of philosophical discussions which properly belong to a later period when the knowledge of god's existence and nature was the subject of debate (*TDNT* 1: 119–21; Conzelmann *Acts* Hermeneia, 141). The meaning of the alleged inscription, as it is reported in Acts, is to be discovered in the speaker's conception of the God "in [whom] we live and move and have our being," who is worshipped by, but unknown to, the Athenians. This is the God Paul will proclaim to them.

Did such an altar inscription ever exist? The evidence simply does not permit a conclusive answer. The fact that (a) there is a lack of both epigraphic and literary material which exactly corroborates Acts 17:23; that (b) the literary support refers to altars, especially at Athens, dedicated "to unknown *gods*" (plural); and that the later evidence supporting the alleged inscription "to the unknown god" appears to have been assimilated to it—combines to make the existence of such an inscription improbable. Norden's suggestion (1913: 31–56) that the Areopagus speech is a literary creation is correct (Hommel 1955: 147–78; Grant 1986: 49–51), but his postulation (1913: 46) that Luke was literarily dependent on Philostratus is both doubtful and unnecessary. But given the apparently widespread knowledge of the traditions about Athenian unknown gods, it is not unlikely that the author of Acts was aware of them. Hence, the statement of Jerome that the plural "gods" was changed to "god" to suit the missionary preaching of Paul, whether done by Paul himself (as Jerome states) or by the author of the speech, still remains the best explanation of the inscription: 'To an unknown god.' See further *RGG* 1: 176 and *EncRel* 1: 135–38.

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UNLEAVENED BREAD AND PASSOVER, FEASTS OF.

"Passover" is the name of the sacrifice that is slaughtered on the 14th day of Nisan and eaten toward evening, at the end of the day or soon after sunset marking the beginning of the 15th day of Nisan. Scripture presents the Passover as the key element of a rite commemorating the Exodus from Egypt and the bounty of divine redemption. "Unleavened Bread" is the name of an originally distinct 7-day festival which began on sunset of the 15th day of Nisan. Scripture combines the Passover sacrifice with the feast of Unleavened Bread, and in post-biblical times the two festivals were fully integrated as a single holiday.

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A. Introduction and Terminology

1. Terms. The Hebrew Bible uses three terms in connection with Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread: *pesaḥ, ḥag,* and *maṣṣōt.* The term *pesaḥ* denotes the Passover offering and more generally the feast centering on that sacrifice, which was eaten at night (the "Passover Meal") and which comprised a holiday in its own right, "Passover" or the "Festival of the Passover Offering"; this term appears beside another technical term for a festival, *ḥag,* only in Exod 34:25. The word *pesaḥ* has been connected with a Hebrew verb meaning "protect" (Isa 31:5) or "limp" or "skip" (2 Sam 4:4; 1 Kgs 18:21, 26) as well as with roots in other languages such as the Akkadian *paššaḫu,* "make soft, supple, soothe, placate," "the Egyptian masculine article followed by *sḫ*ʾ, the 'commemoration,' " or ʾ*sḫ (poseḫ),* the "harvest," *śḫ,* "the blow," or the Arabic *fsḥ,* "separate" (Segal 1963: 96–101; Sarna 1986: 86–87). The word *maṣṣōt,* appearing with or without the word *ḥag,* denotes either unleavened bread or "the Feast of Unleavened Bread." The Hebrew Bible employs the terms *pesaḥ* and *maṣṣōt* to refer to two celebrations—Scripture assumes they are combined—which mark the exodus from Egypt. These festi-

vals became not only powerful symbols of hope and redemption but also central religious experiences in the life of Israel and of people who identified with biblical Israel. In postbiblical times, when the two festivals were fully intertwined, the terms were used interchangeably.

2. Stages. Six critical stages in the history of the festivals fall within the purview of this article: (1) the prehistory of the festivals of *pesaḥ* and *maṣṣōt;* (2) the biblical joining of the two festivals; (3) the transformation of the festivals into aspects of a pilgrimage holiday; (4) later biblical trends enhancing the character of the festivals as national celebrations; (5) NT and early Christian developments; (6) early rabbinic transformations adapting the holiday to the loss of the Passover offering. Contrasting phases 5–6 with 1–4 helps illuminate the character of the first four. In turn, noting the diverse features of both the holidays and the models of religious piety found in the biblical sources enables us to recognize their adaptations in the later Christian and rabbinic reworkings of the rites.

B. Origins and Prehistory

1. Prehistory of the Festivals in Scripture. Although scholars agree that the *pesaḥ* and *maṣṣōt* festivals were distinct originally, scholars differ in their analysis of the festivals' prehistory and the processes behind the combination and historicization of the festivals. Since all the primary evidence comes from the Bible, we can best assess the theories by analyzing the scriptural text. Hence, after briefly sketching the early history of the festivals, we will critically review the biblical evidence and then outline how that evidence has been employed in different theories to depict the prehistory of the festivals.

2. Linking Two Distinct Festivals. The Holiday of the Passover Offering (broadly drawing on the perception of Exodus 12–13) consisted of the preparation of a one-year-old sheep or goat on the 10th day of the month of Nisan (usually April in the Julian calendar), its slaughter or sacrifice on the 14th day of the month, and its consumption in family gatherings on the night of a full moon ushering in the 15th day (the time of the vernal equinox). The animal was eaten along with a vegetable (the "bitter herb") and a grain (the "unleavened bread"), and this constituted the rite of a sacrificial meal. Diverse scholars such as Beer and Pedersen have concurred in seeing the origins of this sacred meal in the practices of pastoral or nomadic conditions of life, in particular, as emphasized by Rost, a spring rite to ensure the successful movement of the group and the flock to summer pasture. Some suggest that such an offering would have lent itself to reinterpretation in terms of the Exodus experience because its apotropaic function would have been seen as appropriate for protecting the Israelites on the night before the Exodus, an approach lucidly developed by Loewenstamm (1972: 80–94, v–vii; cf. Haran 1978: 320–21).

This sacred meal was apparently followed by yet another festival. During the seven-day Feast of Unleavened Bread, starting on the night of the 15th day of Nisan, Israelites were to avoid leaven and eat only unleavened bread, *maṣṣōt.* Many of the above scholars, as well as Welhausen and especially Benzinger, suggest that this second holiday seems to originate in settled communities that celebrated a spring agricultural festival centering on the barley harvest (associated with the Feast of Unleavened Bread in Leviticus 23). This festival probably took hold only after the Israelites had themselves settled in Canaan.

Since the two festivals—the Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread—may have originated in different kinds of societies, they may represent alternative models of what each society viewed as most life sustaining: the flock or the harvest. The experiences and hopes of both groups would have been given new meaning in terms of the Exodus experience as a celebration of God's liberation of Israel. Some writers have treated the reference to the calendar in Exod 12:1–2 (perhaps tied to a calendrical reform) as evidence that earlier celebrations had been adapted (see Childs *Exodus* OTL, 197; Sarna 1986: 81–85).

It may be that two spring festivals were transformed because, it was believed, God took the Israelites out of Egypt in the spring (*AncIsr,* 492–93). The fact that unleavened bread was to be eaten along with the Passover sacrifice also facilitated the joining of the two festivals. The precise reconstruction of how this occurred will depend upon one's picture of the history of Israelite religion and the priority one gives to different biblical sources.

C. The Biblical Record

Biblical passages mentioning these festivals include: Exodus 12–13; Exod 23:15 and 34:18, parts of the two cultic calendars; Lev 23:4–8; Num 9:1–15; 28:16–25; and 33:3; Deut 16:1–8; Josh 5:10–15; 2 Kgs 23:10–14; Ezek 45:21; Ezra 6:19–22; 2 Chr 30:1–27; 35:1–9. De Vaux (*AncIsr,* 484–93), Segal (1963), as well as the standard handbooks and encyclopedias such as the *TWAT* (4: 1074–82) review these sources and the secondary literature. Bokser (1984: 14–19), with extensive bibliography, reviews the material as part of an analysis of the central role of the Passover offering. We turn first to Exodus 12–13, the most extensive of the sources.

1. Exodus 12–13. Exodus 12–13 presents the fullest scriptural account of the two celebrations and the one most permeated with the Bible's theological message. This passage presents the two festivals combined, and attributes to these festivals numerous interpretations with which they had become associated; the passage offers insight into how later Israelites understood the rituals. In Exodus 12–13 the festival material is redacted as part of the narration of the tenth plague in Egypt; the text describes a divine oracle to Moses, his report to the people, the actions of the Israelites, and guidelines about how the rite should be remembered in subsequent years. Source critics, pointing to different terminology and interests in these chapters, divide the text into its component Priestly (P), J, Deuteronomistic, and E sources (see Driver *Exodus* CBSC, 87; *AncIsr,* 185–86; Childs *Exodus* OTL, 184; Haran 1978: 317, 323–27). Source critics uniformly differentiate the strands that narrate the Egyptian experience from those materials that prescribe the future celebration. But, as Childs (*Exodus* OTL, 204) observes, the accounts are so intertwined that the narrator appears to have shaped the story with the later use of this experience in mind (e.g., Exod 12:14, 24), specifically how the original experience would later be simulated as a remembrance and memorial (see also Greenberg 1974: 57–83).

After bringing a one-year-old sheep or goat as a Pass-

over sacrifice, Israelite lay persons were to slaughter it on the fourteenth day of Nisan; meeting in fraternity groups at night they were to eat it broiled whole, with bitter herbs and unleavened bread; and as they ate they were to be dressed for the road with girded loins, sandals on the feet, and staffs in hand as if in haste, for it is a "Passover offering [*pesaḥ*] to the LORD." (Since the last three features are not mentioned in vv 21–27, perhaps they are included as a result of the later ritual simulation of the event.) Scholars aptly recognize that the bitter herbs made up the vegetable associated with a meal and that unleavened bread comprised the standard grain offered with other sacrifices to God (Lev 2:11; 6:10; Exod 23:18). One scholar accounts for the absence of leavening by suggesting that sacrifices which are offered to God in general involve objects in "their least altered state," closest to the manner in which God made them (Greenberg 1974: 66); however, another scholar sees in the absence of leaven a symbolism, only articulated in later sources, based on the notion that leaven is emblematic of corruption and spoiling (Sarna 1986: 86; see *TDOT* 4: 487–93). The Passover lamb, however, is the main object; as in a standard sacrificial meal, the other foods are simply condiments served with the sacrificial meat (Tabory 1981b). By putting some of the animal's blood on the doorposts, the Israelites provided a sign that the Destroyer or angel of death should "skip over," i.e., *pass over* (or "protect"), the Israelite homes and afflict only the Egyptians (vv 13, 23).

By using the comment in Exod 12:14 that this date should be an annually celebrated memorial and by turning then to the dates of the Festival of Unleavened Bread, Scripture bonds the two festivals temporally. In further stating that the injunction to eat unleavened bread and to avoid all leaven lasts seven days (vv 15–20), it begins this period on the 14th day in the evening *(bāʿereb)*, i.e., on the evening of the 15th day, the time for eating the Passover sacrifice. It calls that day a holy convocation (v 16) and explains that it is associated with the Exodus because God took the Israelite hosts out of Egypt, though at this point it does not indicate how the eating of *maṣṣōt* supports that association. Besides enjoying the eating of *maṣṣōt* for seven days, it proscribes leaven in any Israelite home.

Moses' repetition of the divine oracle (vv 21–27) is placed in the context of a response to a child's inquiry regarding the prescribed protocol for the festival. This literary structuring serves to highlight the significance of the festival: "You shall say, 'It is the Passover sacrifice to the LORD, because He passed over the houses of the Israelites in Egypt when He smote the Egyptians, but saved our houses' " (Exod 12:26–27). By assuming that the sacrifice and placing of the blood elicit this question, Scripture presents the act of divine service, not simply the day, to be the memorial. In the narrative, vv 33–34 emphasize that the Egyptians urged the Israelites to leave in haste, causing the people to take their dough before it was leavened; they carried "their kneading bowls wrapped in their cloaks upon their shoulders." The theme of haste reappears in v 39, where it is stated that the Israelites made unleavened cakes because they could not delay in leaving Egypt and were without other provisions (see also Num 33:3). Oddly, this event fulfilled a longstanding promise and had been anticipated by God for generations (vv 40–42). Here the text's multifaceted perspective on the same event clearly emerges. Moreover, this act of finding an inherent significance in the use of unleavened bread, and the attempt to explain why this particular festival appropriately celebrates the Exodus, complements both the incidental use of unleavened bread with the Passover sacrifice and the coincidence that both holidays start simultaneously.

In stating who in the future will be eligible to partake in the paschal sacrifice, Exod 12:43–50 indicates how participation in the rite determines who was considered part of the Israelite community. The text treats those who bring the Passover offering as priests in the cult: they are not to take the meat outside the group or to break the animal's bone (features that complement the earlier prescription to bring and slaughter the offering and not leave any of it over till morning [v 10]). These features, together with the sacrifice's essential role in protecting the Israelites have led Loewenstamm (1972: 80–94) and others (see Bokser 1984: 115 n. 2) to consider the sacrifice as an apotropaic device warding off danger. Scholars who define magic as an act that forces the divine to do something emphasize that the blood is a sign to God, who in turn willingly protects Israel (Sarna 1986: 92–93). Other definitions of apotropaic and "magical" acts do not necessarily make such a distinction (see *EncRel* 9: 81–89). Either way, the sacrifice came to represent God's saving act. Through the annual bringing of a lamb on the fourteenth day of Nisan and eating it in kinship groups, the Israelites celebrated the fact of liberation; they did not simply imitate the Israelites in Egypt who would have anxiously awaited redemption.

Expanding on how to remember and internalize the experience of the Exodus, chapter 13 speaks of the eating of unleavened bread and emphasizes the need to avoid seeing leaven for seven days (v 7). The text also speaks of the dedication or redemption of firstborn humans and animals to mark the slaying of the firstborn Egyptians as part of the tenth plague (vv 1–16, though the account in Exodus 12 treats the Israelites as a whole and not the first born [Childs *Exodus* OTL, 191]). The passage brings out this ideological message in the form of pedagogic instructions to a child. Moreover, to fit its wider redactional context, the section closes with language that recalls the plague narrative, highlighting that God demonstrated the divine strength before the Egyptians and the Egyptian gods.

Except for the pilgrimage aspect of the holiday, Exodus 12–13 provides all the other essential features that became associated with the two festivals during the biblical period. To be sure, Haran (1978: 317–48), for one, believes the portrayal of the family observance in Exodus 12 derives from an anachronistic "optical illusion" caused by the linking of the Passover offering with the Exodus. Even though it had been a pilgrimage festival, *ḥag* (Exod 12:14), and had been celebrated in temple cities, it was dissociated from that cultic context. Hence, although we cannot determine exactly when each of the features emerged, when we confront the many repetitions, inconsistencies, alternative formulations, and divergent redactional uses of the material—which may point to different sources—we can discern that rites have been combined, have attracted diverse interpretations, and been made part of the wider plague and

exodus narrative. By turning now to other biblical accounts, which are considerably shorter, we find confirmation that at one point or another certain features were perceived and presumably observed differently.

2. Other Pentateuchal References. a. Exod 23:10–19 and 34:18–26. Two cultic calendars listing three pilgrimage festivals are found in these passages. They treat the Feast of Unleavened Bread as a seven-day spring pilgrimage when people, bearing gifts, are to celebrate "before the LORD." Since the passages do not directly mention the Feast of the Passover Offering, they usually are seen as evidence of the distinct nature of the two festivals and indicate the original agricultural background of the unleavened bread festival. As Childs (*Exodus* OTL, 484) notes, the historical meaning ascribed to these days as the time when Israel "went out of Egypt" (23:15; 34:18) has been seen as an added gloss, and some other association originally lay behind leaving the bread unleavened. Thus, for example, one scholar suggests that the "bread made from the first produce of the new crop is to be eaten in its original state, untouched by leaven" (Noth *Exodus* OTL, 191). But Haran (1978: 327–41), following a rendering earlier offered by *Targum Onqelos* and others such as Luzzatto (1965: 363), finds mention of the paschal offering in two similarly worded rules later in the pericope (Exod 23:18 and 34:25). The first parts of the texts in Exodus 23 and 34 proscribe offering a sacrifice in conjunction with leavened bread or leaven. Most readings understand this to refer to the grain offering accompanying animal sacrifices in general, but the approach advanced by Haran treats it as a reference to the Passover. The second halves of the passages proscribe delaying the burning of fat parts of the festival offerings; Exod 23:18 does not specify which sacrifice, though Haran takes it to be the Passover offering, while Exodus 34:25, on the other hand, speaks of "the sacrifice, *zebaḥ*, of the (pilgrim) festival of Passover, *ḥag happāsaḥ*." The latter comprises the only biblical instance in which *pesaḥ* is called a *ḥag*. It is usually taken as a later gloss but Haran argues that it represents a conflation of two early variations, "the sacrifice of my festival" and "the sacrifice of the Passover" (cf. Noth *Exodus* OTL, 264–65 and Childs *Exodus* OTL, 482–86, 604–15).

b. Lev 23:4–8, Ezek 45:21–24, and Ezra 6:19–22. These passages testify to the distinct nature of the two festivals. In a list of holidays, they mention the Passover offering on the fourteenth of the month and then, separately, the seven-day Feast of Unleavened Bread. Lev 23:9–14, emphasizing the agricultural origins of the latter festival, deals with bringing the first sheaf of the harvest to the priest. Along with the day's special sacrifice, the sheaf is to be elevated (or waved) before the LORD. This all happens during the holiday and from then on the people are permitted to make use of new produce. The festival's association with the ensuring of continued divine bounty has thus remained, and we can understand how some Israelites could conceive of the divine redemptive acts in Egypt as paradigmatic of ongoing divine assistance.

c. Num 28:16–25. In the course of listing sacrifices for holidays, Num 28:16–25 distinctly juxtaposes the two festivals, one on the 14th and one on the 15th days of the month. The emphasis on the date, as in Exodus 12, enables the text to mention both festivals. Several texts attest one or the other festival. The cultic calendars in Exodus 23 and 34 mention the Festival of Unleavened Bread. Num 9:1–15 treats the unusual need for a "second Passover" for those who cannot observe the first because they were in a state of impurity or on a journey. In what is portrayed as a special oracular ruling, Moses is shown telling such people to bring a paschal offering one month later "in accordance with all its rules and rites" and to eat it with unleavened bread and bitter herbs. Num 9:13 states that failure to participate in the *pesaḥ* causes dire results, perhaps because, as Fishbane (1985: 99, 103) suggests, the text assumes that this omission would somehow disfranchise people from their ethnic status, a notion that expands on Exod 12:43–50.

3. Centralization of the Cult. Deut 16:1–8 constitutes another key section adapting the earlier heritage to the centralization of the cult. While scholars agree that this text matches Exodus 12–13 in combining the two festivals, they differ in assessing how to employ this section in reconstructing the holiday due to, among other things, differences in their dating of D and disagreement over whether or not D may be drawing on earlier sources (a possibility which Ginsberg [1982] develops).

By locating the Passover rite in the sanctuary that "God will choose," Deut 16:1–8 changes the celebration from an exclusively domestic rite to part of a national gathering—though families might celebrate individually in that central location. Note that Deut 16:3–4 interpolates into an account of the Passover offering the ban on leavened bread and the requirement to eat unleavened bread. A rationale tying this to the Exodus experience is provided: the *maṣṣōt* are bread of distress. In being emblematic of the haste to leave Egypt the bread serves as a reminder of the day of the Exodus. The subtle connection may also account for the specification that the offering be slaughtered "in the evening, at sundown, the time of the day when you departed from Egypt" (v 6), which echoes the statement in v 1 that the Exodus took place at night. Hence, to an even greater degree than in Exodus 12, the Passover has become the meal ushering in the Festival of Unleavened Bread.

Scholars have pointed to several changes in details of the rite, which may have considerably influenced the nature of the festival's experience. In allowing Israelites to return to their home on the morrow of the offering, the holiday differs from the other two pilgrimage festivals (the Festival of Weeks and the Festival of Tabernacles) which, occurring at the end of harvest times, emphasize joy. The festival's blessing, therefore, depends not on its agricultural dimension but on its historical connection to the Exodus (Greenberg 1984: 161–63). Accordingly, if there had been a pilgrimage dimension *(ḥag)* to the Festival of Unleavened Bread, in particular on the 7th day as suggested by Exod 13:6, it now was to be observed on the 1st day (Ginsberg 1982: 57), something suggested by other sources (Exod 12:14; Lev 23:6; Num 28:17). One will agree that the festival has undergone a shift if one believes, with Haran (1978: 296–316), for example, that the holiday previously had a pilgrimage dimension.

Deuteronomy is even clearer in making the holiday and the sacrifice, now called a *zebaḥ*, similar to communal sacrifices that were to be offered up at the central sanctu-

ary. In the first place, by not playing up the apotropaic aspects of rituals, the text deletes the smearing of blood on the doorposts and the ban on breaking the bone, thereby placing emphasis on the commemorative nature of the rite. Secondly, the text recasts Exodus's regulations of the types of animals and manner of offering (boiling instead of roasting; sheep or cattle instead of lambs and goats, i.e., no cattle), and does not specify that it be one-year-old males (von Rad *Deuteronomy* OTL, 110–13; Weinfeld 1972: 216–17; Ginsberg 1982: 42–48, 55–58, 61, 78; Fishbane 1985: 135–38).

The pentateuchal references, therefore, support the notion that originally two distinct holidays existed. Our analysis reveals how the festivals could be simply juxtaposed, linked, or combined either as a domestic rite or as part of a pilgrimage festival. Since diverse social contexts would color the experiences of the participants, Deuteronomy would, in particular, highlight the national character of the holiday, a holiday when individuals on pilgrimage would have their identity as part of a national group reinforced (Bokser 1984: 81–83). Likewise, participating at a central shrine rather than a local altar would heighten the experience of the sacred, increasing the sense that participation in the *pesaḥ* meal brings people closer to the divine (*KRI*, 176).

4. From Joshua to Chronicles. Depending on their reconstruction of the festival, scholars have employed the remaining biblical passages as evidence in the history of the rites and as examples of how the pentateuchal traditions were interpreted, blended, or harmonized. Josh 5:10–15 describe the first Passover on the W side of the Jordan River, on the 14th day of the month at night, after which the Israelites ate unleavened bread and parched grain and experienced the cessation of the manna. This attests to the *pesaḥ*'s association with bounteousness of the land. Fishbane (1985: 145–51) has suggested that this section reflects Lev 23:10–14.

2 Kgs 23:21–24 depict Josiah's reform of the cult, a reinstatement of the Passover offering in Jerusalem, which had not been performed, or rather not performed properly, for generations. Ezek 45:21, juxtaposing the two festivals, prophesies how the Temple will be purified, the Passover sacrifice offered on the 14th day of the month, and the seven-day Festival of Unleavened Bread observed. A similar distinct juxtaposition of the festivals is evident in Ezra 6:19–22, which highlights the inherently national celebratory character of the holiday. The Festival of the Passover Offering occurs on the 14th day of the first month, followed by the seven-day Festival of Unleavened Bread as part of a national celebration at the dedication of the reconstructed Temple. Thus the evidence indicates that even after the festivals had been linked, they remained distinct.

Especially notable are the accounts of 2 Chr 30:1–27 (Hezekiah's one-month delayed Passover) and 35:1–19 (Josiah's Passover) which portray a celebration centralized in Jerusalem. They further blend and preserve diverse earlier pentateuchal traditions, though chapter 30 presents the several innovations as actions necessitated by "lay impurity" while chapter 35 normalizes the changes (Fishbane 1985: 135–38, 154–59). The texts emphasize great rejoicing and the role of Levites and other experts in singing praises to God, and specify that the eating of the Passover sacrifice took place in kinship groups. Chap. 30 alternates in referring to the Festival of the Passover Sacrifice (vv 1–12, 15–20) and to the Festival of Unleavened Bread (vv 13, 21–27), perhaps to indicate that each holiday retained its distinct nature. On the other hand, chap. 35 focuses chiefly on the great Festival of the Passover Offering; only half a verse mentions that the people also observed the seven-day Festival of Unleavened Bread (v 17). The importance of these chapters lies primarily in the festival's later biblical history. Passover, as it took on the dimension of a national holiday celebrated in Jerusalem, became associated with joyous festivity and praises to God. Despite the depiction of the Levites performing the sacrifice in chap. 35, they distributed the dead animals to local clan heads who apportioned them to the family groupings. Moreover, whatever such accounts may reflect historically, be it only the practices of the community or the thinking of the postexilic writer, they do attest a national pilgrimage festival of *pesaḥ* and *maṣṣōt* (cf. Haran 1978: 289–90). Hence, although cultic functionaries took a greater role, lay involvement remained and continued to reinforce the significance of the offering for every Israelite as a reminder of the Exodus experience.

5. Elephantine Texts. The only extra-biblical evidence earlier than the 2d century B.C.E. comes from the Jewish military colony in Elephantine Egypt, whose temple was destroyed in 411 B.C.E. One papyrus letter dated to the year 419 B.C.E. (Cowley, no. 21) apparently refers to our two festivals, one following the other, the first on the 14th day of the month and the second from the 15th to the 21st days of the month, though the key terms (the names of the festivals) have to be reconstructed from a lacuna. It likewise speaks of "being pure and taking heed" and of avoiding drink (beer?) and leaven for seven days and of sealing up leaven in one's chambers. Further, two inscribed Aramaic potsherds (Ostraca Berlin P 10679; Sayne 1911) briefly mention Passover *(pasḥa)*, though it is unclear if the meaning is to "perform" something on Passover or (as is more likely) to "offer" the Passover sacrifice (see Sukenik and Kutsher 1942: 55–56). A third potsherd (Sachau, pl. 63.1, vol. 1, pp. 233–34), which may refer to Passover, mentions when a person must stop eating bread before the holiday. In thus mentioning Passover and in reminding the soldiers of its regulations, these sources attest the existence of the two festivals and their association with one another. Depending on the meaning of their verbs, they might suggest that a sacrifice was to be offered in this Egyptian Jewish temple and thus that Josiah's restrictions did not have effect or force in that locale (Porten 1968: 128–33, 279–82, 311–14). On the other hand, the reference to purity may suggest that the adoption of priestly temple behavior would heighten the participants' experience of the sacred. Overall, the efforts on the part of the postexilic communities to follow the biblical injunctions indicate that some actual practice underlay the biblical material.

D. Theories of Origins

The foregoing analysis explains why scholars believe that Passover and the Festival of Unleavened Bread were originally separate and initially may not have celebrated

the Exodus from Egypt. Segal (1963: 78–188), Childs (*Exodus* OTL, 184–95), and Sarna (1986: 85–89) provide lucid summaries of the diverse explanations of the holidays' possible original significance and their historicization. Let us briefly contrast some of these theories to highlight the range of interpretations.

According to Wellhausen (*WPHI,* 87–108, 351–52), at the time of the Deuteronomic centralization of the cult (here represented by Deuteronomy 16), the holiday of *maṣṣōt* (previously an agricultural festival as presented in Exodus 23) was combined with Passover (previously the offering of the firstlings of the cattle), and in the process historicized as part of the commemoration. This process would have been completed by the postexilic priestly writers (represented in Leviticus 23 and in parts of Exodus 12–13), who also returned the holiday of *maṣṣōt* to its family context.

Variations on this idea will be found among those who differ on the dating of the pentateuchal sources. Some believe the association with the Exodus occurred earlier, and some maintain that elements of both holidays had been combined in ancient times and tied to a place of pilgrimage. Among those developing this approach in different ways, we find Kraus (1958), who points to the depiction of the Passover at Gilgal in Josh 5:10–12 as proof of a celebration at a central cult place, Segal (1963: esp. 187), who sees in the rite a New Year Festival in which "the Israelites went out in military array from the city to the desert," and Haran (1978) who believes the *pesaḥ* had always been connected to a temple site. (Cf., however, *CMHE,* 103–5, 123.) Hence they believe that D restores *pesaḥ* to its original character, which had been disrupted by the development of the family setting. Likewise, Josiah would not be innovating but rather reviving the joint centralized celebration.

For some scholars extra-biblical rites, in particular those of ANE holidays, are the clue to the Passover's prehistory. Rost (1943, see Childs *Exodus* OTL, 189) suggests that Passover was originally connected to a semi-nomadic festival taking place during migration and designed to protect the nomads and their flock throughout the annual spring migration from the desert to arable land. Many have adopted this approach because it nicely fits the situation of Passover, even providing an analogue to the apotropaic use of blood to protect the Israelites from the destroyer (see e.g., *AncIsr,* 488–90). Obviously, however, as Haran (1978: 320–21) remarks, any details about the nomadic background can only be speculative.

The complexity of the historical problems is highlighted by scholars such as J. Pedersen who investigate the impact of the cult on the history of the traditions. He sees Exodus 1–15 "as a cultic legend which had historicized in a story the various elements which constituted the original ceremony. Thus the victory over Pharaoh reflected the victory of order over the primordial dragon of chaos, which was followed by the mythical battle with the sea" (see Childs *Exodus* OTL, 190; Pedersen 1934; Ringgren 1966: 34–35; 186–88).

Whereas scholars are somewhat divided over the prehistory of the Passover holiday, there is greater agreement regarding the origin of the *maṣṣōt* holiday in an agricultural festival initiating the barley harvest. This festival is discernible in Exod 23:14–15, 34:18, 23, Lev 23:10–15, and Deut 16:9 (cf. Segal 1963: 108–13); and, like the *pesaḥ* festival, the holiday of *maṣṣōt* became historicized. At one point it may have been connected with a pilgrimage, as indicated by Exod 13:4, 23:15 (where it is called a *ḥag*), and 34:18 (Segal 1963: 63–64; Ginsberg 1982: 57). Some see this also in the comment in 1 Kgs 9:25 that Solomon brought certain sacrifices three times a year—sacrifices that 2 Chr 8:12–13 defines as the three festivals. Whatever the original state of the holidays, the Passover offering and the eating of unleavened bread became festivals within ancient biblical Israel because they were historicized and served to simulate, commemorate, or remember the Exodus.

E. Postbiblical References

Due to our inability to map out the social background of the Second Temple sources, assessing the significance of this literature's references to religious institutions in general and to our two festivals in particular is difficult. With regard to the holidays under consideration here, the fact that diverse works repeat certain themes suggests that those features of the celebration had become part of a common Jewish heritage or experience. Likewise, rationales for particular details suggest that different circles of Jews reflected on the meaning of the rites and sought to enrich the celebration.

1. 2d Century B.C.E. Writers. Several works of the 2d-century B.C.E. mention the Festival of Unleavened Bread in the course of a more extensive treatment of the Passover sacrifice, thus appearing to take the former almost for granted.

Jubilees chap. 49 omits the bitter herbs and refers to unleavened bread only as part of the Festival of Unleavened Bread; the main theme is the rite of the Passover offering at the central sanctuary, and the text emphasizes the slaughter of the sacrifice and the people's joy as they eat, drink wine (here required for the first time), and praise God. *Jubilees* 49 focuses on the exact times for the slaughtering and for the eating of the offering, emphasizing how the eating of the sacrifice took place in Egypt at the time of the plague of the Egyptian firstborn. Expanding on remarks in Exodus 12 regarding the protective aspect of the offering, *Jubilees* states that those who observe the Passover will be free from plague in the coming year. It thus applies the message of Passover to the people's future in terms other than those of national independence (see Loewenstamm 1972: 88). In this connection, the text provides a rationale for the ban on breaking the animal's bone, "because no bone of the children of Israel will be broken" (49:13). The Passover was to function until the end of the fiftieth Jubilee, the Jubilee of Jubilees, when complete redemption was expected. As we shall see, certain details have parallels in the Temple Scroll (see Segal 1963: 231–37; Wacholder 1985; and especially Bokser 1984: 19–20).

The Festival of Unleavened Bread does receive separate attention in the book of *Jubilees* in a section that highlights the distinctive nature of the festival. As part of the effort to show that the festivals were tied to earliest Israelite history, memorializing events in the lives of the patriarchs, *Jub.* 17:15, 18:3, and 19 portray the binding of Isaac as the basis for the Festival of Unleavened Bread. *Jubilees* states

that Abraham initiated a seven-day festival starting on the 15th day of the seventh month, i.e., Nisan, commemorating the seven days in which he "went and returned in peace," and which is to be observed "with festival joy" (18:18–19) (see Schürer *HJP*^{2} 3/1: 310).

The epic Greek writer and non-Palestinian Jewish poet Ezekiel (*OTP* 2:814–16, lines 152–92), vividly describes the preparations of the night before the Exodus. In his reiteration and expansion of Exodus 12–13, Ezekiel mentions the time in the evening to slaughter and eat the offering, and he notes the accompanying preparations: girded loins, sandaled feet, staff in hand, and blood on the doorposts. These procedures are to provide a release from evils and death. Ezekiel, as Jacobson (1983) suggests, includes two sets of instructions for the future: eating the unleavened bread for seven days in memory of the seven-day journey from Egypt to the Sea of Reeds where the Israelites attained final liberation; and the offering of firstborn animals to recall God's deliverance of the Israelite firstborn in Egypt. Hence, like *Jubilees*, Ezekiel exhibits an interest in demonstrating the connection between the rite and what happened during the Exodus (see also Bokser 1984: 20; Schürer *HJP*^{2} 3/1: 563–65).

The focus on the Passover offering (without mention of the Festival of Unleavened Bread) is further attested in the fragments of the Jewish Greek philosophical work by Aristobulus. *Fragment* 1 treats the astronomical characteristics of the date for the Passover offering. Drawing on the fact that the sun and moon are then passing through an equinoctial sign and hence in opposed positions, he implies that the festival has cosmic significance (see *OTP*, 831, 834, 837).

2. Temple-Centered Non-Jerusalemite Communities. In addition to the 5th-century B.C.E. evidence from Elephantine, which attests the efforts to observe the ban on unleavened bread and which possibly alludes to the Passover offering, the Samaritan and Qumran communities supply information concerning the two festivals.

The Samaritans, who have offered the Passover sacrifice since Second Temple times, attest the ongoing importance of the Passover sacrifice. Although the history of their religious practices is difficult to trace, the existing practices follow the procedures detailed in Exodus 12, but with adaptation to Deuteronomic centralization, which the community believes refers to Mount Gerizim. They slaughter the animal in the evening, and while the meat roasts, the people gird their loins, put on heavy shoes, and take up staffs. At midnight family groups eat the meat while making sure not to break any bones, and then burn the leftover meat and bones before morning. Notably, during the slaughter of the animal and afterward, the Samaritans engage in prayer and praise of God. They also observe a seven-day period of eating unleavened bread. With great pageantry the sacrificial nature of the Passover night ritual for a Second Temple group is demonstrated (see Bokser 1984: 21).

In the scrolls found at Qumran—the third community that is known to have provided alternatives to the Jerusalem Temple—there are fragments of biblical texts and references to biblical verses relating to the festivals (see Fitzmyer 1975: 152–70); however, no apocryphal and sectarian texts treating the festivals of Passover or Unleavened Bread are preserved at Qumran. In one set of prayers for festivals (4Q509), the modern editor of the fragments (Baillet 1982:105–6) suggests that the festival of Passover would have been mentioned in what is now a lacuna, and a calendric fragment from Cave 4 *(Book of Priestly Courses)* does list Passover among the annual festival (see Talmon 1958: 168–76; Schürer *HJP*^{2} 3/1: 460–61, 466–67).

Collections of animal bones, buried without any flesh attached and either charred or uncharred, have been uncovered at Qumran, and conceivably might be remnants of a paschal sacrifice (see the discussion in de Vaux 1973: 14–16 and nn. 2–3). But since no altar has been discovered and since the Qumran literature indicates that at that time the group believed no sacrifices could be offered, the sacrificial identification has not received wide acceptance. At most, scholars agree that the bones are the remains of meals. If the Passover interpretation were correct, we would have evidence that the community considered the Passover sacrifice so special that it brought this offering although it did not offer other sacrifices (see Schiffman 1979: 46–49; Bokser 1984: 21).

On the other hand, the *Temple Scroll* (found at Qumran but possibly written by someone outside the community) directly mentions the Passover sacrifice (17:6–9) and the Feast of Unleavened Bread (17:10–16). The former reference draws especially on Lev 23:4, Num 9:2–5, and Deut 16:1–7. Some of the specific details of the rules—the appointed time for preparing and offering the sacrifice, its application to all Israelites older than 20 years (the age of mustering, full maturity, and, for Qumran, for full membership in the sect; see Schiffman 1983: 55–60, 63–65), and its consumption at night in the courtyards of the sanctuary—accord with *Jubilees* 49 and may reflect exegesis of ambiguous biblical terms or programmatic conceptions of the cult (see Schiffman 1985b: 224–26). Thus the mention of the courtyards probably follows an idealized picture of the Temple that included the whole city, as Schiffman (1985a: 315–18) suggests. Separating this rite from the adjoining Festival of Unleavened Bread, 11QTemple 17:9 paraphrases the rule of Deut 16:7 to arise early in the morning and to return to one's tent. The second pericope, 11QTemple 17:10–16, drawing also on Lev 23:7 and Num 28:26–31, speaks of a seven-day Festival of Unleavened Bread starting on the 15th day of the month. It specifies the sacrifices for each day and the ban on work on the first and last holy days. But the text does not mention the festivals' ideological historical basis in the Exodus redemption experience, which is not surprising once we consider that the scroll is oriented toward the future redemption, the messianic age, providing guidelines for how, in the interim, one may serve God in a state of perfection (see Yadin 1977, 1: 79–81; 1984, 1: 96–99; Bokser 1984: 21–22, 116; and Maier 1985: 78–79).

3. Wisdom of Solomon, Philo, Josephus, Pseudo-Philo. The Wisdom of Solomon (written ca. 37–41 C.E.), as part of its attempt to demonstrate that godliness will be blessed and ungodliness, especially idolatry, will be cursed, portrays how divine wisdom and justice were at work during the Exodus. Chap. 18, in particular, points out the strikingly antithetical details associated with the death of the Egyptian firstborn and the protection and glorification of the Israelites in Egypt. God provided punishment to

one and reward to the other. Again, the account of the Exodus is taken up not for its own sake but as a medium for the author's own interests, here, the reward of godliness (see Winston *Wisdom of Solomon* AB, 313–29; Bokser 1984: 22; and Schürer *HJP*^{2} 3/1: 568–73). Of particular note, Wis 18:9 mentions the offering of the sacrifice and, apparently on the basis of the later custom, the praising of God.

Philo and Josephus contain numerous references to the two festivals. They closely follow the biblical record except where they speak of the celebratory nature of Passover as a national thanksgiving for the deliverance from Egypt. They describe the multitude of participants who came on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, the great number of sacrifices eaten in fraternity groups, and the singing of the Levites accompanied by musical instruments (see Bokser 1984: 24–25).

Philo, in particular, seeks to convey his own views as he describes the festivals. Writing as if the Passover sacrifice had been offered from the start in appreciation for the "great migration from Egypt," Philo associates the celebration with the act of bringing the sacrifice: "So exceedingly joyful were they that in their vast enthusiasm and impatient eagerness, they sacrificed without waiting for their priest. This practice, which on that occasion was the result of a spontaneous and instinctive emotion, was sanctioned by the law once in every year to remind them of their duty of thanksgiving." He further describes the sacrificial meal as a spiritual "banquet" *(symposia)* taking place in houses with the "semblance and dignity of a temple." Following the trend we have already seen, he mentions that the Israelites are to offer prayers and hymns, though in accord undoubtedly with his emphasis on the spiritual dimension of the meals and religious life, he does not mention wine (*Spec Leg* II.27). After treating this "crossing-feast," he turns to the Feast of Unleavened Bread and offers extensive interpretations of its meaning, quite distinct from that of the Passover offering (*Spec Leg* II.28). In these and other accounts of the two festivals he finds in these rites and their details the higher purpose of perfecting the soul and of being in accord with the cosmic and natural order (see also *Quest Ex* I:1–23; *Leg All* III.52; *Sacr* 16–17; and *On Mating with the Preliminary Studies* 28).

His explanatory comment on the second Passover Numbers 9 reflects the assumption that even for Philo, the great spiritualizer of the Bible, no celebration would take place without the sacrifice (*Vita Mos* II.41–43; see Bokser 1984: 22–24, 116). The bringing and preparation of the offering led up to the experience of the sacrifice, which culminated in the sacrificial meal. Since this festival was synchronized with the Exodus events and the divine salvific act, and being designed to simulate the experience of the Israelites during their last night in Egypt, it comprised the main and presumably most widely known memorial or celebration for the Exodus. Philo, moreover, aptly depicts the pilgrims' probable experience during such a festival in the capital city, including the respite and release from normal life; the openness to an emotional high, to joy, and to a sense of holiness in honoring God; and even the friendships and positive feelings that would have been engendered and would have reinforced the pilgrims' sense of celebrating a national holiday together (*Spec Leg* I.12; see Bokser 1984: 80–83).

Josephus frequently mentions Passover but adds little that is not found in the other sources. He links the festivals of Passover and Unleavened Bread and sees them as a thanksgiving for the deliverance from Egypt. In *Antiquities*, he paraphrases the accounts in Exodus and Leviticus as well as the celebrations of the returnees from Ezra 6 and of Hezekiah and Josiah. He speaks of eating the sacrifice in fraternities, the multitude of participants who came on pilgrimages to Jerusalem, and the great number of sacrifices. He further mentions the singing by the Levites and their use of musical instruments (cf. 2 Chronicles 30 and 35). In *Jewish War* and the parallel sections in *Antiquities*, Josephus depicts the several 1st century C.E. instances of the celebration and the huge number of pilgrims, many of whom came from abroad. He emphasizes, like Wisdom and Philo, the joy the participants experienced, and discovers the structural basis of the holiday in the Passover offering (see *JW* 6.9.3; cf. Feldman's index in LCL 9 of Josephus's writings, s.v. "Passover," for a full list of passages; cf. also Bokser 1984: 24–25, 105–6, 117).

Josephus and Philo vividly indicate that the pilgrimage shaped the experience of the celebration, thus filling in what scholars such as Haran (1978: 289–316) reconstruct from allusions in the Bible. The significance of these observations is enhanced by considering the anthropological work of Turner (1969; 1974: 166–230), which Bokser (1984: 80–84) employed in his treatment of the rite of the Passover offering.

The *Biblical Antiquities* attributed to Philo ("Pseudo-Philo") further indicate how the two holidays were identified and perceived as the pilgrimage festival par excellence. Chap. 13:4 adapts Lev 23:4–8, but in focusing on the presentation of loaves to God, skips Passover and mentions only the Festival of Unleavened Bread. Chaps. 48:3 and 50:2 define yearly pilgrimages mentioned in Judg 21:19 and 1 Sam 1:3 as the Passover (see Feldman 1971: cxxx).

4. Summary. Postbiblical evidence underscores the relation between the two festivals and supports a critical reading of Scripture. The Passover, even though juxtaposed and combined with the Festival of Unleavened Bread in Scripture, retained its distinctive dimension and apparently overshadowed the latter holiday as a community celebration. As Bokser (1984) has argued, while we cannot deny that some Israelites or Jews who could not offer the paschal lamb may have assumed that they could still participate in the festival and that conceivably some of those who did not travel to Jerusalem might have wanted to gather without the sacrifice, we have no evidence apart from an ambiguous and indecisive papyrus from the 5th-century Elephantine community that such a gathering took place prior to the Second Temple's destruction. If it had, it would not have been perceived as the primary means of marking the evening and *by definition would not have been part of the Festival of the Passover Offering.* These Jews could, of course, still observe the seven-day Festival of Unleavened Bread by avoiding leaven; on their own they might gather to usher in the holiday with a special meal, instruct a child on the meaning of the event, offer praises to God, and drink wine. But all those who had once gone

on pilgrimage would have realized that they were missing the national celebration. Building on the insights offered by Turner (1974) we can understand how the heightened experience of departing from home and normal social structures and going on pilgrimage amidst throngs of pilgrims would cause people to abandon their usual approach to the world and open themselves to new experiences, in this case a communal experience of the sacred.

F. NT and Early Christian Developments

The NT refers to the two festivals, in particular the Passover rite, in narrating the LAST SUPPER (Mark 14:1–51; Matt 26:1–46; Luke 22:1–53; John 11:55, 12:1, 13:1–38) and in interpreting Jesus as a paschal lamb (the references and voluminous literature are discussed by Windisch *TDNT* 2: 902–6; Jeremias *TDNT* 5: 896–904; Bokser 1984: 25–28). Moreover, the NT treats Passover as part of the Festival of Unleavened Bread (Mark 14:2, 12) or even uses the latter term to refer to the former festival (Luke 22:1, 7; Matt 26:17; cf. Acts 12:3–4; John 13:1, 4; 18:28). Mirroring the descriptions in Josephus and other Second Temple sources, the passion narratives along with other passages such as Luke 2:41 mention that Jews would go up to Jerusalem to participate in the Passover Feast among throngs of pilgrims and would eat from the Passover sacrifice in kinship groups. While those descriptions accord with other accounts of ancient Jewish meals as to the dipping of vegetables, the drinking of wine, and the recitation of opening blessings, the texts also reflect the importance of the Passover sacrificial meal and its redemptive associations. Critical NT readers, however, note that the gospels differ in the basic chronology. While the Synoptic Gospels (Mark 14:6, 12–17; Matt 26:17, 19–20; Luke 22:7–9, 13–14) indicate that the last meal Jesus ate with his disciples the night before his crucifixion was a sacrificial meal which the disciples had prepared, John (13:1; 18:28; 19:14, 42) states that it occurred "before the feast of Passover." Despite numerous studies by Jeremias (1966), Lietzmann (1979), and others advocating one or the other date or harmonizing the sources, we are unable to go beyond the literary sources to determine which account is historically "accurate" (Williams 1975). Rather, as argued by Bokser (1984: 25–26; and especially 1987b), we see how Jesus' followers and the early Church understood the Last Supper and interpreted the event to fit the message of Jesus.

As portrayed in the gospels, the meal is not structured to celebrate the Exodus but is reinterpreted in a way that relates to the future of the Jesus movement, that is, Christianity. The bread becomes the salvational body of Christ and the wine his blood—the sign of future redemption; though, as Saldarini (1984: 58) observes, these two symbolizations, which might derive from the liturgical formulae used by the early Christians in their worship after Jesus' death, could be understood in light of sacrifices in general and not necessarily the Passover offering. The body of a sacrifice served to ensure the sense of relationship with the divinity and its blood, the power of atonement. Recognizing that early Christians did not focus narrowly on the Exodus enables us to appreciate how they made the Last Supper an anticipation of a future salvific experience. The Synoptics concentrate on Jesus in the kingdom of God, on the future judgment, and on the meaning of the passion, that is, on Jesus' death as a permanent sacrifice. Hence Jesus' message is to await the coming event, just as the Israelites, according to Exodus 12 (and as rabbis were to suggest in the Mishnah), were to await their redemption, and, in effect, in the course of the meal to experience part of that redemption. They thus adapted the sacrificial meal to the new message that redemption is at hand.

John, on the other hand, uses the Passover analogy in a way that requires him to place the Last Supper before the Passover meal and Jesus' condemnation on "the day of Preparation of the Passover" (John 19:14). John, in thus portraying Jesus crucified at the time the paschal lambs were being sacrificed at the Temple, depicts Jesus as a Passover offering. This synchronization explains how Jesus died for humanity and, it is claimed, gives his death a more enduring redemptive quality than the regular Passover sacrifice.

John, like the letter to the Hebrews and the letters of Paul, thus saw the crucified Jesus as a sacrifice atoning for the sins of the believers, though he identified it as a paschal offering. Such an interpretation, which occurs as early as 1 Cor 5:7–8, could subtly contrast the literal Passover offering with the ultimate one, namely Jesus. Later writers such as Melito of Sardis (Hall 1979) deftly develop this theme in Passover homilies, in which Jesus becomes the paschal lamb who ensures redemption and salvation. 1 Corinthians 5 also makes use of the figurative antithesis between leaven and unleavened dough: Christ helps cleanse out the old leaven of malice and evil.

G. Early Rabbinic Developments

First and 2d-century rabbinic authorities, as represented in the Mishnah, restructure the Festivals of the Passover Offering and of Unleavened Bread as part of their response to the destruction of the Temple, highlighting the fact that such festivals had been closely tied to the sacrificial cult (see Tabory 1977; 1981a; 1981b; Bokser 1984; 1987a; 1987b).

While some Jews may have been so caught up in their grief over the loss that they could not react, and certain others might have tried to continue the sacrificial meal without the sacrifice by preparing a lamb in imitation of the offering (Bokser 1984: 101–6; 1987a), the approach that was to become dominant in the nascent rabbinic movement permitted Jewish life to continue without the sacrifice at all. These rabbis drew on and elevated the importance of those biblical rites which did not require sacrifices and tried to make other religious rituals independent of the Temple cult. *Mishnah Pesaḥim*, edited ca. 200 C.E., represents the earliest literary remains of such efforts. The text not only focuses on the preparation and details of the Passover sacrifice but defines leaven and unleavened bread, the rules for searching for leaven, and the protocol for a meal ushering in the festival. The account of this meal (chap. 10) implicitly introduces fundamental changes into the rite by reworking the domestic sacrificial version of the Passover observance, as described in Exodus 12, into a non-sacrificial seder. It equates eating unleavened bread and bitter herbs with the sacrifice, teaching that all three comprise the festival's essentials. Because the latter two remain viable irrespective of the existence of

the Temple cult, the biblical rite can become independent of the sacrifice. Moreover, by suggesting that Jews outside the Temple before 70 C.E. had a meal without the Passover offering, it creates a pre-70 precedent for the new rite without the sacrifice (*m. Pesaḥ.* 10:3, following the Kaufmann and other mss and attested in *t. Pesaḥ.* 10:9). The Mishnah therefore writes as if the new rituals were the standard pre-70 practice, anachronistically reading back into temple days rituals that had not yet been adopted. Such reworking of history was undoubtedly intended to convince Jews that they should believe that what they were doing pursuant to Mishnaic rules was religiously viable.

Like the early Christians, these rabbis adapted the message of the Exodus to the needs of the community. One text, *m. Pesaḥ* 10:4, requires Jews to narrate the history of the Israelites culminating in their freedom from Egyptian slavery and to expound a classical biblical text of that history (Deut 26:5) that conveys the notion that Israel continues to enjoy the divine bounty. This activity will enable the participants to derive new meaning from the scriptural account of redemption from slavery. The rabbis thus made special efforts to lead people to focus on the ongoing promise of redemption. This effort is also reflected in the symbolic explanation for the three key elements (*m. Pesaḥ* 10:5), which helps overcome the sense of the physical loss of the sacrifice, and forms part of the process that replaced the Passover offering with the unleavened bread as the central element and symbol of the Passover (formerly sacrificial) meal. According to this text, the sacrifice is made because the LORD passed over the houses of the Egyptians, the bitter herbs are eaten because the Egyptians embittered their lives *and the unleavened bread is eaten because the LORD redeemed his people.* This symbolic meaning of the unleavened bread—redemption—leads to the religious consequences of recognizing redemption: giving thanks and praises to God for the miracles which—people are to believe—affected them ("who did for us all these miracles"). Such Psalms, in Second Temple sources (such as 2 Chr 30:21–26; 35:15–18) sung by experts or others over the sacrifice, are recited by individual Jews (see Bokser 1984: 43–45).

In attempting to create the impression that the extra-sacrificial rite continues a pre-70 protocol, the Mishnah only once refers to the current situation without the cult; and it consists of a passing allusion in a liturgical text attributed to R. Akiba and speaks of the future in terms of the continued presence of God who redeems. The post-mishnaic authorities (3d to 5th centuries C.E.) considerably expand this issue as part of their overall development of the seder (Bokser 1984: 95–100; 1985; 1988).

Passover has thus undergone a transformation. No longer a pilgrimage holiday celebrating national independence, the festival has taken on a new dimension, reaching back to the pre-Temple perspective projected by Exodus 12, emphasizing the meal as a family gathering independent of any national cult. It further deals with the hope for future redemption by channeling it into the experience of the seder. Making the sacrificial meal into a seder, these rabbis, like the gospel writers, restructure the holiday so as to demonstrate that Judaism could continue after the destruction of the Temple, that the God of Israel still related to Israel, and that Israel could still experience God and find favor in God's eyes. The biblical story of the Exodus, simulated and remembered in the rite of the Passover Offering and in the Festival of Unleavened Bread thus found new life in the Christian and Jewish traditions of late antiquity.

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BARUCH M. BOKSER

UNNI (PERSON) [Heb *ʿunnî*]. The name of one or two different persons mentioned in the OT.

1. One of the Levites of second rank appointed to provide music during David's second effort to move the ark to Jerusalem (1 Chr 15:18, 20). For further discussion, see ELIPHELEHU.

2. The Q for the K *ʿunnô* at Neh 12:9; the name of a Levite who returned to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel. See UNNO.

RAYMOND B. DILLARD

UNNO (PERSON) [Heb K *ʿunnô;* Q *ʿunnî*]. A levitical music director listed among those who returned from exile under the leadership of Zerubbabel and Jeshua (Neh 12:9). This is the only occurrence of Unno, who is absent from other references to his colleague Bakbukiah (cf. 11:17; 12:25). If the correct spelling is Unni (supported by the Qere and some Vg mss), this would be a different individual than the levitical musician mentioned in 1 Chr 15:18, 20, though possibly of some relationship to him.

JOHN KUTSKO

UPHAZ (PLACE) [Heb *ʾûphāz*]. A place in the Hebrew Bible noted for its gold (Jer 10:9; Dan 10:5). In a pronouncement against idolatry, Jeremiah describes the making of idols by skilled craftsmen using "hammered silver brought from Tarshish and gold from Uphaz" (10:9 NIV; cf. KJV, RSV, NASB). The context and syntax would indicate Uphaz is a geographical location and a source for gold. The same context occurs in the Daniel passage which describes a vision of a man robed in linen engirdled "with gold of Uphaz" (10:5 RSV, KJV, NASB). In both passages, the English translations are following the MT.

Because the location of Uphaz is unknown, ancient witnesses attempted to resolve this difficulty by an identification with a known place. The Aramaic Targum and the Syriac followed by the NEB and NJB read Ophir for Uphaz in Jeremiah. In Daniel, several Hebrew manuscripts followed by the NEB have the same reading. The reading is not without merit since Ophir is a known source of gold in S Arabia. Furthermore, the letter forms for "z" and "r" are similar enough in the Hebrew script that a scribal misreading can be responsibly suggested.

Both modern and ancient interpreters of these two passages have attempted to resolve the geographical difficulty by emendation: *mûpaz* in Jeremiah and *paz* in Daniel meaning "refined, pure." Both emendations come from the same Heb root *pzz* "purify, refine" (Gregor 1988: 19; Thompson *Jeremiah* NICOT, 324). This type of alteration, involving the loss or addition of the letter *ʾalep* which is often quiescent in Hebrew, could have arisen during oral transmission of the text. The proposed Hebrew root does describe gold in the OT: 1 Kgs 10:10 (the Peshitta adds "from Ophir") and Cant 5:11. In Daniel, the emendation, "pure gold," occurs in both ancient and modern renderings of the text (*b. Yoma* 45a; Vg; NJB; NIV). However two modern translations combine both the emendation and the proper name: "pure gold of Uphaz" NASB; KJV (Goldingay *Daniel* WBC, 273, 275). In a Yemenite votive inscription from the mid-1st millennium B.C., the word *ʾpz* is in a context where it can only signify a quality of the metal gold (Gregor 1988: 19–22).

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DAVID W. BAKER

UPPER GATE (PLACE) [Heb *šaʿar haʿelyôn; šaʿar bêt yhwh haʿelyôn*]. A gate of the Temple's inner or upper court that is spoken of as either being N of the Temple (Ezek 9:2; Avi-Yonah, 1954: 241) or as being S of the Temple (2 Kgs 15:35; 2 Chr 23:20 and 27:3). The Upper Gate is first mentioned as an important landmark in the account of Joash's coronation procession (836–798 B.C.E.) as he was marched "down from the house of the Lord, marching through the Upper Gate to the King's house" (2 Chr 23:20), thereby locating it S of the Temple. It may be suggested that the Upper Gate and the Gate of the Guards are the same since one-third of the troops stationed at the gate behind the guards (2 Kgs 11:6) were for securing the palace.

The Upper Gate is next mentioned as being built (or rebuilt) by Jotham (758–743 B.C.E.) and was referred to as the New Gate (at least until the reign of Jehoiakim, 597 B.C.E.). It was noted (2 Chr 27:3) that Jotham—unlike his father who trespassed the sacred precincts of the Temple (2 Chr 26:16–21)—was careful about the sacred Temple precincts and his rebuilding of the Upper Gate may have been in response to his father's unauthorized intrusion into the Temple.

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DALE C. LIID

UPSILON. The twentieth letter of the Greek alphabet.

UR (PERSON) [Heb *'ûr*]. The father of Eliphal who was one of King David's chief military men (1 Chr 11:35). Many names appear in both of the parallel lists of these military elite (1 Chr 11:10–41a = 2 Sam 23:8–39), but in 2 Sam 23:34 the father of Eliphelet (a variant of Eliphal?) is Ahasbai of Maacah, not Ur. If Eliphal is identical to Eliphelet, then there has been some corruption during the transmission of the list, or possibly some additional editing by the Chronicler. Textual variance cannot explain the difference in the names and no place name appears in 1 Chr 11:35; thus one can only speculate about the origin of the name Ur (Williamson *1 & 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 103).

RUSSELL FULLER

UR (PLACE) [Heb *'ûr*]. A very important Sumerian city that played an active role in the 3d millennium and in the beginning of the 2d millennium B.C. Its modern name is Tell Muqqayyar (30°56'N; 46°08'E). After Babylon, it is without a doubt the best known Mesopotamian site in the Bible because it is mentioned in connection with Abraham. According to Gen 11:31 it is from the city of Ur in Chaldea that Terah and his clan left to go to Haran, a great caravan site located in the belt of the Euphrates in N Syria. The Bible however, says nothing more about this great Sumerian metropolis, which was a real key in Mesopotamian commercial relations with the countries of the Persian Gulf and undoubtedly with the Indus valley as well. There is, moreover, a certain contradiction in the closeness suggested by the Genesis text between a prodigious urban capital and a nomad clan that one could no doubt compare to, perhaps even identify with, one of the Amorite groups that, circulating in the Near East, often ended up taking power. However, because the Hebrew's credo begins with "A wandering Aramean was my father . . ." (Deut 26:5)—another Semitic group that played a more and more preponderant role toward the end of the 2d millennium—it is not very easy to make all this different information coincide into a coherent explanation, unless, as is highly likely, they are completely different traditions.

First discovered in 1625 by Pietro della Valle, the ovoid tell which measures 1300 m by about 900 m and rises to a height of 18 m was excavated for the first time by Sir W. K. Loftus in 1849. However, during a sounding done in 1855, J. E. Taylor found an inscribed brick that allowed Sir H. C. Rawlinson to identify the tell with the city of Ur known by the biblical texts. In 1918 Campbell Thompson and then H. R. Hall in 1919 became interested in the site, but it was Sir C. L. Woolley as director of a joint expedition uniting the British Museum and the University of Pennsylvania who led a systematic exploration from 1922 to 1934. No research of any depth has taken place since 1934, but restoration work has been done on the ziggurat.

The excavations have allowed for the delineation of the principal stages of the history of the city. The earliest occupation of the site seems to go back to the middle of the 5th millennium, that is to say, to the middle of the Ubeid period. It is certain that the city was important toward the end of the 4th millennium with the rapid development of urban civilization, but the excavations have scarcely explored the levels from this period. It is in the Early Dynastic (ED) III period (between 2600 and 2500 B.C.) that a fuller picture of the city appears; this is the period of the First Dynasty of Ur and its kings Mesanepada and Aanepada; it is also the period of the famous royal tombs whose occupants Meskalamdug and Puabi, unknown in the king-lists, are probably predecessors to the rulers of the First Dynasty. An eclipse of the city seems to mark the Akkadian period, but it would again play an important role during the Sumerian renaissance under the energetic influence of the sovereigns of the Third Dynasty of Ur, above all under Ur-nammu (2111–2094) and Šulgi (2093–2046). In 2003 B.C. the Ur III state collapsed under internal and external pressures, and the city of Ur fell under the domination of Isin, of Larsa and then of Babylon. Henceforth its role was secondary, but it remained a religious metropolis that Nabonidus, the last Babylonian sovereign (556–539) honored when he privileged the lunar cult in Mesopotamia by constructing a palace for his mother whom he made the grand priestess of the god Sin. It is with the Achaemenids that the city fell into permanent oblivion.

Concerning the city itself, of which it is not certain that it had exactly the same form that is generally recognized today, Woolley really only dug in the area that contained the large secular and religious buildings and two private quarters; numerous soundings over the whole tell have given complementary information, often interesting, but also too punctilious to give us a precise image of the condition of life in a S Mesopotamian city. The houses are of very different size and often have a second story which reflects not only the habits of daily life but also the social organization of the quarter (with the merchant's stalls and the poorest houses situated near the master's houses).

The best known monument is the ziggurat which was constructed by Ur-nammu, the founder of the Third Dynasty. He particularly distinguished himself as a builder of ziggurats in Mesopotamia; he began with his own city, dedicated to the god Nanna (Sin in Akkadian) and regularly maintained the ziggurat until the end of the existence of the Ur III city. This ziggurat (62.5 m by 43 m at the base) was relatively well-preserved and the analysis of the remains allows us to think that it was built out of raw bricks surrounded by a protective skin of baked bricks. It rose probably three stories high, the first was accessible from three monumental staircases. At the summit was found, according to presently accepted opinion, a temple perhaps dedicated to the god Nanna. The ziggurat was built inside an enclosure of more than 100 m long that delimited a space that also contained other cultural buildings; one had access to it through a small courtyard.

Another temple, that of Ningal, furnished an excellent example of complex religious architecture; with two large sanctuaries, a chapel, private apartments, workshops, stores and kitchens, it represents a complex world that is strongly linked to the organization of a palace.

A palace that belongs to the period of the Third Dynasty of Ur has, however, been brought to light and it represents the first example of a pattern that will dominate the Near East for several centuries. At the end of the history of the city, the palace constructed by Nabonidus for his mother

furnished an interesting example of civil architecture from the middle of the 1st millennium.

However, the archaeological fame of Ur rests above all on the discovery of several royal tombs. The first group that contained the richest grave goods belongs to the ED III period. Purely by chance some of them have been discovered intact, in particular that of Meskalamdug and the queen Puabi. They are funerary chambers constructed out of stone with corbelled ceilings, located at the bottom of a well entered by a descending corridor from the floor's surface. In the corridors and in the wells, funerary chariots are found with their teams of equids, their drivers and a whole group of servants and musicians that must have accompanied the king in death. Sometimes more than 80 bodies have been found, certainly sacrificed before the funeral. An exceptional collection of precious objects has been found in these tombs: jewelry, golden weapons—helmets, daggers, swords, musical instruments—harps and lyres encrusted with mother-of-pearl, game tables, vases of precious materials and the famous "standard of Ur." All of this attests to the extraordinary riches that one can doubtlessly link with Ur's role in the Persian Gulf trade.

Another group of royal tombs belongs to the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur. They are large vaulted chambers found in the basement of a building constructed out of baked bricks and bitumen. On the surface the building served the funerary cult, but it was in no way linked to the temples. It is thus a building with a very particular nature that has up until now remained unique in the documentation of the Near East.

The excavations of Ur ended in 1934; nevertheless, there remains much to be understood about this important Mesopotamian city.

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URARTIAN LANGUAGE. See LANGUAGES (INTRODUCTORY SURVEY).

URARTU (PLACE). See ARARAT (PLACE).

URBANUS (PERSON) [Gk *Ourbanos*]. Received greetings from Paul in Rom 16:9. He was the only Christian in Rome other than Aquila and Prisca (Rom 16:3) whom Paul expressly called a "co-worker." Urbanus had immigrated to Rome from the east of the Roman Empire where he had done mission work with Paul. He probably was a gentile Christian. See NEREUS. It has often been proposed (e.g., Cranfield, *Romans* ICC, 790) that Urbanus was a (freed) slave. But the epigraphical material indicates that the name was not ordinarily a slave name (see Lampe *StadtrChr*, 150–52). Urbanus was more likely freeborn.

PETER LAMPE

URI (PERSON) [Heb *ʾûrî*]. **1.** The father of Bazalel, who was the master craftsman responsible for the building of the utensils for the Tent (Exod 31:2; 1 Chr 2:20; 2 Chr 1:5). Noth believes that Uri is a short form of Uriel *(ʾûrîʾēl)* or Uriah *(ʾûrîyāh)*, "God (Yahweh) is the dispenser of beloved warmth" (*IPN*, 38, 168). The text in 1 Chronicles is part of the genealogy of Judah (2:3–4:23). This list, which names Caleb as Uri's grandfather, juxtaposes the families of Caleb and Ram. Williamson argues that the inclusion of Uri and Bazalel here is a deliberate attempt to bring together the monarchy (David, a descendant of Ram) and the temple (Bazalel, a descendant of Caleb) (*Chronicles* NCBC, 53).

2. The father of Geber, one of the twelve officers responsible for providing food for the royal household (1 Kgs 4:19). There is wide agreement that this text is problematic. Some suggest that the phrase in v 19, *geber ben-ʾûrî* is a variant for *ben geber* in v 13 since both are associated with Gilead. Others raise the possibility that, instead of Gilead, Gad should be read in v 19 (as it is in one edition of LXX) since it does not appear elsewhere. However, Fichtner points out that Gad, along with Sihon, would have been a part of the seventh district, mentioned in v 14 (*1 Könige* BAT, 87). Albright provides a plausible solution. One of the source documents for this list had a damaged right margin as one can see by the several persons listed only as "the son of . . . ," the name on the right margin having been lost. The original v 13 named "[Uri] son of Geber" as the officer in charge of the sixth district. A marginal note at the end of the list confused this information and was subsequently inserted as the present v 19. If this is the case, Judah becomes the twelfth district, making the text clearer (1925: 25–26, 34–35). If Albright is correct, Uri himself was one of the twelve officers in charge of the royal provisions.

3. One of the three gatekeepers among the returned exiles whom Ezra required to divorce his foreign wife (Ezra 10:24). The parallel text of 1 Esdr 9:34 omits Uri completely. For further discussion, see TELEM.

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URIAH (PERSON) [Heb *ʾûrîyāh, ʾûrîyāhû*]. The name *ʾryw* occurs in the Sameria ostraca (*TSSI* 1: 10 no. 50:2).

The variant *ʾwryw* occurs in seals (Vattioni 1969: 378 no. 184; cf. Puech 1980: 119 n. 5), and another variant, *ʾryhw* is found in the 8th century B.C. Khirbet el-Qom inscription (Hadley 1987: 51). Puech (1980: 125) has found *ʾwryh* on a 2d century A.D. potsherd.

In Ugaritic one finds the enigmatic *bn ʾuryy* (*UT,* 336a no. 351; cf. *PTU,* 53, 103), and in Assyrian texts the name *U-ri-ia-a* appears (Tallqvist 1914: 243b). The name in Hebrew can be translated: "Yahweh is my light/fire" (*IPN,* 168). This name is borne by five (or perhaps six, see #3 below) persons in the OT.

1. The Hittite. (If his name is Hittite, then the ending cannot be the divine name, "Yah"—cf. *HALAT* 25a for different interpretations with bibliography.) McCarter (*2 Samuel* AB, 285) points out that his designation as "the Hittite" does not necessarily make him a foreigner. It may merely mean that an ancestor came from one of the Neo-Hittite states in northern Syria, where Hittite civilization survived the collapse of the empire. He is one of the warriors in David's elite force of the "Thirty" (2 Sam 23:39; 1 Chr 11:41); he is mentioned at the end of the list in 2 Samuel, which draws attention to him, for the reader calls to mind what is associated with his name (Hertzberg *Samuel* OTL, 408). His wife was Bathsheba, daughter of Eliam (2 Sam 11:3) and perhaps granddaughter of Ahithophel (cf. 23:34).

Uriah was serving in the army besieging Rabbah, the Ammonite capital, when David sent for him. The king wanted it to appear that Uriah was the father of the child that was to be born to Bathsheba. David therefore told Uriah who had expressed loyalty to the ark, his commander Joab, and to David, to go to his house and then sent him food from the royal table. Uriah, however, spent the night "at the door of the king's house with all the servants of his lord" (2 Sam 11:9). When David asked him why he did not go into his house, the reply is that "the ark and Israel and Judah dwell in booths; and my lord Joab and the servants of my lord are camping in the open field" (v 11), and that staying in his house would give him comforts they do not possess. David made him drunk, but still he would not go to his house. The king then gave Uriah a letter for Joab who is ordered to place Uriah in the thick of the battle and allow him to be isolated so that the enemy will kill him. According to vv 16–17 this duly happens, but vv 20–21 show that Uriah is killed by a shot from the wall. Joab then sent a messenger to inform David of the progress of the war, including the death of Uriah.

The narrative prompts some questions. Uriah's refusal to sleep in his house seems to be connected with a taboo which required sexual abstinence of soldiers in the field (cf. 1 Sam 21:6—Eng 21:5). Yet this would not strictly apply to Uriah who in any case does not abstain from alcohol at the royal table. Uriah's drunkenness in fact serves to emphasize his conduct. Uriah sleeping with the king's retainers does, however, recall the ancient ideals of the military monarchy, the direct relationship of loyalty between leader and followers (cf. 2 Sam 18:2; 21:15–17), which must give way to changed circumstances (Stoebe 1986: 394).

Also to be noticed is that Joab informs the messenger in some detail of David's probable reaction to the news he will bring of the death of the soldiers who fell with Uriah. Joab's awareness of the difficulties in dealing with kings discloses a typical concern of wisdom (Fontaine 1986: 64). In the MT David's angry reaction fails to take place, whereas the LXX does mention it (11:22). Stoebe (1986: 391–92) argues that the LXX is here following another tradition which gives the words to be expected of a pious David who is upset by the loss of life. The messenger in the MT cleverly avoids David's angry reaction by at once informing him of Uriah's death (Barthélemy 1982: 261), and the LXX's fuller account of David's response may be included for the smooth flowing of the narrative (Pisano 1984: 49–54). At the same time the reader notices in the MT an implicit criticism of David and the institution of monarchy: human lives are merely means to attain an end (cf. Stoebe 1986: 392).

The discrepancy between the plan and manner of Uriah's death may be explained by the growth of the tradition (Stoebe 1986: 392–93). At an earlier stage Joab will have wished to direct David's attention away from a failed military maneuver by mentioning Uriah's death. Later, when the emphasis lies more on the David-Uriah-Bathsheba story, the king is made to plan Uriah's death, hence the letter which owes more to literary fiction than to historical fact. Nevertheless, all stages of the tradition include serious criticism of David's highhanded disposal of human lives.

Bathsheba lamented for her dead husband, and then David took her to be his wife (11:26–27). Nathan told David that he had sinned against Yahweh and David accepted the prophetic rebuke (12:1–14; cf. 1 Kgs 15:5bB).

2. A priest; one of two reliable men whom Isaiah chose to witness a prophetic oracle written on a tablet, doubtless because they enjoyed public trust (Isa 8:2). Uriah is probably the high priest (see #3 below) and if Isaiah wanted to put his tablet in the temple precincts would have had to give his leave (Wildberger *Jesaja* BKAT, 315). That such a prominent citizen placed himself at Isaiah's disposal shows to the reader (cf. Kaiser *Isaiah 1–12* OTL, 182) the respect in which the prophet was held.

Isaiah required two witnesses (cf. Deut 17:6) not merely to confirm that he was the author of the inscription or to explain its meaning to the public. More important is that they testify to the date of the writing, the time of the Syro-Ephraimite war. Isaiah is so confident that the oracle (Isa 8:3b–4) will be fulfilled (cf. Deut 18:22) that he announces the despoiling of the kingdoms of Damascus and Samaria at a time when Judah is still free to choose its policy (Wildberger *Jesaja* BKAT, 317).

3. Chief priest in the reign of Ahaz; almost certainly the same as #2 above. Ahaz went to Damascus to meet Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria and "saw the altar that was at Damascus" (2 Kgs 16:10). This was probably a Syrian altar (McKay 1973: 5–12; Jones *Kings* NCBC, 537–38), and on it Ahaz sealed the vassalage treaty with Tiglath-pileser, sending a sketch and detailed plan of the altar to Uriah who then built a copy (vv 10–16). This would remind the people of their vassal status (McKay 1973: 8, Jones *Kings* NCBC, 538). Uriah is one of several high priests omitted in the list in 1 Chr 6:4–15.

4. Son of Shemaiah of Kiriath-jearim; a prophet who was put to death for preaching against the city and the land (Jer 26:20–23). King Jehoiakim and his officials hav-

ing heard the message sought his life, and he fled to Egypt. Elnathan was then sent to extradite him (see Thompson *Jeremiah* NICOT, 527). Uriah was brought to Jerusalem and Jehoiakim had him executed with the sword. The body was thrown into the common graveyard.

The narrative is an appendix to Jeremiah's temple sermon, added to show that Jeremiah's preaching brought him into great danger. Nicholson (1970: 52) maintains that Jeremiah 26 is an "edifying story" composed by the Deuteronomist and so not biographical; it centers "on the theme of Judah's rejection of the word of Yahweh spoken by the prophet Jeremiah and the judgment which this rejection entailed" (1970: 56). The inclusion of the story is clearly related to Jeremiah's predicament, though the Deuteronomist may well have found it in his sources.

5. Father of Meremoth; descendant of Hakkoz (Ezra 8:33; Neh 3:4, 21; 1 Esdr 8:62).

6. One of the men, named without title or paternity and therefore probably laymen, who stood with Ezra at the public reading of the law (Neh 8:4; 1 Esdr 9:43). They were important persons, quite possibly leaders of the community (Myers *Ezra, Nehemiah* AB, 153; Fensham *Ezra and Nehemiah* NICOT, 217).

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URIEL (ANGEL) [Lat *Urihel*]. Mentioned in the deuterocanonical apocalyptic text of 2 Esdras (4:1; 5:20; 10:28), where he instructs Ezra concerning evil, commands him to fast, and interprets his vision.

The earliest traditions about Uriel are those found in *1 Enoch* 72–82, the Astronomical Book (no later than the 3d century B.C.E.). There Uriel appears as the leader of the luminaries (72:1) who has command over all the celestial lights (75:3), a function related to his name, which means "God is my light" (VanderKam 1984: 89). In the Astronomical Book Uriel also serves as Enoch's guide and mentor in astronomical knowledge (72:1; 74:2; 75:3–4; 78:10; 79:6; 82:7). In *1 Enoch* 1–36 (the Book of the Watchers) Uriel is one of several angelic guides for Enoch (19:1; 21:5, 9; 27:2; 33:3–4). Although Uriel is listed by some Greek mss as one of the four archangels in *1 Enoch* 9:1, the Aramaic fragments from Qumran Cave 4 give the name Sariel instead. Sariel, not Uriel, is probably also the angel who warns Noah of the impending flood in 10:1 (see Milik 1976: 172–74; VanderKam 1984: 130, n. 74). Uriel does appear among the list of archangels in *1 Enoch* 20:2 as "one of the holy angels who is over the world and Tartarus" (Tartarus being the fiery region where the rebellious angels and stars are imprisoned [21:1–10]). Yadin has suggested that Uriel's dual role may be related to the ambiguity of his name, since *ʾr* might be read as *ʾur,* "fire," or as *ʾor,* "light" (Yadin 1962: 239).

Later writings continue the association of Uriel with revelation of astronomical information (see esp. *2 Enoch* 22–23, where Uriel is to be identified with the angel Vreveil; so Milik 1976: 110–11; VanderKam 1984: 89). He is also the angel who appears to answer the questions of Ezra (*2 Esdras* 4:1; 5:20; 10:28). Early Christian tradition develops his role as guardian of Tartarus (*Sib. Or.* 2.215–35; *Apoc. Pet.*), while in Jewish midrashim he is associated with light and enlightenment (e.g., *Num. Rab.* 2.10, the "one who brings light to Israel").

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URIEL (PERSON) [Heb *ʾûrîʾēl*]. The name of two persons mentioned in the OT.

1. A Levite among the descendants of Kohath, one of the leaders appointed by David to move the ark from the house of Obed-edom to Jerusalem (1 Chr 6:9—Eng 6:24; 15:5, 11). Many regard 1 Chr 15:4–10 as a later insertion into Chronicles; however, both Talmon (*IDBSup,* 322) and Williamson (*1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC) argue that the repetition of the names in 15:11 is a literary device marking an insertion of source material by the original author. The context of 1 Chr 6:9—Eng 6:15 appears concerned with tracing the lineage of Samuel the prophet, to whom the Chronicler assigns levitical ancestry (1 Chr 6:13, 18—Eng 6:28, 33; cf. 1 Sam 1:1); this reflects the Chronicler's pervasive interest in the prophetic function of the levitical musicians (1 Chr 25:1–8; 2 Chr 20:14; 29:25; 34:30; 35:15).

2. A man from Gibeah, the father of Maacah, wife of Rehoboam and mother of Abijah (2 Chr 13:2). The MT gives her name as Micaiah, though most LXX mss, Syr, 2 Chr 11:20, 15:16, and 1 Kgs 15:2 give her name as Maacah. The identity of Uriel is complicated by issues surrounding the ancestry of Maacah who is described both as the "daughter of Absalom" (1 Kgs 15:2; 2 Chr 11:20) and as the "daughter of Uriel" (2 Chr 13:2). The solution ordinarily adopted for this problem is to identify Maacah as the granddaughter of Absalom. Absalom had a beautiful daughter named Tamar and three sons (2 Sam 14:27).

Since the sons do not appear to have survived childhood (2 Sam 18:18), Maacah was probably born to Tamar through a marriage to Uriel of Gibeah.

RAYMOND B. DILLARD

USURY. See INTEREST AND USURY.

UTHAI (PERSON) [Heb *ʿûtay*]. A personal name, probably shortened from a longer theophoric name, whose derivation has invited considerable speculation. Aḥituv (*EncMiqr* 6: 112) believes it is an abbreviated form of *ʿăt̲āyâ* (Athaiah). Praetorius (1903: 524) earlier suggested the same and identified this shortened form—calling it *Caritativ*—as having *û* as the final root syllable and an *ay* ending. Noth (*IPN*, 191) believed the assumed root *ʿth* of the longer theophoric name, which he rendered "Yahweh has surpassed himself," derived from the Ar *ʿatā* which he understood as meaning "to exceed above the measure." In addition to seeing the name as a shortened name *(Kurznamen)* along the lines of the Arabic diminutive form *fuʿail* (*IPN*, 40, cf. 36), Noth also included it among those names *(Danknamen)* which give expression of thanks for an event in which the hand of God was perceived to have intervened in human life (*IPN*, 169–70, 191). Brockington (1969: 98–99) suggested the name could be a shortened form of either Athaliah (Noth *IPN*, 191, n. 4 also believed the short name could belong to the formations with *ʿtl*) or Athaiah—"Yahweh has shown himself preeminent"—while Achtemier (*HBD*, 1108) also believes it to be a variant of Athaiah—"pride of Yahweh" or "Yah is my pride." Gehman (*WDB*, 968), who renders the Ar *ʿatā* "to be proud, go beyond bounds," believed the name means "Yahweh has shown himself surpassing." Fallows (1906: 1694) suggested "Jehovah succors," probably from *ʿwš* (= *ʿwt* see KB, 692). Curtis and Madsen (*Chronicles* ICC, 170) concluded that the name's meaning was uncertain and its origin obscure. The name is born by three individuals.

1. The son of Ammihud of the Judahite family of Perez (1 Chr 9:4) among those who dwelt in Jerusalem (v 3) upon returning from exile in Babylon. He is the first named of the "heads" (v 9) of Judahite families (Perez, Shelah and Zerah were three of Judah's five sons, cf. 2:3–4) who were listed (vv 4–9) among those lay Israelites who returned. Braun (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 131) suggests that the basic structure of 1 Chronicles 9 is dependent upon Nehemiah 11 and that the Athaiah in Neh 11:4 and Uthai (LXX Codex Vaticanus *Gōthei*, Alexandrinus *Gōthi*; Lucianic *Outhi*) mentioned here are the same person. Rothstein (*1 Chronikbuch* KAT, 172) and Curtis and Madsen (*Chronicles* ICC, 170) are unable to determine which of these name forms are original. On the other hand Rudolph (*Chronikbücher* HAT, 85) observed the different lineages recorded and concluded that these two names do not refer to the same person.

2. The head of the family of Bigvai (Ezra 8:14, Heb *bigway*; LXX Codex Vaticanus *Bago*, Alexandrinus *Gabouaei*) or Bani (1 Esdr 8:40, LXX Codex Vaticanus *Banai*, Alexandrinus *Bago*) who went up with Ezra from Babylon during King Artaxerxes' reign (Ezra 8:1; 1 Esdr 8:28). The presence of two "sons" in Ezra 8:14—"Uthai (LXX Codex Vaticanus *Outhi*, Alexandrinus *Gabouei*) and Zaccur (Heb Q *wĕzakkûr*, K *wĕzābûd*; LXX Codex Alexandrinus *kai Zaboud*)"—followed by the preposition with a singular suffix "and with him" *(wĕ ʿimmô)* suggests a different reading of the MT. Since LXX Codex Vaticanus of Ezra 8:14 omits the second name and since 1 Esdr 8:40 reads "Uthai the [son] of Istalcurus" (Codex Alexandrinus *Outhi ho tou Istalkourou*) or "Uthai [the son] of Istacalcus" (Codex Vaticanus *Outou Istakalkou*), it has been assumed that only one name preceded the preposition. This is the case throughout the list with the exception of Ezra 8:13 (1 Esdr 8:39) where three "sons" are mentioned. The commonly suggested emendation of the MT is "son of Zaccur/Zabud" *(ben-Z)* instead of "and Zaccur/Zabud" *(wĕz-)* (Batten *Ezra, Nehemiah* ICC, 319; Myers *Ezra-Nehemiah* AB, 67; Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 108; Blenkinsopp *Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 159). Bowman (*IB* 3: 634) and Rudolph (*Esra und Nehemia* HAT, 78) suggest that after the text was corrupted to read two names, the preposition was made to agree by changing it to read "and with them," as in several mss and the Vulgate. Uthai's family, that of Bigvai, is the last of 12 listed in Ezra 8:3b–14 and 1 Esdr 8:30–40 and numbered seventy males in the caravan.

3. The head of a family of temple servants (see NETHINIM) which is listed in 1 Esdr 5:30 and in the LXX Codices Sinaiticus and Alexandrinus (but not Vaticanus) of Neh 7:48 among those exiles returning from Babylon to "Jerusalem and the rest of Judah . . . with Zerubbabel . . ." (1 Esdr 8:8). The name in Greek is *Outa* which Bewer (1922: 27) believes to be a "corrupted variant" of *Akoub*, a name appearing in Ezra 2:45 (LXX Codex Alexandrinus) but written as *Akoud* immediately preceding *Outa* in 1 Esdr 5:30 and in LXX^{A} of Neh 7:48 and as *Akoua* in LXX^{S} of Neh 7:48. Discounting this Rudolph (*Esra und Nehemia* HAT, 12) believes the Hebrew names behind *Outa* and *Kētab* (*-ar* LXX^{AS} Neh 7:48) cannot be determined.

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RODNEY H. SHEARER

UZ (PLACE) [Heb *ʿûṣ*]. A country in NW Arabia (Jer 25:20; Job 1:1; Lam 4:21), which various geographical lists in the OT connect with either Aram (Gen 10:23; Gen 22:21; 1 Chr 1:17) or Edom (Gen 36:28; 1 Chr 1:42).

Jer 25:20 places "all the kings of the country of Uz (MT *hāʿûṣ*), and all the kings of the Philistine country" between Egypt (v 19) and Edom (v 21). The passage, which is missing in the LXX, is probably a gloss referring to Edom according to Lam 4:21 ("daughter Edom, that you dwellst in the country of Uz"). Geographically, Jer 25:20 shares the concept of the LXX of Job: Job lived on the border between Idumea and Arabia (42:17b). According to Jer 25:20 and Job 42:17b (LXX), Uz would be located in the S of Palestine, between the Negeb and the Sinai peninsula.

This, however, is a geographical speculation of the late Persian or early Hellenistic period. Then, Edom was confined to Idumea W of Wadi ʿArabah. Originally, the country of Uz was situated in NW Arabia, between Dedan (see DEDAN) and Edom.

Job is depicted suffering from Sabean (1:15) and Chaldean (i.e., Neo-Babylonian) raids (1:17). This state of affairs reflects the situation in NW Arabia between 552 and 542 B.C., when the Neo-Babylonians under Nabonidus tried to evict the Sabeans from the incense route and the incense trade (Guillaume 1963: 107; Knauf 1983: 26–28; 1988: 67, n. 4). Prior to Nabonidus, Edom had extended its economical and, perhaps, political control into N Arabia (cf. Jer 49:8 and Ezek 25:13; Lindsay 1976: 34; Weippert *TRE* 9: 292), which explains Lam 4:21 (Edom sitting in the country of Uz) as well as Gen 36:28 and 1 Chr 1:42 (where Uz is listed as a "descendant" of Seir). A tribal name *ʿḍ*, Arabic *ʿAuḍ* (Nöldeke 1886: 184) is attested in an ancient N Arabian inscription which was found N of Dedan (Knauf 1983: 28–29). Hebrew *ʿwṣ* is the regular equivalent of Arabic *ʿ(w)ḍ*, according to the orthographic conventions of the 1st millennium B.C. Among the sedentary, agricultural tribes of NW Arabia (cf. Job 1:3, 14), tribal names and regional names are frequently equivocal.

It is impossible to ascertain whether Uz, "son" of Aram (Gen 10:23; Gen 22:21; 1 Chr 1:17) refers to the same geographical feature or to another tribe or region. In any case, the Aramean connection of Uz together with the derivation of Bozrah from Job's wife (42:17c LXX) induced the location of Uz and of Job's abode at Shaykh Sa'd in S Syria by the Christian and Muslim tradition (Schmitt 1985).

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

ʿUZA, HORVAT (M.R. 165068). A site in the E Negeb (not to be confused with a site of similar name in the plain of Acco).

A. The Site and Its Identification

Horvat ʿUza (Kh. Ghazze) is located in the E Negeb at the E edge of the Arad depression, at the top of the deep Naḥal Kina (Wadi el Keini). The fort dominated the wadi in which was probably an ancient road, which perhaps already existed in prehistoric times, as evidenced by the Neolithic finds recently discovered in the concealed cave in Naḥal Ḥemar in this same area. During the Israelite and later periods, the wadi was the easiest and most convenient access route to the Arabah and Edom. This was probably the biblical "Way of Edom" mentioned in 2 Kings 3:20 (cf. Aharoni *LBHG*, 59).

Horvat ʿUza was first surveyed at the beginning of this century by Musil, who briefly described the site without however dating it to any particular period. Both Alt and Avi-Yonah regarded the site merely as part of the string of forts in the Roman *Limes* of Palestine, ignoring its existence during any other periods. The first thorough survey of Horvat ʿUza was made in 1956 by Y. Aharoni, who published a sketch-plan of the fort as it appeared on the surface, but of the settlement he only mentioned that its remains were located on the wadi slope. According to his description, the site was an Israelite casemate fort with towers and a courtyard, in which was a row of casemate rooms. He also collected a small quantity of sherds dating from the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman periods in the area of the fort. Aharoni dated the Israelite phases of the fort to the 8th–7th centuries B.C., and claimed that an earlier occupation existed, based on sherds dating from the 10th–9th centuries on the wadi slope. He suggested to identify the site with Ramah of the Negeb, which is mentioned in the list of cities of Simeon (Josh 19:8), as well as in Letter 24 from Arad, in which its commander is ordered to send reinforcements to Ramah of the Negeb. Aharoni argued that Ramah of the Negeb was the first settlement in the area to be exposed to Edomite aggression and hence should be located near Judah's border. Aharoni has suggested that Kinah, which in the list of Negeb cities (Josh 15:21–22) comes after Arad (MT and RSV read "Eder"), should be identified with Horvat Tov, located immediately NE of Arad. However, other scholars (Lemaire, Rainey, Naʾaman) identify Ramah of the Negeb with TEL ʿIRA which is on the highest point in the region and was included in the area of settlement of the tribe of Simeon.

The results of the excavations do not support Aharoni's suggested identifications, since at Horvat ʿUza, no occupation remains earlier than the 7th century B.C. were discovered; the fact that Ramah of the Negeb is connected with the Davidic period as having received Amalakite booty, obliges one to identify it with a site having remains from the 10th century. Evidence of 10th century occupation have recently been discovered at Tell ʿIra, which makes its identification with Ramah of the Negeb more plausible. Recent evidence from both Horvat ʿUza and Horvat Qitmit (Beit-Arieh 1986), indicating Edomite presence at these two places, permits one to revive the assumption of deep Edomite penetration into the S region of Judah about the time of the Babylonian conquest. Ramah of the Negeb would not, therefore, have to be located on the Judah-Edom border. If this assumption should prove correct, then Horvat ʿUza may be identified with Kinah. The wadi over which Horvat ʿUza stands, wadi el Keini, may preserve the ancient name of Kinah.

B. The Excavations and Their Results

Twenty-two years after Aharoni's original survey at Horvat ʿUza excavations began at the site. Five seasons of excavations (1982–1986) were directed by I. Beit-Arieh and B. Cresson. Excavations concentrated mainly in, and around the area of the fort, but a few squares in the area of the settlement were also opened.

Stratigraphy of the Site

Stratum Period	General Dates	Remarks
I Roman	1st & 3d cents. A.D.	
II Herodian	1st cent. A.D.	Two phases
III Hellenistic	3d & 2d cents. B.C.	
IV Israelite II	Second half of 7th cent. B.C. Beginning of 6th cent. B.C.	Two phases (IV B and IV A)

1. The Israelite Period (Phases B and A). The archaeological data indicate that the fort was constructed during the 7th century B.C. on the standard pattern (with only slight deviations) of a fort with towers, like those at Arad and Kadesh-barnea. The dimensions of this earlier fort are 42 × 51 m (approximately 100 × 120 short cubits). The fort was surrounded by a solid wall 1.5 m thick, strengthened by towers at its four corners and at intervals along its sides.

A series of casemate rooms (ca. 3 m wide) was built along most of the length of the inside of the wall. The courtyard was densely built up with various structures and had intersecting "streets." Three large, adjoining complexes (structure nos. 398, 397, 370) were excavated in the SE half of the courtyard. Although the excavation of two complexes (nos. 397, 398) is incomplete, it is clear that the structures served as workshops for various domestic crafts and industries, implied by the installations like chambers, ovens, stone basins, and pits in which were found upper and lower handmill stones and loom weights. A smaller structure containing a similar assemblage of finds stood near the gate, abutting its pier. From the functions of the structures, it is clear that the activities in the fort were not exclusively military, but included ordinary domestic occupations, despite the fact that there was a civilian settlement nearby.

A structure distinguished by its massiveness and dimensions was partly uncovered in the NW half of the fort (structure no. 437). See Fig. UZA.01. Its plan (only fragmentarily disclosed) consists of a SE wing containing three rectangular rooms and a large open space, apparently an inner courtyard. The dimensions of the SE wing are 17 × 3 m (inner). It included openings both toward the SE (the gate area) and toward the NW (the inner courtyard). The thickness of its wall was 1 m. The SE wing abutted on the inner face of the NE wall of the fort, and its NE room (413) was integrated into the fort's gate. The dimensions of the entire complex, based on the surviving sections of wall, are: 17 × 18 m. (i.e., ca. 1/7 of the area of the fort).

The gate is located between two projecting towers in the NE wall of the fort. In its second phase, at least, the gate was not symmetrical on the pattern of most gates of this type, but had only one SE wing with two rooms. It may be assumed, however, that in its first phase the gateway had the usual two wings, but due to alterations made during its second phase the NW wing was abolished and its second pier, facing inward toward the fort, was incorporated into the wall of the massive structure. However, this suggestion is as yet inadequately tested. Among the debris of fallen bricks and stones covering the gateway passage were charred beams of cedar, probably the remnants of the doors. In the center of the passageway, which was paved with stone slabs, was a well-preserved, sunken drainage channel over 20 m long. The channel was stone-lined and covered with stone slabs. The channel began at the inner pier of the gate, where apparently it collected the water runoff from the interior of the fort. The channel continued below the sill-stones of the gate to a rock-cut cistern at the top of the wadi slope outside the fort.

A fieldstone platform stood in the courtyard of the fort, near its gateway. It stands independent of other structures, in the center of a small open area (Room 366), at the side of the street. The platform measures 1.5 × 1 m and ca. 1 m high. Three steps in its SW corner lead to its upper level. Beside the platform was a thick layer of ashes mixed with animal bones. The platform's proximity to the gateway suggests that it might have been a *bamah*—one of the "high places of the gates" mentioned in the Bible (2 Kgs 23:8).

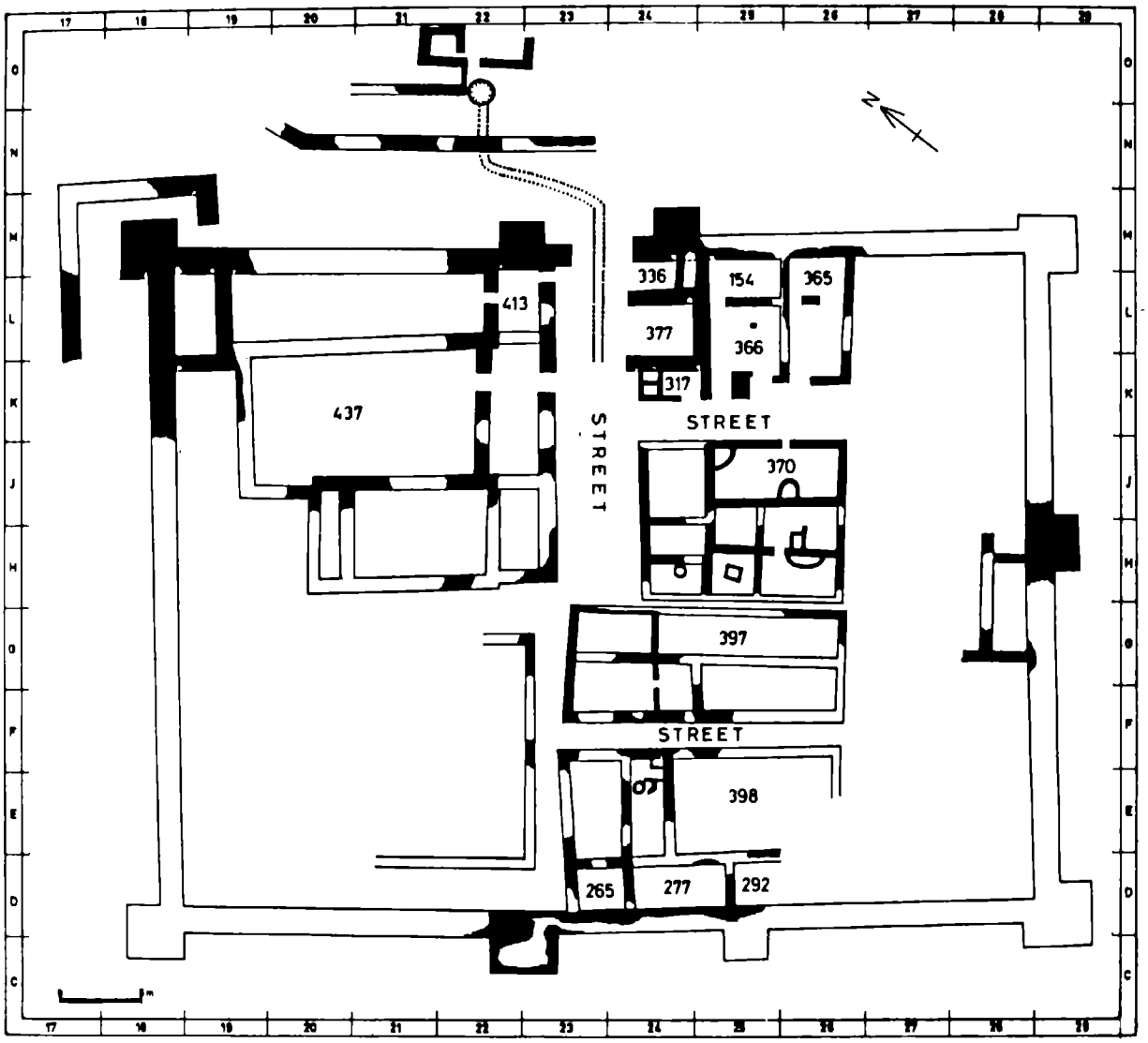
a. The Settlement Outside the Fort. The settlement outside the fort extended over an area of approximately 7 dunams (ca. 2 acres). See Fig. UZA.02. Much of its remnants are visible above ground. It was built on the upper part of the steep wadi slope, N of the fort, and extended up to the support wall (revetment) of the gateway. Near the revetment wall, blocks of structural remains, some of very large buildings, stood on artificial terraces. Intersecting these remains were street-like passages of varying width (2–4 m).

One of the blocks of structural remains was excavated and consisted of two structures joined by a long common wall. The outer walls and the common wall of these structures served as support (revetment) walls for the terraces; these walls were built on strong and solid foundations and were especially thick (over 70 cm).

Although few surrounding structures have been excavated, they clearly attest the technical skill and great physical effort invested by the builders. It is necessary not to overlook the complexities connected with building on steeply sloping ground, which therefore implies, that they built the settlement at this particular location for a reason. We have no definitive conclusions of what factors influenced the planners to choose this location for the settlement, though evidently one was the proximity of the gate of the fortress, which allowed the civilian population to find speedy refuge within its protective walls. Apparently, similar topographical-security considerations were operative in the choice of location for the gate of the fort itself.

b. The Ostraca. The most important finds recovered at Horvat ʿUza were the 17 ostraca, of which 16 are Hebrew and one Edomite. Two of the ostraca were found within the settlement's structures, the remainder in scattered places inside the fort. The majority of the ostraca are incomplete. They include lists of people apparently connected with food distribution; lists of names probably connected with military and economic matters; a literary text; and a letter written in Edomite.

The Ahiqam ostracon is a four-line message, which



UZA.01. Plan of fort at Horvat ʿUza—Stratum IV, 7th Century B.C. *(Courtesy of I. Beit-Arieh)*

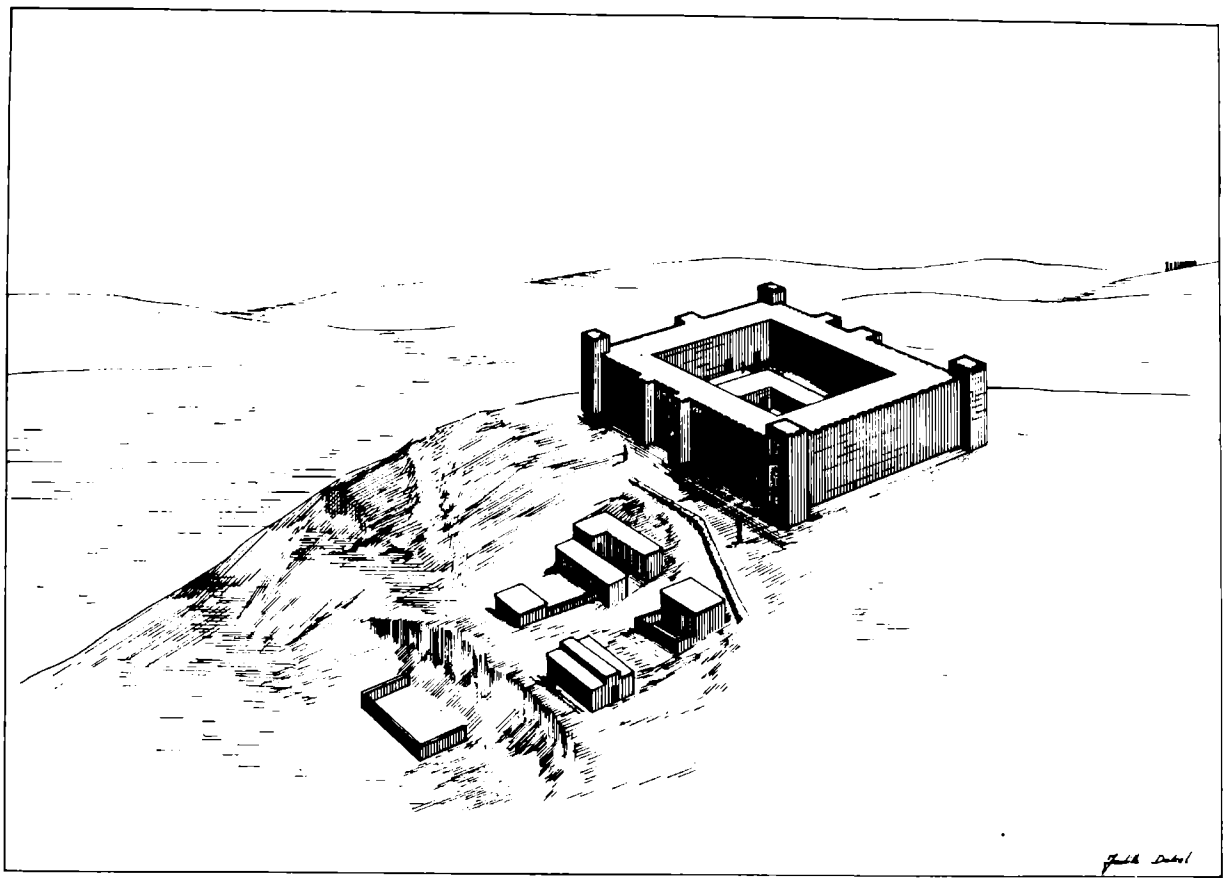
apparently was addressed to the commander of the fort. It reads:

1.	*-lm.lʾḥqm.bn.m-m*	-lm to Aḥiqam, son of M—m,
2.	*ʿmdyhw.bn.zkr.mmlda*	ʿAmadyahu son of Zakkur, from Molada,
3.	*hošʿyhw.bn.nwy.mrntn*	Hoshaʿyahu son of Nawy, from Rinaton,
4.	*mky.bn.ḥṣlyhw.mmqdh*	Machi, son of Ḥiṣilyahu, from Maqeda.

The first and fourth words in the first line are unclear. One possible reading is "Shalom to Ahiqam, son of Menahem." The three men who are listed seem to have been sent to the fortress with a written order to Ahiqam, who probably was the local commander. The men came from various places, all apparently in Judah. The name Rinaton is unknown from any other source.

The ostracon indicates that the military organization of Judah involved transferring people from different areas to protect the borders of the kingdom, probably against the Edomites.

A restored Edomite ostracon measures 9.5 × 11.5 cm. It is inscribed with six lines of text in a large, widely spaced script. Most of the words are separated from one another by a dot. While most of the inscription can be read, a few letters in lines 1, 4, and 6 are either too blurred or too faint to be legible, partly because of surface flaking.



UZA.02. Reconstruction of the fort and settlement at Horvat ʿUza. *(Courtesy of I. Beit-Arieh)*

1.	*ʾmr.lmlk.ʾmr.lblbl.*	(Thus) said Lumalak (or Elimelek): say to Blbl!
2.	*hšlm.ʾt. whbrktyk*	Are you well? I bless you
3.	*lqws.wʿt.tn.ʾt.hʾkl*	by Qaus. And now give the food (grain)
4.	*ʾšr.ʿmd.ʾhʾmh*	that Ahiʾma/o . . .
5.	*whrm ʿzʾl.ʿl mz[bh](?)* . . .	And may U[z]iel lift it upon (the altar?) . . .
6.	*[]ḥmr. hʾkl*	[lest] the food become leavened (?)

The content of this letter indicates that it was written by a high Edomite official who addressed it to the commander of the fort, ordering him to supply (quickly?) a quantity of foodstuff—apparently dough for breadmaking—before it soured. In the opening of the letter, the writer inquires about the health and well-being of *blbl*, the commander of the fort, and invokes the blessing on him of the chief Edomite deity, Qaus.

Although the last three lines are not entirely clear, this cannot detract from the general content of the letter, nor from the implication of its discovery at Horvat ʿUza, indisputably proving an Edomite presence at this site. It also may indicate that the fort was captured by the Edomites shortly before the Babylonian conquest.

2. Hellenistic Period. After the fort stood in ruins for several centuries it was restored and rebuilt during the Hellenistic period. Its area was reduced by two-thirds of what it had been during the Israelite period. On its W side, the casemate wall was shifted E by ca. 18 m and a new projecting tower was attached to it. The remaining walls were repaired and continued in use. However, the new rooms built against the walls were broader (up to 3.5 m, compared to 2.5 m during the Israelite period).

The settlers of the Hellenistic period evidently cleared the ashes from the burnt-out rooms of the fort before restoring and occupying them. The west-wing structure was also cleared of its ashes, although it remained outside the limits of the fort. Apparently the first intention of the new settlers was to use the entire area of the old Israelite fort, and they therefore cleared all of it, but afterwards changed their plan. The excavations indicate that only the rooms along the walls were used by the new settlers; the courtyard was undeveloped except for a few installations such as the grain-silos excavated in its W part. The Hellenistic finds consist mainly of typical 2d century B.C. sherds, but also include some small objects, including an ostracon, a game-tablet, a bronze seal, and bone implements.

The fort was probably part of the string of fortifications—a sort of Hellenistic *Limes*—which the Seleucid kings erected on the S border of Idumea.

The Hellenistic-period fort continued in use until the

first half of the 1st century B.C., as attested by the discovery of a Nabatean coin dating from the time of Haratat I or II; however, no Hasmonean coins have been found so far in the fort.

3. The Roman Fort. The fort of the Roman period coincided in its limits with the Hellenistic-period fort. The rebuilt outer walls of the fort continued along their former alignment, with new rooms built on top of the levelled debris. Along the outer wall in one area were noted two main strata: a Herodian stratum with two sub-phases, and a Middle Roman stratum. During the Middle Roman period, the walls perpendicular to the fort's outer walls were shifted about a meter from their earlier alignment, whereas the walls parallel to the outer wall were on a common alignment in both strata. Unlike the Israelite period, the foundations of the outer wall-rooms were deep (up to 2 m), which gave these rooms a fortified character. Additional fortified structures were discovered along the fort's W side—in its center, at its S corner, and opposite its towers. The rooms of the Hellenistic period had been packed with medium-sized stones, which created a raised platform about 2 m above ground level. A series of steps was uncovered at the corner platform, leading from the courtyard to the upper level. Apparently these stone-filled rooms were designed to strengthen weak areas in the fortifications, while at the same time allowing direct access to the towers.

Enclosures which joined to the E and N sides of the Roman-period fort were evidently part of the fortification system. The area covered by these enclosures was approximately 2 dunams, and their walls were nearly 1 m thick. These walls contained large stones in their courses, and were preserved to a height of 1 m. In the middle of the E wall of the E enclosure, a gate structure was uncovered. It is assumed that these enclosures served as fortified camps for this S border fort on the Roman *Limes* of Palestine.

The dated finds from the Roman fort include Palestine city coins: from Ascalon (i.e., Ashkelon; period of Vespasian), from Gaza (period of Septimus Severus), and from Caesarea (period of Marcus Aurelius).

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UZAI (PERSON) [Heb *ʾûzay*]. The father of Palal, one of those who worked on the wall of Jerusalem following the return from Babylonian exile (Neh 3:25). Brockington (*Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther* Century Bible, 143) says that the name may be shortened from a name like Azaniah, which occurs in 10:9 and means "Yahweh has listened."

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UZAL (PERSON) [Heb *ʾûzāl*]. A son of Joktan and hence the name of a South Arabian tribe or place (Gen 10:27; 1 Chr 1:21). Since the time of Bochartus (1674: 130–34) this biblical name has usually been combined with ʾAzāl which, according to South Arabian tradition, is said to have been a Pre-Islamic name for Ṣanʿāʾ, the capital of Yemen. In fact, ʾAzāl is equated with Ṣanʿāʾ (al-Hamdānī 1979: 193,8), and the name occurs also frequently in poetry, e.g., in a verse of the Pre-Islamic poet ʿAlqama b. Dhī Jadan (al-Hamdānī 1979: 72,8) or in a poem which is attributed to the Himyaritic king Asʿad Tubbaʿ (al-Hamdānī 1979: 56,5). According to a tradition not Shem, the son of Noah, but ʾAzāl, the son of Joktan, is said to have built Ṣanʿāʾ and her castle Ghumdān and to have called the town after his name (ar-Rāzī 1974: 14–15). In the Sabean inscriptions, however, the later capital of Yemen is always referred to under the name *ṣnʿw*, Ṣanʿāw, and never under **ʾzl*, ʾAzāl, although the triliteral root *ʾzl* is attested in proper names, e.g., as epithet of the ancient town Waʿlān in the SE part of Yemen, *wʿln tʾzl*, Waʿlān Taʾzil (YMN 4,2). According to one of the meanings of the Arabic verb *ʾazala*, "to restrain," the cognomen possibly expressed the wish that the fortified place should prevent enemies to enter it; ʾAzāl as place-name could be explained in the same way. Already Glaser (1890: 310) had pointed out that the hitherto accepted view of the identification of Uzal with Ṣanʿāʾ has to be given up. The Jews of Ṣanʿāʾ were probably the first who connected this town with a biblical name and called it ʾAzāl (Glaser 1890: 427). His proposal, however, to look for Uzal in the region of Yathrib/Madīna in the E Ḥijāz (Glaser 1890: 434), does not conform with our present historical knowledge of that region of Arabia.

On the other hand, no notice has yet been taken of the fact that aside from the use of ʾAzāl for Ṣanʿāʾ, the name ʾAzāl occurs two further times as a designation of places in Yemen (see al-Maqḥafī 1988: 26). The one ʾAzāl is a region in the district of ar-Raḍama, some 30 km E of Yarīm; the other ʾAzāl is a region of the Banū ʿAmmār in the district of an-Nādira NE of Ibb on the upper course of the Wadi Banā. Both places are so far unattested in Sabean inscriptions since the areas referred to have not yet been investigated by archaeologists. In the last mentioned region there is the castle *al-ʾAzālī* which is currently in ruins but which was formerly among the famous castles of Yemen. Therefore it cannot be entirely excluded that this ʾAzāl might be the place in which one has to look for Uzal in the table of nations.

In Ezekiel 27, where the partners in the trade with Tyre and the merchandise imported into this commercial town are listed, MT *mĕʾûzzāl* is attested (v 19). This might be interpreted as "spun yarn," if one interprets it as a *Puʿal* participle of the verbal root *ʾzl* (as a variant of **ʿzl*, "to spin"). Several Heb mss, however, offer the reading *mēʾûzāl* (LXX *ex Asēl*), which points to a place-name, "from *ʾÛzāl*." Making a conjecture at the beginning of the verse, which is presupposed by the LXX, the translation of the first half of the verse could read as follows: "and wine from Uzal they exchanged for your wares." Uzal has been identified with *Izalla* mentioned in Akkadian documents, a district NE of Mardin and Nisibin, especially since wine formed a part of the tribute paid to Ashurnasirpal by *Izalla*. By alteration of three *waws* into *yods*, the first three words of

Ezek 27:19 have been interpreted and translated "and casks of wine from *Izalla*" (*mēʾîzāl;* see Millard 1962: 201–3). Since iron is mentioned in the second half in the verse, another (though less probable) proposal is that Uzal may be the Heb transliteration of the name *Ušawalaš*, known from Hittite documents as an Anatolian town in the region of modern Konya, where rich deposits of iron-ore exist; the translation of the unaltered MT would then be: "and Dān and Yāwān exchanged for your wares from Uzal iron . . ." (see Elat 1983: 323–30). In any case *ʾûzāl in Ezek 27:19 is to be separated from ʾûzāl, the son of Joktan in the Table of Nations in the book of Genesis.

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W. W. MÜLLER

UZZAH (PERSON) [Heb *ʿuzzâ, ʿuzzāʾ*]. Var. UZZA. Five persons carry this name in the OT. Uzzah means "Oh [Yahweh or God, my] Strength," and is a short form related to the names Uzziah/Uzziel, "Yahweh/El (God) is my Strength" (Noth *IPN* 38, 160). It is also parallel to names formed on the Heb root *ʿzr:* Ezri, Ezra, Azariah, and Azriel (cf. the interchange of the famous king's names, 2 Kgs 15:7 vs. 15:13). Different *matres lectionis* (Heb consonants used to indicate vowels) for the final *ā* produce the variant Hebrew and English spellings.

1. Son of Abinadab. With his brother, Ahio, Uzzah attended to the new cart which carried the ark of God when David attempted to bring it from Abinadab's house in Baale-judah (Kireath-jearim) to the city of David (1 Sam 6:1–11 [= 1 Chr 13]). At the threshing floor of Nacon (Chidon in 1 Chr 13:9) God smote Uzzah when the oxen stumbled and he reached out to steady the ark (1 Sam 6:6–7 [= 1 Chr 13:9–10]). The place name, Perez-uzzah, recalls this "breach" in Uzzah's family line (McCarter *II Samuel* AB, 161–70) or this "bursting forth" by Yahweh against Uzzah (Hertzberg *Samuel* OTL, 276, with LXX, Vg, Tg and most modern English versions). In view of Uzzah's custodial role with the ark and the interchange attested between the name with Heb roots *ʿzz* and *ʿzr*, he should perhaps be identified with Eleazar, Abinadab's son consecrated to such service (1 Sam 7:1).

2. Unknown except as the person in whose garden Manasseh and Amon were buried (2 Kgs 21:8, 26).

3. Benjaminite of the family of Ehud (1 Chr 8:7). They were residents of Gibeah of Benjamin, Tel el-Ful (M.R. 173136) 6 miles N of Jerusalem, who were exiled to Manahath (v 6). It is unclear whether his immediate progenitor in the genealogy is (1) Gera "who deported [*heglām*] them" (NIV) or did not deport them (Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 76), or (2) Gera, known also as Heglam (RSV; cf. LXX, *iglaam*), or (3) a person now unnamed in the list.

4. Head of a family of temple servants *(nětînîm)* posted among the first returnees from exile under Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:49 [= Neh 7:51]). Listed after priests, Levites, singers and gatekeepers, these "temple servants" (literally "ones given" or "assigned") were descendants of state slaves attached to the temple under David as assistants to the Levites (Ezra 8:20; cf. Josh 9:23, 27; Deut 29:10 and Ezek 4:7–9). Uzza, like his sons, probably would have been such a servant. See NETHINIM.

5. Listed among the Merarite clans of Levi as the son of Shimei (1 Chr 6:14—Eng 6:29).

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UZZEN-SHEERAH (PLACE) [Heb *ʾuzzēn šeʾĕrâh*]. Uzzen-sheerah, "ear" or "corner of Sheerah," is a city that was founded by Sheerah (1 Chr 7:24), daughter of Beriah, descendant of Ephraim. The location of the city is unknown. Uzzen-sheerah is not mentioned elsewhere in the OT. Sheerah is said to be the founder of two other cities, Upper and Lower Beth-horon. They are located in S Ephraim (Josh 18:13–14) and are traditionally linked to Joshua (Reed in *IDB* 1: 394). Both were the scenes of numerous military conflicts (Josh 10:10–11; 1 Sam 13:18).

Sheerah was a descendant of Ephraim according to 1 Chr 7:20–24. Verses 21b–24 are a fragment that interrupts the Ephraim (Joshua) genealogy. The Chronicler's reasons for putting it here are unclear. The only other listing of the Ephraimite clan in the OT is Num 26:35–36 and it contains no mention of Sheerah.

M. STEPHEN DAVIS

UZZI (PERSON) [Heb *ʿuzzî*]. Short form of Uzziah or Uzziel, "(Yahweh/El) is my strength." The name is particularly well attested in postexilic texts.

1. Most prominent is Uzzi's mention in several genealogies of the priestly family of Eleazar. Ezra 7:1–5 (cf. 1 Esdr 8:1–2, Gk *Ozias*) purports to give the genealogy of Ezra, tracing backwards 16 generations through Uzzi, Bukki, Abishua, and Phinehas to Eleazar the son of Aaron. The obvious brevity of this list led to its being expanded in 1 Chr 5:29–41—Eng 6:1–15, partially by extension backwards to Levi, and partially by repetition of the triad Amariah–Ahitub–Zadok. This longer genealogy gives a satisfactory 12 generations from the Exodus to the building of the Solomonic temple (480 years following Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 86) and an equal span from Zadok to the Exile. A shorter extract of this genealogical information is given in 1 Chr 6:35–38—Eng 6:50–53. All of the lists are late, and reflect the intention of securing for the Zadokite priesthood an Aaronite ancestry, traced through Aaron's son Eleazar. The latest version of this genealogy is attested in 2 Esdr 1:1–3, where Uzzi (Lat *Ozia*) is listed as the son of Borith. This list duplicates that of Ezra 7:1–5 with the insertion of three additional generations between Amariah and Ahitub.

2. In 1 Chr 7:1–3 Uzzi is listed as the grandson of

Issachar. The specific numeration of Issacharites in the postexilic period is limited to the five descendants (Heb "sons") of Uzzi (Izrahiah and his four sons, v 3), suggesting the importance of this family among the returning Issacharites. The military terminology used of this family is probably not original to the list, but was likely influenced by the similar terminology used of Benjamin in the following passage.

3. In 1 Chr 7:6–8 Uzzi is listed as the grandson of Benjamin. However, this list is difficult to correlate with information given in the other genealogies of Benjamin. Though Bela's name is consistent (Gen 46:21; Num 26:38; 1 Chr 8:1–2), little else is common to the tradition. The names of Bela's five sons as given here, including Uzzi, are possibly based upon a postexilic military census, thereby accounting for the military terminology of the text.

4. Uzzi son of Michri was the father of Elah, the latter listed in 1 Chr 9:8 as one of the Benjaminite families living in Jerusalem following the return from exile. 1 Chr 9:7–9 lists four families (fathers' houses) of such Benjaminites, totaling 956, along with their ancestry. The parallel list in Neh 11:7–9 only has the names Sallu and Meshullam in common, though it is possible that the name Hodaviah son of Hassenuah is reflected in Judah son of Hassenuah. Otherwise the lists are at complete variance. Many commentators suggest that the list in 1 Chronicles 9 is dependent upon that in Nehemiah 11.

5. In Neh 11:22 Uzzi is designated as the overseer of the Levites in Jerusalem during the postexilic reconstruction. His family of Asaphites is traced back five generations. That this list is several generations removed from the earlier list of Levites in 11:15–18 is suggested by the reference in v 17 to Mattaniah son of Mica, Uzzi's great-grandfather, who was contemporary with the reconstruction. The presence of Uzzi here therefore reflects later interests in the fully developed temple ritual. These later developments were retrojected into the earliest years of the return in order to enhance their stature.

6. Uzzi appears as the head of one of the 20 priestly families in the second generation of the postexilic community. Neh 12:19 gives his name as the head of the family (father's house) of Jedaiah during the chief priesthood of Joiakim. The author incorrectly presumed that this was also the generation of Ezra and Nehemiah (so v 26).

7. Uzzi is listed by Neh 12:42 as being among those who led in the celebration and dedication of the walls which were rebuilt under the leadership of Nehemiah. Neh 12:42 seems to continue the listing of priests begun in v 41, in which case Uzzi and his colleagues would be priests. However, the formal parallelism with vv 33–36a suggests otherwise. There the listing of priests is concluded with the reference to trumpets. This list is then followed by one comprised of Levites, who are associated in v 36a with "musical instruments of David." Given the formal parallelism of these two lists, the persons mentioned in v 42 are most likely Levites rather than priests.

ROD R. HUTTON

UZZIA (PERSON) [Heb *ʿūzîyāʾ*]. One of King David's chief military men from Ashtaroth in Bashan (1 Chr 11:44). The name means "My strength is Yah(weh)." Uzzia is one of the sixteen Reubenites from the Transjordan listed in the Chronicler's expansion (1 Chr 11:41b–47) of the parallel lists of David's military elite (1 Chr 11:10–41a = 2 Sam 23:8–39). The location of Ashtaroth supports the Transjordanian origin of these warriors. The addition of the sixteen names in vv 42–47 may have been inspired by 1 Chronicles 12 (Myers, *1 Chronicles* AB, 90), but most scholars believe that these verses were not part of the original list. Williamson (*1 & 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 104) and others (Mazar 1986: 101–102; Rudolf *Chronikbücher* HAT 1st series, 101) have argued that the Chronicler or a later redactor did not fabricate these names.

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UZZIAH (PERSON) [Heb *ʿuzzîyāhû, ʿuzzîyāh*]. Var. AZARIAH. Six persons in the Bible bear this name.

1. King of Judah, who succeeded his father Amaziah on the Jerusalem throne (2 Kgs 15:1–2), and was in turn succeeded by his son Jotham. Provisional dates for Uzziah's reign span 783–742 B.C.E. Though the name "Uzziah" surfaces 25 times in the Bible as the name of this successful monarch, his other name, "Azariah" (*ʿăzaryāhû; ʿăzaryāh*), is attested nine times. Biblical tradition remembers Uzziah as one who mended the defenses of Jerusalem, reorganized and reequipped the Judean army, won and capably maintained control over numerous caravan routes to the S, extended Judah's frontiers at the expense of neighboring Philistines and Edomites, and suffered significant personal setback when he was stricken by leprosy toward the end of his rule.

a. The King's Name. The presence or absence of merely one Hebrew consonant (*rēš*, "r") accounts for the two names of the king, making the difference between the two forms far greater in English than in Hebrew. As Honeyman (1948: 20–22) has convincingly noted, extensive textual corruption fails to account for the variants. The answer lies elsewhere. Solely attesting "Uzziah," six chronological references in the prophetic corpus (Isa 1:1; 6:1; 7:1; Hos 1:1; Amos 1:1; Zech 14:5) argue for the plausibility that "Uzziah" was the king's throne name and "Azariah" his personal name. Since the ritual uncleanness of leprosy prevented the king from discharging his regal duties during his autumn years (2 Kgs 15:5; 2 Chr 26:16–23), this might explain why both names were used by the narrator in 2 Kgs 14:21–15:34 ("Azariah" eight times and "Uzziah" four). When Jotham was required to serve as regent in his father's stead, the latter rejoined the ranks of Judah's private citizenry. Accordingly, the throne name was set aside. Nevertheless, subsequent Hebrew tradition sought to establish some uniformity in the king's name. Thus Honeyman (1948: 21) credits the Chronicler with the "alteration of Azariah to Uzziah in every passage in which he is editing the narrative of II Kgs." Moreover, in the Peshitta the name always appears in the Syriac as Uzziah.

b. Historical Context. Though Uzziah's ascension to

the throne as a lad of 16 when the people made him king (2 Kgs 14:21; 15:2; 2 Chr 26:1, 3) poses no problem, the twice attested claim that his reign spanned all of 52 years (2 Kgs 15:2; 2 Chr 26:3) has been dismissed by many scholars as excessive. Since the biblical record offers no precise statement that Uzziah ascended the throne of Judah on the day that his father Amaziah died, perhaps popular support ushered Uzziah to the throne at an appreciably earlier moment. Though mention of Amaziah's death by assassination at Lachish (2 Kgs 14:19; 2 Chr 25:27) prefaces any mention of Uzziah's investiture as king, the historically correct sequence may have been just the opposite. Indeed, Judah's unwarranted declaration of war against its N neighbor Israel, and the humiliation that Judah was forced to endure in the battle that ensued (2 Kgs 14:8–14; 2 Chr 25:17–24) might have provoked some of Judah's disgruntled citizenry to drive Amaziah out of office and to entrust the struggling nation's welfare to his son Uzziah.

A cuneiform fragment with mention of a certain *Az-ri-ya-a-u Ya-u-da-a-a* (*ANET*, 282–283) was once embraced as helpful extrabiblical testimony that in his W campaign waged in 743 B.C.E., Assyria's monarch, Tiglath-pileser III, was momentarily opposed by a coalition headed by Azariah/Uzziah of Judah. But Na'aman (1974: 25–39) has persuasively demonstrated that the fragment presumably attesting Azriau king of Yaudi actually issues from the more recent reign of Sennacherib and alludes to Hezekiah rather than to Azariah. Moreover, whereas the annals of Tiglath-pileser twice refer to Azariah, his country goes unmentioned. Impressed by Na'aman's argument, Donner (1977: 424) concludes that "the Azriau of Tiglath-pileser's annals and Azariah of the Bible should be regarded as two different individuals."

Given the lack of extrabiblical epigraphic data, the proclivity of the Deuteronomic editor of 2 Kings to attribute tenures of excessive length to several of Judah's monarchs who ruled from roughly the mid-9th to the mid-8th century B.C.E., the severely limited coverage accorded Uzziah in 2 Kings, and the theological bias of the Chronicler who does offer a fuller account of his reign, our knowledge about the Uzziah of history is far from ample. Since his son Jotham is associated with Israel's king, Jeroboam II (ca. 786–746), in 1 Chr 5:17, it may be assumed that Uzziah was plagued by leprosy near the year 750. Even so, his impact on affairs of state may have been felt until the time of his death not more than a decade later.

c. Uzziah's Political Posture. Under the leadership of Uzziah of Judah and his slightly older contemporary, Jeroboam II of Israel, the dual kingdoms enjoyed a period of impressive resurgence. Despite the king's historical significance, the author of the 2 Kings narrative limits mention of Uzziah's efforts at statecraft to a single phrase: "He built Elath and restored it to Judah" (14:22a). Even that is ambiguous since "he" could in fact refer to Uzziah's father Amaziah. If the notation is intended to portray the reign of Uzziah, then we may infer that Uzziah was successful in continuing his father's incomplete conquest of Edom. Situated at the head of the Gulf of Aqaba, this Red Sea port would have been reclaimed and refurbished by Judah as a vital commercial outlet. Thus the merchant ships of Judah might once again set sail for Arabia.

After replicating the above-mentioned phrase in its ambiguity (2 Chr 26:2a), the Chronicler, whose knowledge of the monarch has undoubtedly been enriched by the possession of an unknown text, has much more to say. He portrays Uzziah as triumphant in his attempt to subdue the Philistines in the W. He specifically notes that the king dismantled the walls of Gath, Jabneh, and Ashdod (26:6a). Though Uzziah could scarcely press N where Jeroboam II held sway, he found it possible to target areas to the S and W. The text is imprecise, but it seems that Uzziah did not delay in tightening his grip on Philistine regions that fell his way (26:6b). By erecting a system of forts, the king was able to assert control over various caravan routes that passed through the Philistine plain. Moreover, Uzziah seems to have triumphed over Edom-based Meunites as well as Arabs dwelling near Gerar—Myers' reading of "Gerar" for the unknown site of "Gurbaal" mentioned in 26:7 (*II Chronicles* AB, 149) is reasonable. This phase of Uzziah's expansionist endeavors accorded him substantial control over trade routes extending into Arabia. In a summarizing statement, the Chronicler reports that Uzziah's military engagements were of such scope that "his fame spread even to the border of Egypt" (26:8).

Various building and agricultural projects were also set in motion by this ambitious Judean monarch. Whereas the Chronicler is not very lucid in spelling out the specific ways whereby Uzziah undertook to shore up Jerusalem's defenses, he does report that "he made engines, invented by skilful men, to be on the towers and the corners, to shoot arrows and great stones" (26:15). Since catapults and related machinery are unattested in detailed palace reliefs that dramatically depict the Assyrian conquest of various Judean cities of this era, it is unlikely that this is how the Chronicler wishes to be understood. Yadin's interpretation of this cryptic verse (1963: 326) makes good sense. He argues that the allusion does not concern firing engines, but rather "special structures built on to the towers and battlements to facilitate the firing of arrows and the casting down on the heads of the assault troops 'great stones.' " The presence of such cleverly constructed protecting screens made it possible for defending troops to move from a crouching to a standing position and to control their weapons with both hands.

The Chronicler adds that Uzziah "built towers in the wilderness, and hewed out many cisterns" (26:10). During the 8th century B.C.E., the Negeb was the locus of extensive building activity. Aharoni (1982: 251) credits the erection of the fortresses at Kadesh-barnea and Horvat ʿUza (Ramath-gilead) to Uzziah since the earliest pottery discovered there dates to that century. And he adds that contemporary with these structures are fortress towers above Engedi and several well developed water installations situated near the N shore of the Dead Sea. Presenting Uzziah as one who "loved the soil" (26:10), the Chronicler implies that this king was strongly committed to agricultural pursuits. National resurgence seems to have manifested itself at many different levels. Finally, Uzziah is remembered for having reorganized and refitted Judah's armed forces. That, too, is historically plausible though the notion that his troops attained a count of 307,500 men is manifestly excessive.

d. Uzziah's Religious Posture. In the 2 Kings narrative,

the initial religious assessment of the king is favorable: "he did what was right in the eyes of Yahweh" (15:3). Though Nelson (*Kings* IBC, 221) may be justified in claiming that the writer "refuses to moralize about the king's leprosy," reference to the "high places" that Uzziah tolerated (15:4) is itself a forthright indication that the king's piety knew certain limits. It may further serve to explain why leprosy struck a Judean monarch who otherwise pleased the deity. Due to his uncleanness, Uzziah became unfit to discharge the public regal responsibilities. These became the responsibility of his son Jotham who functioned as regent until his father's death. Though it is typically said in English translations that Uzziah now lived in a "separate house" (15:5), the case for the king's isolation is easily overstated. Since the literal reading of the Hebrew *(bêt haḥopšît)* is "house of freedom," it is important to recognize that whereas the king was now exempt from affairs of state, his freedom of movement was not appreciably curtailed.

In his account of the religious aspects of Uzziah's life, the Chronicler steps to his own beat. During the early years of his reign, Uzziah is said to have had the benefit of the counsel of a certain Zechariah "who instructed him in the fear of God" (2 Chr 26:5), but eventually the king's pride in his own accomplishments led to his undoing (26:16). For having usurped priestly prerogative by invading the Jerusalem temple and burning incense to Yahweh, the king is reprimanded by a contingent of 81 priests who are quick to mobilize. The story reaches its climax when the king's anger is aroused to such a point that he breaks out in leprosy (26:19). Though the historicity of this episode is most dubious, some tension between regal and priestly power might have shown itself during Uzziah's tenure.

On balance, Uzziah was one of Judah's strongest monarchs. If it is regrettable that the narrator in 2 Kings offers such a fleeting glimpse of Uzziah, at least parenthetical allusions to his rule are relatively numerous. Amos and Hosea are presented as Uzziah's contemporaries and Isaiah's temple vision is dated to the year of his death (Amos 1:1; Hos 1:1; Isa 6:1). Finally, an earthquake of overwhelming proportions is also linked with Uzziah's rule (Amos 1:1; Zech 14:5).

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2. Father of Jonathan, one of King David's overseers in charge of the storehouses in outlying districts, towns, villages, and watchtowers (1 Chr 27:25). The name occurs in a list of David's overseers.

3. Descendant of Kohath, one of Levi's sons, and the immediate son of Uriel (1 Chr 6:22–24).

4. A Judahite whose son, Athaiah, was one of the rulers of Israel chosen by lot to be a resident in Jerusalem after the exiles returned from Babylon (Neh 11:1–4). He is not listed in the genealogy recorded in 1 Chr 9:2–17.

5. One of the priests, a descendant of Harim (cf. 1 Chr 24:8), who returned to Judah following the exile. Because he married a non-Israelite woman, he was one of seventeen priests (along with other Israelites) instructed to divorce his wife as a sign of Israel's repentance, so that purity might be restored to Israel (Ezra 10:21).

6. Key elder (Gk *Ozias*) of Bethulia, the home town of Judith, the heroine of the apocryphal book which bears her name (Jdt 6:15, 16, 31; 7:23, 30; 8:4, 28, 35; 10:6; 13:18; 14:6; 15:4). He seems to have been very prominent in giving leadership to the townspeople, helping them to recognize the action of Judith and its implications.

L. J. PERKINS

UZZIEL (PERSON) [Heb *ʿuzzîʾēl*]. A popular name particularly in postexilic texts. The name Uzziel, "God is my strength," appears prominently in levitical leadership, but also on occasion it is used in non-levitical contexts.

1. Uzziel was, according to standardized tradition, a grandson of Levi and the fourth son of Kohath (Exod 6:18; Num 3:19; 1 Chr 23:12). His children were Mishael, Elzaphan, and Sithri (Exod 6:22), the first two of whom, according to Lev 10:4, carried the remains of Nadab and Abihu from the camp following their demise. According to 1 Chr 23:20 and 24:24–25, however, Uzziel's sons were Micah and Isshiah; these latter names ought rather to be taken as representative of major guilds during the first temple period, purportedly installed by David in the temple service. The initial importance of the family of Uzziel is attested by the fact that his son Elzaphan is listed as "head of the fathers' houses of the families of the Kohathites" (Num 3:30), and had charge of the ark, table, lampstand, altars, and temple vessels.

The information given in 1 Chronicles 6 is more confused. The material begins with an initial genealogy of the "high priestly" line of Eleazar, the grandson of Amram, Kohath's first son (1 Chr 5:27–41—Eng 6:1–15). Then follows a standard genealogy of the Levites through the third generation, the grandchildren of Levi (6:1–4a—Eng 6:16–19a), again listing Uzziel as fourth son of Kohath. Then, however, follows a genealogy of Gershom, Kohath, and Merari (6:4b–15—Eng 6:19b–30) which is at considerable variance from the others, due in part to its form as a strictly linear genealogy. It does not mention any of the otherwise familiar four sons of Kohath, and instead traces Kohath's descent through a son Amminadab, otherwise unknown in Kohathite genealogies. Furthermore, it lists in strict linear descent the names of Korah, Assir, Elkanah, and Ebiasaph. These names are generally linked to Kohath's second son, Izhar, but not in strict linear descent. The differences in this genealogy are often explained as due to its peculiar intent. It purports to trace the ancestry of the later temple singers, Asaph, Heman, and Ethan, to the lines of Gershon, Kohath, and Merari respectively. Such intention would explain why each line is pursued through only one son, and why therefore neither Amram,

Hebron, nor Uzziel are mentioned as sons of Kohath (some take Amminadab to be a variant of or an error for Izhar).

These genealogies may reflect an earlier situation in which various unrelated guilds held certain prerogatives in the temple. As the temple service grew more elaborate and was formalized, the various guilds began to relate to one another through power structures which eventually were symbolized as familial relationships. These relationships were fluid and unstable, however, representing the shifting power struggles in the administration of the temple. That Uzziel once held a position of considerable prestige is suggested not only by the text of Num 3:30 mentioned above, but also by 1 Chr 15:10. Here the Uzzielites are listed alongside the families of Kohath, Merari, Gershom, Elizaphan, and Hebron as parallel families equal in stature in the temple administration instituted by David (some connect the Jaaziel/Aziel of vv 18 and 20 with this family of Uzziel). Only later did Elizaphan become the son of Uzziel, Uzziel the brother of Hebron, and both the sons of Kohath, demonstrating the flagging of the Uzzielites, probably as a result of the increasing importance of the families of Asaph, Heman, Jeduthun, and finally Ethan, who replaces Jeduthun. Thus in the listing in 2 Chr 29:12–14 the place of Uzziel and Hebron are taken by Asaph, Heman and Jeduthun (for another listing, cf. Num 27:5).

2. In 1 Chr 25:4 Uzziel is listed as belonging to the "sons of Heman," one of the three guilds of lyrical prophets in the postexilic temple. According to the Chronicler, such guilds were instituted by David, who established 24 courses of 12 singers each. The Chronicler lists the primary functions of the guilds as follows: Asaphites, the royal prophets; Jeduthunites, lyrical prophecy in worship; Hemanites (including Uzziel), temple music. The name Uzziel is given as Azarel in v 18, but this shift from "strength" *(ʿoz)* to "help" *(ʿezer)* in personal names is not unknown (cf. King Uzziah, var. Azariah).

3. 2 Chr 29:14 lists Uzziel as one of the two leaders of the levitical guild of Jeduthun, the lyrical prophets, during the days of Hezekiah. Alongside Shemaiah, Uzziel led the Jeduthunites in their support of Hezekiah's reform movement. The guild of Jeduthun later gave way to that of Ethan in the postexilic temple leadership.

4. In 1 Chr 4:42–43 Uzziel is listed as a leader of the Simeonite family of Ishi who, along with 500 other members of that family, migrated to Mt. Seir (i.e., Edom). There they dispossessed the Amelekites who themselves were refugees from earlier conflicts with Israel. If the migration did in fact take place during the days of Hezekiah, suggested though not demanded by v 41, it raises critical issues concerning the fate of the tribe of Simeon. Though it is generally assumed that Simeon was absorbed by the tribe of Judah, such historical information suggests that some identifiable elements of the tribe may well have persisted in Judah's history.

5. Uzziel is listed in 1 Chr 7:7 as one of the primary families *(bêt ʾābôt)* of the Benjaminites, being the third son of Benjamin's oldest son Bela. Conflicting information is provided by 8:1–40, which provides an extensive genealogy of the Benjaminites. Only Bela, the firstborn of Benjamin, is common to these lists. Otherwise there is little or no agreement. Most assume that such confusion is due to the lateness of the tradition, representing the social configuration of the postexilic community. The fact that such attention is given to Benjamin in these texts is considered to be evidence of the significance with which the Chronicler regarded the family of Benjaminites.

6. Uzziel the son of Harhaiah is reported by Neh 3:8 to have been among those who helped in the rebuilding of the walls under the direction of Nehemiah. That Uzziel and his father are reported to have been goldsmiths may indicate that they directed the efforts of a guild, similar to the more usual involvement of family units in reconstructing the wall.

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Rod R. Hutton

V

VAIZATHA (PERSON) [Heb *wayzātā'*]. One of the ten sons of Haman (Esth 9:9). On problems surrounding this list of names, see ADALIA (PERSON). Vaizatha (LXX *zabouthaion*) perhaps renders the otherwise unattested Old Iranian name **Vahyazzāta* (Hinz 1975: 253), which in turn probably derives from **Vahyaz-dāta-* "given from the best one," a name attested in Aramaic papyri from Egypt (*CAP*, 253, 34—*wyzdt*), Persepolis Elamite texts, and Akkadian (Hinz 1975: 253 s.v. **vahyazdāta;* Kornfeld 1978: 105 s.v. *WYZDT* for references).

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VALENTINIAN EXPOSITION (NHC XI,2). This text, whose name is abbreviated as *Val. Exp.* (NHC XI,2), and its five liturgical appendices comprise the second of two Valentinian tractates occupying the first half of Codex XI, and written in the first of the two scribal hands responsible for the inscription of that Codex. The language of composition is a rather standard sub-Achmimic dialect of the Coptic language, bearing many resemblances to the compositional language of Codex I (the "Jung Codex"), whose inscriptional hand is often similar to that of Codex XI, and whose contents are for the most part also Valentinian. Although the first tractate of Codex XI bears a subscript title (and evidence of a superscript title as well) "The Interpretation of Knowledge," neither the present tractate nor its five liturgical appendices display any evidence of such titles. Therefore, the present author has named the main tractate (NHC XI,2: 22, 1–39, 39) "A Valentinian Exposition *(Val. Exp.)*," and the five appendices as "On the Annointing," "On Baptism A," "On Baptism B," "On the Eucharist A," and "On the Eucharist B," titles which reflect the nature of the content and form of the respective texts. The entire manuscript has suffered extensive damage, necessitating extensive philological reconstruction.

The main tractate, in which the author begins by saying he is about to reveal a mystery, contains a full exposition of the theogony, cosmogony, anthropogony, soteriology, and eschatology characteristic of the Valentinian theology expounded in such patristic sources as: Irenaeus' exposition of the teaching of Ptolomaeus (*Haer.* 1.1.1–8.6), of Valentinus (*Haer.* 1.11.1–12.3), and of Marcus (*Haer.* 1.13.1–21.5); Hippolytus' account of the "monadic" version of Valentinian theology (*Ref.* 6.29.2–36.4); Epiphanius' similar account (*Pan.* 31.5.1–27.16); and Clement of Alexandria's *Excerpts from Theodotus*. As such, *Val. Exp.*, in addition to the *Tripartate Tractate* of Codex 1 (NHC 1,5: 51,1–138,25), with which it shares a number of doctrinal affinities, constitutes one of the only two original non-heresiological and complete expositions of Valentinian theology known to modern historians.

The five liturgical supplements seem to be placed in such a way that the reader is to construe *Val. Exp.* as a doctrinal catechism for initiates who are invited to participate in the special annointing, baptism, and Eucharist whose significance has been previously revealed by an exposition the "mystery" contained in *Val. Exp.* itself. Unfortunately, the liturgical supplements are merely prayers which contain little information to advance research into the nature of the Valentinian sacraments.

Bearing in mind the extreme fragmentary state of the text, the basic content of *Val. Exp.*, from the initial theogony to its conclusion, seems to be the following:

(1) The primal being, the high deity called the Father and the Root of the All, is introduced as the Monad residing alone in a state of quiescence; this state of quiescence seems to be interpreted as the potential existence of Silence (who in other sources relating the teaching of Valentinus and Ptolemaus is regarded as his coeval consort). In this way, Silence seems to be identified with the potential existence of the Dyad, namely Monogenes (Mind) and Truth, in the Father's thought. Thus, in terms of the Valentinian school debate concerning whether the first principle was monadic (as contemporary Neopythagorean Platonism and the Valentinians of Hippolytus [*Ref.* 6.29.2–36.4] held) or dyadic (as the later Plato, most Middle Platonists, Valentinus and Ptolemaeus held, i.e. the One and the Indefinite Dyad), *Val. Exp.* seems to urge the position of the "monadic" school, as does the author of the *Tripartate Tractate* (NHC 1,5: 51,1–138,25).

(2) The Father then brings forth the Son, Monogenes, the Mind and Father of the All, as well as Limit, whose function is to establish a lower bound of the divine realm, the Pleroma of Aeons. Through Monogenes arise the Dyad (probably Silence as the hypostatization of the Father's tranquility, regarded by other Valentians as the Father's original consort) and the Tetrad (probably Truth as the feminine consort of Monogenes himself). In a sense, Monogenes forms the upper limit of the Pleroma (the inner sanctum of which he is "High Priest"), separating

the subsequent Aeons from the Father and conveying to him their praise, while Limit forms the lower boundary. This notion is at odds with the teaching of Valentinus and Ptolemaeus that there are two Limits, a higher one separating the Father from all below him, and a lower one, forming the lower bound of the Pleroma, to protect the Aeons from infection with the transgression of the lowest Aeon, Sophia, when she later attempts to produce a creation alone and unaided by any male consort, in imitation of the monadic Father.

(3) Although the account of Sophia's (Lady Wisdom's) activity occurs later in the tractate, at this point, the Aeons request the manifestation of Christ to minister to the errant Sophia by using his four powers: to separate from her the passions resulting from her audacious attempt to imitate the Father, to restore her original aeonic stability, to restore her essence now depleted by her passions, and to provide her female essence with the masculine form without which she had acted, but which was a prerequisite to the productive activity of any Aeon save the Father.

(4) From the unbegotten Tetrad (the Father and Silence; Monogenes and Truth) is projected the begotten Tetrad of Word and Life and thence Man and Church. The former pair produce ten further Aeons, and the latter twelve further Aeons, the lowest of which is Sophia, a total of thirty Aeons.

(5) Sophia now wills to leave her station in the "thirtieth" where she was originally placed with her consort Theletos ("desired") in order to imitate the monadic Father's emanative power, but in express disobedience to the Father's will that nothing "happen in the Pleroma apart from a syzygy" (i.e. a male-female pair). The result is that she falls into various passions and produces only "seeds" that are incomplete and formless, lacking the harmonious union of male form and female substance considered requisite for any normal offspring. In this sense, *Val. Exp.* agrees with those members of the Valentinian school who consider her creative transgression of the Pleromic protocol as the autonomous and intentional act of a generated being who wished to rise above the condition of all the other generated Aeons comprising the Pleroma in which all must function in male-female pairs, and to have the power of the unbegotten Father who alone is able to emit beings without a consort. This interpretation of Sophia's transgression is at variance with that of Valentinus and Ptolemaeus, who tend to see it as merely one expression of the involuntary desire typical of all the Aeons to achieve closer communion with the Father.

(6) The rectification of Sophia's transgression is now further continued by the "Son" (presumably of all the Aeons), Jesus, in whom the whole Pleroma exists "bodily" and who descends through the Limit to the separated Sophia, who has now repented of her transgression. Apparently, even though both the Limit and the Pleromatic Christ possessed the four redemptive powers of confirmation, separation and formation according to form and essence, they are able only to perform these restorative functions upon Sophia herself, but not upon the formless seeds emitted by her, nor are they able to restore her to her original place in the Pleroma. These final acts can be performed by no-one "except her own Son;" (in the original system of Valentinus, Sophia's Son is the Pleromatic Christ himself). Thus Jesus causes her formless seeds to become a creation, separating her passions into the spiritual and fleshly elements of which the lower creation will be comprised, and in addition he introduces from the Pleroma the male angels in preparation for the ultimate redemption of the female seed.

(7) At this point, the lower world is brought into being as the realm of the Demiurge, the Jewish creator God, who creates mankind in his own image and in the likeness of the Aeons above. Immediately strife breaks out between the Demiurge and the angels over the fate of the seed.

(8) The final restoration of all things occurs through the joining together of the male angels with the female seeds into pairs, so as to provide the seeds with a perfect form like those of the Aeonic pairs in the Pleroma. Sophia then receives her consort Jesus, and all together Sophia and the seeds gain readmission to the Pleroma, and the "All" is restored to unity and perfection.

In sum, the significance of *Val. Exp.* is that it is an original Valentinian composition that allows insight into the Valentinian school debates of the 2d century over the monadic versus dyadic nature of the ultimate deity, the redemptive functions of Limit vis-a-vis those of Christ, and the precise nature of Sophia's transgression, whether a blameless longing to praise the Father versus an audacious attempt to exercise the powers of the Father for herself. In general, the position taken by the author of *Val. Exp.* is that of the Western school of thought represented by Irenaeus (*Haer.* 1.2.4), Hippolytus (*Ref.* 6.29.2–32.8), the general drift of the *Tripartite Tractate* and perhaps of Heracleon, as opposed to the views of Valentinus himself and of his disciple Ptolemaeus.

In general, *Val. Exp.* seems to represent a trend toward Neopythagorean Platonic Christian theology, a greater emphasis on the soteriological role of Christ (as opposed to that of Limit), more along the lines of the doctrine of the Catholic Church, and a correspondingly more moralistic interpretation of Sophia's transgression as the culpable and intentional act of an identifiable individual rather than as a less comprehensible tragic split in the divine realm. *Val. Exp.*, then, seems to witness a period in the Valentinian tradition during which initiation had to be prefaced by a careful delineation of doctrine, not so much from that of the Catholic Church, as from competing Valentinian theologies. As such, one would tend to see it as a Western composition produced some time between Irenaeus' work against the gnostics, ca. 180 A.D., and Constantine's edict against heretics of 326 A.D., when Valentinians would have tended to defend their theology as a whole against that of the Catholics, rather than to debate the finer points of their own tradition.

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JOHN D. TURNER

VALENTINUS. Valentinus (ca. 100–ca. 175 C.E.), one of the major creative intellectuals of the early Church, is best known for his revision of the classic gnostic myth according to the terms and conceptual categories of emerging orthodoxy. Also influential was the "school" of Valentinian gnosticism, already active during the lifetime of Valentinus, that apparently continued into the late 7th century.

A. Sources
1. Patristic
2. Papyrological
B. Theological Influences on Valentinus
C. Valentinus' System of Theology
D. Gnosticism in the Tradition of Valentinus

A. Sources

1. Patristic. Due to the success of the intense heresiological polemic against Valentinianism, the vast majority of Valentinus' writings, and those of his followers, are lost. Apart from two complete works (the *Summer Harvest* and possibly the *Gospel of Truth*) discussed below, the writings of Valentinus have come down to us in the form of quotations in the writings of four patristic authors. Each presents us with only brief and fragmentary selections from Valentinus' writings.

Irenaeus of Lyon, our earliest patristic source, writing about 180 C.E., presents a relatively detailed description of a portion of Valentinus' theological system but with the usual heresiological biases. Irenaeus speaks of the emission of the spiritual universe, the creation of the material universe, and the history of humankind (*haer.* 1.11.1). Irenaeus' immediate concern seems to have been the comparison of Valentinus' system with that of the sect called the Gnostics (Layton 1987: 217–27).

Clement of Alexandria, writing about the year 200 C.E., quotes six sections from Valentinus' writings (= frags. C through H in Layton 1987: 229, 234–45) that touch on several issues and include quotes from, apparently, three philosophical treatises (frags. C, E and H), two sermons that allude to the dissolution of death (frag. F) and the presence of moral truths in pagan texts (frag. G), and a metaphorical discussion on Adam's name from a text of an unknown genre (frag. D).

Hippolytus of Rome, writing about 222–235 C.E., summarizes an autobiographical, and possibly visionary account concerning Valentinus (frag. A). He also transmits a complete seven-line poem called the *Summer Harvest* that Rudolph calls a hymn "which conforms to early Christian hymnic style" (1983: 318) and that Layton has described as "a cosmological poem that is visionary and personal in character" (1987: 229–31, 246–49).

Finally, Marcellus of Ancyra (d. ca. 374 C.E.) preserves, instead of a quote, only the title of an otherwise unknown theological work by Valentinus entitled *On the Three Natures*. This text apparently made reference to Valentinus' teaching that the spiritual universe has a tripartite structure (frag. B in Layton 1987: 229, 232–33).

2. Papyrological. With the discovery and publication of the Nag Hammadi Library (Robinson 1988: 1–26) some scholars have argued that the *Gospel of Truth* is quite likely a text written by Valentinus. While the majority of scholars withhold judgment on the precise identification of its author, there is a consensus that the text is at least Valentinian. Aptly described by Layton as "a Christian sermon on the theme of salvation by acquaintance [gnosis] with god," this text is full of allusions to and paraphrases of NT texts and, in a continuation of Paul's theology, focuses on Jesus' crucifixion as the central object of faith (Layton 1987: 250–52). The text may have been designed "to introduce Valentinian soteriological insights to members of the great church" (Attridge and MacRae 1988: 38–39). It discusses the plight and final salvation of those who are ignorant of both the father and their own natures but who, in the process of receiving knowledge (gnosis) of the father through the word (or son who is emitted from the father), reach the desired goal of repose (authentic existence). Two excellent recent translations into English can now be compared (Layton 1987: 253–64; Attridge and MacRae 1988: 40–51).

The original Greek text is apparently no longer extant. Two independent translations into Coptic were found at Nag Hammadi, one (NHC XII,2) in the Sahidic dialect is heavily damaged and very fragmentary (Robinson 1973: xiii–xv and pls. 95–100), and the other (NHC I,3) in the sub-Achmimic dialect is virtually complete (Robinson 1977: vi–xxxi and pls. 20–47).

B. Theological Influences on Valentinus

The very breadth, depth, and popularity of Valentinus' teaching, as well as its synthetic, eclectic, and speculative nature, all suggest a conceptual base which was informed from diverse sources.

Born in the Egyptian Delta around the year 100 C.E., Valentinus was educated in Alexandria, and possibly influenced by the teaching of the gnostic Basilides (Layton 1987: 417–44) and the Hellenistic Jewish biblical interpretation of Philo Judaeus (Layton 1987: 217–19). Valentinus may also have been exposed to the mystical Thomas tradition that originated in Mesopotamia and was popular in Egypt in Valentinus' time (see the discussion in Layton 1987: 359–409).

After teaching in Alexandria, Valentinus moved to Rome before the year 140 C.E. and it is likely that he was already exposed to classic gnostic teaching before he left Alexandria. Tertullian informs us that Valentinus was a candidate for the office of bishop in the church in Rome (ca. 143 C.E.). As a speculative theological reformer, Valentinus sought to revise the classic gnostic myth according to the terms and conceptual categories of emerging orthodoxy. Valentinus certainly accepted the authoritative texts of the orthodox camp (Williams 1983; Layton 1987: 251) and with them the traditional Roman formulation of belief.

But the genius of Valentinus' exegetical and theological contributions, and the contributions of his students, was

found in the use of a peculiar allegorical interpretation of those commonly accepted texts. By this allegorical method, Valentinus sought to discover deeper levels of meaning within the texts and so made the (apparently tacit) claim of having discovered the hermeneutical key to those texts (Tate in *OCD,* 45–46; Layton 1987: 272–74), a claim which certainly put Valentinians at odds with emerging orthodoxy.

C. Valentinus' System of Theology

It is clear from the preceding survey that the paucity of primary texts makes the reconstruction of Valentinus' system very difficult. Researchers have depended on the heresiological accounts which describe the systems of his followers, hoping to see an imprint of their mentor's system. Helpful modern discussions of the classic gnostic myth are those by Layton (1987: 5–22) and Rudolph (1983: 53–272), while useful discussions of Valentinus' own gnostic system, and the systems of his followers, also can be found in Layton (1987: 267–353) and Rudolph (1983: 317–25).

Valentinus accepted the classic gnostic world-view, as represented in the *Apocryphon of John* (NHC II,*1;* III,*1;* IV,*1;* and BG 8502,2), but with his own revisions. Rudolph suggests that we see in Valentinus' teaching the apex of gnosticism, the greatest and most influential of the gnostic schools (1983: 322–23).

D. Gnosticism in the Tradition of Valentinus

Even before the death of Valentinus some of his students were already becoming influential teachers. But soon after his death the Valentinian school split into two groups, the "Eastern" (or Anatolian, mostly located in Alexandria) and the "Western" (or Italic, situated in Rome). The Eastern branch produced such luminaries as Axionicus of Antioch, Kolorbasos (?), Mark, Theodotus ("Excerpta ex Theodoto"; Casey 1934; Sagnard 1948; and Hill 1972), Ambrose and Candidus, while the West produced Heracleon (Brooke 1891; Pagels 1973), Ptolemy (*Epistle to Flora;* Quispel 1966), Secundus, Alexander, Flora, Florinus, and Theotimus (Layton 1987: map 5; Rudolph 1983: 322–25).

The heresiological assault on the Valentinian schools began in about the middle of the 2d century. Such orthodox thinkers as Justin Martyr (Rome, ca. 150), Miltiades (ca. 165), Irenaeus (Lyon, ca. 180), Clement (Alexandria, ca. 200), Origen (Alexandria, ca. 200), Tertullian (Carthage, ca. 195–207), Hippolytus (Rome, ca. 222–235), Ambrose (Milan, ca. 338), John Chrysostom (Antioch, ca. 386), Theodore (Mopsuestia, ca. 400), and Theodoret (Cyrrus, ca. 450) wrote merciless polemic against the Valentinians. The presence of Valentinian texts, representing more than one Coptic dialect, in the Nag Hammadi library attest to the continued interest in Valentinian concepts, in the mid-4th century, within circles of ascetic monks, who were themselves not Valentinian. The emperor Constantine proscribed the Valentinians, among other "sectarians," in about the year 325, while the last contemporary condemnation dates from the Trullan Synod (Canon 95) of 692 (Constantinople).

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VALLEY GATE (PLACE) [Heb *ša*ᶜ*ar haggay*ʾ]. A gate of Jerusalem on the W side of the City of David (2 Chr 26:9; Neh 2:13, 15 and 3:13) approximately 500 m N of the Dung Gate (Neh 3:13; Williamson 1984: 83) located at the S tip of the E hill. Earliest mention of the Valley Gate was in regard to its fortification with defensive towers by Uzziah (769–733 B.C.E., 2 Chr 26:9; Williamson 1984: 84, 87 n. 2). It was from this gate that Nehemiah departed for his inspection tour (Neh 2:13, 15), and it is universally accepted that it was from this point that the dedicatory processions began (Neh 12:31–43).

Two primary objections (surveyed by Simons 1952: 125) to the Valley Gate being located on the W slope of the City of David are: (1) the Hinnom Valley (not the Tyropoeon or Central Valley) is usually "the valley" to which the scriptures refer (Jer 2:23) and (2) the maximalist view, that Nehemiah repaired the walls around the western hill, requires that Nehemiah's dedicatory processionals started on the western hill S of the present-day Zion Gate, which lacks archaeological support. But the increasing weight of evidence (Williamson 1984: 81–88; Avi-Yonah 1954: 244–45) again points to the W slope of the City of David as the location of the Valley Gate and more specifically to the W gate uncovered by Crowfoot and Fitzgerald in 1927–28 (1929).

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DALE C. LIID

VANIAH (PERSON) [Heb *wanyâ*]. A descendant of Bani and one of the returned exiles whom Ezra required to divorce his foreign wife (Ezra 10:36 = 1 Esdr 9:34). According to Noth, the text is corrupt here and Vaniah is not a proper name (*IPN*, 241). This is supported by wide variations among other texts. Several Hebrew mss read *znyh*, the LXX reads *ououania*, and the parallel text in 1 Esdr 9:34 reads *kai anos*. The editors of *BHS* suggest reading *ûmibbĕnê* ("from the sons of"), making Meremoth the patriarch of another family; however, there is no textual support for this. We may assume that "Vaniah" was an individual whose actual name has been lost. This person was a member of a family from which a group of exiles returned with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:10; note that Binnui replaces Bani in Nehemiah's list [7:15].) For further discussion, see BEDEIAH.

JEFFREY A. FAGER

VASHTI (PERSON) [Heb *waštî*]. Wife of Ahasuerus and queen in the Persian Empire about 485–465 B.C., and a prominent character early in the story of Esther (Esth 1:9, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 19; 2:1, 4, 17). Her refusal to respond positively to an invitation from the king threatens to demean not only the prestige of the royal throne but also the status of husbands as heads of households throughout the kingdom. Her behavior in not appearing at the royal banquet in order to display her beauty and person is understood in the royal court as an act against the stability and order of the whole empire. When the princely advisers to the king successfully sought to rid the court of Vashti's rebellious presence, they opened up the way to the throne for her successor, Queen Esther, facilitating the ultimate deliverance of the Jews from their oppressors in the empire. Vashti completely disappears from the concerns of the story once Esther takes her place (Esth 2:17).

The name Vashti has been thought to be of Persian origin and to mean "the best" or "the beloved, the desired one" (Moore, *Esther* AB), and the historical accuracy of the preservation of Persian names in the Hebrew texts has been substantiated (Millard 1977). The variants in the spelling (LXX - *ashtin;* Cambridge LXX - *ouasthein;* Josephus - *aste;* Vulgate - *vashti*) can perhaps be explained with a better understanding of the practices of orthography in various speech communities. The historical connection of Vashti with Queen Amestis evidently has been abandoned.

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JOHN MCKENNA

VATICANUS. See CODEX (CODEX VATICANUS).

VEGETABLES. See FLORA.

VEIL. See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

VEIL OF THE TEMPLE [Heb *pārōket*]. Var. CURTAIN. The fabric that served to divide the inner sanctum ("holy of holies") of the Tabernacle from the outer sanctum. It guarded the most holy object, the ark, from the profanity of contact with humans. Thus, no one could pass through this veil, not even Levitical priests (Num 18:7, so Haran 1978: 206). Only the high priest could go past it, and only after special cleansing, for the annual atonement ceremonies (Lev 16:24). Hanging before the ark, which symbolized God's presence and served as the place of God's glory, the veil marked the place where the divine and the human met (Exod 30:6).

Its fabrication and placement are described in Exod 26:31–35 (cf. Exod 36:35–36), and it is referred to in various other priestly passages (e.g., Exod 27:21; 40:21; Lev 4:17; 16:12; Num 4:12). Because it shielded the sacred ark, it was made of the finest materials and was crafted with the most elaborate workmanship. It was the premier piece among the series of textiles that were integrated into the Tabernacle's design.

The veil was to be made of a blend of colored wools (blue, red, purple) and fine twined linen. Its fabrication involved the technique known as *ḥôšēb* workmanship (RSV "skilled work"), which was probably a kind of needlework that produced figural designs—cherubim in the case of the veil—on the fabric. It was suspended on golden hooks from four acacia-wood pillars, which were overlaid with gold. The golden offering table of the outer sanctum was to be placed in front of the veil, opposite the ark that was hidden behind it. Its connection to the sanctity of the ark is expressed not only by its costly design and its placement but also by the fact that it was said to have been used as a cover for the ark when the Tabernacle was dismantled for journeys (Num 4:5). As such, it was the only fabric to be carried by the Kohathites, the most important of the Levitical families. See also TABERNACLE for a different interpretation.

Because the portable Tabernacle involved the use of fabrics for its walls, doors, and roof, not all of those fabric elements were said to be used for the analogous parts of the Temple. Wood and stone architectural elements were used instead of textiles. The screens of the Tabernacle, which marked its other two main passageways, are omitted from the temple texts; instead wooden doors were placed at entrances. However, for the veil, there is some evidence of its existence in the Temple, at least in the Second and/or Herodian Temples, at the doorway between the holy of holies and the main interior space (*hêkāl*). The temple texts in Kings do not mention the veil, but it appears in the parallel Chronicles account (2 Chr 3:14). In addition, the NT refers to the rending of the veil at Jesus' death (see Matt 27:51; Mark 15:38; Luke 23:45). These gospel references are rendered "curtain" in the RSV, but the Greek employs the same word that the LXX uses for "veil." See also SCREEN.

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VENGEANCE. The verbal and nominal forms normally translated as "to avenge, vengeance, etc." fall into two categories of definition: (1) the rendering of a just punishment upon a wrongdoer or the recompense given to the victim of the wrongdoing; (2) vindictive revenge inflicted by wicked people upon the innocent. The most common Hebrew word translated by this term is *nāqam* (verb, "to avenge") and its nominal relatives, *nāqām* and *nĕqāmâ* ("vengeance"). In the NT the usual word is *ekdikeō* (verb) and its nominal derivatives, *ekdikēsis* and *ekdikos.* In addition the RSV translates a few specific occurrences of three other verbs as "to avenge." These are: *hôšîʿa* (usually, "to save") in 1 Sam 25:31; *rāb* (usually, "to contend, to take to court") in 1 Sam 25:39; and *hēšîb* (usually, "to bring back, requite") in 2 Sam 16:8. The other significant word translated with this term is the participle, *gōʾēl,* in the phrase *gōʾēl haddām,* which is rendered, "the avenger of blood" (see below). Words related to the concept of vengeance and often used in parallel with *nqm* include *hēšîb* ("to bring, give back = make requital"); *šillēm* ("to requite, recompense, reward"); *dāraš* ("to seek, require," particularly in the phrase, "to seek the blood of"); *gĕmûl* ("dealing, recompense").

The concept of vengeance in the Bible is complex and multi-faceted. Although the English term, "vengeance," has generally been perceived as having a negative or pejorative connotation, the concept designated by the root *nqm* in the Hebrew Bible is generally presented in a positive light as a type of action appropriate (with certain limitations) to humans and particularly to God. The term, *nqm,* appears to have developed its central meaning in the context of judicial language. Most of its occurrences are found in passages which have at least a vague legal theme, in which the "vengeance" is viewed as the rectification of some misdeed. The root occurs 74 times in some 49 passages in the Hebrew Bible. Of these passages, 14 have an explicit legal context—*nqm* appears in some laws themselves (e.g., Exod 21:20–21), as well as in prophetic oracles which have been cast in the form of speeches in court (cf. Isa 1:24; 59:15–19; Ezek 25:13–14). In these passages *nqm* always refers to the just punishment meted out to a wrongdoer or to the damages or recompense awarded to the victim of the crime. This is not to be seen as malicious or vindictive retaliation by the wronged person, but rather as a just recompense for a crime.

In addition to these 14 passages, 24 others use the word where it is reasonably clear that the notion of "just recompense" for a crime is reflected, although not in a strictly legal context (cf. Josh 10:12–13; Jer 15:15). Only in the remaining 12 passages (one passage, Jer 20:10–12, falls both here and in the first category) does *nqm* appear in contexts which might call for a negative or pejorative translation related to "revenge" or "malicious retaliation for inflicted wrongs" (cf. Gen 4:24; Ezek 25:12, 15; Ps 8:3—Eng 8:2; Lam 3:60). In most (but not all) of these cases, the "avenger" is an enemy of Israel or God. (A complete listing of the passages may be found in Pitard 1982: 17.)

The concept of vengeance may be divided into several categories. Probably the most significant of these is the division between human and divine vengeance. Human vengeance may be either a private redressing of wrongs or public and judicial in nature. It may be perceived as either appropriate or inappropriate retaliation. Divine vengeance, however, is always presented as appropriate and is often requested by a petitioner when the latter is afraid that justice may not be done on a human level (cf. 1 Sam 24:12; Jer 11:19–20; Ps 79:9–10). The exact form of the divine vengeance upon the wicked is usually left quite vague.

Private vengeance is an important element in a number of narratives and is particularly significant in the case of murder. Legal material in the Pentateuch indicates that the responsibility for punishing a murderer was invested in the kinship group of the victim, which was to appoint a kinsman of the victim to avenge the death (cf. Num 35: 19–21). This person is called *gōʾēl haddām,* translated "the avenger of blood" in the RSV, although a better rendering would be "the redeemer of the blood." It was his responsibility to restore the balance of (i.e., "redeem") the kinship group by seeing that the murderer was put to death. This form of private vengeance, while deeply rooted in ANE practice, was also recognized for its tendency to lead to cyclical retaliation in the form of blood feuds. As the Israelite state became more centralized and as the court system began to develop, legislation appeared which attempted to limit the violence of private vengeance by adding a number of restrictions to its performance. For example, the cities of refuge were instituted, which allowed a person who had accidentally killed someone to find safety from the "redeemer of the blood" until judicial authorities in the city could determine his guilt or innocence (cf. Num 36:22–28). In addition, unrestrained and excessive vengeance was forbidden under the *lex talionis* (Exod 21:23–25), which mandated that punishment should be in accordance with the crime. The extreme violence that could develop from unrestrained personal vengeance is well illustrated in the song of Lamech (Gen 4:24) and the story of Samson (Judges 14–16), which recounts repeated acts of revenge on the part of both Samson and the Philistines, climaxing with Samson's killing of 3,000 Philistines "that I may be avenged for one of my two eyes." On blood vengeance, see especially Merz 1916.

Various biblical books present different views toward the use of vengeance (just retribution) by individuals. Generally, the authors assume that it is fully appropriate for innocent victims to be avenged upon the guilty. In fact, the laws in Num 35:31–34 make it mandatory to execute a murderer, since the blood of a victim is a defilement of the land that can be expiated only by the blood of the perpetrator of the crime (see also Deut 19:11–13 and, in a more private context, 1 Kgs 2:5–9). However, while those who seek vengeance for other offenses are not condemned (cf. Judges 14–16; 1 Samuel 25), several narratives suggest approval for those who opt for forgiveness and refuse to take legitimate vengeance. See especially the story of Joseph and his brothers (Genesis 45; 50:15–21), the stories

of David's refusal to kill Saul in 1 Samuel 24 and 26 (cf. also Lev 19:18). On the other hand, limits to this kind of forgiveness are evident in certain narratives, in which a character (the king) is condemned for showing mercy to his enemy (1 Sam 15:4–33; 1 Kgs 20:30–43).

As the Israelite monarchy developed, the state attempted to preempt private vengeance with the development of a court system. The legal portions of the Pentateuch in large measure reflect this attempt (cf. Num 35:9–35; Deut 24:16).

While a substantial number of the legal passages about vengeance deal with human avengers, the avenger par excellence in the Hebrew Bible is God himself. This is particularly in evidence in the Psalms and prophetic literature, where God is described as the One who will bring about a just recompense upon those who have attacked Israel or one of God's faithful. Divine vengeance is particularly invoked upon external enemies who oppress Israel, on the upper class which has unlawfully enriched itself at the expense of the humble, on those who have been unfaithful to Yahweh, and on those who seek to injure the faithful individual. Again, these announcements of or calls for God's vengeance generally are not to be construed as calls for vindictive action by God, but rather should be understood as appeals for justice. God's vengeance will restore the balance which has been upset by wickedness. God is asked to, or announces that he will, bring about a just punishment for the guilty and compensation for the victim (cf. Ps 94:1–2; Jer 51:34–37; Isa 35:4; Ps 79:10). Because of its relationship to justice, the divine vengeance can be described both in terms of encouragement to the oppressed, as in Isa 61:1–4, or in harsh terms of punishment, as in Psalm 58.

In recent years, a different understanding of the term *nāqam* was developed by Mendenhall, which received considerable acceptance. Mendenhall (1973: 69–104) proposed that the meaning of *nqm* has been misunderstood and has nothing to do with vengeance, which he defined as a basically negative term. He argued that the context of the word was not in the judicial sphere at all, but rather in the realm of covenant terminology. He suggested that *nqm* does not denote a legal process, but rather an extralegal intervention by a sovereign into a situation of danger or chaos in a vassal state where all regular and normal legal processes have broken down. The sovereign intervenes to rescue the faithful vassal and punish the forces that are causing the trouble. These two aspects of *nqm* he labeled as "Defensive Vindication" and "Punitive Vindication." His primary evidence for this proposal came from the Amarna tablets, where he found six letters that appeared to have occurrences of the verb *naqāmu*. In these letters, the Canaanite writers petition the Pharaoh of Egypt to rescue their cities or themselves from attackers. The verb in these passages clearly means "to rescue" and never approaches a meaning such as "to avenge." From this starting point Mendenhall examined occurrences of *nqm* in the Hebrew Bible and proposed that the root here, too, is a technical covenant term for the intervention of the sovereign (in this case, usually God, with Israel as his vassal). Mendenhall's proposal, however, must be rejected, since the verb in the Amarna letters, which is the foundation for his argument, has been shown to be unrelated to the root *nqm* (see Pitard 1982: 5–16). As seen above, the context of the verb in normal legal terminology seems beyond doubt.

The concept of divine vengeance or recompense continues to play a role in the NT writings. Human vengeance is discouraged, and reliance on God's action is emphasized (cf. Rom 12: 17–21). The theme of forgiveness and renunciation of vengeance, found already in the Hebrew Bible, becomes a major theme in the words of both Jesus and Paul (cf. Matt 5:38–48; Luke 17:3–4; 23:34; Rom 12:17–21). God's intervention in the last days is portrayed as the day of vengeance, when the wicked will be punished for lack of faithfulness to God and for their oppression of God's people (2 Thess 1:5–10; Rev 6:10; 19:2), thereby continuing the earlier Israelite theme.

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VERSE, HEBREW. See PARALLELISM.

VERSIONS, ANCIENT.

This entry consists of 9 articles that treat various ancient versions of the Bible. The first article provides an introductory overview to the corpus of ancient versions and their value for the textual criticism of the Bible. The next four articles cover the most archaic (3d century A.D. or earlier) versions: Greek, Syriac, Latin, and Coptic. These are "primary versions:" that is, they constitute translations of biblical books from their original languages (Hebrew [OT] and Greek [NT]). The final four articles in this entry cover the next most-ancient versions: Gothic, Armenian, Ethiopic, and Georgian. These are for the most part "secondary versions:" that is, they tend to be early translations of various primary versions, and therefore they have some value in helping scholars establish the nature of the ancient versions. These articles can be supplemented by the entries on AQUILA'S VERSION; ARISTEAS, LETTER OF; DIATESSARON; HEXAPLA OF ORIGEN; SEPTUAGINT; SYMMACHUS, SYMMACHUS'S VERSION; SYRO-HEXAPLA; TARGUM, TARGUMIM; THEODOTION, THEODOTION'S VERSION; and VULGATE. See also TEXTUAL CRITICISM; DEAD SEA SCROLLS; NAG HAMMADI; and WADI MURABBAAT. For discussions of the various languages themselves into which these versions are translated, see LANGUAGES.

INTRODUCTORY SURVEY

Translation was not unknown in antiquity. We find bilingual versions of treaties and of the inscriptions of kings,

and the rendering of religious ceremonies from Sumerian into Akkadian; at a later date, agricultural and other practical treatises find their translators. But the translation of the Bible, first in the Jewish context, and later in the Christian, is innovative in various ways, especially in the extent of the literature reproduced. The centrality of scripture to the religion and theology both of Judaism and of Christianity brought this about. While the cultic aspects of the texts first translated and the legislative function provide some sort of parallel to the other translated material which were known in antiquity, the narrative and poetic aspects, as well as the theological and philosophical overtones, rendered into the language (and later, the languages) of another culture, make the enterprise novel in its totality. (For various surveys, see Burkitt 1903; Metzger 1962, 1977; Vööbus 1954; Eissfeldt 1966: part 5.)

A. Historical Survey of Ancient Versions
1. Earliest Versions of the Hebrew Bible
a. Aramaic
b. Greek
c. Syriac
2. Earliest Versions of the Christian Bible
a. Latin and Syriac
b. Coptic
3. Subsequent Versions and Editions
B. The Critical Study of Ancient Versions
1. History of the Canon
2. History of the Text
3. The "Original Text"
4. The Ancient Languages Themselves

A. Historical Survey of Ancient Versions

1. Earliest Versions of the Hebrew Bible. The deportation of the Jewish people to Mesopotamia deprived them of their temple worship and they were thrown back upon scripture for a principle of coherence of religious and national identity. Thus the returning exiles in the following century, although they restored the worship of the temple, adhered to the Law and its public reading, as the books of Ezra and Nehemiah reveal. Nor were the Jews now confined to Palestine: at the time of the deportation, there were already communities of exiles in Egypt, and the community there grew under Persian rule, while a Jewish population remained in Mesopotamia. The successors of Alexander the Great encouraged people of many races to settle in newly established cities, and Jews thus greatly increased in number in Egypt, and spread throughout the Hellenistic world. All these events brought linguistic change of habit. Aramaic, for Palestinian and Mesopotamian Jews, took the place of Hebrew as the vernacular, while the Jews of the Hellenistic cities adopted Greek as their tongue. These are the languages of the first translations of biblical writings, on the one hand the Targumim, on the other the Greek translation known as the Septuagint (LXX).

a. Aramaic. Tradition has the origin of the Aramaic translations or Targumim in the days of the return from exile, and Neh 8:8 is taken to refer to translation being given when the Hebrew scriptures are read, in this case, the participle *mĕpōrāš*, is taken to mean "with an interpretation" rather than simply "clearly," or "distinctly". However, the tradition cannot be substantiated. But it is clear from the Qumran scrolls, the NT, and passages of the Mishnah, that by the end of the Second Commonwealth, Targumic interpretations were part of the exegetical inheritance among the Jews. See also TARGUM, TARGUMIM. Such translations would at first have been transmitted in oral tradition, and only later committed to writing. In the earlier Targumim, there is a certain amount of haggadic material or MIDRASH introduced along with the Aramaic rendering of the Hebrew text: this illustrates how the two senses of "interpretation" are present in this translation. Not only are obscure passages given a more specific application in this way, but edifying or merely interesting detail is added to the accounts. In the later Targumim, this element is not entirely absent but has been reduced. The discoveries in the materials from the Cairo Genizah, from Qumran, and in the Codex Neofiti of the Vatican library, have shown the variety of renderings which existed, sometimes showing links with the kind of textual variation in the Hebrew which the Qumran finds in particular have revealed. This suggests that in origin the translations represented may have arisen in different places or communities. (For a good survey, see Bowker 1969.)

b. Greek. It has been suggested by a few scholars that the Septuagint (LXX) translation arose in a similar way, with different Greek translations made in different Greek-speaking Jewish communities. In this way the different families of text within the LXX tradition are explained as the representatives of early forms of the texts, and not as later corruptions or revisions. See SEPTUAGINT. But although scholars of stature have put such views forward, they have not commanded general acceptance. The evidence is held by most experts to signify that, for the Pentateuch at least, we can accept the notion of a distinct single act of translation in the third century before the Christian era.

Such a specific dating is found in the *Letter of Aristeas*. This work purports to be a letter exchanged between Greeks describing the origin of the Greek rendering of the Jewish Law. It is alleged to have been undertaken at the command of Ptolemy II Philadelpus (283–246 B.C.E.) at the instigation of his librarian Demetrius of Phalerum. At the request of the king, the Jewish high priest sends seventy-two scholars who finish the translation in as many days. (Later forms of the story in Christian writers introduce the miracle that these scholars worked in pairs without consultation with any others, and upon collation, were found to have produced the same identical Greek text!). The details of the story will not stand up to investigation. Demetrius was not Ptolemy's librarian, and was in fact banished by him. Moreover, the story, though purporting to be the work of a Greek, is written in many respects from a Jewish point of view. However, it is generally conceded that in spite of this, the origin of the translation should be placed at the date, apparently traditional, which the *Letter* ascribes to it. (For a survey of the LXX, see Jellicoe 1974.) See ARISTEAS, LETTER OF.

Examination of the text of the Greek OT shows that its translation was the work of a number of translators: we may date the rendering of the Pentateuch in the 3d century, and it would appear from the Prologue to Ecclesiasticus (ca. 116 B.C.E.) that by that date the whole of the

Jewish scriptures had been rendered. This is also demonstrable from the use of the translation made by Alexandrian Jewish historians and a probable echo of the translation of Isaiah in the work of the poet and scholar Callimachus (ca. 300–240 B.C.E.). The style differs: much is marked by a tendency to imitate Hebrew constructions in the Greek, but there are varying degrees of such literalness. Some Wisdom books are marked on the other hand by great freedom, which sometimes strays far from the sense of the original: perhaps the great difficulty of parts of the original encouraged this.

In general, there was great concern for accuracy, and from this arose a succession of revisions of the text. Our earlier knowledge of this from later Christian scholars has been enhanced and rendered more precise by manuscript discoveries in the caves by the Dead Sea at Qumran and Muraba'at. See DEAD SEA SCROLLS; WADI MURABBAAT. Certain manuscripts characterized particularly by the rendering of the Hebrew *wĕgam* by the Greek *kaige* have been associated with the name of Theodotion, previously assumed to have lived in the late 2d century of the Christian era, but now by the dating of the manuscripts necessarily placed at an earlier date, the first century B.C.E. or C.E. The name of Theodotion was already known, along with those of Aquila and Symmachus, as revisors of the Greek text, whose motivation was greater accuracy and verbal equivalence between the Hebrew original and the Greek rendering. See AQUILA'S VERSION; SYMMACHUS, SYMMACHUS'S VERSION; and THEODOTION, THEODOTION'S VERSION. References in early fathers and in marginal annotations provided our main source of knowledge until modern manuscript discovery filled out the picture. The context of their activity, especially that of Aquila, was theological controversy between Christian and Jew over the interpretation of the testimonies drawn from the Hebrew scriptures, which the Christian urged should be understood to support the claims made for Jesus Christ and the Church. In such controversy it became clear to the Christian participants that their arguments were rendered weak when based on passages where the LXX differed from the Hebrew adduced by their Jewish opponents. As a reference aid in such circumstances, the Alexandrian scholar Origen produced the six-columned work known as the HEXAPLA. In this work, the Hebrew text, along with a transcription, was accompanied by the versions of Theodotion, Aquila, and Symmachus (and by other versions in certain books), together with the text of the LXX, which Origen had provided with a critical apparatus to remedy its shortcomings. This work (of which a few manuscript traces have lately come to light), although intended to clarify, became at length a potential source of corruption as the significance of Origen's apparatus became incomprehensible. The work of the Antiochene Lucian also sought to provide a more accurate relationship between the Hebrew and the translated Greek text. See also GREEK VERSIONS below.

c. Syriac. In the opinion of many scholars, the Syriac Pentateuch is believed to have been a Jewish translation in origin, although preserved in the Bible of the Syriac-speaking church. It has many contacts with the Targumic tradition. It is suggested that the conversion of the royal house of Adiabene to Judaism in the 1st century C.E. was the occasion for this translation. A similar suggestion for the origin of the Latin version in Jewish circles in Antioch and its adaptation by the Christian church, made on mainly linguistic grounds, has not however met with acceptance. See SYRIAC VERSIONS below.

2. Earliest Versions of the Christian Bible. The NT writings, in Greek, drew upon the text of the LXX and its variety: both Testaments were used by the church, after some time, as inspired scripture. The church spread among Greek-speaking urban dwellers: here the inherited scriptures of the OT and NT were immediately available, and their influence is evident in early traces of the development of liturgy, canon law, theology, and the legends of the saints. But as the Gospel expanded in the course of the 2d century, it encountered and converted, both in the Latin speaking West and in the countryside of the Hellenized East, indigenous peoples unfamiliar with Greek. It must shortly have discovered the necessity of translating the scriptures which were the source of the substance and form of its belief and life. The translation of the OT for Jews who had lost Hebrew as a native tongue was the analogy of this; but, although there were many similarities in methods and in end-product, the analogy does not seem to have been recognized.

a. Latin and Syriac. The earliest translation appears to have been in Latin. See LATIN VERSIONS below. This appears in Africa towards the end of the 2d century: but it is not altogether certain that it originated there. An Eastern origin in Antioch and a N Italian origin in or near Milan have also been suggested. In textual terms, however, the form of the Latin version which survived in Africa appears to be the most primitive.

In the Syriac–speaking world of the East, a gospel tradition in the fourfold gospel form would appear to be attested fairly late, by comparison with the Latin: this is due to the creation in the 2d century C.E. of a gospel harmony by the apologist TATIAN, a Syriac speaker by birth, who introduced his work, known generally as the DIATESSARON, among his fellow Syriac speakers. The influence of this harmony upon the gospel text in Syriac was all-pervasive, even when a fourfold gospel form was adopted: it reveals itself in harmonistic readings and in other variants of theological *Tendenz* deriving from Tatian's encratite and anti-Judaic views. Such readings, through the influence of the Syriac text, have spread to versions derived from or influenced by it, such as the Armenian, Georgian, and Ethiopic (see Lyonnet and Vööbus). Whether Tatian's harmony was composed in Greek (since he was in the West at the time of his conversion and wrote in Greek before his return to his native Mesopotamia) is a question still debated. We have a 3d century fragment of the Diatessaron in Greek from the frontier town of Dura-Europos on the Euphrates, and it has recently been very plausibly argued that the Greek hymnodist Romanos the Melodist was influenced by the Diatesseron in the early 6th century. The above data, however, need not imply the existence of a Greek Diatessaron. Hence, the view once entertained by a number of scholars that such a document had influenced the text of such a witness as Codex Bezae is no longer canvassed.

There is still a stronger body of opinion that the Latin tradition was affected by the harmony of Tatian. This view

rests not only upon the evidence of readings in the manuscripts of the Latin tradition, but also upon a number of gospel harmonies dated at various times throughout the Middle Ages in languages of Western Christendom (German, Dutch, English, Italian, and French). From this has been deduced the existence of a Latin harmony, derived from Tatian's work, if not actually composed by him: and its corrupting influence upon the Latin text of the fourfold gospel has been suggested. But although several manuscripts of Latin harmonies are known, the view outlined is by no means that of all scholars, many of whom consider the Latin and Western harmony tradition to be an independent development, and its coincidences with what we know of Tatian's text to be fortuitous.

b. Coptic. The translation of the first Coptic version is not so precisely to be dated as that in Latin or Syriac: however, the date cannot be later than the 3d century. The conversion of St. Antony through the hearing of scripture about 270 C.E. indicated the existence of a Coptic version, since he knew no Greek, and about 50 years later Pachomius, writing a rule for monks in Egypt, demanded the capacity to read scripture, or to recite it, from postulants. The sensational find of NAG HAMMADI is of manuscripts of the 4th century, among them the *Gospel of Thomas,* a collection of sayings attributed to Jesus, many of them with parallels in the Synoptic Gospels. The translation of these in Coptic owes a great deal to the canonical gospels in Coptic, and therefore presupposes their existence. All these data point to the 3d century as the latest *terminus a quo* for the earliest Coptic translation. We have not only parts of the gospels, but of many other parts of the Bible in the various dialects into which Coptic had developed by the effect of the geography of the Nile Valley. The Sahidic dialect came to overwhelm the others in course of time: this may be related to the fact that one of the others, sub-Achmimic, was preeminently the language of Gnosticism and Manichaeism, and the eventual triumph of orthodoxy brought the literary use of that dialect to an end. Sahidic in its turn was superseded by Bohairic, which remains the liturgical language of the Coptic church. The complicating factor of harmonization is not found in the Coptic gospels.

All other parts of the Bible, both NT and OT, were translated in due course. The different estimations of the extent of the canon played their part in different areas. In the Syriac speaking regions, the NT lacks the books of 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude, and Revelation, which were counted among the *antilegomena* in the early 4th century, according to Eusebius. The major part of the OT in Syriac, was rendered from Hebrew, including the Wisdom of Jesus ben Sira (which only came to light in Hebrew within the last hundred years): only the letter of Baruch, the additions to Daniel known only in Greek, and the deuterocanonical books of Tobit, Judith, the Wisdom of Solomon, and 1 Maccabees were rendered from Greek. Latin and Coptic were rendered from Greek throughout the Bible, and the whole of the NT in Syriac.

3. Subsequent Versions and Editions. The three versions mentioned hitherto, Latin, Syriac, and Coptic, are all termed "primary versions" of the NT, since they are all rendered from the Greek text. For the OT, in addition to the LXX, the only primary versions used by Christians were the Syriac and the Latin Vulgate (most parts of which were translated from Hebrew by Jerome, but a few books were simply revised from the Old Latin, which was itself based on the LXX). See VULGATE. Later primary versions of the NT are attested for Gothic and Slavonic, each translated directly from Greek. See GOTHIC VERSIONS below. "Secondary versions" are those made from a translation, as opposed to the original language; thus, any version of the OT translated from the LXX is a secondary version. Syriac engendered many (the earliest stratum of the Armenian version, Arabic, Persian, and Sogdian), while the Ethiopic, translated from Greek, was subject to a revision from Syriac. Coptic also gave rise to Arabic translations and provided the base of the Apocalypse in Ethiopic. See ARMENIAN VERSIONS and ETHIOPIC VERSIONS below.

As churches became established, and scholarship could arise, greater recourse to the original Hebrew or Greek was made. Thus the Old Latin, in which there are different strands, was eventually revised, at least in part, by Jerome: the Old Syriac, with its debt to Tatian, was supplanted by the Peshitta. The Armenian turned to the LXX and the Greek NT for its revisions leading to later authorized versions. The Georgian version, in part at least the offspring of the Armenian, was revised to a Greek standard on more than one occasion. See GEORGIAN VERSIONS below. In Syriac, we have a valuable rendering of the critical work of Origen, the Hexapla, known therefore in Western scholarship as the SYRO-HEXAPLA version which seeks to give a word for word equivalence to the Greek. A similar NT version was also produced, known as the Harklean, after the birthplace of Thomas, its translator.

While the West was served in the earliest periods of Christian expansion by the Latin version alone, and this continued to be the preeminent text of scripture throughout the Middle Ages, there were nevertheless translations into a number of languages of the Germanic invaders of the Roman Empire as these were converted, namely into Old High German, Anglo-Saxon or Old English, and Icelandic or Old Norse: while at a later period, translations and paraphrases are known in the Middle German, Middle English, Middle Dutch, Old French, and in the Tuscan and Venetian dialects of the medieval form of the Italian language.

The versions of the Bible entered into a new phase of influence with the invention of printing. In the West, the Vulgate was committed to its first printed edition in the 15th century and became available for critical study as manuscripts were studied and compared. The various Eastern versions, which had begun to be known in the West through the attempts to unify the church in the 15th century, were the object of both Catholic and Protestant scholarship. Type for the major languages was already cut in the 16th century, but the appearance of full Bibles in some cases waited for more than a century. Where biblical texts were available, they found a place in the Polyglot Bibles of the 17th century. When editions with critical apparatus began to be made, beginning with Mill's in the early 18th century, the versions were included as fully as they were known (often, though, in case of the Eastern versions, in reliance upon Latin renderings, not always accurate). In the course of the 19th century, as textual

criticism developed for the Hebrew Bible, the LXX and the NT, the evidence of the various versions (Latin, Greek, and Eastern) played an increasing part. Although opinions differ sharply on the weight to be given to evidence from these sources, they continue to occupy the attention even of those who underrate their importance. See TEXTUAL CRITICISM.

As to editions, the present position is far from perfect. For some versions, especially the Vulgate, we are in a position of advantage, while for others there are projects of critical edition under way (e.g., the Old Latin or the Peshitta OT). Others still, such as Coptic and Georgian, while having valuable editions of many manuscripts available, still lack a critically coordinated edition. Others again, such as the Armenian and the Ethiopic, are still not available in a critically useful form. The minor versions, both Oriental and Western, are often very difficult of access. Another problem is that of manpower: while there may be many scholars competent in a language important for Christian or Jewish antiquity, few may make editorial or philological work on biblical (or indeed other relevant) texts their main research. For languages which few Westerners still learn (Georgian, Sogdian, Nubian, medieval Western languages), the situation is even more unsatisfactory to the biblical scholar (the cultural policy of the former Soviet Republic of Georgia has made Georgian a special case). It should also be noted that the study of Latin now is far less common or advanced than a generation or two ago.

B. The Critical Study of Ancient Versions

Before outlining the importance of the versions in a study of the Bible, a sketch must be given of the necessary memoranda for users of versions for that or any other study. Every version has its own history, as the sketch above will have shown. This perhaps obvious fact has a number of ramifications. There may have been independent tentatives at translation when this was first undertaken, or a first attempt may have been neglected as a possible base of revision, at a later date, and a new translation begun. In establishing this, attention must be given to the way in which the same original is rendered in the language receiving the translation: the same text may be rendered in distinct ways. To trace this, we need access not only to manuscripts of the Bible, but to quotations from the Bible in the writers of the receiving language, and to liturgy, hymnody, and so on, in which scriptural words may have been adapted or echoed. The study of the Old Armenian by Lyonnet, and many classics of the study of the Old Latin version are fine examples of this type of research. A further corollary of this is that a manuscript does not necessarily represent the same version in all parts (as is true also, textually, of Greek manuscripts of the NT). Manuscripts and quotations, too, may also be the result of revision, which has produced a mixed text. This is a singularly difficult problem to deal with.

Whether studying the version itself, or in relation to its putative model, we must note its style and the approach of the translator to his task. Does he paraphrase or gloss his model, or does he painstakingly, or even pedantically, reproduce his model word for word? Does he comprehend his text, or does he struggle? Does his translation derive from an original in which there were corruptions, such as mistakes in copying? Investigation of these aspects will be an aid to determining whether the version primarily comes from the original Greek or Hebrew, or whether it is a secondary or even tertiary version. In all this, we shall become aware of the limitations which the idiom of the receiving language has placed upon translation. For example, quoting a classic article by Ll. J. M. Bebb (1902), "there are no distinctions of gender in Armenian, no neuter in Arabic, no passive voice in Bohairic, no article in Latin, and therefore these versions afford no help where readings involving such points are being discussed."

1. History of the Canon. The ancient versions are valuable objects of study, both in themselves and in the context of the study of the Bible and of church history. First, they illuminate the history of the development of the canon of scripture. The fact that the Samaritans possessed only the Pentateuch reflects the state of the concept of the extent of scripture at the time of the Samaritan schism. The Syriac NT canon, with the absence of the lesser Catholic Epistles and Revelation, corresponds to the contrast of *homologoumena* and *antilegomena* in Eusebius's description of canonical status in his day: the late rendering of Revelation into Georgian shows how long doubts about that book persisted within Eastern Christianity. On the other hand, the presence of the book of *Enoch* within the canon of the Ethiopic church illustrates that the existence of a penumbra to the canon could eventuate in inclusions as well as exclusions. It is often on the borders of Christendom that older states of the biblical literature survived, when the progress of theology and scholarship in the Greek "center" had produced new parameters.

2. History of the Text. This also reveals itself in the second of the fields upon which the versions, critically studied, may cast light, namely, the history of the text of scripture. We may use the versions, if we know their history, to erect an historical framework for the dating of variant forms by a series of *termini ante quem.* Often in dealing with the earliest variants and the earliest versions, it is the knowledge of the version's history that is the most difficult requirement to attain. As has been pointed out above (with respect to the translations into Syriac, Latin, and Coptic), we can only arrive at tentative and approximate conclusions about the place and date of the translations, and the same is true certainly of Georgian and Ethiopic, to mention only two other striking cases. We must beware of the circular argument which is always there to entrap us. Nevertheless, we can argue, even in these important areas of problematic, that a reading existed "by such and such a date, at least."

It has often been further deduced that such a reading existed in the original. Evidence coming to light in new discoveries sometimes confirms this, as when readings previously known only in Greek form, for instance, have been found in the Hebrew of Qumran documents. Can we make it a general rule however? The study of the text of the NT continues to be bedeviled by debate over this point. In earlier days, when the Greek evidence was largely confined to manuscripts dating from the 4th century C.E., a scholar such as F. C. Burkitt could argue that the sharing of a reading by the oldest form of the Latin gospels and the oldest form of the separated gospels in Syriac not only

indicated its antiquity, but also guaranteed its candidacy for consideration as the original text. Recently, in the work of Kurt and Barbara Aland in their survey of the text of the NT (1987), and in many papers of Kurt Aland, we find such a view dismissed with virulent scorn on the grounds that no such text as those versions presuppose had been found in the 2d and 3d century Greek papyri of the gospels we now possess. The methodological question involved here is found in the fact that the gospel manuscripts which the Alands can draw upon are of Egyptian origin, for it is only (with rare exception) in the climate of Egypt that papyrus survives to our day. Greek fathers, of other provenance but early date, such as Justin, Irenaeus, and Clement, can frequently be found to attest variants known otherwise only in the earliest versions, while the papyri do not invariably fail to share versional readings against other witnesses. Thus, the arguments of the Alands, while they justifiably draw attention to certain dangers of overemphasis in older use of the versions, themselves overemphasize their point. In spite of their misgivings, it cannot be gainsaid that in the versions we may find forms of text, or individual readings, which have left no traces in Greek manuscripts presently known to us. But in many cases the presence of such textual forms or readings in the quotations and allusions of early Greek Christian writers demonstrates that the readings of the versions were most probably derived from Greek manuscripts at the time of their translation.

3. The "Original Text." This leads to the third aspect of biblical study upon which the versions have been held to have a bearing, namely, the establishment of the original text. The use to which versional evidence has been put has differed in the NT and the OT. In the NT the method has usually been as in the case outlined. The coincidence in reading between versions either against the Greek tradition as a whole, or supporting one or a few significant witnesses against the rest of the Greek tradition, has been held to give a reading acceptable as original. But this has not generally been applied in any mechanical way, but the argument for any acceptable reading has been reinforced by the arguments of rational criticism.

In the OT, versional evidence has generally been that derived from the LXX: readings in which the meaning of the Greek differed materially from the Masoretic text of the Hebrew have at certain periods been made the basis of conjectural emendation of the Hebrew text, based either upon paleographical considerations or upon comparative philological considerations which have drawn upon real or alleged alternative meanings of the same roots, which would explain the LXX rendering. Such approaches have aroused dissent, and trenchant criticisms have been made; nevertheless, the renderings of the New English Bible in its OT portion bear the marks of this type of textual procedure. However, in some cases, the finds of Qumran have revealed the existence of Hebrew originals upon which the Septuagintal renderings have been based. This removes the debate from the field of the versional evidence to that of a critical choice between variations now known to have existed in different text-types of the original.

Variant readings in the original or in versions, apart from those which may arise from sheer error, may be due to the understanding of the text. This may come either from the knowledge of the language from which the translation is made by the translator, or from a tradition of exegesis which he has inherited. Thus, the versions are of value in both these ways. They reveal to us the understanding of obscure words or the resolution of ambiguous punctuation as those were circulating in Christian circles, and they may also show the exegesis current at the time of translation. Exegetical translation often comes about by making the generalized more specific or by clarificatory additions. There are many examples in the Targumim, especially in passages such as Genesis 49 and Isaiah 53. Lexicographical material latent in translations is most readily seen in the NT, since the earliest translations in that case are only a few centuries later than the original, when much the same Greek was still spoken.

4. The Ancient Languages Themselves. The last matter upon which the ancient versions bear takes us outside biblical study itself, namely the history of the languages of the versions. It is often the case that the Bible version is the earliest source for our knowledge of the language, or that it constitutes a valuable corpus of information about the language dateable to a particular time. So, for example, Gothic, Armenian, and Georgian biblical versions are a primary source for our study of the languages in which they are composed, while the Greek of the LXX, the Latin of the Bible, and the dialects of Coptic known from biblical versions are important corpora representing well defined stages in the history of those languages.

The ancient versions, insofar as they represent pioneering work in the activity of translation, also provide a significant chapter in that aspect of intellectual history. Detailed work upon the methods of the translators and the pitfalls which beset them will illuminate questions which have only recently attracted full investigation as modern linguistic science has expanded. The ancient translators, for the most part unknown by name, have not left much theoretical discussion of their endeavor. There are, however, interesting remarks to be found in several works of Jerome (see e.g., Kelly 1975, chap 15).

Both in its specifically biblical application and in its more general ramifications, the study of the ancient versions is a field still containing much that is worth discovery, examination, and discussion, bearing upon biblical study, church history, the history of doctrine, and linguistic study of many kinds. It is to be encouraged and presented as an area deserving the attention of both seasoned scholars and beginners. (Surveys of the subject may be found in the articles "Bibelhandschriften" and "Bibeluebersetzungen" from *TRE* 6, Lieferung 1/2 [1976].)

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J. NEVILLE BIRDSALL

GREEK VERSIONS

The Torah, or first five books of the Hebrew Bible, was initially translated into Greek in the 3d century B.C.E. in the Egyptian metropolis of Alexandria. This initial translation is generally known as the Septuagint (LXX). The term Septuagint is also applied to the earliest Greek rendering of the remaining books of the Hebrew Bible. See SEPTUAGINT. This LXX or Old Greek (OG) text was revised on a number of occasions, and fresh translations from the Hebrew were occasionally undertaken. These later or non-Septuagintal Greek versions are the subject of the following article.

Among the best known of these versions are the works of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus (known collectively as the Three). These three individuals were Jews who lived in the 2d (or, in the case of Symmachus, possibly in the 3d) century C.E. Theodotion and Aquila can be viewed as revisers of already existing Greek texts; Symmachus is more correctly seen as the initiator of a fresh translation from the Hebrew.

Other ancient revisions or translations are also known. Lucian, for example, a Christian leader in 3d-century Antioch, produced an influential Greek text of the Bible, as Origen had done earlier in the same century at Caesarea. And Origen, who was responsible for preserving the work of the Three, also preserved the text of an additional three Greek translations or revisions—known only as Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh (Quinta, Sexta, and Septima). Anonymous readings are also found in the works of Church Fathers and Jewish writers, on the margins and in the texts of Greek manuscripts, and in a variety of writings in other languages.

A chief factor leading to the production of revisions or new translations was the observation that then current Greek and Hebrew texts differed at numerous points. To certain Jews, these differences reflected misrepresentations of the Hebrew text and created an urgent need to "correct." However, we should not artificially limit the factors that motivated individuals or groups to make changes in the Greek version possessed by their community. In the case of the Three, for example, we can detect a variety of stylistic and theological motivations of an inner-Greek nature, in addition to the desire to reflect with more accuracy a particular Hebrew text. Each of these has also been linked to one or more rabbinic traditions of exegesis.

This willingness to modify the LXX or other existing Greek biblical texts stands in contrast to the position taken by the *Letter of Aristeas,* one of the earliest witnesses (mid-2d century B.C.E.) to the OG translation of the Torah. In *Aristeas'* view, the LXX text of the Torah was authoritative, sacred, and fixed for all time. The same authority was later attached to the LXX or OG translation of other biblical books.

That *Aristeas* insisted on the immutable status of the first Greek translation makes it evident that a challenge to that status—in the form of "corrections" or revision toward the current Hebrew text—had arisen in his community. Even if we cannot date any particular revision from as early as the mid-2d century B.C.E., there is no reason to doubt that the process had begun by that time.

Evidence for revision at a period only slightly later than *Aristeas* is contained in the text transmitted under the name of Theodotion. The composite nature of this text is now widely recognized: "historical" Theodotion lived in the 2d century C.E., but distinctive "Theodotionic" readings are found in earlier sources. This first "layer" of Theodotion's work appears to be part of a larger burst of recensional activity, from the 1st century B.C.E., known as "kaige." It is this "Ur-Theodotion" who heavily influenced the work of Aquila. The text of Lucian, referred to above, has also been divided into an earlier, or Proto-Lucianic layer, and a later one.

The issues raised in the preceding section exemplify the complexities that arise when we begin to investigate carefully the surviving remnants of ancient Greek texts. Many gaps in our knowledge remain, but we are not without resources to bridge at least some of them. New manuscript discoveries offer illuminating possibilities for expanding our knowledge, as do comparative studies and forays into translation theory. Through textual criticism and analysis, scholars are reconstructing the Old Greek or original translation that frequently lies buried underneath mountains of conjecture or molehills of variants. The readings of dozens of manuscripts are carefully collated, in order to identify family and other genetic groups among extant texts. Every ancient author is culled for a stray reading that might have hitherto escaped notice. An increasing number of details are thus discerned, discussed, and drawn together. Broader hypotheses are then developed, debated, and dismantled—only to begin again the procedures necessary for a reconstruction of the new evidence.

In order to achieve best results, scholars must be sure to cite the Greek evidence in a clear way. All too often in contemporary scholarship a reading is haphazardly and uncritically lifted from its source in a manuscript or ancient author and enshrined as *the* LXX or OG. This type of methodological and terminological sloppiness makes it difficult for researchers to make proper use of the Greek evidence. When correctly understood, this evidence points to a tradition—with a long textual and exegetical history—that is far too rich and much too valuable to be ignored or, even worse, misused.

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LEONARD J. GREENSPOON

SYRIAC VERSIONS

This article surveys the translation of the Bible, or parts of it, into the Syriac language.

A. Old Testament
1. Peshitta
2. Syro-Hexapla
3. Other Translations
4. Christian Palestinian Aramaic
B. New Testament
1. Diatessaron
2. Old Syriac
3. Peshitta
4. Philoxenian
5. Harklean
6. Christian Palestinian Aramaic
C. Translations and Commentaries

A. Old Testament

The two main translations into Classical Syriac (Eastern Aramaic) are the Peshitta, made from Hebrew, and the Syro-Hexapla, made from Greek; fragments of two further translations, both from Greek, also survive. The translation into Christian Palestinian Aramaic (sometimes called Palestinian Syriac; a Western Aramaic dialect) was made from the LXX, and is only partially preserved.

1. Peshitta. This is the standard version of the Syriac Churches (Syrian Orthodox, Maronite and Church of the East). The name, meaning "Simple," is not found until the 9th century when it was first used to distinguish this version from the Syro-Hexapla (in the OT) and the Harklean (in the NT). The origins of the Peshitta OT lie in obscurity: both date and place remain matters of conjecture. Most, if not all, the work must have been completed by the 3d century A.D., for the Old Syriac Gospels adapt some OT quotations to the Peshitta OT text. Perhaps most books date from 1st–2d century A.D. As with the LXX, the OT was not translated as a whole, but book by book; it is possible that some books were translated by Jews and others by Christians. Certain books (notably the Pentateuch) have a loose connection with the Targum tradition, perhaps by way of some lost ancestor of the extant Palestinian and Babylonian Targum traditions; in the case of one book (Proverbs) the extant Targum derives from the Peshitta (which was thus presumably of Jewish origin for this book). Suggestions have been made that there once existed an "Old Syriac" form of the Syriac OT (on analogy with the situation in the NT), but the evidence adduced for this is unconvincing. See also TARGUM, TARGUMIM.

All books of the Peshitta OT were basically translated from Hebrew, though in some books there are the links mentioned above with the Targum traditions, and in others the translators may have made occasional use of LXX. With the exception of Ecclesiasticus, also translated from Hebrew, the Apocrypha were translated from LXX. Because mss of the complete Peshitta OT are rare, the division between canonical and uncanonical was not clear cut; thus the earliest complete OT ms, Milan, Ambros. B.21.Inf. of 6th–7th century (7al in the Leiden edition), also contains the following, mostly intermingled with the canonical books: Wisdom of Solomon, Epistle of Jeremiah, Epistle of Baruch, Baruch, Bel and the Dragon, Susanna, Judith, Ecclesiasticus, *2 Baruch, 4 Ezra,* 1–4 Maccabees, and Josephus *JW* 6. Some Psalters contain Psalm 151 (from LXX) and 152–5 (made from Hebrew ca. A.D. 800; the original of Psalms 154 and 155 is now known from 11QPs^{a}).

Manuscripts of the Peshitta OT range in date from 5th to 20th century; they include the two oldest dated biblical mss in any language, British Library Add. 14512 of A.D. 459/60 (palimpsest of Isaiah), and Add.14425 of A.D. 463/4 (Pentateuch). Some 60 mss from the 6th and 7th centuries are preserved; these normally contain single books, or small groups, and only one is a complete OT. A system of chapter divisions (different from the one in current use, which is of European origin) is found in most mss from the 8th century onwards. Separate Lectionary mss occur from the 9th century onwards; some of these include lections taken from the Syro-Hexapla. A small number of mss, dating between 9th and 13th century, contain what is referred to as a "masorah" (i.e. notes on pronunciation, etc.). A few illuminated mss survive, notably Sinai 1048 (6th century?), Paris syr.341 (8al, 7th/8th century), and Cambridge Oo.1.1–2 (12al, 12th century). The order of books is variable, but Job often follows the Pentateuch (based on the Jewish tradition identifying Job with Jobab and the author as Moses).

Compared to the LXX, the textual history of the Peshitta OT is relatively stable, and variations of any real importance are infrequent. Recent studies (notably Koster) have indicated that in many books at least three slightly different text forms are to be found in the extant manuscripts. The earliest stage, closest to the Hebrew, is only poorly preserved, being partially represented in the rare 5th century mss and in some of the aberrant readings in 9al. The next stage, represented by mss of 6th–8th centuries, is well preserved. The differences between the first and second stages concern small alterations in vocabulary and improvements in style, making the text read more smoothly. This process was taken a stage further in later mss, containing the medieval Textus Receptus. For the

textual critic interested in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Peshitta it is essential to work from the oldest stage attainable, recorded in the apparatus of the Leiden Peshitta, and not from other printed editions which, being based on late medieval mss, reproduce the most evolved stage of the Peshitta text (many of the references to Peshitta in *BHK* and *BHS* are unreliable in this respect).

The most important older editions are: the Paris Polyglot of 1645, the London Polyglot of 1657, S. Lee (1823), and three editions published in the Middle East, Urmiah (1852), Mosul (1887–92), and Beirut (1951). None of these are critical editions and all are based on late mss; in some cases the mss used can be identified (Emerton). Lee's edition has been republished by the United Bible Societies (1979), with the addition of the Apocrypha (evidently based on the Mosul edition). Of more use for critical purposes is A. Ceriani's photolithographic edition (1876) of 7al, the ms which also serves as the basis for the Leiden Peshitta Institute editions, which are equipped with a good apparatus; to date (1986) the following volumes have appeared: Sample Edition (1966; Cant, Tob, *2 Bar.*); I.1 (1977; Gen, Exod); II.1a (1982; Job) II.2 (1978; Judg, Sam); II.3 (1980; Pss); II.4 (1976; Kgs); II.5 (1979; Prov, Wis, Eccl, Cant); III.3 (1985; Ezek); III.4 (1980; 12 Proph, Dan, Bel; IV.3 (1973; *2 Bar., 4 Ezra*); IV.6 (1972; *Odes Sol.,* Pr. Man., Pss 151–55, *Pss. Sol.,* Tob, 1[3] Esdr). The main aim of the Leiden edition is to provide the early ms evidence; a critical edition, based on eclectic principles corresponding to those behind the Göttingen LXX, remains a task for the future.

Good or satisfactory editions of some individual books exist: Pentateuch (W. E. Barnes 1914); Psalms (Barnes 1904); Lamentations (B. Albrektson 1963); Wisdom of Solomon (J. A. Emerton 1959); Apocrypha (P. de Lagarde 1861). For Isaiah an apparatus alone was published by G. Diettrich (1905).

Concordances for the following books are so far available: Prophets (W. Strothmann 1984); Psalms (N. Sprenger 1977); Ecclesiastes (Strothmann 1973); Sirach (M. M. Winter 1976).

There is an English translation of the Peshitta OT by G. M. Lamsa (1957); this needs to be used with caution.

2. Syro-Hexapla. This is a 7th-century Syriac translation of Origen's revision of the LXX text, bringing it into line with the Hebrew. In several mss the hexaplaric signs are preserved, together with numerous marginal readings taken from Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion. The translation was probably commissioned by the Syrian Orthodox patriarch Athanasius and it was undertaken (as we know from colophons) by Paul, bishop of Tella (N Mesopotamia) in a monastery at the Enaton, or ninth milestone, of Alexandria in the years 615–17. During the same period and at the same monastery the Syriac NT was revised by Thomas of Harkel (Harklean, see below, B.5). Both the Syro-Hexapla and the Harklean make use of highly sophisticated techniques of literal translation which Syriac translators had developed by this period (Brock); their aim was to mirror every detail of the Greek original in the Syriac translation, and this has been achieved with such success that the modern textual critic, for whom the Syro-Hexapla is a key witness to the hexaplaric recension of the LXX, is enabled to reconstruct the underlying Greek text with a high degree of confidence.

Syriac writers normally refer to the Syro-Hexapla as "the Seventy" or "the Greek." Although the translation was mostly transmitted in Syrian Orthodox circles, use was sometimes made of it by scholars of the Church of the East, notably Isho^{c}dad of Merv (9th century).

From an early date the Syro-Hexapla circulated in two different forms: in mss containing individual books or groups of books, and in folio sized "pandects" constituting a two-volume edition of the entire work. A magnificent 8th or 9th century ms of the second volume of this edition is preserved in the Ambrosian Library, Milan, and has been published photolithographically by Ceriani (1874). A ms of the accompanying first volume (Pentateuch and Historical Books) was in the possession of the 16th century scholar A. Masius, but has since disappeared. The loss of this ms is made good only in part by the survival of some 20 mss containing individual books (many of these date from 7th to 9th century; an important later one is an incomplete Pentateuch of 1204, published photographically by Vööbus). From the mss available in 1892 A. Rahlfs and P. de Lagarde published what could be recovered of the contents of the lost first volume. Some additional materials discovered subsequently have been published by J. Gwynn, Baars, Vööbus and others; some of these passages are derived from lectionary mss. Baars (p. 25) lists all passages of the Syro-Hexapla not yet (in 1968) recovered; some of these lacunae have now been filled by the Pentateuch ms of 1204. See SYRO-HEXAPLA.

3. Other Translations. Two other translations, covering only individual books, survive in part. A fragmentary translation of Isaiah is preserved in British Library Add. 17106; its editor, Ceriani (1868), attributed this version to Polycarp, author of the Philoxenian NT, on the grounds that the Milan Syro-Hexapla attributes an alternative rendering of Isa 9:6 to "the version which was translated by the care of the holy Philoxenus." Polycarp is also said by his contemporary, Moses of Inghilene, to have translated the Psalms, but of this no trace survives. This Syriac version of Isaiah is made from the LXX and in the apparatus of the Göttingen LXX it is referred to as "the Syrolucianic."

Another translation, of which the Pentateuch, 1–2 Samuel, 1 Kings, Isaiah, Ezekiel and Daniel alone survive in whole or in part, was made by the great Syrian Orthodox scholar Jacob of Edessa, shortly before his death (708). Jacob evidently constructed his version out of three sources: the already existing Syriac texts of the Peshitta and Syro-Hexapla, and some LXX mss containing a Lucianic text. Only a few samples of this version have so far been published.

4. Christian Palestinian Aramaic (CPA). The literature in this dialect consists entirely of translations from Greek and was the product of the Aramaic-speaking Christian community in Palestine which remained loyal to the Council of Chalcedon (451), popularly known as "Melkites." Extant mss (often palimpsests and almost all fragmentary) date from 6th to 13th century (by the latter date the dialect was rapidly being replaced by Arabic). Only parts of the OT in CPA survive, and many of these are in the form of lections, rather than straight Bible texts. The version is basically from the LXX, though some scholars claim to

have discerned the sporadic influence of the Peshitta and even of the Targumim.

The oldest OT mss are all palimpsests and are almost all fragments of lectionaries. Particularly important is the well preserved OT Lectionary published by Lewis (1897), with texts from Pentateuch, Job and Prophets. A list of all known biblical texts in CPA up to 1903 was given by F. Schultess in his *Lexicon Syropalaestinum*, pp. vii–xvi. A much-needed republication of all OT texts is being undertaken by Goshen-Gottstein and Shirun.

B. New Testament

1. Diatessaron. Tatian's Harmony of the Gospels, or Diatessaron, is not preserved in its original form, and it remains disputed whether Tatian, who flourished ca. 160, compiled it in Greek or in Syriac. The most important textual witnesses are the small parchment fragment in Greek from Dura Europos (thus dating from before 256, when the town was destroyed), and the Syriac quotations to be found in Ephrem's Commentary on the Diatessaron, of which the whole survives in Armenian translation and about two-thirds in the original Syriac. Later Gospel Harmonies in various languages, eastern and western, probably preserve something of the structure of Tatian's Harmony, but their text has undergone considerable adaptation (e.g., to the Peshitta in the Arabic Harmony, and to the Vulgate in the Latin Codex Fuldensis).

The Diatessaron was regarded as an authoritative gospel text by the early Syriac-speaking Church. When by the 4th century it became necessary to distinguish the Diatessaron from the Syriac translation of the four gospels (Old Syriac), the former was given the name *Evangelion da-mĕḥallĕṭē*, "Gospel of the mixed ones," while the latter was called *Evangelion da-mĕpharrĕshē*, "Gospel of the separated ones." The Diatessaron only fell out of favor in the 5th century: Theodoret, who found 200 mss of the Diatessaron in use in his diocese of Cyrrhus, tells (*Haer. fab. comp.*, 1.20) how he replaced them by mss of the four gospels.

Besides drawing on the four gospels (primarily Matthew), Tatian appears to have made some use of apocryphal sources as well: thus he evidently introduced the theme of light (or fire) appearing at the baptism of Jesus (a feature developed in Syriac liturgical poetry).

The Syriac evidence for the text of the Diatessaron is collected by Leloir and Ortiz de Urbina. It has been suggested that prior to the Diatessaron the earliest gospel text available in Syriac may have been the *Gospel of the Hebrews* or the *Gospel of Thomas*, but the evidence is very tenuous. Somewhat more plausible is the suggestion that Tatian himself drew on the *Gospel of Thomas*, though the reverse is also possible. See also DIATESSARON.

2. Old Syriac. Although some earlier scholars claimed that the Diatessaron was preceded by a Syriac translation of all four gospels (i.e., the Old Syriac), there is now a general consensus that the Old Syriac followed the Diatessaron in time. Two witnesses to the Old Syriac text survive, both belonging to the 5th century, known as the Curetonianus and the Sinaiticus. In neither ms is the text of the gospels complete.

The Curetonianus was named after W. Cureton who first published a large part of the ms (British Library Add. 14451) in 1858. Subsequently three further leaves were identified in a Berlin ms (Or. Quad. 528) and these were included in F. C. Burkitt's edition (with English translation) of 1904, which remains the standard. In 1985 a further leaf, filling the lacuna of Luke 16:12–17:1 between two of the Berlin leaves, was found to be still remaining at the Syrian Monastery in the Nitrian Desert (Egypt) by D. McConaughy. There still remain many lacunae (almost all Mark, and much of John, is missing). The unusual sequence Matthew, Mark, John, Luke is provided.

The Sinaiticus, a palimpsest ms, was discovered by the twin sisters, Mrs. A. S. Lewis and Mrs. M. D. Gibson, in the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai (Sinai syr. 30). The Old Syriac gospel text is to be found in the under writing (the upper writing contains *Lives of Women Saints*, in an 8th-century hand). Again the text is not complete and many passages have remained impossible to read with certainty. See SINAITICUS, SYRUS. Although Burkitt's edition of the Curetonianus gives the variants of the Sinaiticus, the subsequent edition of the Sinaiticus (recording the variants of the Curetonianus) by Mrs. Lewis in 1910 contains several improved readings. There is also a photographic edition of the ms by A. Hjelt (1930). New techniques for reading the under text, developed at Princeton, should result in the recovery of much more of the text.

Besides the many small variations between the two mss are some larger ones; thus the longer ending of Mark is absent from the Sinaiticus but present in the Curetonianus. It is generally agreed that the two mss represent two somewhat different revised forms of a common original text; the date of this original translation is not known, but the 3d century is now widely accepted. The two main characteristics of the Old Syriac text are the large number of harmonizations and the many "Western" readings which they attest. Whether or not the former are due to the influence of the Diatessaron is disputed. Both mss contain several archaic linguistic features; these have sometimes been identified as traces of Palestinian Aramaic, but more probably they should be seen as survivals of "Proto-Syriac," otherwise known from pagan Syriac inscriptions of 1st–3d centuries. The character of the translation is the freest of all the Syriac versions, and so caution needs to be exercised when citing the Old Syriac in any apparatus to the Greek NT.

No Old Syriac text of Acts or the Epistles survives. Isolated readings of this pre-Peshitta text can be recovered from quotations by early Syriac writers. Ephrem's commentaries on Acts and on the Pauline Epistles, preserved only in Armenian translation, are important witnesses. Materials have been collected by J. Molitor (1938) and Kerschensteiner. In his Commentary on the Pauline Epistles Ephrem includes the apocryphal *3 Corinthians*, which, however, was later dropped from the Syriac canon and so no longer survives in that language.

3. Peshitta. This is the standard version of the Syriac churches. It covers all the NT apart from 2–3 John, 2 Peter, Jude and Revelation, which do not form part of the canon of the early Syriac Church. The following passages are also missing: Matt 27:35b; Luke 22:17–18; John 7:53–8:11; Acts 8:37; 15:34; and 28:29.

As can be seen from the gospels, the Peshitta is not a new translation, but a revision of the Old Syriac, bringing

it more closely into line with the Greek; for this purpose a Greek ms (or mss) with an early form of the Byzantine text was evidently used. The revision must have been completed in the early decades of the 5th century and it was propagated very effectively, for it soon replaced its earlier rivals. Although the famous bishop of Edessa Rabbula (died 435) may well have had a hand in propagating the revised text, he cannot have undertaken the revision himself (as Burkitt proposed), for there is evidence for "revised" readings in existence before his time. It is now recognized that the process of revision must have taken place over an extended period (each of the two Old Syriac mss indeed already show traces of such revision here and there on the basis of the Greek).

Over 60 Peshitta NT mss dating from the 5th and 6th centuries survive (the majority contain just the gospels). They exhibit a remarkably uniform text and only in a few mss do some Old Syriac readings survive (notably in a Berlin ms of the 5th–6th century, Phillipps 1388). Elsewhere in the Peshitta NT significant variations are rare: a famous example occurs at Heb 2:9, where early Peshitta witnesses are to be found for both "apart from God" and "in his grace, God" *(sic)*.

In mss with the complete Peshitta NT the Pauline Epistles follow, rather than precede, James, 1 Peter, and 1 John. A system of chapter numbering, different from the current one, is first found in Add. 14460 of A.D. 600, and soon became widespread. Several early Peshitta gospel mss are provided with the Ammonian Sections and Eusebian canons, in an elaborated form. Separate Lectionary mss are found from the 9th century onwards. A number of gospel and lectionary mss contain illuminations; most famous of these is a gospel ms in Florence (Plut. I, Cod. 56) written in A.D. 586 by a scribe named Rabbula (hence often called the "Rabbula Gospels").

The first printed edition of the Peshitta NT, edited by J. A. Widmanstadt and published in Vienna in 1555, receives mention in the Translators' Preface to the King James Version of 1611. In the Paris and London Polyglots, for the books missing from the Peshitta canon the minor Catholic Epistles were supplied from the "Pococke Epistles" (see under Philoxenian), and Revelation from the Harklean. The only edition based on a collation of a selection of early mss is that of the gospels by G. H. Gwilliam (1901). Gwilliam's unpublished work for the rest of the NT served as the basis for the British and Foreign Bible Society's edition of 1920 (without apparatus), and this remains the most satisfactory text. For this edition the text of those books not in the Peshitta canon was taken from Gwynn's editions of 6th-century translations of these books (see below). Both these editions employ a vocalized *serto* script. An *estrangelo* edition, based directly on early mss, has been published by The Way International (1983); although the introduction states that the books not available in the Peshitta are taken from the Harklean, in fact they derive from the 6th-century translations. The United Bible Societies' edition of the entire Syriac Bible (1979) provides a reprint of Lee's edition of 1832; this retains a large number of rubrics indicating lections. For books not available in the Peshitta Lee used the "Pococke Epistles" and the Harklean Apocalypse.

No concordance proper to the Peshitta NT yet exists, although one is promised. Word lists with full references, however, are to be found in C. Schaaf, *Lexicon Syriacum Concordantiale* (2d ed. 1717) and The Way International's *The Concordance to the Peshitta Version of the Aramaic NT* (1985). Besides Schaaf's *Lexicon* (Syriac-Latin) there is a handy Syriac-English NT Lexicon by W. Jennings (1926). There are English translations of the Peshitta NT by J. Murdock (1896) and G. M. Lamsa (1957); an earlier translation of the gospels alone was made by J. W. Etheridge (1846).

4. Philoxenian. In his Commentary on the Prologue of John, the Syrian Orthodox writer Philoxenus (bishop of Mabbug, d. 523) tells how, being unsatisfied with some loose translations in the Peshitta of certain key doctrinal passages, he commissioned a revision of this version, bringing it closer into line with the Greek. The work was undertaken, according to a contemporary author, Moses of Inghilene, by his chorepiscopus Polycarp, while the date and place (Mabbug, 507/8) are given in the colophons to the Harklean gospels.

Ever since J. White edited the Harklean NT with the misleading words *versio philoxeniana* in the title, there has been a long dispute over whether the text of White's edition represented the Philoxenian revision (as White thought, in which case Thomas of Harkel's work was limited to the critical signs and marginal readings), or Thomas of Harkel's own revision (in which case the Philoxenian is lost). Argument centered largely around the ambiguous wording of the colophons, found in many Harklean mss, which describe Thomas' work. The publication in 1977 of Philoxenus' Commentary on the Prologue of John (from a 6th-century ms) provided a final solution to the problem, for Philoxenus there frequently quotes from a revised text, rather than the Peshitta; this revised text, which will doubtless be Polycarp's work (i.e., the Philoxenian) is not the same as White's text, but represents a halfway stage between the Peshitta and that text. Thus White's text can now definitively be identified as the Harklean. This means that the Philoxenian revision can only be recovered from quotations in the later works of Philoxenus and in some other 6th-century writings.

It is evident that Polycarp also introduced the Euthalian material into Syriac, to accompany his revision of the Peshitta; this survives only fragmentarily in British Library Add. 7157 of A.D. 767/8.

Certain anonymous biblical translations have often been identified as belonging to the Philoxenian version. This applies to the anonymous Syriac translation of Isaiah from Greek (see above, A.3), and to a version of the minor Catholic Epistles and Apocalypse which clearly served as the basis for the later Harklean. For the NT books the identification remains uncertain, since Philoxenus himself never makes use of these NT books which fall outside the Peshitta canon; on the other hand, the Harklean colophon to the Catholic Epistles implies that all seven letters were in the Philoxenian. In any case these anonymous translations can safely be attributed to the 6th century on the basis of the translation technique employed.

The 6th-century version of the minor Catholic Epistles (often referred to as the "Pococke Epistles," after E. Pococke who first published them in 1630) already features in the Paris and London Polyglots, whence it was

taken over by other editions such as that by Lee; a much improved text, based on the earliest mss available, was edited by J. Gwynn (1909). In the same volume Gwynn also published two versions, of the 6th and of the 7th century, of the Pericope on the Adulteress. The text of the anonymous translation of the Apocalypse (often referred to as the "Crawford Apocalypse," after a former owner) was also published by Gwynn (1897). The texts of Gwynn's editions are republished in the standard British and Foreign Bible Society's edition of the Syriac NT.

5. Harklean. The Harklean version, covering the entire NT, represents the culmination in the long process of bringing the Syriac NT into as close conformity as possible to the Greek, employing techniques of "mirror translation" very similar to those used for the Syro-Hexapla. Like the Syro-Hexapla, the revision was undertaken at the Enaton, outside Alexandria; the work was done, as we learn from detailed colophons preserved in many mss, by Thomas of Harkel, and was completed in 616 (the gospel colophons specify that 2 or 3 Greek mss were used). The text is accompanied in the best mss by a number of obeli, asterisks and marginal readings; the precise purpose of these remains disputed, though several of the marginal readings are specifically identified as being derived from different Greek manuscripts. In Acts the Harklean margin is an important witness to "Western" readings. Thomas also revised the earlier translation of the Euthalian material.

The Harklean gospels are preserved in over 50 mss, of which at least 10 (not all complete) belong to the 8th or 9th centuries (a few may even belong to the late 7th century). The rest of the NT is much less satisfactorily preserved, and only three fuller Harklean NT mss survive, Oxford, New College 333 of the 11th century, Cambridge Add.1700 of A.D. 1170, and (it seems) Damascus Patr.1/2 of A.D. 1419; these contain (besides the gospels) Acts and the Epistles, but not Revelation. The Harklean gospels, Acts and Epistles (including all seven Catholic Epistles) were published (with Latin translation) by J. White under the erroneous title *Versio Syriaca Philoxeniana* in three volumes (1778, 1799, 1803). His source was the Oxford ms, from which the end of Hebrews had been lost; this was eventually published, from the Cambridge ms, by R. L. Bensley (1889). The Harklean version of the Apocalypse is known only from a ms of the 12th/13th century in Mardin (Turkey), published photographically by Vööbus (1978), and from a group of late Maronite mss from which all printed editions derive; the text was first published by L. Le Dieu, (1627); it is also given in the Paris and London Polyglots and in Lee's edition. About 70% of the text of the Harklean Apocalypse is also to be found in an anonymous Syriac commentary on this book, preserved in British Library Add. 17127 of A.D. 1088 (to be published by S. Larson).

The Harklean text often features in gospel lectionaries (9th century onwards), and for the Passion Narrative this is sometimes in the form of a harmony compiled by Daniel of Beth Batin (near Harran). A new edition of the Harklean NT is much to be desired.

6. Christian Palestinian Aramaic. This version is only partly preserved; it was made from Greek and shows only minimal traces of influence from the older Syriac versions (including the Diatessaron). The date of the version is uncertain, but the oldest mss (all palimpsests and very fragmentary) may belong to the 6th century. Among the better preserved later mss are three complete gospel lectionaries (dated 1030, 1104, and 1118; two of the scribes are associated with ʿAbud, a village between Jaffa and Caesarea). Apart from the gospels, fragments from Acts, most of the Pauline Epistles, and James and 2 Peter are represented; the majority of these are preserved only in lectionary manuscripts. Although most of the extant fragments come from Sinai, Damascus and the Cairo Geniza (discovered at the end of last century), there have been a few more recent finds in the Judean Desert (Perrot).

The three gospel lectionaries have been edited in synoptic form by A. S. Lewis and M. D. Gibson (1899). A list of CPA texts published before 1962 is given by Perrot, who published a new fragment of Acts.

C. Translations and Commentaries

Some Syriac biblical versions (usually Peshitta, but in some cases Syro-Hexapla and Harklean) have been translated in the Middle Ages into other languages, notably Arabic, Persian and Sogdian. Traces of Syriac influence have also been discerned in certain books in the Armenian, Georgian, and Ethiopic (Geʿez) versions, all of which are otherwise basically from Greek.

The main extant commentaries on the Syriac Bible (OT and/or NT, in whole or in part) are by Ephrem (d. 373) and then, (i) in the Syrian Orthodox tradition, Jacob of Serugh (d. 521), Philoxenus (d. 523), Jacob of Edessa (d. 708), Moshe bar Kepha (d. 903), Dionysios bar Salibi (d. 1171), and Barhebraeus (d. 1286); and (ii) from the Church of the East, Narsai (d. ca. 500), Theodore bar Koni, Ishoʿbar Nun, Ishoʿdad of Merv and two anonymous commentators (all 8th/9th century), and the Gannat Bussāmē, a commentary on the Lectionary of the 13th century.

(Full bibliography up to 1960 can be found in C. Moss, *Catalogue of Syriac Printed Books and Related Literature in the British Museum* [London: the Trustees of the British Museum 1962] cols. 110–96 and Addenda, cols. 29–52; supplements for 1961–70 and 1971–80 in S. P. Brock, Syriac Studies: a classified Bibliography, in *Parole de l'Orient* 4 [1973], pp. 405–10, and 10; [1981–82], pp. 306–14; and 14 [1987], pp. 299–302. For the Peshitta OT see Dirkser 1989.)

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S. P. Brock

LATIN VERSIONS

A. The Greek Bible in Latin (Old Latin)
1. Origin
2. Unity and Diversity
3. Witnesses
4. Editions
5. Relevancy
B. The Books Translated by Jerome
C. The Vulgate
1. The Term "Vulgata"
2. "Bibliotheca" and "Pandectes"
3. Content
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5. Critical editions
D. The Neo-Vulgate

A. The Greek Bible in Latin (Old Latin)

1. Origin. During the first centuries of Christian expansion, the vernacular language of the Mediterranean world was mainly Greek, even in the West. The books of the OT were read in the early Christian churches according to the LXX and the NT in Greek. When the necessity arose—as early as the 2d century in Roman Africa—the Bible was translated into Latin from the Greek. In many places, Tertullian (ca. 160–220) used a Latin version already at his disposal, certain peculiarities of which remained throughout the history of the Latin Bible. When, in the middle of the 3d century, Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, quoted Scripture at great length and not from memory (*Libri III ad Quirinum,* commonly called *Testimonia*), he did it according to a Latin translation which was itself a revision and had already a complex history. This process of successive revisions continued for centuries and is a special feature of the Latin Bible. The *Acta martyrum,* in Africa again, mention sacred books as early as 180.

2. Unity and Diversity. As it appears from patristic quotations and from manuscripts, the Old Latin is not constant and contains many divergencies. Augustine and Jerome were aware of this *vitiosissima varietas* (most vicious diversity). But, with the exception of some special cases, the differences do not attest the plurality of translations for a given book. Similarities are too characteristic and numerous, and differences only attest successive and even parallel revisions. The quotations of Novatian (ca. 250) do not succeed in demonstrating the existence of a distinct European translation independent of the African. The use of *testimonia* (anthologies of scriptural quotations) is an adequate explanation for some of the major divergencies. Liturgists know that the Latinization of the Christian community in Rome was slow and did not succeed completely before Pope Damasus. The history of the Latin version of the Greek Bible is, on the one hand, that of revisions according to Greek models (LXX and NT) different from those used by the first translator and, on the other hand, that of alterations in Latin vocabulary and style following the evolution of the language.

a. Revision According to Greek Models. The first translation was done from Greek witnesses differing considerably from texts commonly received in the 4th century. In the NT, the model was, as a rule, a witness of the "Western Text"; the OT (LXX) was marked by many of the so-called Lucianic variants, which were certainly prior to the martyr Lucian (died ca. 310) and which sometimes went back to the oldest known form of the LXX (Old Greek). Before Cyprian and repeatedly afterwards especially at those points where the differences were apparent, the Latin was revised on Gk mss akin to the great uncials. From this point of view, the Latin version had no independent authority; its authority depended on its reliability when compared with received Greek witnesses. It is worth noting that the stability of liturgical use and the memorizing of texts slowed the process of alteration.

b. Changes in Vocabulary. At the same time, a progressive change in vocabulary and style took place. Some technical words, some common words, and even some form-words (e.g. *itaque*) disappeared, and others came into use. At the outset, these may be called "African", later being replaced by the term "European". The change is probably no less a matter of chronology than of geography. It is clear from quotations by Augustine that the Italian "European" use was soon to return to Africa.

The joint use of these two types of observation permits the modern investigator to distinguish some marked stages in the evolution of the text which are attested in the majority of the books of the OT and of the NT: the old African text (Cyprian), a more advanced African text (Ticonius, died before 400), an Italian text, and another European text (Lucifer of Cagliari, middle 4th century). The final victory, from the Carolingian Times onwards, of the Hieronymian translations and the success of some other texts not revised by Jerome involved the disappearance of nearly all non-conform witnesses. The terms "Old Latin" and *vetus latina* perfectly suit translations and revisions prior to Jerome. They are extended to old revisions the absolute date of which we do not know.

3. Witnesses. The sources of our knowledge of the Old Latin versions may be listed as follows: (1) Quotations in patristic literature (inventory in Frede 1981; 1984; 1988). Most relevant on account of the number and the length of the quotations are the works of Cyprian, Lucifer of Cagliari, Jerome, Augustine and some *florilegia*, such as the *Liber de divinis scripturis*. All the patristic material is available on files in the Vetus Latina Institut of Beuron (West Germany) and is being published. Biblical texts from quotations are approximately dated and localized by their context.

(2) Biblical manuscripts written in the period when the Old Latin was still in use. Many are fragmentary or palimpsests; some are well preserved (Lowe 1934–1972).

(3) Carolingian and medieval Bibles. Especially for books not translated by Jerome from the Hebrew, it may be that their text is copied according to an archaic form in the middle of a Vulgate Bible. Examples are known even in 13th century Bibles.

(4) Glosses or additions to the translations of Jerome, especially when the Hebrew and Jerome are notably shorter than the Greek and the Old Latin (Samuel, Proverbs).

(5) Biblical lessons, canticles, and antiphons in early and medieval liturgical books of the various rites (Milanese, Roman, Gallican, Mozarabic). Liturgy is conservative.

4. Editions. The editions are scattered in many publications and not always easily accessible. Only editions of at least one biblical book are mentioned here. The *Vetus Italica* of P. Sabatier (1743) remains useful. The Vetus Latina Institut of Beuron started in 1949 the critical edition of the Old Latin Bible (manuscripts and quotations). The volumes of the *Vetus Latina* already printed are masterpieces of scholarship.

5. Relevancy. The Old Latin, not the Vulgate, has been the Bible used and commentated on by the Fathers of the Church; the translations of Jerome are discussed, although rarely quoted by late authors. The lemma of the commentaries has often been changed by copyists to conform with the Vulgate but the commentary itself may offer a clue to the original. Identifying the quotations may be a difficult task because, in some books of the OT especially, the LXX (followed by the Old Latin) and the Hebrew differ greatly. In such cases, concordances of the Vulgate are of no use; only the Greek concordance of Hatch and Redpath gives assistance after tentative retroversion. The earlier forms of the Old Latin are older witnesses to the Greek than the preserved Greek manuscripts. The Old Latin sometimes attests the Old Greek, itself witnessing an Old Hebrew prior to the MT.

B. The Books Translated by Jerome

It would be erroneous to identify the Vulgate with the translations of Jerome (see C below). Nevertheless Jerome occupies an unequalled position in the history of the Latin versions of the Bible. His genius as a translator and an exegete did more for the diffusion of his works than his choice of the *veritas hebraica* (against the LXX), which was much criticized in his own time and afterwards.

During his stay in Rome (382–385), Jerome revised the Latin Gospels, using old models of a European type *(b, ff²)*, correcting them most probably according to Gk mss of *koinē* type ("K" in H. von Soden terminology). Pope Damasus accepted the dedication (prologue. *Novum opus*), thus involving his high authority in this venture. Jerome also did a first revision of the Psalter of which nothing is known.

At Bethlehem (after 387), Jerome began to translate the Origenian or hexaplaric edition of the LXX, easily recognizable by the use of the asterisk and the obelus. He published a new Latin Psalter, called hexaplaric or, commonly, Gallican (it was used for the liturgy in Gaul), which subsequently became the Vulgate Psalter. He also published in this way a translation of Job (extant), Proverbs, Canticles (extant), Ecclesiastes and 1–2 Chronicles (the prologues are extant). It is not known if he translated more from the hexaplaric Greek. The material he did translate was to appear in the *codex grandior* of Cassiodorus.

With the assistance of the Greek translations of Aquila and especially of Symmachus, Jerome undertook a translation of the OT from the Hebrew. He probably began with the Psalter *(iuxta Hebraeos)*, continued with the Prophets, including Daniel and its Greek supplements (390–392), 1–2 Samuel and 1–2 Kings (392 or 393), Job (before 394) and, in one book called Esdras, Ezra-Nehemiah (394).

Then followed 1–2 Chronicles (395–396), Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles (398), the Pentateuch (ca. 400). He achieved the whole Hebrew Bible with Esther and its Greek supplements (shortly before 404) and with Joshua, Judges and Ruth (405–406). Again, using his often declared principles, he translated Tobit and Judith, without much care and using Old Latin texts (before 407).

No experienced scholar ever attributed to Jerome the translation or the revision of Sirach, Wisdom of Solomon, 1–2 Maccabees, Baruch, and the Epistle of Jeremiah, which are to be found in Vulgate mss. It is also accepted today that Jerome did not touch the Pauline and Catholic Epistles, Acts, or Revelation. The Pelagian circles in Rome and Rufinus the Syrian are likely the authors of the Vulgate revision of those NT books.

At the outset, Jerome's new translations did nothing but add to the multiplicity and the diversity he fought against. Nor did they end other attempts at translation. Moreover Jerome was certainly not the editor of a complete Latin Bible and not even of his own grouped translations.

C. The Vulgate

1. The Term "Vulgata." In the usage of the Latin Fathers, including Jerome, the term *vulgata* (*koinē*, "common") is applied to the Greek Bible in the current and nonrevised text and to its Latin version. However, since the 16th century, the term has been used to refer to the current Latin Bibles containing the translation of Jerome. No decision was taken in patristic times to give the translation of Jerome an official character, and his short canon (without the so-called deuterocanonical books) was never received. But the mention of Pope Damasus in the prologue of the gospels is likely to have subsequently extended his authority to the rest. Probably in the middle of the 5th century, the Hieronymian translations were completed with others and put together by an editor who used the terminology of Rufin of Aquileia. This compilation is rather well preserved in the Bible of Saint-Germain-des Prés (Paris, B.N., lat. 11553 ca. 800).

2. "Bibliotheca" and "Pandectes." No Latin Bible in one codex is known with certainty before the middle of the 6th century. The Bible was actually a *bibliotheca* (nine or more *codices*), and this custom remained common until the 9th century. The parts of such *bibliothecae* were not necessarily homogeneous and it was not easy to produce a general edition. The first mention of Bibles in one volume comes from Cassiodorus, under the term *pandectes* (complete collection). Their use spread slowly. The oldest two are the palimpsest Bible of Léon (Catedral 15; 7th century) and the *Amiatinus* written in Wearmouth-Yarrow between 689 and 716. They became the common practice in the scriptoria of Alcuin (Tours) and Theodulf (Orléans) from the very beginning of the 9th century. In those Bibles, which were widely disseminated, the translations of Jerome were privileged and, for the other books, the choices of Alcuin and Theodulf (under Spanish influence) rather similar. Regional differences continued to remain and certain attempts at revision on the Hebrew will interfere until, at the beginning of the 13th century, the University of Paris and its librarians generalized a type of Latin Bible *(Biblia Parisiensia)* quite similar to what we call the Vulgate. At the same time, Stephen Langton (1150–1228) introduced those chapter divisions still in use today.

3. Content. Since the beginning of the 9th century, the following parts are common in the mss: (1) the translations from the Hebrew by Jerome, including Judith, Tobit, and the supplements to Esther and Daniel; (2) the hexaplaric version of the Psalter (also called *gallicanum*) by Jerome, used in the Carolingian liturgy and chosen by Alcuin, and not as one might have expected the *iuxta Hebraeos*, although chosen by Theodulf (on the respective diffusion of the Latin Psalters, see Fischer 1985: 407–415); (3) the revision of the gospels by Jerome; (4) in the Wisdom of Solomon, Sirach, 1–2 Maccabees, and the rest of the NT, the Alcuinian text, sometimes influenced by the Theodulfian and with persistent regional differences. Baruch which was not separated from Jeremiah in the Old Latin, is often absent between the 8th and the 13th centuries; the Bibles of Theodulf preserved a type of text of Baruch which became common only in the *Biblia Parisiensia* (13th century). These Bibles usually put 3 Esdras (Esdras A in the LXX), which was a part of the Old Latin Bible, after Ezra and Nehemiah (counted as 1–2 Esdras). The book of 4 Esdras, which entered under Spanish influence, followed 3 Esdras. The short Prayer of Manasseh follows 2 Chronicles. These books, which the Council of Trent did not recognize as canonical, were nevertheless printed as an appendix in the Sixto-Clementine Bible (1592 and following editions).

4. History. Medieval erudition marked the transmission of the Latin Bibles, introducing new series of *capitula*, prefaces, and marginal and interlineary glosses. Some revisors tried to produce a text nearer to the Hebrew than Jerome's (e.g., an anonymous scribe of the school of Theodulf, Étienne Harding). Others aimed at eliminating errors and wrote *correctoria*. Humanists in the 16th century printed Latin Bibles corrected according to the Hebrew and to the Greek. The first to look for reliable old Latin mss to prepare an improved text was Robert Estienne especially in his edition of 1540. It is to him that we owe the present verse numbering (1553, 1555), which he introduced to subdivide the chapters of Stephen Langton. The Council of Trent, which recognized the Vulgate as the authentic (authoritative, official) Latin version, gave only a list of canonical books and commissioned scholars to provide the Church with a new edition. It was published by Sixtus V (1590) and a better edition appeared under Clement VIII (1592) with the assistance of Robert Bellarmin. The continuity from Alcuin to the Sixto-Clementine via the *Biblia Parisiensia*, the Gutenberg Bible (1450–1455), the Estienne Bible and the Louvain Bibles (1547, 1583) is manifest. In its final stabilization, just as in its long and complex history, the Vulgate appears as the result of two main trends: respect for the original tradition (the first *vulgata*, the Greek Bible translated in Latin) and the translations of Jerome according to the *hebraica veritas*. When they conflicted, the latter supplanted the former. The result is the Vulgate in the usual sense.

5. Critical Editions. The NT has been critically edited by J. Wordsworth, H. J. White and H. F. D. Sparks (1889–1954). The OT has been critically edited by the Benedictines of San Girolamo in Rome (H. Quentin, R. Weber, J. Gribomont, H. de Sainte-Marie, J. Mallet, A. Thibaut, 1926–1987). Only 1–2 Maccabees have not yet been pub-

lished (see De Bruyne and Sodar 1932). R. Weber, with the help of others, has given an excellent edition of the whole Vulgate with an abridged apparatus (1969).

D. The Neo-Vulgate

In 1979, John Paul II promulgated a new official Latin translation of the Bible which was the final product of the Pontifical Commission for the Neo-Vulgate created by Paul VI in 1965. This new version respects the tradition of the Christian Latin language and is a revision of the Vulgate according to the Hebrew and to the Greek. It follows with caution the present state of modern exegesis. There are notable innovations in the deuterocanonical books; e.g., Judith and Tobit are translated from the Greek with the help of the Old Latin.

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COPTIC VERSIONS

A "Coptic Version" is a translation of the Bible (or some part of it) into Coptic. Portions of the Bible are extant in all of the Coptic dialects, although Sahidic and Bohairic are the most important. See also LANGUAGES (COPTIC). Early translators apparently utilized then current Gk texts of the NT as well as the LXX. The only complete codices come very late, i.e., after the 11th century C.E., and thus are of only relative importance. The early translations exist in various mss often of a single NT writing and frequently are only partially preserved. In the 3d and early 4th centuries virtually all of the NT texts were translated into Sahidic Coptic. In fact, several NT books were translated more than once by different translators. The so-called NAG HAMMADI codices reflect the Sahidic dialect, but often mixed with other dialects.

The Bohairic Version, translated independently of the Sahidic, came to supersede the Sahidic as the standard Coptic Version (this dialect continues to be used today as the liturgical language of the Coptic Orthodox Church). These translations, however, are generally later than the Sahidic. Until only recently, the oldest ms of the Bohairic dated to the 10th or 11th century, however several recent mss have come to light dating from the 4th and 5th centuries.

In the NT writings, the text of both the Sahidic and Bohairic often agrees with the Alexandrian text though there are a number of agreements with the Western text in the gospels and Acts. See also WESTERN TEXT; TEXTUAL CRITICISM (NT).

Until the 20th century the "Coptic NT" existed only in fragments scattered throughout the world. In 1905 George Horner completed a critical text of the Bohairic Version (four volumes) and in 1924 he completed the Sahidic (seven volumes). The Coptic Orthodox Society published a one-volume Bohairic text in 1934 based upon Henry Tattam's *Coptic New Testament* and Horner. The "Coptic Versions" are preserved for the most part in fragments scattered throughout the world in various collections. A list of published manuscripts to about 1922 may be found in A. Vaschalde; for those after 1920 until the late 1950s, in W. Till.

There are numerous limitations indigenous to the Coptic, as compared to the Greek, that make it difficult to infer with exactness the Greek text that may underlie a specific Coptic rendering. For example, Sahidic Coptic has no case endings (a fact that puts enormous stress upon word order in Coptic); Sahidic Coptic has no neuter gender (thus most Greek neuter nouns are rendered as though they were masculine); Sahidic Coptic has only the active voice; Sahidic Coptic often renders the Greek imperfect and the aorist as perfects, etc. Early Coptic translations reflect a heavy use of Greek loan-words, but often with variations in spelling especially with regard to vowels. As B. Metzger observes, "Compared with Greek [Coptic] is much more wooden and lacking in suppleness and variety of expression" (1977: 107). Yet, despite these and other limitations, scholars generally agree that the Versions can be of great importance in the effort toward establishing the critical text.

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GOTHIC VERSIONS

A. The Gothic Nation

The Goths, who originated in Scandinavia, migrated South and East during the early Christian centuries, settling in the Balkans and the Ukraine. The two Gothic branches of Ostrogoths (East Goths) and Visigoths (West Goths) were separated geographically by the river Dniester. They were a problem to the Empire for some centuries, invading Cappadocia in 264, and carrying off prisoners to Moesia. There is some evidence, even so early, for Christians amongst them, and a Gothic bishop was present at the Council of Nicaea in A.D. 325.

B. The Translator

The bishop whom tradition designates as translator of the Bible into the Gothic language was ordained in 341: his grandparents were among the prisoners taken to Moesia in 264. His name is usually given in modern handbooks in the form Wulfila, which is a retroversion from the Greek forms Oulphilas and Ourphilas, and the Latin forms Ulfila, Vulfila, Vulphilas, and Gulfila. He is credited by his eulogist Auxentius (ca. 383) with knowledge of Greek, Latin, and his native Gothic.

Wulfila led his persecuted flock to within the Roman empire in about 348. With the Visigothic kingdom there was further persecution in 370 and after, but shortly thereafter some Visigoths became Christian under their leader, Fritigern. After wanderings in Italy, the Visigoths

established a kingdom in Spain, which survived until 711. The conversion of the Ostrogoths was later, certainly by 454, although the exact date is not known. Both groups were converted to the Arian form of Christianity, as were the related Vandals, who shared the same language. The Visigoths turned to Catholic Christianity in 589. In the later years of their rule in Spain they no longer used the Gothic language.

C. The Gothic Language

This language is a member of the Germanic group of the Indo-European languages, a group which is subdivided into North-Germanic, West-Germanic, and East-Germanic. To North-Germanic belong Norse and Scandinavian languages; to West-Germanic belong German, Dutch, Frisian, English, and related languages; while Gothic, now extinct, is the only representative of East-Germanic. Our knowledge of the Gothic language comes largely from the Bible translation traditionally ascribed to Wulfila; the only other extensive document is a commentary on the gospel of John, called Skeireins ("Interpretation") by its first modern editor. Otherwise, we are limited to glosses, two trading receipts, Gothic names known from historians, and some inscriptions in the runic script. Wulfila used signs from the Greek and Latin alphabets, and a few signs taken from runic, to form an alphabet for the transcription of Gothic.

D. Manuscript Evidence

Of the surviving mss of the Gothic version, the best preserved is the *Codex Argenteus Upsaliensis*, 187 leaves of a "de luxe" ms, written in silver, with golden initials, upon purple vellum, containing the gospels in the order Matthew, John, Luke, Mark. It marks the Ammonian Sections in its margin, and has a corresponding harmony based on the Eusebian Canons at the foot of each page. Dateable about 500, it is often considered to have been produced for Theoderic the king of the Ostrogoths (see Friesen and Grape 1927). Two further fragments contain respectively 20 verses of Matthew (Milan, Ambrosianus 1.61 sup.), underwriting of a palimpsest, and a short section of Luke (formerly in Giessen, Germany, now destroyed), which is from a Gothic-Latin bilingual found in Egypt. We have evidence for all Pauline Epistles (except Hebrews) in a number of palimpsests (Milan, Ambrosianus 1.61 sup. [in which leaves of two different mss are preserved for the Paulines], and mss in Turin and Wolfenbüttel). For about half the extent preserved, we have two ms representatives of the text, which increases our knowledge of this part of the version. Chapter divisions appear to be related to the Euthalian apparatus, which is known from Greek, Syriac, Armenian, and Georgian sources: but the Gothic reflects only certain aspects of what is elsewhere attested. The absence of Hebrews may be accidental, but may be due to the Arians' initial uncertainties about its canonicity. In another palimpsest (again, Milan Ambrosianus 1.61 sup.) are preserved the only other part of the Bible known in Gothic, Nehemiah 5–7. According to Greek sources, Wulfila translated the OT, apart from the too warlike books of Samuel and Kings, but no more than these fragments survive, with the exception of references to single words and numbers from Genesis, which appear to be more a school exercise than a biblical text. References to traces of a Psalms translation, in some earlier scholarly literature, seem to rest on misinterpretation of data, and the same applies to references to Ezra, rather than to Nehemiah.

E. Interaction of Latin and Gothic Versions

One gospel fragment (Giessen) and one ms of the Paulines (Wolfenbüttel) are Gothic-Latin bilinguals. We can see from the study of these that such bilinguals have left their mark upon the rest of both parts of the NT extant in Gothic, even when the text is not preserved in an actual bilingual. Readings, unknown in Greek, and derived from the Old Latin, have infiltrated the Gothic text. In our analysis then, we must distinguish between readings of the Gothic which are derived from the Greek original from which the translator worked, and intrusive readings from the Latin, derived in the way we have outlined. These are not witnesses to the Greek original, but date from the later stages of Gothic history, and the history of the Gothic text, when migration had brought the Goths into contact with Latin speaking Christianity in Italy, S Gaul, and Spain. We also have evidence that, given a bilingual manuscript, the process could work the other way, with readings from the Gothic intruding into the Latin. One Old Latin ms, the codex Brixianus (of the 6th century, preserved in Brescia: conventional siglum *f*), has many readings which distinguish it from the rest of the Old Latin tradition of the gospel text, but which show close affiliation with the type of Gk mss from which the Gothic was taken. In these cases then, such a Latin manuscript is no longer a witness to the Old Latin, but an ally of the Gothic and its Greek original.

F. Text-type of Greek Original (New Testament)

Both in the Gospels and in the Paulines, the basic text used by Wulfila was an early type of the text which dominates the later Greek ms tradition, and which is known as early as the quotations of John Chrysostom (d. 407); in textual theory it has borne a number of different names, and today is generally known as the Byzantine text. Its origins and history have not recently been investigated, but it would appear that it was, in one of its forms at any rate, associated with Antioch, since it is known in writers linked with Antioch (such as Chrysostom himself, Severian of Gabala [d. after 408], and Theodoret [d. about 466]. The Gothic may then be treated as another witness to the early form of this long surviving text-type. But as has been observed, the user of the Gothic must always be alert to the possibility of Latin corruption in the extant witnesses.

G. Wulthres

The codex Brixianus shows in its preface that Gothic scribes and scholars made comparisons with both Greek and Latin. Here the author indicates that symbols, indicating Greek and Latin respectively, will be found above a *wulthre*. This Gothic word, transliterated in the Latin text, is otherwise unknown. A considerable literature of debate amongst students of the version has developed, some believing that differences of the respective texts were thus being noted, while others believe that identities of meaning were being noted. Since the preface presupposes a Gothic-Latin manuscript, it is no surprise that the Brixianus, which is a descendant of such, but in Latin only, retains

no instances of the use of the term, nor any example of the data to which it referred. A few marginalia are found in the codex Argenteus and in one Pauline manuscript preserved in palimpsest leaves in Milan (referred to as Cod. Ambr. A); but in neither case is found the sign referred to in the Brixian preface. However, for all its enigmatic quality, the preface reveals the Goths of the later centuries as giving close attention to the text of their Bible.

H. Absence of the *Pericope Adulterae*

The Gothic gospel text, as we have indicated, is taken from Gk mss of Byzantine text-type. But the date of the surviving manuscripts makes it inevitable that readings from the Latin have crept in. The most striking of these, in all likelihood, is the absence of the pericope of the Woman taken in Adultery (John 7:53–8:11). The presence of this is distinctive of the Byzantine text, although the pericope is older than that text. Its absence in the Gothic is the more remarkable. We may note that it is absent not only in the codex Brixianus but in three other Old Latin mss as well, and is not quoted by Latin Christian writers until the late 4th century. Such a type of Latin text, where the pericope was not known, may then have early led to its exclusion from the Gothic when that version began to encounter Latin tradition.

I. Text-type of the Greek Original (Old Testament)

Of the OT, only parts of Nehemiah are known, apart from the fragmentary and baffling hints of knowledge of Genesis. We can be clear of the affiliations of the Gothic Nehemiah, however: time and again it shares readings (often in very distinctive matters such as numbers and the spelling of names) with three Gk mss numbered 19, 108, and 93 in the current lists (known as b′, *b*, and e_2 in the Cambridge LXX). These mss are the basis, in the books of Kingdoms, for Rahlfs' study of the Lucianic text. It may follow, then, that the Gothic version of Nehemiah may attest the Lucianic text, since these mss appear to be its witness elsewhere than in Kingdoms. Recent debate about the nature, origin, and antecedents of the Lucianic text may change any interpretation of these data of affiliation, but the data themselves are secure.

J. Value and Future of Research

We have a number of excellent monographs on the Gothic version, especially of the NT, but almost without exception these are from the hand of Germanists. Their objective has been to secure sound philological grounds for the use of Gothic in the reconstruction of the history of the Germanic languages. Their work is of great value to the biblical textual critic, enabling him to comprehend the Gothic language; but with some exceptions, few of these scholars have given the Gothic much attention as a witness to the biblical text. This is true for the NT, and even more so the old. There is scope here for further work in biblical textual criticism.

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J. Neville Birdsall

ARMENIAN VERSIONS

A. Evangelization of Armenia

Christianity entered Armenia through Syria, probably as early as the first century. The new religion, apparently Ebionitic in character, spread slowly through the southern provinces, encountering opposition from the dominant religions, the native Armenian worship of Anahita, consort of Mithra, and Zoroastrianism.

Armenia was converted to orthodox Christianity during the reign of Tiridates III (ca. 287–ca. 314) through the preaching of Gregory, called the Illuminator. The son of an Armenian nobleman, Gregory was converted to Christianity in Caesarea of Cappadocia, where he had been reared and educated. Returning to Armenia as a missionary, Gregory suffered years of persecution until the king, in 304, proclaimed Christianity the national religion.

B. The Translation of the Bible

The political implications of the conversion of Armenia to orthodox Christianity were not lost on the Persians. During the following three centuries, Armenia became the unfortunate battlefield in the political and religious rivalry between Ctesiphon and Constantinople. Both the Sassanians and the Byzantines were determined to impose their own religion on the Armenians. Syriac language and literature were forbidden in the West, Greek language and literature in the East. The partition of Armenia between the Persian and Roman Empires in 387 and the attempts to impose foreign cultures on the people, to say nothing of the persecutions and deportations, threatened the very existence of the young Christian nation.

This crisis was met by the visionary leadership of the Catholicos Sahak (ca. 350–439) and the scholar-preacher Mesrop Mashtotz (ca. 361–440). With the support of the king, Mesrop created an Armenian alphabet (ca. 406), after which Sahak and Mesrop and their disciples translated the Bible, liturgical literature, and the writings of Syriac and Greek church fathers and secular authors into Armenian. This was nothing less than a spiritual and

cultural renaissance which insured the survival of the Armenian church and people.

C. Nature of the Biblical Text

1. Patristic Testimony. The testimony of the early Armenian historians regarding the archetype of the Armenian Bible and the process of translation is contradictory and difficult to interpret. Koriun (5th century), one of Mesrop's students, gives Mesrop the major role in translation but does not indicate the nature of the base text. Moses of Khorene (7th or 8th century) refers to both Mesrop and Sahak as translators and states that Sahak was translating from Syriac texts because the Persian king had ordered all Greek books in Armenia burned. Koriun further states that Sahak, Eznik, and others revised this "hurriedly-done" translation (Arm 1) on the basis of accurate Gk mss brought from Constantinople following the Council of Ephesus (431). Moses also refers to this thorough revision based on Gk mss (Arm 2) but differs in some details. Lazar of P'arp (5th century) speaks only of Sahak's translation of the OT and NT directly from Greek and does not mention an earlier, less accurate translation. The work of translation and revision was completed by about 435.

2. Internal Evidence. Scholarly investigation of the text itself supports the patristic testimony to two or three stages of translation and revision in the 5th century: an initial translation (Arm 1) followed perhaps by a preliminary revision, and later a thorough revision or new translation (Arm 2). Vestiges of the Arm 1 text of Psalms, the Gospels, and Acts have been found in 5th-century patristic quotations, early liturgical mss, Old Georgian mss, endsheet fragments of Armenian gospel mss, and even in the Arm 2 text itself. In addition, two versions of Chronicles, Song of Songs, Maccabees, and Sirach are extant, the earlier of which may represent Arm 1.

Studies of individual OT books indicate that the Arm 1 translations of Ruth, 1 Samuel, Daniel, and Sirach were based on both the Syriac and the Greek Lucianic texts. Some scholars speak of an initial translation from Syriac followed by a revision according to the Greek; others view the Arm 1 translation as composite from the start. The texts of Deuteronomy, Song of Songs, and the Epistle of Jeremiah show little evidence of Syriac influence. The text of Chronicles was based on the proto-Lucianic text of the LXX in Syria.

Arm 2 was clearly translated from Greek. The text of Genesis was based on the Hexaplaric recension of the LXX. The nature of the Septuagintal text in Deuteronomy, Ruth, 1 Samuel, Isaiah, Daniel, and Wisdom of Solomon has been identified as Lucianic or non-Hexaplaric, although secondary Hexaplaric influence is clearly evident in all but Daniel and Wisdom. Job, on the other hand, is an excellent witness to Origen's Hexaplaric text. The text of Jeremiah, though Septuagintal, has been corrected throughout by the Hebrew or Syriac text in regard to the omissions in the LXX text and the ordering of chapters and verses.

The gospel text has received more scholarly attention than any other portion of the Armenian Bible. The debate over whether the Arm 1 text of the gospels was translated from Greek or Syriac would appear to be settled in favor of Syriac, since every study published since 1938 has advocated that position. The form of the Syriac gospels was probably the Old Syriac separated gospels, although a few scholars have favored the Diatessaron. Evidence of the Syriac base of Arm 1 in the extant Arm 2 mss includes Old Syriac and Tatianic readings, proper names transliterated from Syriac, confusion of singular and plural forms, addition of the personal pronoun after the verb, and the rendering of Greek participles by finite verbs.

Limited investigation of the remaining NT books suggests that Acts, the Pauline Epistles, and 1 John were also translated first from Syriac. The absence of any trace of Syriac in 2 Peter and Revelation and the inclusion of 3 Corinthians in the early Arm 2 canon reflect the early Syriac canon and support the conclusion that the Arm 1 NT was translated from Syriac.

As with the OT, the Arm 2 NT was translated from the Greek. Inquiry into the nature of the Greek text has been limited largely to the gospels. The prevailing view that the Arm 2 gospels were translated from Caesarean-type mss must be revised in view of the overwhelming evidence against the existence of a Caesarean text-type. The "pre-Caesarean" witnesses to which the Armenian gospels are most closely related may well represent a wide-spread Early Koine text which developed from the Alexandrian text-type and provided the Greek base for the earliest Old Syriac, Old Latin, and Arm 2 Gospels.

D. The Arm 2 Canon

Judging from the contents of the extant mss, the Arm 2 OT canon followed the LXX in including all of the Hebrew canon plus the Apocrypha (except for *4 Maccabees*). Other apocryphal and pseudepigraphal books such as *4 Ezra* and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* also appear in many mss. Medieval canon lists appear to follow Greek sources and do not reflect actual church practice.

The Arm 2 NT in the early centuries included the orthodox canon plus the apocryphal *3 Corinthians*. Although Revelation was translated in the 5th century, it was little used until the 12th, when its text underwent careful revision. Mark 16:9–20 and John 7:53–8:11 were apparently not in the original Arm 2 text, since they are absent from virtually all Armenian mss through the 12th century, and from many later Armenian mss as well.

E. The Text from the 5th Through the 11th Centuries

The Arm 2 text of the 5th century was closer to Arm 1 than appears in our extant mss. From the 5th through the 8th centuries, Arm 2 underwent gradual revision to conform it more closely to the Greek text. Certain evidence suggests that Arm 1 continued in use until the eighth century, competing with Arm 2 for acceptance. Apocryphal books not in the original Arm 2 canon were translated during this period and found their way into some biblical mss.

The earliest extant biblical mss come from the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries, an era of peace and cultural florescence in Armenia. The power of the Bagratid Kingdom (859–1045) and smaller neighboring kingdoms allowed monasteries and scriptoria to flourish. During these centuries the Arm 2 text became more standardized and

attained that fidelity to the Greek text and idiom for which the Armenian version is noted.

F. The Text from the 12th Through the 18th Centuries

As the Bagratid period ended with the onslaughts of the Seljuk Turks from the east and the Byzantine armies from the W, the center of Armenian political and religious life shifted from historic Armenia to Cilicia. The Kingdom of Cilicia (1080–1375) directly involved Armenians for the first time in the governmental and ecclesiastical politics of Europe and the Roman Catholic Church.

Although we hear of no systematic revision of the Arm 2 text during the Cilician period, the changes in the biblical text were significant. Scribal errors and variant readings were dramatically reduced. Hexaplaric marginal notations were dropped. The first one-volume Bibles appeared in the early 13th century, made possible by the shift from erkat'agir (uncial) to bolorgir (minuscule) script. The influence of the Vg text is seen in the adoption of the Frankish chapter divisions, the acceptance of disputed Gospel passages into the text, and the more frequent appearance of *4 Ezra*, Sirach, and Revelation in the biblical mss.

These and other changes produced a text that was fuller and smoother than the Arm text of the Bagratid period. Meanwhile, in historic Armenia, where there was considerable animosity toward Cilicia, scribes continued to produce the standard Arm 2 text.

The Kingdom of Cilicia succumbed to the ravages of the Black Death and the attacks of the Moslem forces of Egypt and Syria. The survivors fled, carrying with them their cherished biblical mss. In this way, the textual traditions of Cilicia spread throughout Greater Armenia and the diaspora and further shaped the Arm 2 text during the succeeding centuries, reinforced by the ever-present influence of the Greek Byzantine text.

G. Ms Collections and Catalogs

Armenian biblical mss number well over 2,500, including approximately ninety complete Bibles and 2,100 Gospels. The largest collections are at the State Manuscript Library (the Matenadaran), Erevan, Armenia; at the Armenian Patriarchate, Jerusalem; and in the libraries of the Mekhitarist Fathers in Venice and Vienna. The remainder are in libraries, museums, and private collections throughout the world.

The oldest extant biblical mss, excluding fragments, are two gospel mss from the 9th century located in Erevan and Venice. Gospel mss from the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries number approximately 45. The oldest non-gospel ms is a Venice ms of the Psalms from the 10th or 11th century. The oldest Armenian Bible is a Venice codex dated A.D. 1220.

Catalogs are available for the major collections and for many of the smaller ones (Leloir 1960: 817; Metzger 1977: 157–58; Cox 1982: 102–3). In addition, centralized collections of microfilm are being gathered at Erevan, Jerusalem, and the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library (Collegeville, MN). Microfilm of 26 mss from the Jerusalem collection are available from the Library of Congress (Washington, DC), and St. Louis University (St. Louis, MO) has microfilm of all mss in the Vatican collection. The Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center (Claremont, CA) has microfilm of some mss in Jerusalem and the United States.

H. Printed Editions in Classical Armenian

Many printed editions of the Armenian Version have appeared, both in classical Armenian and in the E and W dialects of modern Armenian. Only the principal ones are noted here (Hyvernat 1926: 1011–14; Leloir 1960: 814–15, 817–18; Nida 1972: 20–21).

The first portion of the classical Arm 2 text to appear in print was the Psalter in 1565 in Rome (Hyvernat 1926: 1011 says Venice). One hundred years passed before Bishop Oskan published the first Bible in 1666 in Amsterdam. Oskan conformed the text of his base ms (Ms. 180, Erevan, A.D. 1295) to the Latin Vg at many points.

In 1805 in Venice, the Mekhitarist Y. Zohrabian (Zohrab) published the Cilician text of Venice Ms. 1508 (A.D. 1319) with an apparatus listing the variant readings of mss which he, unfortunately, did not identify. The Zohrab Bible became the standard text of the Armenian Apostolic Church. Though inadequate as a critical tool, it has had to serve scholarly purposes as well. The Matenadaran and the Academy of Sciences in Erevan, with the assistance of Armenologists world-wide, are now preparing a critical edition of the OT with the NT to follow.

I. Printed Editions in Modern Armenian

A few of the principal editions in modern eastern Armenian are the following: 1835, NT, British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS), Moscow; 1860, NT, BFBS, Constantinople; 1896, Bible, BFBS, Constantinople; 1976, NT, Armenian Catholicate, Echmiadzin. In modern W Armenian: 1825, NT, BFBS, Paris, translated by Zohrab; 1853, Bible, American Bible Society, Smyrna, the standard version among Armenian Protestants; 1911, Gospels and Acts, Society of Jesus (Jesuits), Beirut; 1981, NT, Armenian Patriarchate, Jerusalem, an adaptation of the 1976 eastern Armenian NT.

J. Value of the Version to Textual Scholars

The Armenian Version is one of the earliest translations of the Greek Bible and, as such, has text-critical value for determining the original text of the LXX and the NT. Since the quality of the translation varies from book to book, the usefulness of the version will, of course, vary. More serious factors affecting its usefulness are our limited knowledge of the archetypes and the absence of MSS from the first five centuries of the version.

Nevertheless, it may be said that for many of the biblical books, e.g. the gospels, the Arm 2 version translates the Greek base sensitively and accurately, reproducing word order, proper names, grammatical constructions, and even nuances of the Greek idiom with precision (for the limitations of the Armenian in representing the Greek base, see Metzger 1977: 171–81; Cox 1981: 223–41).

The last twenty years have seen renewed interest and significant progress in the study of the Armenian biblical text. As Armenologists prepare critical editions of the OT and NT and shed light on the early history of the Arm 1 and Arm 2 texts, the usefulness of the Armenian Version will increase dramatically.

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JOSEPH M. ALEXANIAN

ETHIOPIC VERSIONS

A. The Bible in Ethiopia

Early Ethiopic tradition ("Ethiopic" stands for "Classical Ethiopic" or "Geʿez" language; see LANGUAGES [ETHIOPIC]) does not distinguish clearly between "canonical" and "extra-canonical" books. In addition to the canonical and deutero-canonical (apocryphal) books of the traditional Western canon, Ethiopic biblical mss may contain pseudepigraphical works, such as *1 Enoch, Jubilees, Ascension of Isaiah* and *Paralipomena of Jeremiah (4 Baruch)*. Quotations on inscriptions as well as other evidence suggest that all these books were translated from the Greek between the 4th and the 6th centuries.

More pseudepigrapha, such as *Testament of Abraham* (Aešcoly 1951), *Death of Moses* (Ullendorff 1961), *Colloquy of Moses with God on Mount Sinai* (Denis 1970: 138), *5 Baruch* (Leslau 1951: 57–76) and *Wisdom of the Sybil* (Denis 1970: 311), were translated from the Arabic in the 14th and 15th century. *Shepherd of Hermes, Didascalia Apostolorum*, and other pseudo-apostolic literature (Hammerschmidt 1964), are often also considered to be part of the canon.

1. The Old Testament. The earliest form of the Ethiopic OT is a rather literal translation of the LXX. No clear relationship could be established between the Ethiopic and one particular recension of the LXX. There are some interesting examples of theocrasy. In Sir 31:8 and 37:21 "The Lord" is translated with the name of the Semitic god "Astār." The usual word for the godhead is literally "The Lord of the Land." The expression "Son of Man" is translated "Son of the Offspring of the Mother of Life."

Since the 14th century the Ethiopic Bible has been revised repeatedly on the basis of Arabic texts. Because Arabic Old Testaments originated from many sources, it is very hard to establish which Arabic texts have been used in producing the ensuing "Vulgar Recension." In Genesis and Daniel it has been shown that the Arabic version of Saadya had no influence.

Amazingly, in some of the more recent mss (notably in the late 17th century ms Paris: Bibl. Nat. d'Abb 35, containing practically the whole OT minus the Octateuch) one finds the odd Hebrew word, vocalized in accordance with the MT, in Ethiopic transcription. It appears that these Hebrew words are only the most conspicuous sign of a wide scale recension, which probably took place in the 16th century, on the basis of the Hebrew Bible. It is known as the "Academic Recension."

A number of mss (notably Cambridge: University Library Add. 1570) contain a text which does not fit into either of these categories. Some OT books show some influence from the Peshitta. This is most likely due to medieval revision, either directly or indirectly via Arabic (Knibb 1988).

2. The New Testament. Research on the NT has been limited to Matthew (Hackspill), the Act of the Apostles (Montgomery), the Apocalypse (Hofmann) and the Synoptic Gospels (Zuurmond 1989). The general picture is identical with that of the OT. The earliest translation must have been made from the Greek between 350 and 600 A.D. From the late 13th century onward this text has been emended several times on the basis of various Arabic texts. In the Synoptic Gospels one may distinguish five types of text. The earliest is the "A-text", extant in two mss from the 13th century or earlier: Abbā Garimā 1 and 2. There is ample reason to assume that in the half millennium between its origin(s) and the date of the earliest extant mss, occasional changes on the basis of Greek, Coptic, Syriac or early Arabic gospel traditions have been introduced.

The A-text alternates literal translation with what almost amounts to paraphrase. It tends towards stylistic simplification. Synoptic harmonization is extremely frequent. No clear type of Greek text lies behind the A-text. Hackspill drew the attention to some "Western" elements, but one could also point at many "Byzantine" readings. A clear correlation has only been established in the first five chapters of Mark, between the A-text and the Greek codex W (Freerianus), which is supposedly "Western" in these chapters.

The "B-text" appears only in the gospel of Matthew. The earliest example is offered by the Vatican ms Etiop. 25 from the 13th or 14th century. There is a tradition that at one time Abbā Maṭāʿ, known as Libānos, translated the gospel of Matthew. Libānos however is supposed to have flourished in the 6th century, whereas the B-text probably

originated not earlier than the 12th century. Since neither date is historically beyond doubt there still may be a connection. The B-text is usually closer to the Greek than the A-text. It is probably an A-text corrected on the basis of an Arabic *Vorlage*. In the 13th century scribes began to conflate the A-text and the B-text. The earliest example is EMML 1832 from Ḥayq Eṣṭifānos, dated 1280/81. In the course of its ever expanding development this "C-text" absorbed many other elements: stylistic improvements, additions originating from Arabic versions, glosses. In some mss of the 17th century one may find conflations of as many as six readings. From the 17th century onward several efforts have been made to correct the C-text. One was the rather widespread "D-text," (a good example one finds in ms Or. 518 of the British Library in London) made on the basis of an Arabic text distinguished by a number of Diatessaron readings. Another was the much more rare "E-text" (e.g. in London: B.L. ms Or. 509), obviously with the "Alexandrian Vulgate" as point of comparison. In the 18th–20th centuries several types of eclectic texts began to emerge. Towards the middle of the 20th century they had developed more or less into a new standard text, such as may be found in modern Ethiopian printed editions.

Without thorough source criticism readings from random mss or from uncritical editions of the Ethiopic Bible should not be used for research into the earliest origins of the version. It is at this point that A. Vööbus' thesis of an (Old) Syriac *Vorlage* of the Ethiopic gospel fails to convince.

3. The Pseudepigrapha. Only in recent times has the text-critical work on the Ethiopic Pseudepigrapha by scholars like Dillmann and Charles been resumed. The discovery of extensive Aramaic fragments of *Enoch* and tiny Hebrew fragments of *Jubilees* in Qumran gave a new impetus to the study of these books.

B. Editions

The Asmara edition of a complete Bible by F. da Bassano in 1922–26, is unreliable for text-critical purposes. The same goes for other editions printed in Ethiopia during the 20th century. The first printed edition of any part of the Ethiopic Bible was the *Psalterium Chaldaeum*, edited by J. Potken in Rome in 1513. The first critical edition was J. Ludolf's *Psalterium Davidis* in 1701. A large part of the Ethiopic OT was critically edited by A. Dillmann in the second half of the 19th century. In *Annotationes* to each book Dillmann registered the differences between the assumed Greek *Vorlage* of his text and the Septuagint. The Octateuch edition of Boyd (1909–1911) covers one more ms (Paris: Bibl. Nat. Eth. 3) than Dillmann's, but since the edition contains a large number of inaccuracies, Dillmann's edition should have preference. All 20th century editions, some of which are excellent (e.g. Löfgren 1927 and 1930), some of which have rightly been criticized (e.g. Ecclesiastes by S. A. B. Mercer in 1931), are mentioned by Ullendorff (1968: 34) and by Knibb (1988: 12). Much work remains to be done, or—in view of the large increase in available manuscripts—redone.

For the NT the situation is even worse. The text of the *Editio Princeps* (Rome, 1548), although based on relatively early mss, has occasionally been emended by its editor. The Gospel is based on Vatican Etiop. 51, exhibiting a B-text in Matthew and an A-text, in the other gospels. The text of Acts was copied from the 15th century Vatican ms Etiop. 23, but its extensive lacunae have been filled with a translation of the Latin Vulgate. Other Vatican mss from the 15th or 16th century provided the text for the Catholic Epistles and Hebrews (Etiop. 5) and the Apocalypse (Etiop. 68). The Pauline Epistles were added in 1549 from a mss imported from Cyprus. Because of the delay, they are missing in some of the earlier copies of the edition. The complete Roman edition has been reproduced in Walton's *Polyglot*.

The most common edition of the Ethiopic NT was prepared by Thomas Pell Platt and published in 1830. Since then it has regularly been reprinted. The text is eclectic and without value for textual criticism.

The only part of the NT ever critically edited is the book of Revelation (Hofmann). Hackspill (1896: 367–88) reproduced the text (of the Paris ms Bibl. Nat. Eth. 32) of the first 10 chapters of Matthew. It contains a slightly contaminated A-text. Zuurmond's critical edition of the gospel of Mark, based on 24 mss, is scheduled to appear in 1989. Most of the Pseudepigrapha in Ethiopic await reedition. The most recent editions are *Enoch* by Knibb (1978), *Jubilees* by Charles (1895; J. C. VanderKam prepares a new edition), *Ascension of Isaiah* by Charles (1900), *5 Baruch* by Halévy (1902), and *Testament of Abraham* by Aešcoly (1951). The last two have been edited from Falasha mss, but they also exist in the Christian tradition. Leslau (1951) provided an English translation of these books, with a short introduction. A Christian fragment of the *Testament of Abraham* was also edited by Aešcoly (1951). Parts of the *Lives of the Prophets* have been published by Knibb (1980–85).

C. Manuscripts

Most Ethiopic mss are of a recent date. A 15th century mss is considered to be "old." Only a handful of mss antedate the 14th century, in particular some in the Vatican Library (*Ascension of Isaiah:* Etiop. 263; Samuel/Kings: Borg. Etiop. 3), in the Davies collection and in the EMML collection at Collegeville (see below). Recent lists of available biblical mss have been published by Zuurmond (1982: 115 *Jubilees;* 1988: 34 Octateuch; 1989 Synoptic Gospels and Apocalypse) and Knibb (Ezekiel 1988). Other lists may be found in the appropriate editions. Some 13th–14th century polyglot Bible-mss from Egypt contain—apart from Coptic, Syriac, Arabic and Armenian—an Ethiopic column. They are: the Psalter (Vatican, Barb. Or. 2), the NT Epistles and Acts (Milan, Ambrosiana 6) and fragments of the Gospel (Oxford: Bodleian Copt. c.2.; and London: British Library Or. 1240). The most extensive collections of Ethiopic biblical mss are those in London (British Library), Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale), the Vatican Library (its Cerulli collection has not yet been catalogued), Cambridge (in particular the collection of the British and Foreign Bible Society, deposited in the University Library), and Berlin (Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz). Important microfilmed collections are the Lake Ṭānā mss (Hammerschmidt: 1973–1977) and the huge collection in the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library at Collegeville, Minnesota (Macomber 1975–78; Getatchew 1979–88). The Davies collection of microfilmed early biblical mss, containing a.o. the three Abbā Garimā Gospels

(13th century or earlier), has now also been deposited in Collegeville. It was described by Macomber (1979).

Detailed bibliographies and other useful information may be found in Ullendorff (1968), the editions of the corresponding biblical books, and in many of the studies listed in the bibliography below.

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GEORGIAN VERSIONS

The versions of the Bible produced in the early days of the church form an important object of study since they provide information about the types of Greek texts that were current and approved at the time of the translation. Since in many cases the text employed was commended by Church authority or Christian scholarship, the versions inform us about textual knowledge and criteria at an early period. Thus the various stages of translation into the Georgian language are of importance to the textual critic in particular, and have played a not inconsiderable part in text-critical theory. The earliest manuscripts of the versions date from the 5th to the 10th centuries.

The versions here described are written in the Georgian language, the modern form of which is still spoken by over three million people in the Georgian Republic, and is an official language in which publication and instruction take place.

A. Name and History of the Georgian People
B. Language and Problems of Translation
C. Early Georgian Texts (5th–8th centuries)
D. Later Manuscripts (9th–10th centuries)
   1. Gospel Translations
   2. Gospel Affiliations
   3. Other NT Affiliations
   4. Affiliations in the OT
E. Later Revisions (10th–12th centuries)
F. The Printed Bible
G. Modern Scholarship and Publication

A. Name and History of the Georgian People

The geographical name Georgia became common in the West during the Middle Ages, and was sometimes erroneously linked with the Christian saint George: it is identical in root with the Persian *Gurğistan;* the Russian form is *Gruziya. Georgi* as the name of its inhabitants is known in Pliny (1st century A.D.). An older name is Iberia, which is linked with the Armenian and Parthian designations for the region: the inhabitants can be called *Iberi* or *Iveri* (in Latin or Greek), from which the formerly Georgian monastery on Mount Athos, the *Iveron,* derives its name. (The identity in sound and spelling with "Iberia" used as an old name for Spain is unexplained and probably accidental.)

Our earliest knowledge of the language (*k'artuli ena* "the Georgian language") dates from the 5th century of the Christian era. There are inscriptions from that date, and a palimpsest manuscript of the gospels has been so dated. These post-date the entry of the Christian faith into the country, probably in the 4th century. All examples of the language are from Christian texts: there are no literary remains of the pagan period. Christianity spread to the Georgians both from the Armenians (whose early links

were with the Syriac church) and from the Greek-speaking church. Ecclesiastically, the Georgians were at first linked with the Armenians, with whom they opposed the formulations of the council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451) and the formula of attempted reconciliation of the emperor Zeno, termed the Henoticon (A.D. 505–506). As a result, the dominant cultural influences of this period were Armenian. But about A.D. 600 the Georgian church accepted the Chalcedonian definition, and remained thereafter in close theological and cultural contact with the Byzantine church and empire.

As the country lay on the frontiers of the Byzantine empire and of lands of various other peoples, and as it is very fruitful, it was throughout its history open to invasion and to the overlordship of whichever power happened to be in ascendancy. The greatest period of unity of the various groups speaking Georgian was in the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries, and was brought to an end by the Mongol invasions. After several centuries of Turkish and Persian supremacy, the Georgians became a part of the Russian Empire, by a decision of their own kings, taken for the defense of their own country. After the Revolution, they enjoyed a brief period as an independent state from 1918–1921, but afterwards became a part of the Soviet Union, in whose history they have played a not insignificant part.

B. Language and Problems of Translation

The Georgian language is totally unrelated to any language which figures in the account of the early translation of the scriptures in ancient and medieval Christendom. It should particularly be noted, in the light of modern political geography, that it has no links with Russian or Old Slavonic. The language is almost *sui generis*, since its only relatives are three languages spoken in the same area, namely Laz, Mingreli, and Svan. These together form the South-Caucasian or K'artvelian languages (from *K'artvelebi*, "Georgians"). The language has many consonants and few vowels. Its morphology is basically agglutinating, although some inflection is found. The verb is polypersonal, that is, within the one verbal form, morphemes may indicate the subject, the direct object, and the indirect object of the verb. The so-called "passive construction" (e.g., "it was written by me" contrasted with "I wrote it") is much favored and is always found in verbal forms built on the perfect tense stem (or "third series," to use the recent terminology). There is no definite or indefinite article, nor any distinction of gender.

The peculiarities of the language lead to various difficulties for the interpreter as they no doubt did for the translator. The absence of the article causes less difficulty than might be anticipated, because often another feature of the sentence makes it clear whether definition is present. A number of functions performed by prepositions in Greek, Armenian, or Syriac, are those of morphemes within the noun: hence prepositions may not be explicitly represented (e.g., the Greek preposition *en* when used instrumentally may be represented by the instrumental form of the noun, or when used locatively, by the locative form). There is also, especially in the earlier strata of the translations, much freedom of rendering, giving rise for instance to singular for plural, or *vice versa*. The polypersonal verbal construction leads to the frequent lack of an explicit pronominal indirect object. Besides these problems of language difference (such as all versions exemplify), we also encounter the expected changes which arise from exegesis and interpretation.

C. Early Georgian Texts (5th–8th Centuries)

The earliest known Georgian texts are Christian. The earliest biblical documents date from the 5th century, and the first inscriptions, with Christian vocabulary of prayer and dedication, are from the same period. By this time the alphabet, which is carefully devised to fit the phonetics of Georgian, was fully formed, while the language shows signs of prior use for the expression of Christian belief and practice. Most of the mss which have survived from this period are fragments, generally found in palimpsests, that is, mss made up of leaves from previous mss that have been cleansed of the prior writing and reused. From the OT, there are fragments of Genesis, Proverbs, and Jeremiah, all published, and of Deuteronomy and Judges, still unpublished, and of the deutero-canonical 1 Esdras. From the NT, there are considerable portions of the gospels, in four mss, and smaller fragments of Romans and Galatians. The mss range in date from the 5th to the 8th century: their ancient character is emphasized by the fact that they are written in forms of the Georgian language which had become extinct by the first half of the 7th century.

Many of these mss are from continuous texts, but others from lectionaries. The form of lectionary from which they come is known to be that of the Jerusalem church, as its liturgy developed in the 4th century, and pilgrimage to the Holy Places began to be a custom. Some rubrics punctuate the readings in these mss sources. Other sources of knowledge of the earliest forms of Georgian texts are to be found in quotations and echoes of biblical texts in the earliest literature which gives accounts of the martyrdoms of Georgian Christians of the earliest centuries at the hands of Mazdaean and Muslim persecutors.

D. Later Manuscripts (9th–10th Centuries)

Before these fragmentary mss were discovered or the literary echoes of biblical material examined, scholars had knowledge of the Georgian biblical texts in mss of the 9th and 10th centuries, giving a full text of those parts of scripture which they contain. A majority of these have survived in Georgia itself, but others in the centers of former Georgian monasticism: Jerusalem, Mount Sinai, and Mount Athos.

1. Gospel Translations. From the material in all these mss we may deduce that translation of scripture took place at the earliest point in the existence of Georgian Christianity, and even at that earliest point we may observe different types of textual affiliation. For example, our oldest complete mss of the four gospels dates from the 9th century, and carries the name of *Adiš*, the village where it was found. The text of this mss shows very clear signs that it had been translated from Armenian, not directly from Greek. The rest of the mss tradition of these early centuries probably rests, in the gospels at least, on such a text rendered from Armenian but has also been revised from the Greek. But when we examine the very early fragments, we do not find, as we might expect to do, that they all

agree with the text based solely on the Armenian; on the contrary, the majority of those fragments agree more with the text revised from the Greek than with the other. This duality of text type is also found in the allusions and quotations. Moreover, in some of the passages used in the lectionaries, we meet some texts which are identical in wording with the continuous text mss alongside others which differ. Because of the date of the earliest sources of information, we cannot posit successive stages of translation (unless this began long before we know there to have been either a Georgian church or a Georgian alphabet). It would appear rather that there were translations, sometimes from Armenian, sometimes from Greek, and that very early these became mixed by some sort of mutual interaction, whether intentional or accidental. The centers of these translations would have been in the border regions of Armenia and Georgia, and in early Georgian monastic centers in Palestine and perhaps also in Egypt. That there were at the beginning more than two tentative translations may be shown by the fact that some passages within the mss of the Jerusalem lectionary present very different linguistic and textual features from those of the mss (such as the *Adiš* manuscript and the others alluded to which are known to us in detail already.

2. Gospel Affiliations. Because of the situation in the publication of texts, our knowledge of the affiliation of the Georgian texts to the original Greek of the NT, to the LXX, and to other versions made from these, differs considerably in depth from book to book. The gospels have received the most attention, especially the gospel of Mark (which is the common practice of textual critics, since Mark is the shortest gospel, and the one in which early variation tends most regularly to survive). Two different emphases have been made. Some scholars, on the grounds of the probable Armenian base of the Georgian, and of the Syriac background of the Armenian, have laid stress on the harmonistic readings in the text. On their hypothesis, these will have been derived from the gospel harmony of Tatian, made in the 2d century, which we know to have had a considerable influence upon the oldest strata of the Syriac, and to have been reflected in the Armenian. Others have laid their stress upon links which may be perceived with the text of the gospels reflected in the quotations of Origen at certain times in his life, and of Eusebius. The readings which provide these links are often found in a number of Gk mss, especially various relatively late minuscules, often of South Italian provenance. This difference of emphasis and interpretation is linked with the debate over the so-called "Caesarean Text" of the gospels, in which the Georgian version was amongst the witnesses considered to bear strong witness to the existence of this type of text (see Lake et al. 1928; Klijn 1949; Vööbus 1953; Birdsall 1983). Suffice it to say, that whichever emphasis may prove better founded, the Georgian version is shown by its early links to be one which must be taken into account in any description or assessment of the text of the gospels, for it is, in its earlier forms, a version with close links to the very center of developing Christianity.

3. Other NT Affiliations. The same can be said in principle about the Acts, the Catholic epistles, and the Pauline corpus on the basis of such research as the more recently published texts have attracted. In the Acts, while we have no trace of the distinctive longer text (known from Codex Bezae), the readings of the Georgian do sometimes accord with "Western" witnesses, in cases where those readings were of wider circulation, but also, on other occasions, accord with Alexandrian witnesses. In the case of the epistles of Paul, we find links with the earliest Greek papyri in some distinctive readings, and with forms of text attested in early fathers. The text of the Catholic Epistles is related in similar ways. Although the book of Revelation was translated only at a later stage in the development of the Georgian versions, we may appropriately mention here its textual value. It is known in three mss, and gives the text in the form known from and generally accompanied by the commentary of Andreas of Caesarea (5th century). The Georgian manuscripts are of the same date as the translation itself, and moreover, antedate all but three of the mss of the Greek original. Since that text and commentary preserve a very important witness to the original text of Revelation, the Georgian version is of great importance for the textual critic of that book.

4. Affiliations in the OT. Less specific information is available about the text of the Georgian versions of the OT and the deutero-canonical books, but we may judge from sources published in Georgia the general direction research is taking. There is agreement that Armenian bases underlie the earliest translations into Georgian, but that, in a manner reminiscent of the discoveries about the NT, there was also early recourse to Greek models for revision. We must state the textual affiliations in terms of the history of the LXX: generally, the texts translated were of the type termed Lucianic, but there are also traces of the critical work of Origen in his repertorium of textual information which is called the Hexapla. Here again, we glimpse how the Georgian may preserve information from the history of the biblical text in early Christian times. In another respect too, we find a similar phenomenon to one within the data of NT documents: some of the earliest fragments retain evidence of distinct translations which were not to become part of the mainstream of Georgian biblical usage (Proverbs and 1 Esdras are among the books in which such examples are known).

E. Later Revisions (10th–12th Centuries)

In the 10th and 11th centuries, scriptural translations were revised by three great literary figures, two of them from the Georgian monastery on Mount Athos (the monastery of the *Iveron*), and the third from the center of Georgian monasticism near Antioch in Syria, the "Black Mountain," or "Wonderful Mountain". The first of these was Euthymius the Athonite (963–1028), who with his father John founded the house of the *Iveron*. He was the translator of the book of Revelation, which had not previously been translated into Georgian. It was a book which, while accepted early as scripture in the churches of the West, had always been viewed with great suspicion in the Eastern churches. He is also said to have translated the Psalms, but the text has not come down to us. He produced a version of the gospels (a revision of the older translations).

To the second, George the Athonite (active in translation on Athos about 1040), we owe two versions of the Psalms,

one close to the old text, and one more accommodated to the usage of his own day. He revised yet further than Euthymius the translation of the gospels, and undertook new translations of the Acts, and the whole corpus of the epistles (Catholic and Pauline). These he brought into textual congruence with the biblical texts which had become dominant in the Greek church in the recent centuries, perhaps in the wake of the revival of learning after the end of the Iconoclast controversy. His translation of the Psalms and gospels became the standard thereafter in the Georgian church, but the rest of the NT awaited another revision by Ephrem Mcire (the Less), after 1057, whose center of work was on the Black Mountain. The book of Revelation, however, in spite of the work of Euthymius, remained of dubious canonicity, and was not revised.

For the OT, apart from the Psalter (which had an existence of its own because of its central importance in worship), we are not yet informed in so detailed a way. A ms of the 12th century (known as the Gelati manuscript from the monastery where it was preserved) presents a revision of the OT in which a slavish imitation of Greek has been adopted as a means of representing the Greek original in Georgian. In the opinion of some, this work was that of Ephrem Mcire, in part at least; in that of others, it was that of John Petrici (late 11th and early 12th century), a noted translator of classical philosophy. As his cognomen implies, he worked in the Georgian monastery of Petriconi in Bulgaria.

F. The Printed Bible

The printed Bible (Psalms and gospels in Tbilisi [1705] and the complete Bible in Moscow [1742–43]), before the rise of 20th century scholarship, was eclectic in text. It rested to some extent upon the learning of Sulxan-Saba Orbeliani (18th century) and the Mcxeta Bible, a ms prepared for him. But it also suffered revision from the Old Slavonic Bible in use in the Russian Orthodox Church. As a critical tool then it is without value, although it is a monument to various stages of earlier Georgian attempts at biblical revision. In 1963, an authorized version of the NT was published by the Catholics of the Georgian Orthodox church, based on recent scholarly editions. A translation into modern Georgian had not been made until 1980 when the gospels and Psalms were produced by a Swedish Bible Society. This version is apparently based on modern critical Greek and Hebrew texts and owes nothing to the long earlier tradition.

G. Modern Scholarship and Publication

The bulk of the published materials on which these preliminary analyses can be made is the work of both Georgian and foreign scholars of the present century, and most of it has been done since the Second World War. The whole of the NT is available. The older recensions of the gospels have been twice edited, once in Georgia and once in the West, and so has the Acts of the Apostles; but for later recensions of the gospels, for the epistles, and for the book of Revelation, we have one edition only, each the work of Georgian scholars. Because of increasing cooperation between the two groups of scholars involved, no duplication in these areas is planned or necessary. We do not yet have the whole of the OT available. The prophetic corpus has been edited as a whole outside Georgia, and the book of Ezekiel independently by Georgian scholars. Some incomplete texts of parts of the Pentateuch, some of the deutero-canonical (or apocryphal) books, and all the recensions of the version of the Psalter have been edited in Georgia.

There are many studies available, and many summaries of other studies made as theses and so on (in addition to the bibliography, see the articles on "Georgien," "Georgische Handschriften," etc. in *Kleines Wörterbuch des Christlichen Orients* [Wiesbaden 1975]). The text of the Bible of Mcxeta, which was written for the eighteenth century for the traveller, diplomat, and scholar Sulxan-Saba Orbeliani, compiled from many sources, is in the process of publication. Work proceeds both outside the former Soviet Union and in Georgia itself, especially in the Institute of Manuscripts, Tbilisi, and in the Department of Old Georgian Language in the University of Tbilisi. There are a number of journals, Georgian and foreign, which act as a means of information and vehicles of scholarly analysis (e.g., *Le Muséon* [Louvain], *Oriens Christianus* [Leipzig & Wiesbaden], *Bedi Kartlisa: Révue de kartvelologie* [Paris], and *Révue des études géorgiennes et caucasiennes* [Paris]).

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VERSIONS, CATHOLIC. Although the Roman Catholic versions of the Bible can be conveniently divided according to the various modern languages, it is more

important that the division among them be made on a chronological basis. Since the Council of Trent had decreed that the Vulgate was the sole "authentic edition for public reading, disputations, sermons and explanations," the vast majority of Roman Catholic translations of the Bible in the 17th–20th centuries were translated from the Latin rather than from the original Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek. Only with the publication of Pius XII's encyclical *Divino Afflante Spiritu* (1943) and especially because of the Second Vatican Council's dogmatic decree *Dei Verbum* (1965) have Roman Catholic editors systematically begun to publish translations based primarily on the original languages of the biblical texts. The decree strongly encouraged the translation of the Bible into the modern languages (Par. 22) and cited the particular responsibility of bishops to see to it that such translations be made available (Pars. 26).

The World Translations Progress Report of the United Bible Societies for 1988 reported that the Bible had been translated, completely or in part, into 605 languages and that 1988 was a record year for Bible translations. Some of these translations were the work of Catholic missionaries, as for example, those provided for some native populations in Guatemala. Since it is impossible to provide a complete listing of all the versions produced under Catholic auspices, the remainder of this article will concentrate on the modern European language translations of the Bible, especially those in English.

A. English Versions Based on the Vulgate
B. English Versions Based on the Original Languages
C. Versions in Other Languages
D. Ecumenical Projects

A. English Versions Based on the Vulgate

Prior to 1943 the most common English-language Roman Catholic Bible was the Douay-Rheims version. Sponsored by Canon (later Cardinal) William Allen, the translation was prepared on the European continent by Gregory Martin, an Oxford trained scholar, who published the NT at Rheims in 1582 and the OT at Douay in 1609. The translation was literal and the style stilted. The NT was revised and provided with explanatory notes by Bishop Richard Challoner in 1749 and 1752. Challoner's revision of the OT appeared in 1750 and 1763. Challoner's work, which radically modernized the English language and style of the text, particularly eliminating the Latinisms of the earlier version, served as the standard version of the Bible for English-language Roman Catholics for two centuries.

In the United States the Episcopal Committee for the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine sponsored a revision of the Rheims-Challoner version of the NT (1941). Commonly known as the Confraternity edition, its footnotes took into account the Greek text of the NT, but the translation itself was based on the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate, even when this departed from Jerome's work. A revision of the Douay-Challoner OT was undertaken, only to be abandoned because of the publication of *Divino Afflante Spiritu.*

In Great Britain the Catholic hierarchies similarly approved a new translation of the Vulgate, the work of Ronald Knox, an Oxford-trained scholar, reputed for his use of English style. The so-called Knox Bible appeared in 1944 (NT) and 1950 (OT). Although the translation was based on the Latin, the footnotes made use of the Greek and Hebrew. Because of its style and because Knox's knowledge of Greek was superior to his knowledge of Hebrew, the NT is generally considered superior to the OT.

B. English Versions Based on the Original Languages

A somewhat pedantic version of the NT, known as the Westminster Bible and edited by C. Lattey, appeared in Great Britain in 1935. Lattey abandoned work on the OT in 1949. In 1961 John Bligh's revision of the Westminster NT appeared in a missal. In the United States, the Kleist-Lilly translation of the NT appeared in 1950 and 1954. J. A. Kleist was responsible for the gospels and J. L. Lilly for the epistles. The translation was intended to keep pace with modern developments in English, but the overall effort is theologically slanted and occasionally marred by poor scholarship.

The New American Bible (NAB) was a major endeavor sponsored by the bishops of the United States to provide the faithful with a biblical translation based on the original languages. It is, in fact, the version most commonly used in Roman Catholic liturgical celebrations in the United States. The translation was done by members of the Catholic Biblical Association (CBA), under the chairmanship of Louis F. Hartman (OT) and Myles Bourke (NT). The language of the translation is formal, but modern, following the American idiom. The work on the OT (1952), done at a relatively leisurely pace, made ample use of the recently discovered Dead Sea Scrolls. The NT (1970), however, was prepared in haste so that it would be available for use in the vernacular liturgy which was permitted and encouraged by the Second Vatican Council. Under the care of a committee chaired by Francis Gignac, a revision of the NT appeared in 1987, but the so-called revision is really an entirely new translation by members of the CBA, including some non-Roman Catholics. This revision is in greater conformity with the Greek than was its predecessor; the translation itself is rather similar to that of the RSV. A revision of the translation of the Psalter is expected to appear in 1990–91.

The Jerusalem Bible (JB) was published in 1966 under the general editorship of Alexander Jones. Inspired by the *Bible de Jerusalem,* the first draft translation of most books was based on the Hebrew or Greek and then compared with the French. In some cases, however, the OT translations were initially based on the French with the draft subsequently revised in the light of the Hebrew or Aramaic. Although highly esteemed for personal reading and liturgical use because of its readability, the Jerusalem Bible suffers from many of the same idiosyncracies of the French forerunner (particularly with regard to issues of textual criticism) and the conservative posture of Roman Catholic biblical scholarship in the 1950s. The New Jerusalem Bible (NJB) appeared in 1985 under the general editorship of Henry Wansbrough. This vastly improved revision was inspired by the French revision of 1973 and consciously attempts to avoid sexist translations.

C. Versions in Other Languages

The 19th and 20th centuries have seen an almost untold number of new translations by Catholic authors. Those published in the second half of the 20th century are generally based on the original texts, while many of the more recent translation projects are the fruits of ecumenical cooperation.

1. French. Richard Simon's anonymously published translation of the NT appeared at Trévoux in 1702. A number of rather staid translations were produced under the inspiration of Port Royal and the Jansenist school. Of these the most important was the work of Louis Isaac le Maistre (De Sacy) whose NT (1667) was based on the Greek, while the OT (1695) was based on the Vulgate.

Two of the most popular 20th-century Bibles have been Crampon's *La Sainte Bible* (Paris, 1907) and Canon Osty's *La Bible* (Paris, 1973). The 1952 edition of the former included Joseph Bonsirven revision of the OT and Andre Tricot's new translation of the NT. Osty's work has been considered the standard-setter for French translations of the Bible. It is particularly esteemed because of its philological exactness and the quality of its French expression.

In Belgium, the *Bible de Maredsous,* produced by Benedictine monks, was published in Brussels in 1950 and 1951 (corrected edition, 1970). In Canada, the Association catholique des études bibliques published a version of the NT in Montreal in 1952.

The most important of the French translation projects were, however, associated with the École biblique, founded in Jerusalem by Marie-Joseph Lagrange in 1890. Scholarly translations of individual books of the Bible appeared in the commentaries of the Études bibliques series. A particularly significant project, *La Bible de Jerusalem (BJ)* initially appeared as a series of 43 fully annotated individual volumes (1948–54) under the general editorship of Roland de Vaux, assisted by Pierre Benoit for the NT. For the most part the translations and commentaries were the work of scholars associated with the École biblique in Jerusalem, but some scholars based in Europe were also involved in the project. The translation of the OT occasionally relies on the LXX rather than the MT; its notes often reflect a Christian slant. The text on which the NT translation is based often relied on the text-critical positions of M.-E. Boismard, thus imparting an idiosyncratic quality to the work. The translation was particularly esteemed because of the quality of its French style, but was admittedly periphrastic as far as the biblical text itself was concerned.

A single volume edition of the *BJ,* with footnotes and introductions greatly reduced, appeared in 1956. A number of translations into other languages attest to the popularity of the original *BJ.* A radically revised edition appeared in 1973. Less periphrastic than the original, its introductions and notes moved away from the conservative stance found in much of the earlier work.

2. Italian. Subsequent to Benedict XIV's cautious suggestion that the laity be allowed to read the Scriptures (1757), Antonio Martini published an elegant translation of the Vulgate into Latin (1776). A revised and corrected version was published in Turin in 1920. During the 19th century, especially under the influence of Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, the Bible was translated into various Italian dialects. Under the auspices of the recently founded Pontifical Biblical Institute (1909), a translation of the Bible into Italian began to be published in 1922 under the direction of Alberto Vaccari. A version of the Bible produced by Giuseppi Ricciotti and other scholars appeared in Florence in 1929.

In 1961 the Pontifical Biblical Institute published a new edition of the Bible in Italian, based on the Scriptures in their original language. Alberto Vaccari, a professor at the PBI, was general editor of this project. Work on *La Sacra Bibbia traditta dai testi originali e commentat,* under the chairmanship of Salvatore Garofalo, rector of the Pontifical Urban University in Rome, was begun and published (1963) before the completion of the Second Vatican Council. Francisco Vattioni chaired the OT section of the project and Leone Algisi, rector of the seminary in Bergamo, chaired the NT section. In the same year another translation, edited by Enrico Galbiati, Angelo Penna and Piero Rossano, was published in Turin under the same name. A translation of the Bible has also been produced under the auspices of the Italian Episcopal Conference (CEI).

3. Spanish. The first complete publication of the Bible in Spanish in Spain (1793) was the work of Felipe Scio de San Miguel, later bishop of Segovia. The ten-volume work was based on the Vulgate. A nineteen-volume 2d edition appeared in 1794–97. Scio's work remained popular even though Felix Torres Amat, later bishop of Astorga, produced a new Spanish translation of the Vulgate (1825), for which he made a comparison between the Latin and the original Hebrew and Greek texts.

The first complete Spanish translation from the original languages was prepared under the auspices of the University of Salamanca by Eloíno Nácar Fuster and Alberto Colunga (Madrid, 1944). In Madrid, in 1947, Francisco Cantera and José Maria Bover published another Spanish version of the Bible based on the original languages. A major project has been the publication of the *Nueva Biblia Española,* the work of Luis Alonso Schokel and Juan Mateos. It is an idiomatic rendering of the biblical text. The translation of the OT began to appear in a series of commentaries beginning in 1965. The NT appeared in 1974. A revised edition of the complete Bible, originally published in 1975, appeared in 1977.

During the 20th century, many translations of the Bible into Spanish have been published in South America. Among them is an Argentinean pastoral version of the Bible, *El Libro del Pueblo de Dios* (1981), prepared by A. J. Levoratti in collaboration with A. B. Trusso and a Chilean pastoral edition (2nd. ed., 1972) presented by a team under the general direction of Ramon Ricciardi.

4. Portuguese. The first translation of the Bible into Portuguese was the work of Joao Ferreira d'Almeida, a priest who later became a Protestant missionary. The NT was printed at Amsterdam in 1681. The entire Bible first appeared in Batavia in 1753, when d'Almeida's work on the OT had been completed by other missionaries. The first Portuguese Bible printed in Portugal itself was the work of the priest Anton Pereira de Figueiredo. Complete with copious notes, it was published in Lisbon in twenty-three volumes (1783–90).

Biblia Sagrada versao dos textos originais is an ecclesiastically endorsed Portuguese version of the Bible, prepared in Portugal, but commonly used in the Portuguese-language

communities throughout the world. The annotated OT (Lisbon, 1968) was the work of a team of seven Capuchin priests, Alcindo Costa, A. A. Tavares, J. C. Das Neves, J. M. Lima, J. N. Carreira, M. A. Rodriguez, and G. C. Dias, while the NT translation (1970) was the work of Costa.

5. German. A so-called "Catholic" or "Mainz" Bible circulated in Germany well into the 18th century. Its NT was based on Hieronymus Emser's 1527 translation, in fact, a revision of Luther's 1522 work, only slightly amended for conformity with the Vulgate. Emser's work was subsequently revised by Johann Dietenberger who, in collaboration with other scholars, published the entire Bible in 1534. The OT followed Luther's version. The translation was further revised in 1630 by Caspar Ulenberg in Cologne and again in 1662 by a group of Mainz theologians, whence its popular name.

In the 20th century, a translation of the Bible by P. Riessler and R. Storr (Mainz, 1949) was published in an eighth edition just seven years after its initial appearance. The earlier work of two Capuchins, Konstantin Rosch (NT, 1932) and Eugen Henne (OT, 1936), likewise appeared in several editions over a short period of time. The most popular German translation of the Bible under Catholic auspices was the work of Pius Parsch, a monk of Klosterneuberg, Austria, whose project of translation from the original languages was completed in 1952.

6. Dutch. The first Dutch Catholic version of the complete Bible, prepared by Alexander Blankaert and others on the basis of the Vulgate, but making use of the Delft Bible as well, was published under the aegis of the University of Cologne in 1478. The translation produced at Louvain by Canon Claes van Winghe and periodically revised since its original publication in 1548 has, nonetheless, remained the standard Catholic version of the Bible in Dutch for centuries.

Between 1936 and 1939 the so-called Canisius edition of the Bible was published at Amsterdam by Bernard (later Cardinal) Alfrink, R. Jansen, and J. Cook. *De Katholieke Bijbel,* whose OT was the work of Laetus Himmelreich and whose NT was the work of Crispinus Smits, was published at Bruges and Hertogenbosch in 1938. During the 1970s the Dutch and Flemish Biblical Associations produced the so-called Willibrord Bible. In 1987 a new translation of the gospels and Acts was published by the Dutch Catholic Bible Society and the Flemish Bible Society.

7. Other Languages. The Cracow Bible, the first Polish translation of the Bible, was published in 1561, but its history is clouded in obscurity. Another Polish translation, more faithful to the Vulgate than the Cracow Bible, was published at Cracow in 1599. This translation, produced by the Jesuit Jakub Wujek, and revised even in the 20th century, became the classic Polish Bible.

Work on an Irish translation of the Bible was started in 1945. Completed in 1981, the translation was published as *An Biobla Naofa.*

A new translation of the Bible into Latin, the *Nova Vulgata,* appeared in 1979. Intended for liturgical and pastoral use, the text represents a happy synthesis between the demands of textual criticism and respect for the ecclesiastical Latin of the church.

D. Ecumenical Projects

Paragraph 22 of *Dei Verbum* (1965) approved and encouraged ecumenical cooperation in the modern translations of the Bible. "Guidelines for Interconfessional Cooperation in Translating the Bible" were developed by the Vatican's Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity in conjunction with the United Bible Societies (1968; revised, 1987). Accordingly, John Reumann, a Lutheran, was a member of the committee responsible for the revision of the NAB's NT.

On the European continent, self-styled ecumenical translations are commonly used. As early as 1960 a German-language ecumenical translation project was begun. Having been endorsed by the German Catholic bishops in 1978, the *Einheitsübersetzung* appeared in 1980. A French-language *Traduction oecuménique de la Bible* (TOR), whose NT is based on the Greek, was published in 1975 (new edition, 1988), and the Italian *Parola del Signore: Il Nuovo Testamento-Traduzione interconvessionale dal testo greco in lingua corrente* appeared in 1976. After seven years of scholarly and financial ecumenical cooperation, in which the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum was a partner, the first complete Bible in Japanese was published in 1978.

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RAYMOND F. COLLINS

VERSIONS, ENGLISH. Because the Church of England had broken off from the Roman Catholic Church, and because Jews were not permitted to live in England until 1655, most of the English translations surveyed in this five-article entry were used in "Protestant" contexts. The first article surveys the history of English versions of the Bible up to 1960. (For a survey of post-1960 English translations, see THEORY OF TRANSLATION; and VERSIONS, AMERICAN. Subsequent articles treat various particular aspects of the English Bible: Wycliffe's Version, the term "Authorized Version," the King James Version, and various American versions. Within each article are cross-references to other related entries. See also VERSIONS, CATHOLIC; VERSIONS, JEWISH; and VERSIONS, MODERN ERA.

PRE-1960 ENGLISH VERSIONS

A. Beginnings
B. Pre-Reformation Bibles
C. Printed Bibles
   1. The Tyndale New Testament
   2. The Coverdale Bible
   3. The Matthew's Bible
   4. The Taverner's Bible

5. The Great Bible
6. The Geneva Bible
7. The Bishops' Bible
8. The Rheims-Douay Bible
9. The King James Bible

D. From the 17th to the 19th Century
1. America
2. Catholic Bibles
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E. The Revised Version, 1881–85

F. The 20th Century (Before 1960)
1. Overview
2. Catholic Translations
3. Bibles with Note Systems

A. Beginnings

The origins of Christianity in Britain are shrouded in legends that date earlier than the conversion of Constantine. Almost a hundred years later than Constantine, Patrick began work in Ireland in A.D. 405. Ninion (died 432) was a missionary and monastic bishop of North Britain, and Columba (about 565) worked first in Ireland and later, going out from Iona, in Scotland. Christianity received great impetus through the coming of Augustine in A.D. 596. Following a period of conflict between the Irish and Roman forms of Christianity, the Roman form became dominant.

There is no evidence of vernacular translation of the Scriptures at these early dates. Christianity spread through the oral teaching of monks who used the Latin Vulgate. Codex Amiatinus was made at either Jarrow or Wearmouth about A.D. 716. Carvings and pictures in the churches as well as miracle and mystery plays instructed the masses, most of whom were unable to read Latin.

The first paraphraser of Scripture into Anglo-Saxon is traditionally Caedmon, an unlearned secular brother of piety and humility who resided at the monastery of Whitby about A.D. 680. Caedmon, declining his turn for entertaining by singing, is said to have retired to the stable where an apparition ordered him to sing of the beginning of created things. Awaking from his sleep, Caedmon remembered what he had sung and later added to it. When he revealed his experience, learned men expounded messages to him which he turned into verse. His paraphrases covered the creation, the Exodus, the entrance into Canaan, and the incarnation, passion, and resurrection of the Lord. Caedmon's work has largely not survived, but a metrical version from a 10th century manuscript in the Bodleian Library is sometimes attributed to him. Morrell (1965: 18–31) insists that while this text may be Cadmonian in inspiration, it is by a series of authors and not by Caedmon, as previously thought.

Guthlac (A.D. 673?–714), a Saxon anchorite, is said to have glossed the Psalms at Crowland and Peterborough near the end of the 7th century. There are fourteen Psalters with old English glosses ranging in date from the 8th to the 12th centuries (Morrell 1965: 45).

Aldhelm, abbot of Malmesbury, about A.D. 700 sang religious themes as a minstrel on the bridge of the city. In addition to Greek and Latin, Aldhelm could read Hebrew. His translation of the Psalms into Anglo-Saxon survives in a single ms preserved in the National Library in Paris. Also Egbert about A.D. 700 produced a translation of the gospels.

Cuthbert, one of Bede's disciples, in 735 tells the romantic story of Bede's rendering the gospel of John, finishing the last sentence on the last evening of his life. No trace of Bede's translation survives. It is not known whether it was from Greek or Latin.

King Alfred of the West Saxons is said to have put the translated Ten Commandments at the head of his laws. He is also said to have begun a translation of the Psalms which he did not finish.

The earliest surviving examples of translation into the vernacular are the Anglo-Saxon glosses between the lines of Latin mss. The Lindisfarne Gospels were written in Latin by Bishop Eadfrith about A.D. 700 and were beautifully illuminated. An added interlinear gloss of the tenth century is attributed to Aldred. The Rushworth Gospels, written in an Irish half-uncial hand about A.D. 800, has an Old English gloss added throughout. The gospel of Matthew and parts of Mark and John are by Farmen and the remainder by Owun. Parts are merely copied from the Lindisfarne Gospels.

Six manuscripts of West Saxon Gospels, intended to be read in church, all derive from a single version made by an unknown translator about A.D. 1000–1050. One has the order Mark, Luke, Matthew, and John, and another Mark, Matthew, Luke, and John. An edition of the Anglo-Saxon Gospels was printed with a preface by John Foxe in 1571 (Herbert 1968: no. 131) and dedicated to Queen Elizabeth.

Aelfric (ca. 1005), about whose identity there has been much discussion, complains of the lack of knowledge on the part of those who could not read Latin. His Heptateuch was an abridgement and translation of the first seven books of the OT. He also did a homily on the book of Job.

The Norman conquest in 1066 by William the Conqueror brought a new ruling class to Britain who read Norman French while the language of the farmhouse and cottage remained Anglo-Saxon. Although there was a prose translation into Norman French about A.D. 1260, Latin was thought of as the language for religious use.

Orm (ca. 1200), a monk living in the Danish territory of England, turned "the gospels of the year" into English speech. Orm paraphrased, adding a quaint and mystical explanation. His work *The Ormulum,* preserved in a single copy in the Bodleian Library, consists of about 20,000 lines.

Interesting as these early efforts are, they are not to be thought of as forming a genealogical continuum with the later printed English Bibles. They were not complete Bibles. They were principally read by the clergy rather than by lay readers and did not create the problems for the church which later translations did.

B. Pre-Reformation Bibles

The English language supplanted Anglo-Norman, and in the mid 14th century the book of Psalms was collected into the West-Midland Psalter (formerly attributed to William of Shoreham). A northern metrical version of the Psalms was made about 1300. Richard Rolle (d. 1349) of Hampole in Yorkshire turned the Psalms into English following the commentary on the Psalms of Peter Lombard (Herbert 1968: no. 2033). In south England, the texts of

Peter, James, three epistles of John, and the Pauline Epistles were translated (Paues 1904). This manuscript already had "breeches" for Adam's and Eve's clothing (Gen 3:7). These early versions were orthodox and there was no opposition to their being read by the few who could read. There is no evidence that the church encouraged or allowed versions among the common people. The custom was for the preacher to give his own English rendering of the verse on which he spoke. No two citations are completely alike (see further, *CHB* 2: 362–86).

With the appearance of the Bible of John Wycliffe (1324–1384), church officials began to look with suspicion on translation (*CHB* 2: 387–414). Wycliffe was a vigorous participant in the ecclesiastical disputes of his time, and his followers were known as the Lollards. Certain points of Wycliffe's teaching were condemned in the summer of 1382. His translation was a part of a larger movement which put "God's law" and "Christ's law" in conflict with the canon law of the church. Vernacular Scripture threatened the unity which universal use of Latin in the church represented.

It is uncertain exactly what part Wycliffe played in the translation which appeared about 1382. See VERSIONS, ENGLISH (WYCLIFFE'S) following. His name is not attached to the text of any manuscript which survives. Deanesly (1920: 254) is positive that the translation was done by Wycliffe's followers. Nicholas of Hereford translated the OT up to Baruch 3:19, as a note at that point attests. Wycliffe died in 1384; the Council of Constance in 1414 ordered his bones dug up and burned. His body was exhumed, burned in 1428, and the ashes thrown into the River Swift.

The first Wycliffite version approaches a word-for-word rendering. John Purvey (about 1388) is credited with a revision and with the prologue which accompanies it. He describes an effort to collect many old Bibles and expository works in order to establish a Latin text, and speaks of studying especially helps from Nicholas of Lyra, and of consulting grammarians and old divines. Once done, the revision was submitted to "many good and cunning fellows." Purvey stated a conviction that common Latin Bibles had more need to be corrected than did the English Bible he had worked on. Purvey's revision is more idiomatic, more free of Latinisms than the earlier edition, and its vocabulary less archaic. Mozley (1937: 77) gives 180 as the number of extant Wycliffe Bible manuscripts, not all dating at the same time and not all intended for the same economic level of reader. Only about 30 are of the first edition. Wycliffe's NT was first printed by John Lewis in 1731 (Herbert 1968: no. 1011). Forshall and Madden issued the first printing of the complete Purvey revision in 1850 (Herbert 1968: no. 1876).

A bill before the House of Lords about 1390 to suppress the English Bible was spoken against by John of Gaunt, the Duke of Lancaster, who said, "We will not be the dregs of all, seeing that other nations have the Law of God, which is the Law of our Faith, written in their own language." However, a provincial council convened in 1408 at Oxford by Archbishop Arundel of York forbade translation without approval of the diocesan bishop or of a provincial council. Persecution records reveal that one of the incriminating evidences against victims was possession of forbidden English Bibles (Foxe 1843–49: 4.135). At the same time, in the hands of proper people reading was permitted. Archbishop Arundel commended Anne of Bohemia at her funeral for having read English Gospels. See VERSIONS, ENGLISH (AUTHORIZED) following.

The question of the circulation of authorized English Bibles in the 15th and prior centuries remains an enigma. Tyndale claimed there were no predecessors to imitate; but Thomas More said that the whole Bible had been translated into English before Wycliffe's time and claimed he had seen Bibles known to the bishops and left in the hands of laymen and women. Thomas Cranmer in his famous prologue to the Great Bible spoke of prior Bible reading and of copies of translations into Saxon remaining in his time. John Foxe in his dedication of the Saxon Gospels (printed in 1571) spoke of translations before Wycliffe was born. No trace of these remain, and it is the consensus of current thought that Wycliffe was the first to produce an English Bible.

In the century following Wycliffe, momentous events affecting Bible circulation changed the history of Europe forever. The fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453 forced eastern European scholars to flee westward, bringing with them Greek and Hebrew manuscripts previously unavailable in the west. Oxford had a professor of Greek in the person of Grocyn in 1491. Erasmus admired the state of Greek studies at Oxford in 1497. Ferdinand and Isabella's expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492 stimulated the study of Hebrew throughout Europe. Robert Wakefield, in 1520, was the first professor of Hebrew at Oxford.

Particularly influential was the invention of printing with movable type by Johannes Gutenberg who issued the Latin Gutenberg Bible in 1456. Printing made books affordable and made possible the production of many copies exactly alike, an accomplishment not possible in hand copying. William Caxton, among his numerous other works, issued *The Golden Legend* on November 20, 1483. The *Legend* includes an almost literal translation from the Vulgate by Caxton of nearly the whole Pentateuch, passages from the historical books, and a paraphrase of a great part of the Gospels (Butterworth 1941: 52–54). Though the source was not designated, here were sections of the Bible in English in printed form for the first time. In its use of "breeches" for the clothing made of fig leaves by Adam and Eve (Gen 3:7), the *Legend* long antedated the Geneva Bible.

England was late among European countries in having a vernacular printed Bible (Guppy 1935: 2). The basis for a vernacular Bible was being laid with Ximenes' preparation of the *Complutensian Polyglot,* which began as early as 1502 (publication was delayed until 1522). Meanwhile Erasmus hurriedly edited and published his Latin-Greek NT in 1516; new editions appeared in 1519, 1522, 1527, and 1536. Erasmus' Greek Testament gave great impetus to NT study and became the tool used by English translators. Knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew originals made a Latin-based Bible no longer acceptable to the English reader.

C. Printed Bibles

A comprehensive listing of printed English Bibles is given in the catalogues of Hills (1961) and Herbert (1968). For a general discussion, see *CHB* 3: 141–74.

1. The Tyndale New Testament. William Tyndale, educated at Oxford and Cambridge, became the chaplain and tutor to the family of Sir John Walsh in Little Sodbury in Gloucestershire. There he resolved to make the boy who drives the plow to know more Scripture than the clerics with whom he debated (Foxe 1843–49: 5.117). The lay people could only be established in the truth by giving them the Scriptures in English.

Tyndale sought support in London from Bishop Cuthbert Tunstall in the summer of 1523. Success would have cleared him of transgression against the prohibition of translation passed by the convocation of Oxford in 1408. However, Tunstall had been present at the Diet of Worms and heard Luther's statements there. Lutheran books were publicly burned in St. Paul's churchyard in 1521, and Henry VIII had written his *Defense of the Seven Sacraments* for which he received from the Pope the title "Defender of the Faith." Tunstall suggested that Tyndale look elsewhere for support.

After a year in the employ of Humphrey Monmouth, Tyndale despaired of translating in London and left for Hamburg in May 1524 (Mozley 1937: 50). There aided by William Roye, he completed his NT which contained notes many of which were derived from Luther's work. The printing in quarto size, entrusted to Peter Quentel at Cologne, was interrupted by John Dobneck (Cochlaeus) after completion of eighty pages. Tyndale and Roye rescued the pages and fled to Worms where in 1525 they brought out the quarto size Testament of which one copy survives (Herbert 1968: no. 1) and also an octavo size without notes of which two copies survive (Herbert 1968: no. 2). Tyndale was about thirty-one years of age at the time. Reproductions of the octavo have been issued in 1836, 1837, 1862, and 1939. A reprint of the quarto edition was done by Arber in 1871.

Smuggled into England in merchandise, the Testament was being sold early in 1526 and by the autumn was being bought for burning by Tunstall and Warham. Tunstall claimed to find two thousand errors in it (Anderson 1849: 54). Tyndale found the burning nothing other than what he had expected. British church leaders saw the translation as a tool of Lutheranism. Henry VIII appealed to the queen of Holland and to the governor of the English House at Antwerp to search for copies for burning. English agents attempted in vain to locate Tyndale to bring him back to England.

Seeing the profit in Testaments, Christopher van Endhoven in 1526, 1530, and 1534 did unauthorized reprints of Tyndale's work and exported them to England. Because they were not proofread by an Englishman, the Dutch prints became increasingly corrupt.

Henry VIII in 1529 issued a decree against the circulation of Lutheran books; Tyndale's writings were on the list of proscribed works. Another condemnation in 1530 specified Tyndale's NT (Pollard 1911: 163). Meanwhile, Tyndale had published several other treatises objectionable to church authorities. Having failed to lure Tyndale back to England, Tunstall authorized Thomas More in 1528 to read heretical books for the purpose of refuting them. More spent the next five or six years at the task, casting his first reply in the form of a dialogue which was issued 1529. While he claimed that translating Scripture into English was good, he proposed that the bishops do it and then let their work be read by trusted people, not by the masses. In the harsh language of the day, he gave an adverse report on the work Tyndale was doing. More's actual case deals with about six words (Anderson 1849: 137). He objected to the dropping of the words "priest," "church," "charity," "grace," "confession," and "penance" in favor of "senior," "congregation," "love," "favor," "witnessing," and "repentance." Tyndale replied to More, and More then answered Tyndale.

While these events were transpiring, Henry VIII was seeking an annulment of his marriage to Catherine. Cardinal Wolsey, failing to procure the annulment, fell from power, was removed from office, replaced by Thomas More. Thomas Cromwell became keeper of the Great Seal. Influenced by these developments, in 1530, Henry VIII authorized a commission to consider the expediency of an English translation (Pollard 1911: 163). The report was negative, but Henry stirred hopes that he would grant a translation when the time was right. Efforts through an agent Vaughan failed to persuade Tyndale to agree to return to England. These efforts gave way to an unsuccessful plot to kidnap him.

Tyndale was busy translating the OT. Tyndale's books, along with his manuscript of Deuteronomy, were lost in a shipwreck off the coast of Holland in 1529 (Foxe 1843–49: 5.120). He issued the Psalms in 1530 as well as the entire Pentateuch (a copy of which is in the British Museum [Herbert 1968: no. 4]). It was reissued in 1534, and after Tyndale's death was reprinted in 1551, 1884, and the text of Genesis in Weigle (1965).

Tyndale published his translation of Jonah with a prologue in 1531. He did a reissue of his NT in 1534 which had notes and prologues to the Epistles. A revision of 1535, printed by G. van der Haghen (now known as the G. H. edition), had no notes, and became the basis of later English Testaments.

The English Primers containing English Scripture selections hold a special place in the history of the English Bible. The *Hortulus Animae* of 1530, thought to have been by George Joye and to have reproduced his earlier Primer, which is now lost, had The Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, prayers from various parts of the OT and texts of thirty-nine different Psalms (Butterworth 1953: 28–46). Though Primers were frequently prohibited, English printers issued many during the reign of Henry VIII. Compilers felt free to choose readings from any source available to them. The Primers were a means by which Britishers came to know Scripture. By 1546, Henry VIII issued an authorized Primer with instructions about its use for instruction of youth and its being read by the aged.

In 1533 Henry VIII married Anne Boleyn, who "reigned in the king's heart as absolutely as he did over his subjects" (Burnet 1837, 1: 279). Thomas Cranmer became Archbishop of Canterbury the same year. The Act of Supremacy in November 1534 made Henry the Supreme Head of the Church of England. John Fisher and Thomas More were executed for refusing to acknowledge the invalidity of Henry's marriage to Catherine and to accept Henry as the Supreme Head of the church.

Anne Boleyn was known to favor reform sentiments. There was expectation in England for a Bible. Tyndale in

absentia presented Queen Anne a NT in 1534 with her name on the edge, which is now preserved in the British Museum. George Joye had earlier issued translations of OT books. His Psalms of 1530 had at Ps 91:3 the reading "a frayd for any bugges by night." Later editions were in 1534 and 1541. His Isaiah was issued in 1531. Joye, an English exile who had met Tyndale on the Continent, had earlier issued translations of OT books. His Psalms of 1530 had at Ps 91:3 the reading "a frayede of night bugges." Later editions were in 1534 and 1541. His Isaiah was issued in 1531. Joye now translated a portion of Genesis and sent a copy to both the King and Queen hoping in vain to get a license to print a Bible (Foxe 1843–49: 5.132). Joye also translated Proverbs through Lamentations and the prophet Jeremiah. He used "backslider," a word which still lives in English religious language. Less felicitous were "triakle" in Jer 8:22 and "sheephoke" in Psalm 23.

Joye while acting as a proofreader, introduced changes into the edition of Tyndale's NT which a Dutch printer was issuing. Tyndale in three months issued his 1534 revision and included a section in which he denounced Joye. Most offensive to him was the change of "resurrection" to "life after this life" or "very life" in some places. Joye complained of Tyndale's lack of charity, defended himself as best he could, but again issued his NT in 1535 without important changes (Butterworth and Chester 1962: 165–82).

Thomas Cranmer in 1534 stimulated the Convocation of Canterbury to petition the king for a Bible. About this time Cranmer divided the NT into portions which were sent to the bishops for correction. A sharp negative reply from Bishop Stokesley foiled the project (Mozley 1953: 36–37; Pollard 1911: 197), but the effort is remembered as a precedent for the committee concept of revision as contrasted with that of a single individual.

In May 1535 Tyndale was enticed out of the Merchant's House in Antwerp by a pretended friend, Henry Phillips, and imprisoned at Vilvorde Castle. A touching letter from Tyndale to the governor of the castle survives. It is thought that he translated the biblical section Joshua to 2 Chronicles while in prison, leaving it behind in manuscript. He was executed Oct. 6, 1536, at the age of forty-two. His dying words were, "Lord, open the King of England's eyes." Back in England, 1536 saw a reprint of Tyndale's NT of 1534, the first done in England. Within a year of Tyndale's death both Coverdale's and Matthew's Bibles had received royal licenses, within two years Cromwell had ordered the Great Bible set up within the churches, and within five years a royal proclamation made the setting up of Bibles mandatory.

Tyndale is the most significant individual contributor to the English Bible. Between 1525 and 1566 there were more than forty editions of Tyndale's NT which are known, and there may be others which perished (Pollard 1911: 10). Francis Fry (1878) described in detail twenty-one of the numerous editions appearing before 1550. Estimates are that 80 percent of the KJV wording is due to Tyndale. His influence continued to be dominant up to the rise of the modern speech translations.

2. The Coverdale Bible. On Oct. 4, 1535, a year before Tyndale's death, Myles Coverdale, then about forty-seven years of age, issued his Bible, the first complete English Bible to be printed. Coverdale, while living in Cambridge, had at the White Horse Inn come into contact with Reformation ideas (Foxe 1843–49: 5.415). By 1527 he was corresponding with Thomas Cromwell, who had become his patron. Accused of heresy, Coverdale fled to Hamburg where he associated with Tyndale for a part of the year 1529. Mozley (1953: 86) conjectures that he was also at Antwerp. Tyndale, however, does not mention meeting Coverdale.

Coverdale, alternating between England and exile, lived on into the reign of Elizabeth, participated in the consecration of Matthew Parker, and finally died in 1569 at the age of 81.

Coverdale began his translation by rendering a Latin paraphrase of the Psalms in 1535. His Bible (Herbert 1968: no. 18) was prepared and printed on the Continent. The Bible was dedicated to Henry VIII, whom Coverdale invited to correct it, improve it, or completely reject it as he saw fit. Unable to read Greek and Hebrew, Coverdale had worked from Latin and confesses dependence on five interpreters (whom scholars conjecture to be Luther, the Zurich Bible, Leo Juda, Pagninus, and the Vulgate). In the NT he was heavily dependent on Tyndale, but also revised in the light of the German versions (Mozley 1953: 98). Like Tyndale, he used the words "congregation," "elder," and "love" but also used a variety in words like "image," "idol," "grade," "favor," "confess," and "knowledge." He used "penance" but explains that he meant by it true repentance (Mozley 1953: 106).

The place of the printing and the name of the printer of the Coverdale Bible remains disputed. The title page had six woodcuts with a picture of Adam and Eve after the fall at the top. At the opposite side, the Redeemer tramples the serpent's head. At the bottom, the King is delivering the Bible to his prelates. The Bible was brought into England in unbound sheets for the purpose of being sold by J. Nycolson, who prepared a second title page which omitted the statement that it had been translated out of "Douche and Latyn." Nycolson in August sent a copy of the Bible to Cromwell asking that he obtain permission for its circulation (Mozley 1953: 111).

The Coverdale Bible is divided into six parts: Pentateuch, Historical books, Job to Song of Solomon (called *Salomons Balettes*), Prophetic books, Apocrypha, and the NT. About 188 woodcuts illustrate the text. The Pentateuch, the book of Jonah, and the NT are Tyndale's, but the rest of the OT and the Apocrypha are Coverdale's, appearing in English for the first time. Coverdale followed the practice of Luther and Olivetan of printing the Apocrypha between the Testaments.

Coverdale was not offensive to Henry VIII as Tyndale had been. Matthew Parker later credited Queen Anne Boleyn with the Coverdale Bible's being permitted, though authorization was not granted. She had a copy in her chamber (Mozley 1937: 118–20). After her execution, the Bibles had a new title page in which her name was omitted and that of Queen Jane substituted. Nycolson reprinted the Coverdale Bible in folio and quarto sizes in 1537, and reprints of the quarto were in 1550 and 1553.

The text of Coverdale's Bible was reprinted by Bagster in 1838 and in a memorial edition in 1847. His Jonah was printed along with Tyndale's in 1863 and his Psalms in

1911, 1926, 1930, and 1935. The Coverdale Bible was issued in a facsimile in 1975, printed for Wm. Dawson and Sons in Britain. There are eighty copies of the Coverdale Bible known to exist, all of them imperfect (May 1977: 55).

3. The Matthew's Bible. Two years after the publication of the Coverdale Bible, and less than a year after Tyndale's death, in 1537 John Rogers issued a Bible under the pseudonym of Thomas Matthew. An alternate identity suggested by Whitley (1937: 61–72) has not been convincing. Rogers had associated with Tyndale and Coverdale at Antwerp (Foxe 1843–49: 6.591). Rogers ultimately suffered martyrdom under Mary Tudor.

In preparation of the Matthew's Bible (Herbert 1968: no. 34), Rogers used Tyndale's Pentateuch and the section Joshua to Chronicles which Tyndale had left in manuscript form (Pollard 1911: 195–96), but the rest of the OT and Apocrypha, except for the Prayer of Manasseh, which Rogers supplied, was revised from Coverdale. In the NT, Tyndale was followed with modifications. Grafton and Whitchurch supplied the funds for publication. The printing was done perhaps by Matthew Crom of Antwerp.

The Matthew's Bible was in folio size, printed in blackletter with two columns to the page and illustrated with 119 separate pictures. The order of NT books was that of Luther. The Epistle to the Romans was preceded by Tyndale's prologue in small print, and there were about two thousand annotations borrowed from various sources (Mozley 1953: 146). Christological headings were supplied for the Song of Songs which Rogers called *Ballet of Balettes of Solomon.*

Ignoring the Bible's dependence on Tyndale, Cranmer sent a copy of the Bible to Cromwell calling it a new translation and new printing and asking that Cromwell get a license for it to be sold and read by all. While admitting that there were faults, Cranmer claimed to like this Bible better than any he had seen. Recalling his earlier failure to produce a revision, he stated that he did not think the bishops would get around to supplying a translation until "a day after doomesday." Cromwell wrote back that the license had been granted. The title page of the Bible carried the statement "Set forth by the Kinges most gracyous licēce." Coverdale's quarto Bible of the same year (1537), which is thought to be the first English Bible printed in England rather than abroad, also carried the phrase.

Some churches purchased copies of the Matthew's Bible, and they were read (Mozley 1953: 177–78). Foxe (1843–49: 5.410) speaks of offense taken by the clergy at the prologues and at the collection of Scriptures about the Lord's Supper. The Matthew's Bible was printed again in 1538, 1549, and 1551. The British church attempted a statement of belief in *The Institution of a Christian Man* in 1537. A royal proclamation was issued in 1538 concerning reading the Bible, and injunctions were issued to the churches (Guppy 1938: 23–25). Public reading of the Bible proved so disruptive that in 1539 the king found it expedient to order that no person read the Bible in church with a loud voice during the time of service.

4. The Taverner's Bible. The King's printer, Thomas Barthlet, secured the services of Richard Taverner to prepare a Bible which was published in 1539. Taverner, a thirty-two year old practicing lawyer educated at Cambridge and Oxford, was a capable Greek scholar. It is not known whether his Bible or the Great Bible appeared first; both were of the same year. Taverner's was the first of the translations totally printed in England. Nycolson earlier had printed a Coverdale folio in 1537.

Taverner's Bible (Herbert 1968: no. 45) in the OT made use of the Matthew's Bible with some changes by comparison with Latin. The NT followed Tyndale with changes from Greek. It was the last of the English translations to follow the order of books of Luther. Many of the Matthew notes were dropped and Taverner's own inserted. Tyndale's prologue to the Epistle to the Romans was dropped. There were no woodcut illustrations. The Bible, folio in size, was dedicated to Henry VIII.

A revised edition of Taverner's NT was issued in quarto and octavo in 1939. The OT was issued in five parts between 1549 and 1551, and Taverner's OT, revised by Edmund Becke, was combined with Tyndale's NT and published by John Day in 1551. Other editions are unknown.

Westcott (1927: 83–84) and Butterworth (1941: 128) found Taverner exercising only minor influence on the later English Bible. The appearance of the Great Bible in the same year no doubt adversely affected the circulation of Taverner's.

5. The Great Bible. Cromwell planned a Bible with Coverdale as the editor and Grafton as the publisher. Coverdale used Matthew's Bible rather than his own as the basis and also used the Latin OT of Sebastian Münster. Münster was to OT study what Erasmus was to NT. The Apocrypha was left almost unrevised (Mozley 1953: 221). Coverdale and Grafton went to Paris to secure better paper and better printing. Henry VIII petitioned the French king to allow the printing (Foxe 1843–49: 5.411); however, after the project was well under way the Inquisitor-general intervened (Strype 1853: 1.120–21). Coverdale and Grafton escaped. After six months of negotiations the presses, types, and workmen were brought to London, and the Bible was completed by April 1539.

From its 15 × 9 inch size, the Bible is known as the Great Bible. Bonner promised Grafton that he would set up Bibles in St. Paul's (Foxe 1843–49: 5.412), and he issued an admonition that it be read reverently without disturbing sermon or service (Mozley 1953: 265). Five months later he found it necessary to threaten the removal of the Bible because of abuses.

The title page of the Great Bible reflects the political and religious loyalty desired in the British situation. Henry VIII is depicted as receiving the Word of the Lord from the Lord and passing it to Cromwell and Cranmer, who deliver it to the people. The people call out "God save the King!"

In the Great Bible, the OT is followed by the Apocrypha, but the NT is in Erasmus' order, not that of Luther, as earlier English Bibles had been. Notes were planned and markers inserted for them, but the notes never appeared. Words derived from the Latin Bible but not represented in Greek are in smaller type enclosed in brackets. See also GREAT BIBLE.

The seven editions of the Great Bible, issued in the three years 1539–41, were the subject of a study by Francis Fry in 1865. The second edition had the preface by Cranmer

which gave the Bible the name "Cranmer's Bible." It had on the title page: "This is the Bible appointed to the use of the Churches." The Psalter became that later used in *The Book of Common Prayer*. In most cases the ecclesiastical words which had caused controversy are changed as Tyndale had modified them (Mozley 1953: 240).

Cromwell was granted a patent for printing the Bible for five years from Nov. 14, 1539. A royal proclamation of May 1541 ordered curates of the churches to provide themselves a Bible of the largest volume and also set the price of the Bible. However, Cromwell's plans for a league with the Lutheran princes failed, and Henry VIII's marriage to Anne of Cleves which Cromwell had arranged was annulled. Cromwell fell from power and was beheaded on July 28, 1540. The Bible, however, was not withdrawn; extant church records show purchases of Bibles (Mozley 1953: 261–65). Cromwell's most lasting contribution was to give the English people a free Bible.

At about this period the Counter-Reformation began to get the upper hand. Henry VIII hesitated in reform. *The Six Articles* of 1539, which are distinctly Catholic, attempted to control diversity of opinion. It was declared in Convocation in 1542 that the Great Bible was not suitable for reading in church (Pollard 1911: 230). However, a motion for the undertaking of a fresh version failed. When the NT was divided among fifteen bishops and an OT committee formed, Gardiner supplied a list of 99 Latin terms which had to be retained. The project was referred to the universities, and nothing came of it (Mozley 1953: 272–75; Pollard 1911: 272–74).

In 1543, acts against Tyndale's translation were passed. *The Erudition of any Christian Man* further defined the English theological position. By 1546 both Tyndale's and Coverdale's Bibles were included on the prohibited lists. There was a further burning of Bibles at St. Paul's Cross on Sept. 26, 1546 (Mozley 1953: 287). Henry's last address to Parliament lamented that the Bible was "disputed, rhymed, sung, and jangled in every alehouse and tavern."

With the accession of Edward VI, injunctions to the churches to acquire Bibles were renewed. Unsold stocks were called upon to supply the need, but also all the English versions were reprinted—an impressive number of thirteen editions of the whole Bible and thirty-five of the NT (Eadie 1876: 1.423). At this period *The First Book of Homilies* was issued, as well as a translation of the *Paraphrases* of Erasmus. The first *Acts of Uniformity*, Jan. 21, 1549, required that the books of services be acquired by the parishes.

A translation of Matthew and Mark done about 1550 by Sir John Cheke, professor of Greek at Cambridge, remained in manuscript until published in 1843. Cheke's work was divided into chapters but not verses. He attempted to avoid words derived from Greek and Latin and in the process offered striking innovations in vocabulary. Any influence on later English translations is untraceable. A plan to undertake an official revision during Edward's reign failed when Martin Bucer, who had come to England at the invitation of Archbishop Cranmer, died (Strype 1853: 1.280–86).

Edward VI died after a reign of six and a half years; Mary Tudor came to the throne in 1553. England was absolved from schism by Cardinal Pole. Painting of Scripture quotations on the walls of churches was forbidden. Bible printings ceased, and, while no specific act against the Bible was passed, in some instances Bibles in the churches were destroyed (Mozley 1953: 299–301) as were those of some individuals (Foxe 1843–49: 8.318, 379, 469, 529, 561). Among the three hundred martyrs were John Rogers and Thomas Cranmer, both of whom had been significant in the story of the English Bible. Some 800 church leaders favoring reform fled to the continent. Mary's reign lasted only five years.

6. The Geneva Bible. On June 10, 1557, William Whittingham, an English refugee in Geneva, issued a NT for which Calvin supplied the preface (Herbert 1968: no. 106). In addition to the Greek text, Tyndale, the Great Bible, and Beza's Latin were consulted. An abundance of marginal notes and other supplementary materials were included. This NT was printed in Roman type with supplemental words italicized and with the verses as separate paragraphs. Whittingham's text can be found in *The English Hexapla* of 1841; it was reprinted separately in 1842.

In 1560, Whittingham, Anthony Gilby, and Thomas Sampson, who had remained for the purpose in Geneva after Elizabeth's accession in 1558, issued the Geneva Bible in quarto size with the expense borne by the congregation. The Bible (Herbert 1968: no. 107) is dedicated to Queen Elizabeth and contains the OT, Apocrypha, and NT. The OT had been revised in the light of the Hebrew text in consultation with a recently published Latin version. The NT followed Tyndale, revised with reference to Beza's translation. Without official sanction, this most popular of 16th-century English translations went through at least one hundred and forty printings before its last in 1640.

Elizabeth had kissed a NT presented her on her way to her coronation and had promised to read it, but she never gave recognition to the Geneva Bible. Injunctions in 1559 required the setting up of the Bible as well as the *Paraphrases* of Erasmus in the churches. Reprints were done of The Great Bible and of Tyndale's NT.

History has ignored the chief merits of the Geneva Bible and called it the "Breeches Bible" because of its rendering of Gen 3:7. Roman type was used for the text with supplemental words in italics. The text was broken into paragraph verses for the first time in English Bibles. There were woodcuts, maps, and other study aids. Its most distinctive trait was its system of notes, some of which were anti-Catholic and others pro-Calvinistic; however, the majority of the notes were not polemic.

The Geneva Bible circulated in two other forms besides the original. Laurence Tomson did a revision in 1576, and then in 1599 it was printed with Junius's Revelation instead of Tomson's. The Geneva was issued in at least fourteen folio editions in addition to the many quartos, making it suitable for both home and church. It was the first Bible printed in Scotland where it received authorization of the Kirk.

The Geneva was used in early life by King James, used by Shakespeare in his later plays, preferred by the Puritans, used by Bunyan and used by the Pilgrims who came to America on the Mayflower. The Geneva Bible, the best of the translations up to its time, was issued in a facsimile reprint by the University of Wisconsin Press in 1969. See also GENEVA BIBLE.

7. The Bishops' Bible. Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, dissatisfied with the Geneva notes, organized another Bible revision by assigning sections for revision to individuals most of whom were bishops. Parker revised some of the books, compiled the whole, and gave the initials of the participants at the end of their books. Rules of procedure specified limited modification of Bibles then in use. Bitter notes were to be omitted, and places not edifying were to be marked so that the reader could pass them over. Although there were no general meetings of the translators for discussion of various readings, the effort set a pattern later followed that a committee should revise Scripture. Parker instructed Jugge, the printer, to use heavier paper on the NT because of its greater use.

Issued in 1568, the Bishops' Bible (Herbert 1968: no. 125), though not the largest, was the most elaborate of 16th century Bibles. It had pictures of Queen Elizabeth, William Cecil, and Robert Dudley. There were 150 woodcut engravings, coats of arms in initial letters, and extensive supplementary material, including Cranmer's Preface. The print was black-letter and the text divided into verses but with the older system of A, B, C. also down the margin marking divisions.

Though Parker sought authorization of his Bible from the Queen, it was not forthcoming. However, the *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical* of April 3, 1571, ordered that each archbishop and bishop have a copy at his house. Cathedrals were to have them and churches as far as convenient. Contemporary church records show the purchase of Bibles.

The Bishops' Bible underwent revision in 1569 (the year of the last printing of the great Bible) which incorporated criticism of Thomas Laurence. The 1572 edition printed the Great Bible Psalms in parallel with the Bishops' Psalms after which, with the exception of a 1585 printing, only the Great Bible Psalms were included. The 1572 printing used the picture of Leda and the Swan, giving the Bible the name "The Leda Bible." The Bible went through twenty editions with the last in 1602 which was used by the KJV translators. The NT was last printed in 1633 in the fourth edition of a work by William Fulke intended to refute the Rheims NT. The NT text was reproduced in *The New Testament Octapla* in 1962. The text of Genesis is in *The Genesis Octapla* of 1965.

The Bishops' Bible circulated in folio printings but also in quarto. Some homes had copies. As true with the preparers of other translations, some of the bishops who worked on the revision continued to quote the Geneva in their sermons. Richmond Noble (1935) demonstrated that Shakespeare used the Bishops' Bible in his earlier plays. See also BIBLE, BISHOPS'.

8. The Rheims-Douay Bible. English Catholic exile Gregory Martin, aided by William Allen and Richard Bristow at Rheims, prepared a translation with the NT in quarto size and Roman type issued in 1582 (Herbert 1968: no. 177). Martin translated two chapters a day, and the work was corrected by the others. The notes, saturated with Catholic doctrine, are said to be the work of Bristow. The text is paragraphed with verse numbers on the inner margin rather than being broken into verses. OT quotations are in italics.

A preface denies that vernacular translations are necessary and defends the use of the Latin text rather than the Greek, insisting that where they differ, the Latin is superior. Greek was not ignored and most chapters have Greek words in the margins. The existing English translations had been consulted. Carleton (1902) pointed out that there are more resemblances than differences. Treatments of the Rheims usually emphasize the Latin terms, which are incorporated without translation, and despite words like "gratis," "character," "resuscitate," and "victory," all of which have since become accepted English words, the wording must have been confusing. The Glossary included in the NT explains 58 words. Martin felt that reading the Latin words would make the reader familiar with them.

William Fulke and Thomas Cartwright produced works for the refutation of the Rheims. Fulke in 1589 printed the text of the Rheims in parallel with the Bishops' in a work which went through three reprints (1601, 1617, and 1633) and made for wider knowledge of the Rheims than otherwise would have been.

Though Martin prepared the OT before his death on Oct. 28, 1582, it was not published until 1609–10 (Herbert 1968: 300) after the college had moved back to Douay in 1593. Laurence Kellam had done additional revision in keeping with the Latin text published by Clement VIII in 1592. Lack of funds necessitated the delay. The accompanying notes are less polemic than those of the NT, yet the Preface criticizes Protestant Bibles of 1552, 1577, 1579, and 1603.

The NT was reprinted in 1600, 1621, and 1633, but not again until a revision in 1738. The OT was reprinted only in 1635 and then not again until Challoner's revision in 1750 and 1763–64. The OT and NT were not printed together until 1790 and then in a form based on Challoner. Catholics were a persecuted minority in Elizabethan England, and their Bible enjoyed no such popularity as is attested by the many editions of the Protestant Bible. See also DOUAY VERSION.

9. The King James Bible. King James took up the suggestion of John Reynolds made at the Hampton Court conference that a new translation was needed and set in operation the machinery to produce one that the whole church might be "bound to it and none other." The 54 persons (extant lists have only 47 names) were divided into six companies with two meeting at each Cambridge, Oxford, and Westminster. Fourteen rules of procedure authorized only a minimal revision of the Bishops' Bible with the translations of Tyndale, Coverdale, Matthew, Whitchurch, and Geneva followed where they were preferable. The old ecclesiastical words were to be retained. If the repeated screenings suggested in the rules were actually done, a careful revision would have been made. A group of overseers composed of two members of each company was to put the whole together.

Information about the actual procedure followed is sparse. Replacements were made in the groups when deaths occurred. Financing plagued the project. Unable to finance the revision himself, King James attempted to raise money from the Bishops, Deans, and Chapters. Church positions were to be held open for the participants, and the universities were to furnish room and board for those working on their campuses. Eventually, the Stationers'

Company supplied 30 shillings a week each for the group that went to London for the final work.

Scattered evidence suggests that the groups were working after 1604. Miles Smith wrote the "Translators to the Readers" which regrettably no longer is printed in King James Bibles but which gives great insight into the purpose of the translation. They aimed to make a good translation better "or out of many good ones, one principal good one, not justly to be excepted against." A flattering dedication by Bishop Barlow to King James is still printed. Bishop Bilson is credited with chapter summaries called "arguments."

The King James (Herbert 1968: no. 309) was issued in folio and in black-letter in 1611 by printer Robert Barker. It contained the OT, the Apocrypha, and the NT as all its predecessors in English had done. Though free of notes, some variant readings and some alternate translations were indicated, and there were center references. Initial letters decorated books, and curiously enough that to the gospel of Matthew is of Neptune taming the sea horses. The title page carried the phrase "Appointed to be read in Churches."

The last reprint of the Bishops' Bible had been nine years earlier. The Geneva was cited in the preface of the KJV, and older translators like Andrewes and bishops like Laud continued to use the Geneva. Though there is no record of an official authorization, the KJV from the beginning dominated the field. There were seventeen editions of the KJV in the first three years, and in the period 1611 to 1640, there were only fifteen editions of the Geneva against 182 for the KJV (Kenyon 1958: 305). Ecclesiastical recognition came in 1662 when the fifth *Prayer Book* used citations for the Gospel and Epistles from the KJV instead of from the Great Bible.

The KJV has never been free of criticism and has been progressively revised across its history, beginning as early as 1616. Its literary excellencies have always been recognized. For the next centuries it was the Bible of the English reading public. See VERSIONS, ENGLISH (KING JAMES VERSION) following.

D. From the 17th to the 19th Century

The drive for English Scriptures which had produced 9 revisions in 85 years had spent itself with the KJV. (See the survey in *CHB* 3: 361–82.) A growing recognition of the excellencies of the KJV is in part responsible. Men improved it and commented on it, but civil war in Britain following the death of King James in 1625 occupied public interests. However, private translators continued their work. Translations of the Psalms of David were popular, and one of 1631 said to be by King James is attributed to Sir William Alexander. In 1650 a translation of Psalms in meter was issued by the Kirk of Scotland. Henry Danvers published Solomon's Proverbs alphabetically arranged in 1666.

Henry Hammond in 1653 published his paraphrase of the NT in parallel with the KJV text, and in 1706 Philip Bedingfield did the same for four books of the OT and Apocrypha. Paraphrases were issued in 1727 on OT books by Simon Patrick Lord Bishop of Ely. Philip Doddridge's "The Family Expositor" of 1739–56 contained a commentary and paraphrase on the NT and was printed in America after 1808.

Daniel Mace, a Presbyterian, published a Greek-English diglot in 1729 and is considered a pioneer in NT text criticism. His English was colloquial and, among some oddities, used phrases anticipating those later chosen by others.

William Whiston, translator of Josephus, published a NT in 1745 in which he had made particular use of Codex Bezae but also used the Latin Clermont manuscript and Alexandrinus. Anthony Purver, a member of the Society of Friends, published a Bible in 1764 which is remembered for its colorful rendering of Song of Songs 2:12. Edward Harwood in 1768 rendered the NT which is remembered for its bombastic style of which one example has Peter say, "O, Sir! what a delectable residence we might establish here!"

John Wesley, founder of the Methodists, published a NT in 1755 (Herbert 1968: no. 1114) which shows many departures from the Textus Receptus, making use of the Greek texts which had been published up to his time. Wesley has 12,000 departures from the KJV. He used "love" instead of "charity," returned to pre-Geneva paragraphing, used "who" instead of "which" when referring to persons, and in other choices anticipated twentieth century translations. Wesley also modified unjustified Calvinistic renderings as in Acts 2:47 and Gal 5:17. Wesley retained, however, old English pronoun and verb forms.

Translations aimed at reflecting the increasing knowledge of the text of the NT include William Newcome's work in 1796 based on Griesbach's Greek text as also were those of John Gorham Palfrey in 1828, which modified the KJV text, Samuel Sharpe in 1840, and Edgar Taylor in 1840. Rodolphus Dickinson in 1833 attempted to correct the NT to the content and form of Griesbach's Greek Testament. Leicester Ambrose Sawyer in 1858, Robert Ainslie in 1869, and Samuel Davidson in 1875 used Tischendorf's Greek Text. John Taylor in 1852 issued a NT in which he had compared the KJV with the various readings of the Vatican manuscript. J. B. Rotherham translated the NT from Tregelles's text in 1872. A Tauchnitz edition of the NT in 1869 had English equivalents of variants from the Sinaitic, the Vatican, and Alexandrian manuscripts at the bottom of each page. *The Emphatic Diglott* in 1864 by Benjamin Wilson had Griesbach's Greek text with an interlinear translation and notes on readings of the Vatican manuscript. This work has had vogue with the Watch Tower Society and was printed by it after 1902. In England, Herman Heifetter in 1864 issued a text in a sixth edition from the Vatican manuscript.

The Peshitta version received notice with J. W. Etheridge's translation of the gospel of Matthew in 1843, the four gospels in 1846, and the Acts and epistles in 1849. The NT was translated by James Murdock in 1851. Etheridge translated the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan ben Uzziel on the Pentateuch in 1865, and Agnes Scott Lewis the four gospels from the Sinaitic Syriac in 1894.

1. America. Explorers and settlers brought Bishops' Bibles, Geneva Bibles, and the KJV with them (Simms 1936), but no Bibles were printed in America without false imprints of British printers until after the colonial period. The Bay Psalm Book (1640), a versified paraphrase of the

Book of Psalms, went through many editions. John Eliot in 1663 produced a Bible translation in the language of the Massachusetts Indians. The Continental Congress considered authorizing the printing of a Bible but declined because of the unavailability of suitable materials in America (Simms 1936: 126; Herbert 1968: 272–73).

Robert Aitken in Philadelphia in 1777 published a NT and then a complete Bible, the first in America, in 1782. Charles Thomson, former secretary to Congress from 1774 to 1789 issued in 1808 the earliest translation into English from the Septuagint. In 1844 Bagster in Britain printed a translation from Codex Vaticanus by a scholar Charles Lee Brenton. Both of these works have been reprinted in the second half of the 20th century.

The English Version of the Polyglot Bible, using the text from Bagster's Polyglott Bible of 1816 had many reprints in Britain, began to be printed in America in 1831 and had a particular vogue with over a hundred reprints within fifty years (Herbert 1968: no. 1785).

In 1826, Alexander Campbell, preacher for the churches of Christ, issued a NT (Herbert 1968: no. 1759; Hills 1961: no. 567). Campbell had assembled modified translations done by George Campbell, James Macknight, and Philip Doddridge. This very popular work was progressively revised through six editions under Campbell's supervision, was then reprinted many times afterwards, and continues in print. Campbell was a pioneer in the movement toward current speech.

The American Bible Union, an interdenominational cooperation in America formed out of dissatisfaction with the policies of the American and Foreign Bible Society, and wanting an "immersion" version, produced a NT in 1862 with a second revision in 1865.

The KJV text of the NT was arranged in paragraphs by James Nourse in 1827, Alexander Bell in 1837, and Robert B. Blackader (with dates inserted) in 1851. The Bible followed in 1866. A revised Testament of 1824 paragraphed the KJV text, modified punctuation, and expunged some words not in the original. J. T. Conquest in 1841 published the KJV text with 20,000 emendations from various authorities. The OT in the KJV wording was arranged in chronological order by George Townsend in 1821. The NT followed in 1825. A NT with books chronologically arranged was translated from Tischendorf's text by L. A. Sawyer in 1858.

Other 19th-century innovations in the appearance of the Bible include the insertion of a "family register" of births, deaths, and marriages begun in 1804 in printings of Matthew Cary, was continued in 1822 by Samuel Wood, and was taken up by other printers. Near the end of the century in 1899 a publisher began the practice of printing the words of Jesus in red. A later effort in 1910 to indicate in red the OT passages thought to be concerning Jesus failed to become a practice.

Jonathan Morgan, advocate of spelling reform, attempted to improve the orthography of the KJV in 1848; A. Comstock in 1855 attempted use of a phonetic alphabet for the NT.

Joseph Smith's revision of the KJV, called The Holy Scriptures Translated and Corrected by the Spirit of Revelation, was a work of three years (1830–1833) but changes continued until Smith's death in 1844. Smith, without claiming to consult the languages, made the wording relevant to the Latter Day Saints. This revision was published in 1867, has been reprinted several times, and was issued as "The Inspired Version" by the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ in 1936.

Remembered because done by a famous person is the revision of the KJV in 1833 by Noah Webster who made corrections in the KJV text in grammar, obsolete words and phrases, and in certain mistranslations. Webster used "Holy Spirit" instead of "Holy Ghost."

Julia E. Smith, a member of the Sandemanian sect, was the first woman to translate the entire Bible. Her word for word rendering was published in 1876, and the OT follows the order of books in the Jewish canon. Smith claimed to have written out the Bible five times. Helen Spurrell in 1885 made a translation from unpointed Hebrew. Women participated in the preparation of the Twentieth Century New Testament, and in the 20th century, Helen Barrett Montgomery, a Baptist, published in modern speech the Centenary New Testament in 1924. See VERSIONS, ENGLISH (AMERICAN VERSIONS) following.

2. Catholic Bibles. The Psalms of David were published by C. Caryll in 1700. Cornelius Nary, dissatisfied with the wording of the Rheims-Douay effort, produced a NT from the Latin Vulgate, supplying annotations and marginal notes, in 1719. Robert Witham issued a NT in 1730 in which he claimed to show the differences between the Latin and the Greek. The most influential reviser was Richard Challoner, who with Francis Blyth issued the Rheims NT in a fifth edition in 1738; but then in 1749 the first of Challoner's revision of the Rheims NT appeared, it was successively revised in following editions. In 1764 the Challoner edition of the Bible containing both the OT and NT appeared, and a fifth edition in 1772 which has been the form widely used by Catholics until modern times. Challoner used the Vulgate edition published by Clement VIII in 1592. He made the language of the Catholic Bible approximate more closely the language of the KJV. The first Catholic Bible published in America was issued by Carey, Stewart, and Company of Philadelphia in 1790. George Leo Haydock compiled a Bible with notes from various commentators which was issued in 1814. Francis Patrick Kenrick, in an effort to exclude corruptions in current Rheims-Douay versions, issued the NT in 1849–51 and the OT in portions completed by 1860 (Hills 1961: nos. 1414, 1730). For other Catholic translations, see F.2 below. See also VERSIONS, CATHOLIC.

3. Jewish Translations. Jews were excluded from England until 1655. Jewish English Bible translation, appearing later on the scene than Anglican, begins with David Levi's *The First (-Fifth) Book of Moses* in 1787. He was followed by Isaac Delgado in 1789 with a translation of the Pentateuch, by a complete OT translated by A. Benisch (1851–56), and by a commentary and translation done by M. M. Kalisch (1855–72). The Hebrew Scriptures were published in America with marginal notes in 1813, but in 1845–46 Isaac Leeser published the Torah in Hebrew and in English aiming at being as literal as possible. Leeser then followed in 1854 with the whole OT in the KJV style, while introducing many changes. Leeser's work was used for a half a century. A project presided over successively by Marcus Jastrow, Cyrus Adler, and Max L. Margolis,

began work in 1892 and finally issued its Bible in 1917 under the auspices of The Jewish Publication Society. The KJV style was followed in the English. See also VERSIONS, JEWISH.

E. The Revised Version, 1881–85

After much discussion and agitation on the part of many people for further revision of the KJV, Bishop Samuel Wilberforce introduced a motion for revision of the NT in the Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury on February 10, 1870. The motion was enlarged to include also the OT. In the plans which developed, Anglicans were to be in the lead, but Baptists, Congregationalists, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Unitarians were represented on the committees. Roman Catholics declined to participate. Harold Browne chaired the OT group of 27 members and C. J. Ellicott the N.T. group of 28 members, making a total of 55. Eight governing principles were agreed upon. The work began in June 1870.

After the project was well under way, it was decided to invite Americans to participate, and Dr. Philip Schaff assembled a group from various denominations who began work on October 4, 1872. Lists of British participants and of rules followed are given by Cadoux (1940: 242–47), and a list of the Americans is in the Documentary History of the Revision.

The NT group held 407 meetings, completing their work in ten and a half years. The OT group met 792 days over a longer period. The British and American companies never met face to face for discussion. A British draft was sent to America and then returned with American suggestions. Those suggestions receiving approval of two thirds of the British committee were accepted. An appendix was projected to carry the important American suggestions which were rejected. The NT was issued May 17, 1881 (Herbert 1968: no. 2017) and printed in both Britain and in America. The OT was issued in four volumes May 19, 1885 (Herbert 1968: no. 2037); but the Apocrypha was only begun later, revised by four committees, and not issued until 1895 (Herbert 1968: no. 2061).

The purpose of the revision was to bring the English Bible into harmony with the original texts—"to make a good translation still better, more accurate and self consistent, and to bring it up to the present standard of biblical scholarship." Changes in the underlying Greek text followed in the NT are estimated at more than 5,788. E. Palmer in 1881 printed the Greek text with readings adopted by the Revisers, and it was issued in 1947 in a second edition with apparatus by A. Souter. There are estimated to be 36,000 changes in the English of the NT. The OT group did not find it necessary to reconstruct a Hebrew text, but did make use of advances in Hebrew learning.

The text was printed in paragraphs, but traditional chapter divisions were retained for convenience of reference. Dates were omitted in the center column; a special committee dealt with margin references. Book titles remained the same, but page and chapter headings and italics were revised. Poetry was more clearly indicated. The revisers rejected the variety in rendering accepted in 1611 and attempted always to render a Greek word by the same English word. The practice made for difficult English style and for some warping of meaning.

Though received at first with enthusiasm on both sides of the Atlantic, the RV also touched off much criticism. Dean John W. Burgon published a series of harsh critical essays which eventually were gathered into *The Revision Revised*, 1883. Though not convincing in his own day, periodically Burgon's arguments have been revived by such persons as K. B. Wilkinson, D. O. Fuller, and L. P. Letis. In what seems to be an often repeated but unlocatable quotation, Spurgeon characterized the revision as "Strong in Greek and weak in English."

The RV went through numerous printings in its own right but also touched off numerous unauthorized publications in which the two versions were printed in parallel. A Linear Parallel Edition combination of the KJV and RV of 1898 (Herbert 1968: no. 2078) had one line of type where the two versions agreed but printed differences above or below the line. Another in 1899 (Herbert 1968: no. 2087) printed the KJV with the differences in the margin. An edition was printed in America in 1898 with revised marginal references (Herbert 1968: no. 2076) and a similar edition in England in 1903 (Herbert 1968: no. 2124). The Revised Version Old Testament in 1885 (Herbert 1968: no. 2043) printed the American preferences as footnotes. An 1898 printing (Herbert 1968: no. 2077) inserted the American preferences into the text and printed the British preferences in the Appendixes. Printings without the marginal notes began for the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1903 (Herbert 1968: nos. 2125, 2126, 2127) which had decided in 1901 to circulate the RV as well as the KJV. The Society decided in 1904 to circulate the Nestle Greek Text instead of the Textus Receptus. The NT was printed with references compiled by Scrivener and Moulton in 1910 (Herbert 1968: no. 2163).

Despite all these efforts, and despite the revision's being accepted for use in Canterbury Cathedral, Westminster Abbey, and in some parish churches, the passage of time made clear that the RV would never displace the KJV in the hearts of the people.

The American participants in the revision were dissatisfied with the Appendix which the British published. The wording suggested to them an implication that the preferences printed were all the important differences the Americans had. Though abiding by their agreement not to issue a rival revision for 14 years, they planned an American edition.

Within the intervening period all members of the American NT committee died except T. Dwight, M. B. Riddle, and J. H. Thayer. Of the OT committee only G. E. Day, J. DeWitt, C. M. Mead, and H. Osgood survived. Philip Schaff died October 20, 1893.

Work on the final revision—the American Standard Version (ASV)—was begun on the NT on June 24, 1897. Mead edited the OT, and Thayer, who had kept notes of meetings of the earlier committee, led the NT committee. The completed work was copyrighted by Thomas Nelson and Sons to protect "the purity of the text," and the Bible was placed on sale August 26, 1901. Thayer died three months later on November 26. For ASV differences from the RV, see Lewis (1982: 69–105).

The Lockman Foundation, aiming to preserve the ASV

and spread its influence, produced the New American Standard Version with NT in 1963 and complete Bible in 1970. The names of the revising committee have not been revealed in order that the merits of the revision not be judged on the basis of those who prepared it. The NASV has an appeal to those who want literalism but are unconcerned about English style. Considerable freedom has been exercised, however, in inserting added information in the text by use of italics. There have been numerous reprints with modifications since 1970.

F. The 20th Century (Before 1960)

1. Overview. While the KJV continued in popularity with many reprints in many forms throughout the 20th century, a renewed concern arose just before the dawn of the 20th century to bring the English Bible into conformity with current archaeological information, with the current state of Hebrew and Greek knowledge, and with current English speech. Special impetus was given later by Adolph Deissmann's theory that the NT was first written in koine Greek—the language of the people. People came to feel that the NT, not designed to be a masterpiece of prose or poetry but to communicate God's message to men, should be translated into non-literary contemporary English.

The Twentieth Century New Testament, issued in parts, but printed as a unit in 1902? and 1904?, was prepared over fourteen years by a group of about thirty-five men and women of various ages, religious affiliations, and educational qualifications. Though the translators were long unnamed, a study by Kenneth Clark (1955) revealed their identities. The preface, in declaring that the Greek of the NT writers was "the form of language spoken in their day," anticipated Deissmann's discovery. The aim of the translation, which was a pioneer in modern speech versions, was "to exclude all words and phrases not used in current English." Text passages which Westcott-Hort considered not a part of the original text were bracketed. The text was paragraphed with chapter and verse numbers in the margin. OT quotations were printed in italics. Within the traditional groupings, books were given in what was considered chronological order. Money sums were given in current values. Poetry was printed in poetic form. Many of the phrases of this translation have influenced later translations. The Twentieth Century NT was re-issued in 1961 by Moody Press with the books in the usual order.

Ferrar Fenton issued his translation in parts, beginning with the Epistle to the Romans in 1882, with The New Testament in Modern English completed in 1900 and the Complete Bible in Modern English in 1903. The books of the OT, rendered from Hebrew, were in the traditional Jewish order. The NT was translated from the Westcott-Hort text. Fenton is among the few persons who singlehandedly have translated the entire Bible into English. A reprint of this Bible was issued in 1938.

The ASV text was issued as The Student's Chronological New Testament in 1904 with the books in an assumed chronological order and with notes by A. T. Robertson. Another chronological effort using the KJV text was made by T. M. Lindsay in 1906. Other chronological efforts were by W. L. Courtney in 1915 and G. W. Wade in 1934. C. F. Kent arranged OT books logically and chronologically in 1927 while translating the texts into their modern equivalent.

The New Testament in Modern Speech, translated by R. F. Weymouth from his Resultant Greek Testament but revised by Ernest Hampden-Cook, was issued in 1903, 1904, and 1909. The fourth edition of 1924 had been revised by well-known NT scholars, and a fifth in 1929 revised by J. A. Robertson. Books had introductions and explanatory footnotes. This work was reprinted in 1936.

Richard G. Moulton issued his Modern Reader's Bible in 22 volumes in 1906, in one volume in 1907, and in an abridgement in 1922. Moulton's work was a rearrangement of the English Revised Version. There are extensive notes. Choices are made between readings in the text and the margin, and there are slight changes of wording needed for modern literary structure.

James Moffatt published The Historical New Testament in 1901, in which he preserved the language of the KJV; however, by 1913 he had prepared a new translation of the NT in modern speech based on the von Soden Greek Text. Moffatt's text was published in parallel with the KJV in 1922. His OT was issued in 1924, and then the whole Bible in a "revised and final edition" in 1935. Moffatt's work enjoyed a phenomenal sale with numerous reprints. Moffatt was later until his death in 1944 executive secretary of the committee preparing the RSV.

Edgar J. Goodspeed prepared The New Testament. An American Translation in 1924 in which he had followed the Westcott-Hort text and had sought "simple, straightforward English of the everyday expression." There were many printings, with an Anniversary Edition in 1948 containing improvements. Goodspeed's NT was combined with a translation of the OT edited by J. Powis Smith in 1931 with the title The Bible, An American Translation. Goodspeed also translated the Apocrypha in 1938, and the 1939 edition of the Bible contained the Apocrypha. Goodspeed was later active in the production of the RSV.

The Concordant Version of the NT edited by A. Knoch, appearing in parts between 1919 and 1926, attempted to give the Bible reader a means of interpreting the original text for himself through a uniform English translation for each Greek form. The Greek Textus Receptus with a sublinear literal English translation was on one page and an idiomatic translation on the opposite one. Reprints were issued in 1931, 1944, and a Memorial Edition in 1966.

George M. Lamsa had completed his translation from the Peshitta Syriac by 1957. Lamsa believed that the Syriac was "written in the language in which our Blessed Lord, His disciples, and the Early Christians spoke and wrote." Apart from his questionable presuppositions about the value of the Peshitta, Lamsa was greatly influenced by the KJV and followed its style and format.

Charles B. Williams, Professor of Greek at Union University, Jackson, Tennessee, in 1937 issued The New Testament: A Translation in Language of the People. Working from the Westcott-Hort text, Williams sought to make the NT "readable and understandable by the plain people." A slightly revised edition was issued by Moody Press in 1950. This work is not to be confused with The New Testament in Plain English of 1952 by C. Kingsley Williams, which uses a limited simple vocabulary.

C. F. Kent, C. C. Torrey, and others attempted to elimi-

nate duplicated matter in the NT in The Shorter Bible of 1918, which was then followed by the OT in 1921. A committee directed by S. H. Hooke issued in 1941 The New Testament in Basic English using a vocabulary of 850 words supplemented by 50 special Bible words. This work was followed by The Basic Bible in 1949.

Gerrit Verkuyl issued The Berkeley Version of the New Testament in 1945 from the eighth edition of Tischendorf's text with reference to the Nestle text. Dates for events or sayings and writings of the NT are given. The OT, prepared by a committee with Verkuyl as chairman, was published in 1959. In a revised form, this Bible has become The Modern Language Bible published by Zondervan.

William G. Ballantine issued the thoroughly modern Riverside New Testament in 1923 (revised in 1934). E. V. Rieu issued The Four Gospels in 1952 as one of the Penguin Classics. Hugh Schonfield, a Jewish scholar, translated the gospel of Matthew in 1927 from an old Hebrew manuscript but in 1955 translated the rest of the NT from Greek as The Authentic New Testament. The NT Letters were prefaced and paraphrased by J. W. C. Wand in 1946.

While all of these translations were appearing the American Standard Bible Committee of the International Council of Religious Education began a revision of the William Tyndale line of Bibles last represented by the ASV. Three committees (with Luther A. Weigle as chairman of the whole) made the revision. The consonantal Hebrew text of the OT and the Westcott-Hort Greek text of the NT served as a basis. The revision, done in the light of modern scholarship, aimed to make a Bible suitable for private and public worship. The revision was to be in the direction of the simple, classic English style of the KJV. The NT was completed in 1946, the Bible with a second edition of the NT in 1952, and the Apocrypha in 1956. A Catholic edition issued in 1965 restored to the text some of the passages printed as footnotes due to lack of textual support. "Lord" was used for the name of the Deity. Archaic terms were replaced; however, old English forms were retained in address to the Deity, liturgical passages, and prayers.

Though innovative for its day, the RSV had come by the 1980's to appear conservative in translation practices. The English used was not contemporary. A further revision called the NRSV, done by an international, interdenominational group of men and women, was issued in September 1989. Among other matters, particular effort was made to remove sexist language.

J. B. Phillips began his publication with Letters to Young Churches in 1947. Phillips, during the London blitz of World War II, had found the KJV hard for young people to understand and had begun translating. He had completed his NT by 1958. This very popular work was frequently reprinted and was further revised. Phillips' The Four Prophets followed in 1963, but the rest of the OT was never completed.

In 1950 the New World Translation Committee of the Jehovah's Witnesses issued a NT based on the Westcott-Hort text supplemented by the texts of Nestle, Bover and Merk. The OT was issued in 1960 and the combined OT and NT entitled The New World Translation of the Holy Scriptures issued in 1961 and 1971.

The Lockman Foundation of Lahabra, California, issued in 1958 The Amplified New Testament edited by Francis E. Siewert and a committee. Alternate words and phrases thought to restore the full meaning of the original Greek are added in brackets. Parts of the OT were issued in 1962 and 1964, and the whole eventually became The Amplified Bible.

2. Catholic Translations. Catholic translations in the 20th century began with F. A. Spencer's modern translation of the four gospels from Greek with reference to Latin and Syriac in 1098. Spencer had completed the NT before his death in 1913, but his work was not published until revised by Callan and McHugh in 1937. In England, The Westminster Version, edited by C. Lattey and J. Keating, was successively issued in volumes of NT books by various scholars from 1913 to 1935 and made into one volume in 1948. Issuing of the OT began in 1934 but was not completed. The Confraternity of Christian Doctrine sponsored revision of the Challoner-Rheims version. Working from the Vulgate, with reference to the Greek, Catholic scholars issued the annotated NT in 1941. In 1949 the NT was combined with the Challoner-Douay OT and a new translation of the Psalms from the new Latin version to make The New Catholic Edition of the Holy Bible. Combinations of the Challoner-Douay and the Confraternity editions were issued in 1950 and 1956. The OT from the Challoner-Douay was combined with the NT and Psalms from the Westminster text in 1958.

Ronald Knox, whose literary skills are well known, issued his NT translated from the Vulgate in London and America in 1944, and in Australia in 1947. Knox issued the OT in 1949, and the two were combined in the Bible of 1956. Knox's language is described as "timeless English," but he occasionally resorts to paraphrase. Knox's Bible received official approval for use in Britain.

A very significant event in Catholic history was the papal decree *Divino Afflante Spiritu* of 1943, which opened the way for Catholic translations from the original languages. In 1954 the NT was translated into modern popular English from the 1943 Bover Greek Text by J. A. Kleist and J. L. Lilly, but the effort failed to gain official approval. The fruit of other translating efforts is beyond the scope of this article.

3. Bibles with Note Systems. One of the most influential note systems of the 20th century is that of C. I. Scofield. These notes have been printed with the KJV text (with revised renderings of some words) since 1909. Scofield, a lawyer turned Congregational minister, was assisted by a board of editors. The reference notes and the introductions to various books set forth premillennial and dispensational teaching. A second edition was issued in 1917 and the copyright renewed by Oxford University Press in 1961 and 1971. A New Scofield Reference Bible, edited with considerable modifications by a group headed by E. Schyuler English was issued in 1967 and 1971. Many of the revised renderings have been placed in the text with the earlier translation in the margin. This work maintains the original theological position but is edited for today's readers.

Also of wide use has been the Thompson Chain Reference Bibles compiled and edited by Frank Charles Thompson beginning in 1908. Since 1929 the copyright is held by

the Kirkbride Bible Company. Extensive cross references of terms and names, as well as an index of Chain Topics of the KJV text, seek to guide the reader in tracing any important theme through the entire Scripture. This Bible went through many editions and reprints. As of 1983, the Thompson Chain-Reference Bible has also been adapted to the NIV text and issued jointly by Kirkbride and Zondervan.

Yet another Bible of wide circulation using the KJV text is the Dickson Bible which began in 1902? as The Indexed Bible compiled under the direction of the John A. Dickson Publishing Company. This Bible became in 1931 The New Analytical Indexed Bible edited by James R. Kaye with ASV variants inserted in brackets in the text. With concordance reset and with a new index, this Bible was issued in 1950? as The New Analytical Bible and Dictionary of the Bible. It continues to be marketed by the Dickson Company.

For a discussion of more recent English translations of the Bible, see THEORIES OF TRANSLATION.

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WYCLIFFE'S VERSION

John Wycliffe (1330–1384; also spelled Wyclif and Wiclif), an active participant in the church struggles of his day (the time of the so-called Babylonian Captivity of the Papacy: 1378–1417), backed Parliament in its refusal to pay the sums the Pope demanded. In theological debates, he attacked the doctrine of transubstantiation. Wycliffe supported and was protected by John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster and leader of the feudal party in its struggle against the temporal power of the clerical party. Oxford–trained and Rector of the church in Lutterworth, Wycliffe recruited volunteer lay preachers who came to be known as the Lollards. Wycliffe is quoted as having said, "No man is so rude a scholar but that he can learn the words of the Gospel according to his simplicity."

Wycliffe, trained in Hebrew and Greek, and his associates translated the Latin Bible into the English of his day (about the time of Chaucer: 1340–1400). The NT was completed about 1380. A manuscript in the Bodleian Library makes clear that Nicholas of Hereford did the OT up to Baruch 3:20 where it abruptly breaks off. The identity of the translator of the rest of Baruch, the rest of the OT, and the NT is unknown, but is traditionally ascribed to Wycliffe, though it may actually have been his secretary John Purvey. Completed about 1382, the Bible was a small pocket edition. The language is a stiff, literal translation from inferior Latin texts whose exact identity is unknown.

A second edition in a refined English style which broke free from the influence of the Latin syntax was issued about 1388 after Wycliffe's death. The earliest ms of this refined second edition bears the date 1408. Though names are omitted from the preface, the work is thought to have been done by John Purvey. Purvey tells the reader that he "had much travail with divers fellows and helpers, to gather many old [Latin] bibles, and other doctors, and common glosses, and [so] to make one Latin bible in some measure correct" (Preface). About 30 of the 170 extant mss are of the original text, and the rest are of Purvey's revision. The *Epistle to the Laodiceans* (an apocryphal work of the 4th century) was inserted in this second edition. On the other hand, the doxology of the model prayer (Matt 5:13) was not included. The book of "The Deeds of the Apostles" follows the Epistle to the Hebrews. According to Foxe (1563), in the 14th century, a copy was quite expensive.

Wycliffe's Bible aided in the unification of the English language and prepared the way for later English translations. While the language of Wycliffe is hardly understandable to a current English reader, and while an ample number of oddities can be cited, "the strait gate," "the narrow way," "the beam and the mote," "compass land and sea," and other phrases have stayed with us. Butterworth attributes four percent of the King James Version's wording to Wycliffe and contemporary English sermons.

A provincial synod at Oxford in 1408 proscribed Wycliffe's work and forbade any person to translate any part of Scripture without permission of the bishops, but the bishops made no move to give the people vernacular Scriptures. Bishop Arundal spoke of "That wicked and pestilent fellow, the son of a serpent, the herald and child of Anti-Christ, John Wycliffe" whom he saw "doing the work of Anti-Christ by the expedient of a new translation of Scripture into the mother tongue." The Council of Constance condemned Wycliffe's writings to be burned and ordered his bones dug up out of consecrated ground. Wycliffe's bones were burned in 1428 and the ashes thrown into the River Swift.

The earliest printing of Wycliffe's NT (later edition) was by John Lewis in 1731 (Herbert 1968, No. 110), with a reprint in 1810 (No. 1537). (All numbered references follow Herbert 1968.) The text from a different ms was included in Bagster's *English Octapla,* 1841, and a printing from another manuscript was in 1848 (No. 1868). The first printing of the complete Wycliffe Bible from the Purvey revision was by Forshall and Madden in 1850 (No. 1876). The Gothic and Anglo-Saxon Gospels were printed in parallel columns with Wycliffe (early version) and Tyndale in 1865. A New *Biblia Pauperum* of 1877 (No. 2008) has pictures based on verses extracted from Wycliffe. Forshall and Madden's NT was extracted and reprinted in 1879 by Skeat (No. 2011), and parts of the OT in 1881 (No. 2015). A photographic reprint of the NT in the Purvey revision was issued in 1986 by International Bible Publications (Portland, Oregon). For further discussion see *CHB* 2: 387–415.

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AUTHORIZED VERSIONS

Authorized version means authorized for use in the Church of England. A provincial Oxford Synod in 1408 forbade English Bible translation until permission was had from the diocesan bishop or provincial council; but the bishops were slow to grant such permission because early translators had Lollard or Lutheran connections. There appears to have been no royal prohibition, but the decree of the synod seems to have been influential beyond the actual authority of the gathering.

Even before Henry VIII became head of the Church of England in 1534, desirous people were looking to the king for authorization of Bible circulation, but the king was not yet favorable toward such action. In June 1530, the king had issued a royal proclamation prohibiting possessing Holy Scriptures translated into the vulgar tongue of English, French, or German; at the same time the king promised to provide for an authorized translation when the time was right (Pollard 1911: 163–69). An anonymous letter attributed to Hugh Latimer reminded the king of the promise in December 1530.

William Tyndale in 1531 offered in vain to return to England to suffer whatever fate might be in store if the king would allow to circulate a bare text of Scripture done by any translator whom he would choose. In 1533 George Joye sent his sample translation of Genesis to Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn in an unsuccessful effort to obtain a license to translate the whole Bible. In December 1534,

the Canterbury Convocation petitioned the crown for an English Bible by translators to be named by the king and then to be delivered to the people for their instruction (Pollard 1911: 175–77). Cranmer at one time divided Bible portions among bishops and clergymen for revision, but the project failed (Pollard 1911: 196–98).

Before her death in 1536, Anne Boleyn persuaded Henry VIII to have an English Bible placed in every church, and injunctions to this effect were prepared by Cromwell in 1537. The Injunctions, however, were not issued.

Coverdale's first edition had a dedication to "King Henry and Quene Anne" which assumes that the king was personally interested in Bible translation. The atmosphere in Britain was changing rapidly. The 1537 edition (Herbert 1968: No. 32) substituted "Quene Jane," and then the quarto edition of 1537 (No. 33) dedicated to "King Henry and Quene Jane," carried on its title page "Set forth with the Kynges moost gracious licence." Hence, in a sense, it was the first authorized version of the English Bible.

The merchant-publishers Richard Grafton and Edward Whitechurch bore the cost of 1500 copies of the Matthew's Bible. Grafton in August 1537 sent a copy to Archbishop Cranmer. In a letter of August 4, 1537, Thomas Cranmer commended the Matthew's Bible (No. 34) to Thomas Cromwell and requested that Cromwell secure a license from the king for its circulation. Within a week (August 13th) Cromwell replied that he had obtained permission for it to be bought and sold within the realm (Pollard 1911: 215–16). Dedicated "to the moost noble and gracyous Prynce Kyng Henry the eyght," it carried the print "Set forth with the Kynges most gracyous lycēce." The king was the supreme head of the Church of England licensing the Bible for personal and political reasons.

The merchant-publisher Grafton presented six copies to Cromwell on August 28 requesting further licensing which would protect the investment he had in printing (Pollard 1911: 218–19). Later, Grafton wrote again proposing that every curate have a Bible and each monastery have six as a means of overcoming the papists (Pollard 1911: 222). A diglot New Testament (No. 36) containing Latin and Tyndale's English was published in 1538 by Robert Redman and carried the claim, "Set forth vnderthe Kynges moste gracyous lycence." In the same year a diglot (No. 37) including Coverdale's testament with the identical claim was published.

In September 1538, injunctions were drafted to the clergy that they by a certain date must obtain "one boke of the whole Bible in the largest volume in Englishe." No man was to be discouraged from reading the Bible. The GREAT BIBLE, already in preparation, was then issued in April 1539 to meet the need as well as to correct problems raised by the authorization of Matthew's Bible with its prologue and notes which was heavily dependent on Tyndale. A royal decree of November 1538 forbade the importation of divine Scripture with notes, prologue, or additions without his majesty's special license (Pollard 1911: 18, 240–42).

The title page of the Great Bible depicted God at the center top with hands outspread blessing the king who is giving out the Bible to Cranmer and Cromwell, who are giving copies to the people. A crowd of people are exclaiming "Vivat Rex" and "God Save the King." The symbolism connects authorization of Scripture with proper and loyal obedience to King Henry VIII. On November 14, 1539, Cromwell secured a Royal patent which gave him authority for five years to determine what Bibles were printed in England (Pollard 1911: 257–59).

In its April 1540 printing (2nd edition), the Great Bible was the first Bible to carry the imprint "This is the Byble apoynted to the vse of the churches." The fourth and sixth editions had "auctorised and apoynted by the commaundement of oure moost redoubted prynce and souerayngne Lorde, Kynge Henry the .viii . . . to be frequented and vsed in every church w'in this his sayd royal realme. . . ." Cromwell, patron of the Great Bible, fell into disgrace and was executed in July 1540, but the Bible continued to be printed with Cromwell's coat of arms excised from the title page.

The November 1540 (No. 60) and November 1541 (No. 62) editions carried the names of the Bishops of Duresme and Rochester, the first of whom was Cuthbert Tunstall who as Bishop of London had refused to aid Tyndale and later had ordered Tyndale's testament to be burned. A royal decree, May 6, 1541, further ordered curates and parishioners to provide Bibles in the churches (Pollard 1911: 261–65). Bishop Bonner provided six for St. Paul's in London.

After 1542 Bibles were not printed in England during the remainder of the reign of Henry VIII, and freedom for Bible reading became more restricted. A February 1542 Convocation moved to have another version issued which was to be corrected by the Vulgate. Committees for revision were formed, but the effort failed with the king's proposal to submit the need to the universities, an action which he never carried out (Dore 1888: 170; Pollard 1911: 276–77).

An act of Parliament in 1543 authorized the circulation of all Bibles not of Tyndale's translation (Dore 1888: 125). The same act allowed noblemen to read the Bible in their homes and noble women to read to themselves alone, but people of lower rank were forbidden to read in English. In 1546, all Bibles were proscribed except the Great Bible (Bruce 1978: 79). In London large collections of other Bibles were burned at St. Paul's Cross. Henry VIII died in January 1547, and, with his passing, policies governing the printing of Bibles changed.

During the reign of Edward VI there were issued printings of thirty-five Testaments and sixteen Bibles of various sorts. A 1547 injunction ordered placing in the parishes the whole Bible of the largest volume in English along with Erasmus's paraphrases on the gospels in English. However, with the accession of Mary, printing again ceased. No official use of the English Bible was allowed, but private Bible possession was not forbidden.

When Elizabeth came to the throne (November 1558), the injunctions of 1538 were repealed and various Bibles were again reprinted and circulated freely. In 1559, an injunction that the Great Bible was to be set up in the churches was issued. A 1569 printing by Cawood of the Great Bible (No. 127) carried the claim "According to the translation that is appointed to be read in the churches."

Although never sanctioned by royal authority, convocation, or by Parliament, the GENEVA BIBLE prepared by

English exiles in Geneva enjoyed great popularity with 140 editions between 1560 and 1640. It was first issued in convenient quarto size in contrast to the folios of the Great Bible, Bishops' Bible, and the King James. John Bodley received a patent for the right to print it in England for seven years, a right which he seems not to have exercised. After its expiration, Matthew Parker petitioned for a twelve year extension for Bodley; however, the Geneva Bible was printed first in England only in 1578, three years after Parker's death. A 1597 printing had on the title: "To the most vertuous and noble Queen Elizabeth." The Geneva was approved for use in Scotland in 1579. However, after the Geneva ceased being printed in England in 1616, Archbishop Laud forbade the importation of the Geneva Bible into England because of errors in the Amsterdam printings.

Much earlier Archbishop Matthew Parker had in 1568 requested that William Cecil (secretary to Queen Elizabeth) obtain royal approval of his BISHOPS' BIBLE which had been prepared by about eighteen persons most of whom were bishops. The Bible had Elizabeth's picture on the title page, but was not otherwise dedicated to her. The license seems never to have been forthcoming. Nevertheless, printed by Jugge, the royal printer, the Bishops' Bible colophon carried "cum privilegio Regiae Maiestatis" which applied to the printing not to its use. Convocation of the Province of Canterbury in 1571 did order that every bishop and archbishop have a copy "of a Bible of the largest volume as published recently in London" in his house and that each cathedral and other churches have copies as convenient. Editions of 1574–78 had "Set foorth by aucthoritie"; the 1584 edition (No. 185) had "Of that Translation authorised to be read in Churches"; then the 1585 edition (No. 188) and successive editions including the 1602 had "Authorised and appointed to be read in Churches." However, no injunction requiring the Bishops' Bible to be read in churches was ever passed by royal authority.

Archbishop Whitgift, noting in a letter to Bishop Wicham, 16 July 1587, that some churches lacked Bibles or only had torn or defaced ones "and yet not of the translation authorized by the synods of bishops," instructed Wickam in his visitations to see that churches had "one Bible or more, at your discretion, of the translation allowed as aforesaid. . . ." In printing his *The Text of the New Testament* . . . of 1589 which contained the Bishops' NT in parallel with the Rheims, William Fulke called the Bishops' "the translation of the Church of England." Nevertheless, the Geneva continued in popular use and some were bought by churches.

The KJV was produced with the encouragement of King James who at the Hampton Court Conference proposed that it be approved by the bishops, the chief learned of the church, the Privy Council, and at last ratified by his Royal authority, "with this whole church bound to it and no other." History has, however, preserved no record of its ever having received official approval by Parliament, King, Privy Council, or Convocation. Some have conjectured that an authorization once existed but that the record was destroyed in the fire at Whitehall in 1616; however, scholars have not been convinced and suppose that no authorization existed. Butterworth (1941: 6) suggested that the KJV was not entered in the Stationers' Register because it was considered a revision rather than a new book. From the first edition the KJV carried the print "diligently compared and revised by his Maiesties special Cõmandement" and "Appointed to be read in Churches" just as the Bishops' Bible before it had. The dedication expressed great hope that "the Church of *England* shall reap great good thereby." Certain of the Visitation Articles began to specify a Bible of the "latest edition," and the Scottish Canons Constitutional and Ecclesiastical of 1636 specified "the translation of King James"; however, the ruling was rejected two years later. With more than one translation allowed, there was no authorized version in Scotland. Official church recognition in England for the KJV came in 1666 when the fifth edition of the Prayer Book used the KJV for its scripture.

The King James NT was printed first in Scotland in 1628 (No. 420), the complete Bible in 1633 (Nos. 476–77), in Ireland in 1714 (No. 928), and in America (with a fictitious imprint) in 1752.

Historically "Authorized Version" has meant authorized for use in the Church of England. Denominations may authorize any particular translation for use within the denomination, but there is no ecclesiastical or political body with authority to authorize a translation for the use of all Christendom.

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KING JAMES VERSION

The King James Version developed as a result of a suggestion of need made at the Hampton Court Conference in 1604 by John Reynolds, a leader of the Puritans. Surprisingly, the suggestion was taken up by King James who was new in England at the time. King James at the same time derided the Puritans with derogatory remarks about the Geneva Bible which they preferred, and then he approved the making of a translation "so that the whole church to be bound unto it, and none other." Richard Bancroft, Bishop of London, who had opposed Reynolds' proposal promptly lined up with the king, but made the proposal that no notes be included in the Bible.

While a letter of the king states that fifty-four men were appointed to the task, the surviving list of participants has only forty-seven names. Paine (1977) and Opfell (1982) have made detailed studies of the personalities, qualifications, and careers of the men who did participate. Notably missing from the participants is Hugh Broughton who had argued persuasively for a new translation and who considered himself as the most qualified person to make one.

The king, unable to finance the project, suggested that

the translators be given preferment in church positions. They seem to have received no remuneration but to have been cared for while at the task at the colleges where they worked. Two companies each were at Oxford, Cambridge, and Westminster. A list preserved by Burnett gives fourteen rules for their guidance, but at a report to the Synod of Dort (1618) only seven rules were mentioned. The revision was to be minimal. The Bishops' Bible was to be followed where it agreed with the Hebrew and Greek, but "Tindall's, Matthew's, Coverdale's, Whitchurch's, Geneva" are next mentioned. Proper names were to be preserved as nearly as possible to the original. Ecclesiastical terms were to be preserved. Bancroft's proposal that no marginal notes be included was accepted, except in the cases where Hebrew and Greek terms were to be explained.

From various sources it can be established that after 1604 the groups were at their tasks without fanfare. Replacements were made in the groups from time to time when deaths occurred, but it is not entirely clear who replaced whom. Seven of the translators were eventually elevated to the episcopate and seventeen or eighteen to other offices. Ward Allen (1969) has identified and published notes kept by John Bois during the work. Puritan and Anglican churchmen, linguists and theologians, laymen and divines, worked side by side. The aim was to produce a translation for the common man.

Following the preliminary work, a further revision was done in a period of about nine months by a smaller group for which they were paid thirty shillings a week by the Stationer's Company. Then Bishop Thomas Bilson and Miles Smith put the finishing touches on the project, supplying chapter summaries, page headings, a preface, and dedication to the king. From 1611 Robert Barker was given a monopoly on the printing, a monopoly later claimed by his son Matthew Barker in 1651.

In their preface, the revisers give as their aim the making of an already good translation even better, "or out of many good ones, one principal good one, not justly to be excepted against." The translators are thought to have used Beza's Greek text and probably the Hebrew text of the Complutensian Polyglot. They were influenced by Beza's Latin, the Geneva, and the Rheims. They give a defense in the preface of their use of variety in rendering terms. The cadences and rhythms which improve on the original won among English readers a love for the style which has not yet died.

While the first edition carried the statement "Newly translated out of the originall tongues & with the former translations diligently compared and reuised by his Maiesties speciall comandement. Appointed to be read in Churches," history has not preserved a record of endorsement by Convocation, Parliament, Privy Council, or the King himself. The Bishops' Bible was not reprinted after 1602, but the Geneva continued until 1644 in Holland. Churchmen like Andrews and Laud continued to use the Geneva in their sermons. However, by 1640 there had been forty editions of the KJV by Barker and his successors. There was no question that it was superior to its predecessors. Ecclesiastical recognition came in 1662 when the fifth Prayer Book was printed using citations from the Gospels and Epistles of the 1611 translation. Despite some very vocal criticisms by Catholics, Hugh Broughton (who said he had rather be tied between wild horses than to let it go forth among the people, and that the translators had put the errors in the text and the correct readings in the margins), William Kilbourne, Robert Gell, and some others, by the end of the 17th century it had become *the* Bible for all English speaking people. However, the Great Bible Psalms continued to be used in the liturgy.

As a specific example, debate has reigned over whether the 1611 folio edition which read "she" in Ruth 3:15 or that which had "he" is the earlier, with bibliographers favoring "he." The Bible had an elaborate title page and many initial letters. That of the Gospel of Matthew shows Neptune taming the sea horses. Early printings were plagued by misprints one of which is "strain at a gnat" (Matt 23:24) for "strain out a gnat" which has never been corrected. Unnecessary variety in spelling proper names like Isaiah and Esaias, Jeremiah, Jeremy and Jeremias, Elijah and Elias complicates reading. Mythical animals like the unicorn, dragon, cockatrice, and arrowsnake appear. For other communication and translation problems, see Lewis (1981: 35–68). Butterworth estimated that (apart from the Apocrypha) thirty-nine percent of the wording and phraseology of the KJV first makes its appearance in this revision.

The KJV has not been static across the years. Changes made by unknown persons began in 1612 (Herbert 1968: nos. 313–18) and more were made in 1616 (no. 349). The Apocrypha was omitted in 1629 when the first printing at Cambridge (no. 424) was done. In 1633, the first printing was done in Scotland (no. 476). An edition corrected by Goad, Ward, Boyse, and Mead was issued in 1638 at Cambridge and remained the standard text until Paris's edition of 1762 (no. 1142). Benjamin Blaney did a correction for the Oxford University Press in 1769 (no. 1194).

Facsimile reproductions of the 1611 folio were done by the Oxford University Press in 1833 and by World Publishing Company in 1965. A page reprint was done with an introduction by Alfred W. Palmer by Oxford University Press in 1911. The King James 1611 text was printed in Bagster's *English Hexapla* in 1841 and in Weigle's *The New Testament Octapla* in 1962; the text of Psalms in the *Hexaplar Psalter* of 1911 and the Genesis text in Weigle's *Genesis Octapla* of 1965.

The KJV, called "the noblest monument of English prose," has been the object of much praise. Its impact on English speech and literature is beyond measure. It has spawned countless proverbs and proverbial forms of speech. It is the source of quotations which English writers have worked into their productions. It has enriched their vocabulary and their images, and has contributed to their rhythms. For almost four centuries it has been without rival the Bible for the common reader who tends to forget that it is a translation. Despite its original merits and its contribution, however, with the secularization of the English speaking world and the normal change of language, numerous words of the KJV are no longer in use. Its message becomes less understandable to the common person for whom it was intended. In 1988 the KJV lost its dominance in sales on the American market to the NIV.

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AMERICAN VERSIONS

The translating of the Bible into the vernacular in the United States has been carried out by numerous individuals and by various committees with a broad variety of purposes. Many of these translators have been concerned with only the translation of the NT. Although the translations of major import have been carried out by committees, individual translators have played significant roles in responding to the need for a new translation, whether out of theological, textual, philological, or translation theory motives. Individual translators have not been confined by the restraints of religious communities nor by the need to maintain a particular tradition of translation. Indeed the absence of such restraints has contributed to the publication of versions of the Bible committed to particular theological concerns or addressed to persons sharing a specific form of Amero-English. Translation into languages other than English (e.g., North American Indian) has been a more minor aspect of Bible translation in the United States. The existence of bilingual communities resulting from immigration, however, has been an important stimulus to Bible editions and translations.

A. The Colonial Period
B. The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries
  1. The KJV and its American Revisions
    a. The American Standard Version (ASV)
    b. The Revised Standard Version (RSV)
    c. The New American Standard Bible (NASB)
    d. The New King James Version (NKJV)
  2. Other Modern Bible Translations
  3. American Jewish Versions
  4. American Catholic Versions
C. Conclusion

A. The Colonial Period

The history of the United States in its colonial phase reveals the dominance of Bibles imported to America, especially the Geneva Version (1560) and the King James Version (1611). For Bibles in the English language the American settlers depended on Bibles produced by royal license, permission normally extended to the King's Printer or to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The Crown Copyright covered the printing of the Bible and was respected by American printers until the American Revolution.

Bible versions in other languages were not affected by Crown Copyright and we can note as the first American Bible, the Eliot Indian Bible. The Eliot Bible was a translation of the entire Bible into the local Algonquin language and was produced in roman type in Cambridge in 1663. The magnitude of John Eliot's work can be seen in the printing of the Indian Bible in an edition of 1180 pages, each page containing some four thousand characters.

During the colonial period a further American version was produced for German readers. In 1743 Christopher Sower printed a quarto German Bible in Germantown, a suburb of Philadelphia. Second and third editions of this Bible were published by Sower's son in 1763 and 1776. The Sower Bible was a printing of the 34th edition of Luther's Bible with certain sections derived from the Berleberg Bible.

On the eve of the American Revolution, two major language groups in the American Colonies possessed Bibles: the English in imported form from Britain and the Germans through the printing efforts of the Sowers.

The onset of the Revolution severely reduced the importation of Bibles and removed the need to observe the Crown Copyright. During this period there was discussion in the Continental Congress about the restricted supply of imported Bibles and a resolution, never effected, was passed to import 20,000 copies of the Bible. Robert Aitken, a printer of Philadelphia, published the NT in 1777 with three further editions and petitioned Congress for permission to print the whole Bible. The Robert Aitken Bible, a King James Version, was published in Philadelphia in 1782, becoming the first English Bible openly printed in America and with an American imprint.

B. The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

The formation of the Federal government and the ratification of the United States Constitution created an environment in which Bibles could be printed without royal authorization. It is also true that there was a common recognition of the need to revise the King James Version. Many persons recognized the changes in the English language since 1611 and there was also a ferment acknowledging the need to review the Greek text used as the basis for the translation of the NT.

The first translation of the Bible by an American was that of Charles Thomson, who had served for fifteen years as Secretary of the Continental Congress. When Thomson retired in 1789, he devoted the next twenty years to the study of Greek and the translation of the Bible, accomplished in 1808 with the publication of four volumes. Thomson's use of the Greek text of the Bible was based on the belief that the Greek text was a more accurate reflection of the original Hebrew text of the Hebrew Bible than the MT. Thomson's translation was unusual in another respect, namely, in serving as the first translation of the LXX into any modern European language.

The independence of the United States led to a freedom for translators of the Bible which produced a series of

translations from the beginnings of the 19th century to the present day. Individuals used this freedom from the constraints of religious bodies and from the need to defer to authorized versions to create versions suited to many needs. Reflections of the current results of biblical critical studies could be incorporated in such translations including new conclusions about the best Hebrew or Greek text. The widespread growth of biblical criticism in England and Europe in the 19th century fueled this drive for new translations. Experiments in translation occurred with translation principles not reflected in the traditional versions. Translations reflecting the theological concerns of particular religious groups were expressed in new translations. Theories about the original languages of the Bible led to the creation of new translations reflecting those theories. Any of these motivations led individual translators to produce a steady stream of translations in the 19th and 20th centuries. In retrospect some of these translations are of little value in the history of Bible translations except as they point to the prevalence of particular theological or linguistic theories which were subsequently abandoned. The richness of these efforts, however, can be seen in noting that there have been more than seventy translations of at least an entire Testament by American translators since the publication of Charles Thomson's translation.

1. The KJV and its American Revisions. A number of 19th-century translations were the result of individual or collaborative efforts to revise the KJV, seeking an improvement of style or to express the particular translation theory of the translators. David Bernard collaborated with several translators, including A. C. Kendrick and George Ripley Bliss, to produce in 1842 a Bible published by the J. B. Lippincott Company of Philadelphia. Editorial revisions of the KJV were effected in the Bernard Version: consistency in the orthography of OT and NT names, alteration in archaic words, and corrections of improper grammar. This translation is one example among several reflecting the 19th century debate about the best translation into English of the word, baptize, seen as a transliteration into English from the Greek text. The Bernard translation and several others of this period argued that the only proper translation is "immerse." American versions of the Bible following the "immersion" translation appeared from at least 1826 (the Alexander Campbell version) to 1928 (the George N. LeFevre version). Notable among these immersion translations is the translation by Julia E. Smith of the entire Bible, published in Connecticut in 1876 and notable as the first translation of the complete Bible by a woman.

An important voice in the creation and distribution of Bibles in America was the American Bible Society, founded in 1816. By 1849 a history of the American Bible Society could report that more than five million copies of Bibles and Testaments had been distributed. The Society, a major publisher of the KJV, was among those who determined to revise and standardize the King James text. In 1847 the Society appointed a committee to review the King James text. The efforts of the committee led to the publication of a "standard" text in 1850 of the KJV and the entire Bible in 1852. Although the American Bible Society's committee found some 24,000 variations among the six King James texts reviewed, the committee reported that none of these variations damaged the integrity of the text or affected biblical doctrines or precepts. A second committee, more conservative in its revisions of the King James text, issued a further revised King James text in 1857. In 1962 the American Bible Society issued an even further revision of a standardized King James text, printing the text in paragraph form and dividing the poetic sections into lines.

The efforts to revise the KJV by agencies like the American Bible Society and by individuals helped to sustain the widespread popularity in the United States of the KJV. Individual efforts were made to translate the Bible, or especially the NT, by persons committed to particular theories characterized by a modern historian (Simms 1936: 228) as "eccentric in character or claim." An instance of this can be seen in the commitment to spelling reform by Jonathan Morgan, a Maine lawyer, who published in 1848 a NT translation incorporating various examples of phonetic spelling.

a. The American Standard Version (ASV). Further important efforts to revise the KJV in the United States must be understood as efforts to respond to the British initiative in the publication (1881–1885) of the English Revised Version (ERV). In England in 1870 the upper house of the Convocation of Canterbury established a committee, subsequently including non-Anglican members, to revise the KJV. Efforts to involve American scholars in the preparation of the ERV failed because of distance. The result of the limited involvement of Americans led to the publication in 1901 of the American Standard Version (ASV), with Thomas Nelson and Sons holding the copyright. A comparison of the ERV and the ASV reveals the frequent departures of the ASV Committee from the decisions of the ERV Committee. Whatever the merits of the eclectic decisions of both the British and American Committees with respect to the choice of a particular NT Gk text, the ASV revealed a heavy dependency of the translation on the syntax and style of the Greek and Hebrew texts. This was consistent with an acknowledged goal of being as nearly literal as possible. Although the ASV avoided many archaic expressions in the KJV (e.g., "holpen," "bewray," "pourtray"), the translators did not use those English terms for biblical words and phrases which would have been natural in the usage of their time. The result was an English translation judged by many American readers to be stylistically unappealing.

b. The Revised Standard Version (RSV). The ASV copyright was acquired and renewed in 1928 by the International Council of Religious Education, which appointed a committee to recommend on the need for further revision. A positive recommendation was made with the stipulation that the revised translation remain close to the Tyndale-King James tradition. It was expected that the best understanding of Greek and Hebrew texts would be used and that the English usage would reflect modern usage. The work of the American Standard Bible Committee was interrupted in the early 1930's and in 1937 the International Council authorized a new revision intended for use in "public and private worship" which would "preserve those qualities which have given to the King James Version a supreme place in English literature." The lan-

guage of the Revised Standard Version (RSV) was to be "in the direction of the simple, classic English style of the King James Version." Such direction separated the intended translation from modern speech translations and paraphrases and also freed the translators from the need to use Elizabethan English, a restriction honored by the translators of the ERV and the ASV.

Separate committees produced the RSV NT in 1946, the OT and complete Bible in 1952, and the Apocrypha in 1957. The translation committees considered the evidence from ancient translations and were guided on occasion by "other authorities" cited in the footnotes of the translation. The OT was not forced into conformity with the NT (e.g., Isaiah 7:14). Idiosyncratic theories of translation or minority views from biblical scholarship were avoided. The RSV tended to follow mainstream positions on textual and other critical matters. The translation language has been viewed as ranging between the 17th and early 20th centuries, but not wholly identifiable with any period in the history of the English language.

Despite widespread acceptance, the RSV has still not displaced the KJV in the sales and distribution of Bibles in America. Although the RSV introduced the large numbers of Bible versions available in the contemporary market of American Bible versions, it is now viewed as a rather traditional translation with respect to translation theory and even in its retention of archaic language. Unlike other translation committees which disbanded upon the completion of their work, the RSV Committee with changes in personnel has continued to meet and in 1989 issued a further revised edition of the RSV, the NRSV.

c. The New American Standard Bible (NASB). The Lockman Foundation of La Habra, California, believed that "interest in the American Standard Version should be renewed and increased." It was committed to produce a translation "in clear and contemporary language" and established a group of fifty-eight anonymous translators to work on the project. The intent of the Lockman Foundation was not to produce a revised ASV, but "to follow the principles used in the ASV." The result of this effort was the publication of the NT in 1963 and the OT and NT in 1970.

The NASB emerged as a Bible representing a conservative and literal approach to Bible translation. The conservatism of the NASB is evident in its theological outlook and in its approach to the determination of the Heb and Gk texts to be used. The theological conservatism of the translators is evidenced in such examples as the several instances in which explicit references to Jesus Christ are introduced into the OT text. In its textual policy the traditional Hebrew text was used with relatively slight attention to textual readings from Hebrew manuscripts or ancient versions. Although the 23d edition of the Nestle Greek NT was the basic translation text, considerable use was made of the Received Text, the underlying text of the King James translators.

Although the NASB made a number of advances over the ASV in the physical presentation of the translation, it failed to achieve a contemporary language or an idiomatic English usage. Despite various strengths of the NASB, it is unlikely to exceed the ASV in popularity among English Bible translations in America.

d. The New King James Version (NKJV). The popular appeal of the KJV has continued unabated, despite the various efforts to revise its language and style, to improve its typographic appearance, and to replace its textual base. This popular appeal led Thomas Nelson Publishers to undertake a revision of the King James Version which would update the original text as much as possible, but effect as little change as possible. Following discussions in 1975 and 1976 more than one hundred scholars were invited to participate in a new revision. A translation process was established in which individual translators worked with individual books of the Bible and recommended changes to the KJV text. Executive editors reviewed these, as well as an English editor. An executive review committee gave final approval to a translation which was published for the NT in 1979 and for the OT in 1982. The NKJV improves the KJV with respect to readability, but does not attempt to change the format or text of the KJV. In general, the NKJV has been favorably received in theologically conservative Christian circles, though this translation is more successful in linguistic changes than in changes from the text of the KJV.

2. Other Modern Bible Translations. In addition to the various attempts to produce a revision of the KJV in the United States there have been many other Bible translations. Some of these seek to serve the needs of particular populations: children, youth, Christian converts, dialect speakers. There have been attempts to produce paraphrase translations, translations concerned primarily with translation meaning, translations reflecting contemporary Biblical scholarship, translations using "inclusive language" to reduce the sexist language of the Biblical text. At all times there have been translations concerned with the theological significance of the translated text.

a. Modern Language Translations. Among the more recent modern-language translations and also reflective of Biblical scholarship in the 1920's is the University of Chicago Press publication of 1931, *The Bible: An American Translation.* Two Chicago professors, Edgar J. Goodspeed and J. M. Powis Smith (with three scholar collaborators), produced the work. The NT was Goodspeed's translation and the OT was carried out by Smith and his collaborators. Arguing that the NT was written in the ordinary language of its time, Goodspeed intended that contemporary readers should also be able to read the NT in a popular, contemporary usage. The Smith OT was based on the same translation principles as Goodspeed's NT and the two translations were combined in 1931.

The American Bible Society turned in the 1960's to the preparation of "common language" versions of the Bible in several languages. Robert G. Bratcher of the American Bible Society produced in 1966 *Good News for Modern Man,* a translation of the NT referred to as *Today's English Version* (TEV). Bratcher chaired a committee of six to prepare the OT translation which was published in combined form in 1976. The Apocrypha was prepared by three members of the OT Committee and released in 1979. Modern critical Greek and Hebrew texts were used by the translators and the format of the translation was that of most modern versions of the 1960's and 1970's. The text is presented in paragraph form, verse numbers imbedded in the text. Lists, letters and poetry are indented. The translation

theory of TEV is based heavily on the scholarship of Eugene A. Nida of the American Bible Society and exhibits a "dynamic equivalence" translation with great emphasis on effective and accurate communication.

b. Expanded Translations and Paraphrases. Notable among the expanded translations seeking to provide the reader with an enlarged meaning vocabulary has been *The Amplified Bible.* In 1958 the Lockman Foundation and the Zondervan Publishing House jointly issued the NT of the Amplified Bible, prepared by Frances E. Siewert. A committee produced the OT and the entire Amplified Bible was published by Zondervan in 1965. Thousands of words or phrases, more from the NT than from the OT, are supplied with expanded meanings following the translated word in brackets, parentheses, or italics.

The most popular paraphrase translation since the publication of the NT in 1967 and the whole Bible in 1971 has been *The Living Bible.* Using the ASV as the basis of his translation, Kenneth Taylor worked for almost twenty years to produce a translation with the primary goal of communication. The communication is reflective of the theological conservatism of the translator, but the translation has become the most widely read popular English version published by an individual. No attempt was made to use the most recent manuscript evidence and in the absence of the constraints imposed by a committee process, the translator was free to add or remove material from the text as he believed appropriate.

c. Conservative Theological Translations (Protestant). The most successful modern language version reflecting a conservative theological outlook is the New International Version of the Bible (NIV) which was published by Zondervan Bible Publishers in 1978. Originating in the initiatives of committees from the Christian Reformed Church and the National Association of Evangelicals, the New York Bible Society (now known as the International Bible Society) assumed responsibility for the projected translation and appointed a committee of fifteen scholars to oversee it. This 1978 translation emerges from the work of more than one hundred scholars from more than a dozen evangelical Christian denominations. The publishers stress the transdenominational and international character of the NIV. The translators are said to have a "high view of Scripture" and the Preface states that all translators were committed to "the full authority and complete trustworthiness of the Scriptures which they believe is God's Word in written form." The OT is based on the MT and the NT rests on an eclectic Greek text, close to the standard United Bible Societies and Nestle-Aland texts. The response to the NIV has been favorable with respect to its readability and to its format policies.

3. American Jewish Versions. Despite the recognition that the Hebrew text is the only authentic basis for the study of the Torah in the Jewish community, many American Jews in the 19th century knew little Hebrew and used the KJV as their Bible. Not only did this mean the use of a Christian Bible with two Testaments, but also the need to read editions of the KJV in a christological format with Christian interpretations of the OT introduced regularly into the biblical text. Beyond these objections lay the further recognition that the KJV translators had introduced Christian readings into their translation.

The first response to these objections came from the energetic American Jewish leader, Isaac Leeser, who issued a Jewish version of the Hebrew Scriptures between 1845 and 1853. Leeser strove to produce a literal translation of the Bible, dependent on rabbinic commentators and the work of contemporary German Jews.

By the last quarter of the century Jewish scholar immigrants from Europe were increasing rapidly and many Jews believed that there should be a new Jewish translation. The appearance of the ERV in 1885 led some Jews to argue for issuing a revision of the ERV, following the example of London Jews, who published sixteen pages of corrections in 1896 as an *Appendix to the Revised Version.* The initiatives of the Jewish Publication Society led to various attempts at a new translation beginning in the discussions of 1892. Finally, in 1917 under the general editorship of Max Margolis, the Jewish Publication Society translation (JPS) was published. The JPS translation claimed to take into account "the existing English versions" and also to reflect ancient versions as well as the observations of traditional rabbinic commentators.

As the ERV played a significant role in pressing the Jewish community for a new Jewish translation, the publication of the RSV in 1952 had a similar effect on a larger and ever more confident group of Jewish Biblical scholars. Under the general editorship of the scholar Harry Orlinsky, three committees were established to deal with the three parts of the Torah. In 1962 a new translation of the Torah was published, followed by the Prophets in 1978 and the Writings in 1982. The translators based their work carefully on the MT, even while consulting other versions and commentaries. In English style their goal was an idiomatic English, rather than a literal translation. In 1985 the Jewish Publication Society published a single-volume translation, *TANAKH, a New Translation of The Holy Scriptures according to the Traditional Hebrew Text* (NJPS).

4. American Catholic Versions. The response of the Catholic community to translations of the Bible was conditioned by traditions relating to the required use of the Vulgate as the basis of translation. The widespread use of the KJV in America represented for Catholics the prohibited use of an unauthorized translation. There were additional needs for authorized translations in French, Spanish, and Portuguese to meet the needs of a growing population of Catholic immigrants. For English-speaking Catholics the standard translation was the Douay version, itself the source of various revisions, including that of Bishop Richard Challoner.

In 1790, in response to the urging of Bishop John Carroll, Matthew Carey, a Catholic publisher of Philadelphia, issued the first Catholic Bible in the United States, based on Challoner's second edition in 1764 of the entire Bible. There was concern, however, among Catholic prelates that there should be an authoritative version of the Douay Bible with annotations. The project was undertaken by Bishop Francis P. Kenrick when he was Bishop of Philadelphia and completed by him when he had become Archbishop of Baltimore. The Kenrick Version appeared in six volumes between 1849 and 1862. Archbishop Kenrick never published an edition of the entire Bible, but a complete NT was issued in 1862. Despite considerable support, Kenrick's revision was not accepted as the official

American Catholic version. American Catholics used various editions of the Douay-Challoner-Rheims version until the 1930's.

A major step was taken in the project initiated by Bishop Edwin Vincent O'Hara to produce a new translation of the NT from the Vulgate. The initial committee of supervision included thirteen priests who determined that the Clementine Vulgate would be the basis of the translation. In 1941, the Confraternity edition (Confraternity of Christian Doctrine) of the NT was published. Its official title was *A Revision of the Challoner-Rheims Version.* The production of what was known as The Confraternity Version continued and by 1969 the OT was completed, including the Apocrypha. On the basis of the 1943 Encyclical, *Divino Afflante Spiritu,* urging translations from original languages, the NT was retranslated from the Greek. Finally in 1970 the New American Bible (NAB) was published and for the first time there was an American Catholic Bible translated from the original languages. The translation, accomplished by a team of more than sixty scholars (including five Protestant scholars), relied heavily on the MT for the OT translation and on the Nestle-Aland 25th edition of the NT with some use of the United Bible Societies' Greek version of the NT. The format of the NAB is in paragraphs with verse numbers embedded in the text. The translation has been commended for its readability and is intended to serve various uses—liturgical, study use, devotional use, reading in the home. Continuing criticism of the NAB led to a commitment by the Catholic Biblical Association a revision of the NAB approximating a new translation. In 1987, a new translation of the NAB NT was published.

C. Conclusion

In an age of prolific Bible publication, with versions appearing to serve every taste and to suit every need, we can observe several developments. The considerable cost involved in producing a major translation will argue for further versions which are revisions of revisions (e.g., as in the case of the American RSV and the British NEB). A primary concern for meaning and readability will influence the trend to produce translations which are more reflective of "dynamic equivalence" than "formal equivalence." The strong voices of the major religious traditions will seek to continue the achievements represented by such American translations as the RSV, the NAB, and the NJPS. At the same time, there will be both an attempt to produce translations which are supportive of the theological views of particular segments of a religious tradition (e.g., the NIV) as well as attempts to find a common Bible translation which can surmount the differences between religious traditions (e.g., the experiments with an edition of the RSV acceptable for use by both Catholics and Protestants). The 19th and 20th centuries have emerged as a major period of Bible translation and publication. Within that major period American versions of the Bible play a role of increasing importance.

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VERSIONS, JEWISH. All translations of the Hebrew Bible are basically Jewish; they cannot be otherwise. For not only is the Hebrew text itself a Jewish work, but the earliest translations of it, the (Greek) Septuagint (LXX) and the (Aramaic) Targums, were also made by Jews for Jews in pre-Christian times; indeed, even the next important translation of the Bible, the (Latin) Vulgate made by Jerome at the end of the fourth century for Christian readers, was made directly from the "Hebrew Truth" *(hebraica ueritas)* and was strongly influenced by LXX and by Jerome's Jewish teachers *(hebraeus meus)*—to the point where it was regarded, and denounced, by some contemporary Christians as manifesting too much Jewish influence.

The great age of Bible translation brought on by the Reformation in the early 16th century was marked significantly by additional Jewish influence. The commentaries and grammars produced by learned Jews during the preceding half-millennium, especially in Moslem countries during the floruit of the great Islamic culture—it was still the "Dark Ages" in Christian countries before the Renaissance emerged—were widely and intensively used by the new, Protestant translators. Best known among these Jewish scholars were Rashi (d. 1105), Abraham ibn Ezra (d. 1167), and David Kimchi (or Radak; d. 1235); and best known among the Protestant translators and versions were Martin Luther, Wiliam Tyndale (and such revisions of Tyndale as the Coverdale, Matthew, Great, Geneva, and Bishops' Bibles), the translators of the King James Version (1611) and hence of the two major revisions of KJV, the British Revised Version (1885) and the American Standard Version (1901)—down to and including the New Revised Standard Version (1989). Indeed, if Luther was mocked by his detractors, not without justification, in the ditty, *Si Lyra non lyrasset/Lutherus non saltasset* ("If Lyra had not played the lyre/Luther would not have danced"), even more justifiable would have been the additional lines, *Si Rashi non composuisset/Lyra non lyrasset* ("If Rashi had not composed the music/Lyra would not have played the lyre"). Nicholas of Lyra, a Jewish convert to Christianity, had literally adopted Rashi's commentary as his own, turning the original into Latin. To cite but one more case in point, it has been observed (Margolis 1917: 61) that "the influence of Kimḥi . . . may be traced in every line of the Anglican (KJV) translation of 1611."

The Jewish people were not given to making translations of the Bible, for unlike the Christian communities they generally had direct access to the original Hebrew text; indeed, the text was an integral part of their daily life. Thus, e.g., the Pentateuch and the Haftarot (portions of the Prophets), the book of Psalms and the Five Scrolls, constituted a part of the daily liturgy and of the prayers for the Sabbath, the sacred festivals, and other special occasions. There was an additional important factor. Already in the last centuries before Rome deprived Judea of its sovereignty, the Jews had developed the legal concept of the Oral Law *(torah še-bĕᶜal-pê)*, according to which God gave Moses on Mount Sinai an Oral along with the Written Law *(torah še-biktāb)*, with the Oral Law prevailing over the Written when the two could not be harmonized with one another. The Oral Law was determined by the rabbis in power at any given time, and the arguments pro and con may be found readily in the pages of the Talmud. Since the Written Law, i.e., the Hebrew text of the Bible, and the Oral Law were accessible to Jewish communities everywhere, translation of the Bible into a vernacular was only relatively rarely necessary, and at best sporadic.

During the long history of Bible translation, covering a period of some 2,200 years, four Jewish translations of the Bible stand out insofar as scholarship and impact are concerned: the LXX and the Targums during the last couple of centuries B.C.E., Saadia's version in the 10th century, and the New Jewish Version (NJPSV) in our own days (1962–82; one-volume edition, 1985). The LXX and the Targums—the former especially because it became the Bible of the Christian world—determined the basic character of virtually every serious Bible translation that came into being prior to the 1950s, above all in the matter of philosophy of translation. The translators of the Septuagint and the Targums were making the sacred Word of God available in the vernaculars to their fellow Jews, and one did not toy with divinely revealed and inspired Holy Writ. Moreover in that period and milieu, Greek and Latin were the dominant vernaculars, and as cognate languages it was natural to translate the text in either one of them into the other virtually literally, word for word and in the same word order. These two independent factors combined to create a philosophy of Bible translation, that of word-for-word reproduction of the Hebrew text, a philosophy that is only in our own days giving way to another.

The Targums, too, even if often enough in oral form, followed the order of the Hebrew—Hebrew and Aramaic are, after all, cognate languages; occasionally, however (but far less frequently than scholars have tended to assert) interpreting a phrase or event. The impact of the Targums on Christian Bible translation (in part by way of Kimḥi's frequent citations of it in his widely-used commentary) was especially strong from the Reformation on, through direct contact with Jewish scholars and scholarship and through Latin translations of Jewish writings.

Probably the outstanding translation of the Bible ever made by an individual is the (Judeo-) Arabic version by Saadia ben Joseph (892–942 C.E.). His sound philological knowledge and his essentially rational approach to the comprehension of the text found expression not in a mechanical, word-for-word "pony" translation but in an overall philosophy of translation according to which the idiom of the original Hebrew was turned into a corresponding idiom of his Arabic vernacular; thus the reader was told exactly what the biblical author meant to convey to his reader. In sum, sound scholarship, clarity, and elegant diction characterized Saadia's version.

An interesting aspect of this philosophy is the way in which Saadia sometimes ignored the traditional Hebrew sentence division so as to reproduce for his reader the intent of the text. Thus in Genesis 1, he combined the verses containing the refrain, "And it/there was evening and morning . . . ," with the verses that followed: 4–5a, 5b–6, 8–9, 13–14, 17–18, and 23–24, not to mention 1:51–2:1. A striking example of mid-verse division may be found at 2:4b.

With the advent of the Reformation and the rise of a new economic-political-social order in the form of commercial-urban capitalism, first within and alongside traditional agrarian feudalism and then increasingly in opposition to it, Jews began to move into the more tolerant centers that were springing up. In time, enough Jewish communities adjusted to their new environments and absorbed enough of their new cultures that, like the Jewries of Alexandria and Western Asia before them and of North America after them, they had lost working knowledge of Hebrew and required versions of the Bible in their new vernaculars. And so they began to produce versions of the Bible, though never large in number, to satisfy their needs.

What were these needs? And why couldn't the Jews use the Bibles that the Christians had produced and were using? The basic and clear fact was that the Bibles that the Christians were using were actually Christian, that is to say, they were Christianized versions of the Hebrew Bible with a long history behind them. When the Septuagint became the Bible of the early Christians, it soon came to be interpreted so as to provide proof texts for Christian theological beliefs where they ran counter to those of their Jewish contemporaries. Thus the Gk *pneuma (tou theou)* and the Heb *ruaḥ (ʾĕlohîm)* in Gen 1:2 were given the meaning "Spirit" (viz., the Holy Spirit) in place of original "wind"; Gk *hē parthenos* and consequently also Heb *hā-ᶜalmâ* in Isa 7:14 were given the meaning "the virgin" in place of original and correct "the young woman"; and corrupt *našširqû-bar* in Ps 2:12—even now beyond scholarly comprehension, with none of the versions of real help—was understood as "kiss the Son" (viz., Jesus). It was not the text that was altered, but the meaning of the text. On occasion the Jews were accused of altering the text, e.g., when it was claimed that LXX's *apo tou xylou* (to be understood as "from the cross") following on "The Lord reigns" in Ps 96:10 represented an original Hebrew text that was subsequently deleted by the Jews; or that original *bĕtûlâ* (to be understood as "virgin") was excised in favor of *ᶜalmâ* (simply "young woman") in Isa 7:14. Accusations of this kind are described by Swete (1968: 464–69) as ". . . often obviously wrong . . . sometimes . . . even grotesque . . ."

And so the Jewish versions that began to appear from the Reformation on derived directly from and were essentially no different from the Protestant versions, except in "theological" passages. A striking example is offered by the Spanish Ferrara Bible (1553), where one and the same text was printed for Christians and Jews, except that in Isa 7:14 *virgen* appeared in the Christian edition and *moça*

("maiden") and even *la ALMA* in the non-Christian editions. In England and in the United States, several de-Christianized versions of the King James Bible and then of the Revised Version were published by Jews for Jews; none of them, whatever their claims, was really a "New Translation" or a substantial "Revision," but in this respect they are no different from the scores of Christian Bibles that have appeared since the King James and Revised Version down to our own day and have made the identical claims.

In 1789 Isaac Delgado, described as "teacher of the Hebrew Language," produced in England an English version of the Torah that was intended to correct the King James Bible "wherever it deviates from the genuine sense of the Hebrew expression, or where it renders obscure the meaning of the text, or, lastly, when it occasions a seeming contradiction." Fifty years later, Selig Newman (1788–1871; born in Poland, resident most of his life in England; died in the U.S.A.) published *Emendations of the English [KJ] Version of the Old Testament.* Abraham Benisch (1814–78) published in 1851–56 the *Jewish School and Family Bible,* which "while in the legal portions of the Pentateuch it faithfully reproduced Jewish opinion, was intended otherwise to be an independent product." And Michael Friedländer (1833–1919) edited still another variation on the theme of the King James, *The Hebrew Bible with English Translation. Sanctioned by the [Jerusalem] Rabbinate;* while described as the KJV "slightly retouched," a more revealing description of Friedländer's product would include mention of the fact that it deleted—rather than confronted—such Christianized contexts as Gen 1:2, Isa 7:14, and Ps 2:12 (respectively *rûaḥ,* ʿ*almâ,* and *našš*ĕ*qû-bar*).

In keeping with the relatively small and culturally meager Christian population of the United States until well into the 19th century, certainly so far as a knowledge of biblical Hebrew was concerned, even more did the minute Jewish minority lag behind the level attained by their Jewish counterparts in Europe. This was to be expected; as put by the American author of *New England's First Fruits* (1943),

> After God had carried us safe to New England, and we had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our livelihood, reared convenient place for God's worship, and settled the civil government: one of the next things we longed for and looked after was to advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity; dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches when our present ministers shall be in the dust.

As for the American Jewish community prior to the 20th century, it was not until the Jewish masses of Eastern Europe, with their remarkable knowledge and thirst for knowledge, began to enter this free country, that biblical scholarship began to assert itself. George Foot Moore put it bluntly, in 1889, when he asserted that the critical study of the Old Testament in America was hardly more than a decade old.

It was largely to Jewish scholarship that the American community owed its knowledge of the grammar of biblical Hebrew. One need mention only the first Hebrew grammar, *Dickdook Leshon Gnebreet,* etc., by Judah Monis (a convert to Christianity) in 1735; *A Key to the Hebrew Tongue* in 1815 by Emanuel N. Carvalho; *A New Edition of a Hebrew Grammar* in 1823 by the converted Jew, Joseph Samuel Christian Frederick Frey; *A Manual Hebrew Grammar for the Use of Beginners* in 1833 by James Seixas; *A Key to the Hebrew Language and the Science of Hebrew Grammar* in 1834 by Joseph Aaron; Solomon Deutsch's *New Practical Hebrew Grammar,* in 1868—preceded a quarter of a century earlier by probably the most influential of them all, the two-volume edition of *A Critical Grammar of the Hebrew Language* in 1842 by Isaac Nordheimer (published a year before he died at the age of 42).

It should come as no surprise, therefore, that standing alone as the best translation of the Hebrew Bible produced in America in the nineteenth century is Isaac Leeser's version of the Pentateuch, *Torat ha-Elohim* ("The Torah of God"; 5 vols., Philadelphia, 5605–1845) and in 1853 *The Twenty-Four Books of the Holy Scriptures . . . Carefully Translated According to the Masoretic Text on the Basis of the English Version,* both publications offering the Hebrew text along with the translation.

Born and raised in Westphalia, Leeser (1806–68) was orphaned by his mother when he was eight years old and by his father in the year of his bar mitzvah; at the age of fourteen he entered the Catholic Academy in Münster where he received his secular education, and the city's Jewish Institute for his Jewish education. Four years later he came to a maternal uncle in Richmond, Virginia, and a half decade after that he moved on to Philadelphia. There he became the *ḥazzan* of the Mikveh Israel synagogue, and he served the congregation with distinction for just over two decades as spiritual leader, preacher, and educator, before retiring in order to devote himself completely to the translation of the Bible.

L. Sussman has observed (1985: 161)—citing in this connection the observation by Tocqueville in his *Democracy in America* (1831 [shortly after Leeser had settled in Philadelphia]) that "there is no country in the world in which the Christian religion retains a greater influence over the souls of men than in America"—that Leeser recognized that "the core of religion in Protestant America was the Bible," and that the King James was that Bible. And so it was the KJV that Leeser adopted as the basis for the version he would compose. This version, Leeser envisaged, and achieved, would be a Judaizing of the Christian KJV and a rendering of the Hebrew text that would not run counter to the rabbinic understanding of it; in addition, his German background and training, which gave him, e.g., direct knowledge of Leopold Zunz's German translation of the Bible (1838–39) and his own access to German scholarship, helped Leeser maintain a measure of independence from the King James Bible.

Leeser's Bible included the Hebrew text facing his translation, with each verse in the English beginning a new line and each section in the Hebrew marked in the English by the sign for a paragraph; also, none of the Hebrew poetry was reproduced in the form of poetry in the translation. Clearly the format of the KJV lay in the background. But upper case "S" in "Spirit" in Gen 1:2 and in "Son" in Ps 2:12, the norm in KJV and Christian Bibles generally, appeared in lower case in Leeser ("Do homage to the son"); "this young woman" represents *hā-*ʿ*almâ* in Isa 7:14 (though the incorrect future tense, as in most versions

before and since, Jewish and Christian alike, is retained for adj. *hārâ* and for part. *yoledet* "shall conceive, and bear . . .").

The *thou*'s and the *ye*'s and the corresponding forms of the verbs are preserved, as they were, e.g., in the Revised Version three decades later and in the Jewish version of 1917; and the pronouns referring to God, in accord with KJV (and RV, ASV, RSV, and the rest) are not capitalized.

Yet Leeser will render the sense of a phrase, rather than reproduce it mechanically, more often than the KJV before him and RV and the Jewish version of 1917 after him, so that, e.g., *ûtĕḥî* in Gen 19:20 becomes "that my life may be saved" (adopted in the New Jewish Version) in place of traditional, and meaningless, "and my soul shall live." In Ps 90:3 Leeser departed from the KJV "(Thou turnest man to) destruction," for unclear *dakkā*ʾ, in favor of "contrition," a rendering adopted by the 1917 Jewish version and as an alternate by the New Jewish Version (as against "dust" in the text, as in RSV).

An interesting aspect of Leeser's philosophy of translation involves the different methods he used to introduce rabbinic exegesis. "For example," Sussman has noted (1985: 172ff.), "he used parentheses to indicate words he added to elliptical verses 'to make the sense clear.' Instead of having Samuel 'lying down in the temple of the Lord,' he had him 'sleep in (the hall of) the temple' (1 Samuel 3:3), a correction that brought the translation into agreement with a rabbinic understanding of priestly protocol but, nevertheless, was a non-literal addendum. In some instances, Leeser . . . sought to harmonize conflicting passages . . . 'so that they reflect the final decision in Jewish law.' . . ." Thus he rendered *lĕ-ʿôlām* in Exod 21:6 by "till the jubilee" instead of "for ever," and thus accords with Lev 25:10. In sum, as put by Margolis (1917: 94), ". . . the changes introduced by [Leeser] are so many and so great that his translation may lay claim to being an independent work . . ."

As the 19th century wore on, the increasing influx of Jews from Eastern Europe brought about two major developments in the American Jewish community. In 1888 the Jewish Publication Society of America (JPS) came into being in Philadelphia, with the avowed purpose of constituting the cultural representative and funnel of the entire Jewish population of the country; in time it achieved that purpose, largely under the leadership of Cyrus Adler, the first American to receive the Doctorate in Semitics at an American university (Johns Hopkins). The other major development involved the making of the Bible translation that replaced Leeser's as the unofficially "official" Bible of English speaking Jews in America and the world over. Indeed, the raison d'être and growth of the Society was tied closely to the making of that Bible.

At its second biennial convention (1892), the Society decided to produce a new English version of the Bible for use in synagogue, home, and school, the version to be based on Leeser's Bible. But for various reasons, virtually nothing was achieved for almost two decades, until a new procedure was introduced in 1908. The outstanding Jewish biblical scholar, Max L. Margolis, would serve as editor in chief of a committee of seven in all—none of the other six were specialists in Bible—and he would prepare a draft of the new version for the committee to work from; the draft, however, would not be based on Leeser—which had been based on the KJV—but directly on the Revised Version that the British had published in the mid-eighties. The project was completed in 1917, with the publication of *The Holy Scriptures according to the Masoretic Text. A New Translation with the Aid of Previous Versions and with Constant Consultation of Jewish Authorities*, soon to be called simply "The JPS Bible."

Like so many other Bibles before and after 1917, the word "New" is a misnomer in connection with the word "Translation"; for the JPS Bible was essentially a very modest revision of the Revised Version, along the lines of Leeser's revision of the King James. Both Leeser and JPS—though the former often less so than the latter—adhered to the same word for word philosophy of translation and to the same kind of old-fashioned vocabulary and style. What made them Jewish was their de-Christianization of the Christianized passages of the Hebrew. No serious attempt was made in any way to produce a fresh translation directly from the Hebrew text; whatever was satisfactory in the KJV or RV was retained. As for the externals, unlike KJV-Leeser, where every sentence, prose or poetry in the Hebrew, constituted a separate paragraph, RV had introduced paragraphing; but JPS went beyond RV, by printing its text as poetry when the Hebrew was poetry, by capitalizing the KJV-Leeser-RV pronouns "thou, thee," etc., when they referred to God, and by putting direct discourse inside quotation marks.

Mention must be made, even if but briefly, of translations in Yiddish. The earlier ones, in the 17th–19th centuries, were made for women in Eastern Europe, where their education lagged far behind that of men; the translations generally covered the *Ḥumaš* (Pentateuch), the *Haftarot*, and the *Megillot*, and they came to be called familiarly *ṣê(ʾ)nâ ûrĕʾênâ* (cf. Cant 3:11). The most serious Yiddish version was that by Yehoash (Solomon Bloomgarden; 1870–1927), who lived to see the first two volumes (the Pentateuch) of a beautifully printed edition in eight volumes (1937). A two-volume *Folks Oísgabe* (People's Edition) came out in 1938, followed by a bi-glot edition (Hebrew and Yiddish) in 1941. In 1949 Mordecai Kosover published a volume of *Heʿáros* (Notes) *tsum Tanakh fun Yeshoash*.

Naftoli Gross (1896–1956) produced fine Yiddish translations of the Megillot (1936) and of the Pentateuch (1948); unlike Yehoash, he tended more toward an idiomatic rendering.

An English version for American Jewry was that by Alexander Harkavy. It had no special merit so far as scholarship was concerned, being essentially a de-Christianization of the King James and Revised Versions. But American Jewry received it well, and a third edition appeared in 1924 in four handsome volumes, containing the Hebrew text and his revised translation. World War I had come and gone, but the economic and social problems that had brought it on were not solved by it. The rampant inflation of the Twenties, the Great Depression that set in after the Wall Street Crash of 1929, the consequent totalitarianism that began to sweep Europe in the Thirties—these created enough anxiety and despair on both sides of the Atlantic for people to wonder whether science and reason sufficed to solve their problems; many turned back

to religion as an additional resource. This meant a return to the Bible.

But to what Bible? The old Bibles, KJV, Douay-Challoner, Leeser, RV, ASV, JPS, and the rest, no longer sufficed; their language was less than current and their accuracy open to doubt—for hadn't archaeology been making available considerable and important data for the better understanding of the Bible ever since King Tut's tomb had been discovered in 1922? And so Protestant and Catholic authorities had begun in the Thirties to plan and to start on the making of new Bibles for their constituents: the Revised Standard Version, which appeared in 1952, and the Confraternity Bible, which was completed by the end of the Sixties.

The Jewish community of the United States and Canada was ready, even eager, for something better than the JPS Bible of 1917; that community was no longer the relatively small and insecure collection of recent arrivals from inhospitable Europe. True, it had just experienced the shattering act of genocide perpetrated by the Nazis and their associates upon European Jewry; at the same time a sovereign Jewish state was already in the making, and North American Jewry itself had grown in numbers and had reached a level of security, prosperity, and sophistication never before attained in the more than two thousand years of diaspora existence. This was not the kind of community that would be content with still another revision along the lines that its Christian counterparts were planning and producing; nothing short of a completely new translation of the Hebrew text was acceptable. More than that, not only would all new data pertinent to the comprehension of the text be utilised, regardless of the beliefs of any of the groups that made up North American Jewry, and not only would the language reflect current literary usage, but the philosophy of translation would, for the first time in the history of official Bible translation, be that of idiom for idiom instead of word for word; the new Jewish version that was being planned would offer the reader in idiomatic, clear English what the original Hebrew author had meant to convey to his audience in the first place.

The New Jewish Version, sponsored by the Jewish Publication Society, made its public debut in 1962 (5723 according to the Jewish calendar) with the publication of *The Torah: The Five Books of Moses*, followed by *The Five Megilloth and Jonah* in 1969 (5729), *The Prophets/Nevi'im* in 1978, and *The Writings/Kethubim* in 1982, the whole in one volume in 1985 (5740), entitled *Tanakh: A New Translation of THE HOLY SCRIPTURES According to the Traditional Hebrew Text.* In 1969 (5730) H. M. Orlinsky edited for the Committee of translators a volume of *Notes on the New Translation of the Torah;* as put in the Preface (p. 3), "This is the first time that a committee responsible for an official translation of the Bible has attempted a public and systematic exposition . . . of its labors and reasoning. This unprecedented act is due in no small measure to the fact that there is now available, for the first time, a large knowledgeable and inquisitive audience for such *Notes* . . . This sociological fact is evident from the new translation itself."

The idiom for idiom philosophy of translation introduced in the New Jewish Version constitutes a revolutionary breakthrough in the long history of Bible translation. It helped usher in the new, Fourth Great Age of Bible Translation, now represented—in contrast to the King James, Revised, American Standard, JPS 1917, Revised Standard Versions (in part), and such allegedly "New" Bibles as the New American Standard Bible, New King James Version, and (in large part) New International Version, all members of the Third Great Age (early 16th century to essentially the 1960's)—by such other current versions as the Jerusalem Bible, New American Bible, New English Bible, Good News Bible/Today's English Version, and the New Revised Standard Version.

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HARRY M. ORLINSKY

VERSIONS, MODERN ERA. It may be argued that Bible translation in the "modern era" began with the invention of printing in Europe in the 15th century C.E. At this time books certainly became more widely available, and in time the effect upon literacy and literature was immense. Yet the art of printing did not at once increase Bible translation activity. When Gutenberg's famous Latin Vulgate Bible appeared about 1456, by one count (North 1938: 2, 37) the Bible had been translated in whole or in part into 33 languages (European, 22; Asian, 7; African, 4). In time Scriptures were published in printed form in all of these languages from versions already in existence. By the mid-15th century several of the 33 languages were no longer living languages, and the Scriptures in these so-

called "dead languages" were eventually printed for scholars, or for liturgical use.

By 1500 the Scriptures had been printed in 11 of the 33 languages, and two languages had been added to the number of those in which Bible translation had been done, namely Serbo-Croatian and Portuguese.

Some authorities would make a case for beginning the modern era of Bible translation with the Protestant Reformation of the 16th century. This movement was indeed a stimulus to such activity. Yet much of the effort went into new translation in languages that already had one or more versions of the Scriptures, or into the revision of existing versions. There was no marked increase in the number of languages into which the Bible was translated. By 1600 there were versions of the Bible in perhaps another 10 languages, all European, for a total of 45.

Two hundred years later, on the eve of the 19th century, the number of languages in which some significant part of the Bible had been printed came to 70 (European, 48; Asian, 13; African, 4; North American, 3; Latin American, 2). These figures do not include a few languages in which Bible translation had been done at some time, but in which the resulting versions had not been printed.

The year 1800 marked a most important turning point. In the first quarter of the 19th century, the number of languages in which versions of Scripture were published almost doubled, to about 125 languages. In the second quarter of the century, the number reached 205. By the end of 1987 the Bible, or some significant part of it (a Testament, or at least one book of the Bible), had been printed in 1,884 languages and dialects. Included in this number are 303 languages in which there are complete Bibles, 670 in which there are Testaments (mostly NT), and 911 having portions. About half of these publications appeared in the half-century prior to 1988. These languages into which the Scriptures had been translated represent the languages spoken by about 97% of the population of the world.

Besides the extraordinary increase in the number of languages into which Bible translations have been done in the modern era, there has been a significant growth in the number of versions produced in many of the major languages of the world. For example, if one takes into account not only complete Bibles, but Testaments and portions, the number of English versions produced in the 20th century alone comes to 159 (Kubo and Specht 1983: 345–75). Similar developments have taken place in other major languages and language families. Even in languages representing fewer users, it is common to find that many versions have been produced.

This article will attempt to describe and explain the monumental development in Bible translation that began about the year 1800. Much more is involved than the numerical increase in the number of languages into which the Bible has been translated. Following a brief historical sketch of movements that affected the production of translations of the Bible, and a review of the spread of Bible translations among the peoples and languages of the world, we will treat several other aspects of the development: the translators and their sponsors; what was translated (texts, versions, scope); how it was done (purposes, kinds of language and rendering, approaches to translating); and the results (versions, editions, text forms). Finally, we will look at the future of Bible translation.

In dealing with this subject, it is important to note that for hundreds of languages in which Bible translation has taken place, there have been—and in some cases still are—more than one name by which a language may be known. For the most part, we will use the names that are currently in use by the United Bible Societies. In some cases, however, with an eye on history, we may use an older name, where it is appropriate and meaningful in the context. In most such cases the present-day name will also be used.

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A. Currents of History and Bible Translation

1. The Catholic Reformation. During the period from about 1500 to 1750 the expansion of the Christian faith from Europe to the New World was largely the work of the Roman Catholic Church. The reformation of the Roman Catholic Church was not simply a response to the Protestant Reformation, but took place in parallel, at times stimulated by the Protestant movement, and again, more or less independent of it (Greenslade *CHB* 3: 384).

The concurrence of reformation in the Roman Catholic Church and the activity of Catholic nations (notably Spain and Portugal, and later France) in the early exploration, colonization, and commercial development of the New World resulted in a widespread expansion of the Roman Catholic Church in this period. Of great use to the Church in this endeavor were the monastic orders, from which recruits for the missionary task were drawn.

Because the Bible was not deemed so central to Catholic missionary activity as the Church and its doctrine, Scrip-

ture was not widely translated into the languages of the peoples who were Christianized by Roman Catholic missionaries. To be sure, some parts of Scripture or creed needed for instruction and worship were often rendered for those purposes by the missionaries. For example, Francis Xavier, the great Jesuit missionary to India and the Far East, while working with the Paravas of southeast India in the 1540's, translated for them the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer, along with the Apostles' Creed (Latourette 1953: 929).

There was, however, during this period of Roman Catholic missionary activity, significant Catholic Bible translation done in many of the languages of Europe prior to the year 1800. This was in part in response to Protestant Bible translation inspired by the Reformation. Pope Benedict XIV, on June 13, 1757, issued a decree permitting the reading and printing of vernacular Bibles, provided they were approved by the Holy See, or published with orthodox notes under the supervision of a bishop. But the Roman Catholic Church was not of one mind on the matter. For example, until near the end of the 18th century the Inquisition's ban on the use of vernacular Scriptures continued in Spain, with the curious exception of versions in verse (Greenslade *CHB* 3: 125, 354, 358).

An important change, which greatly affected Roman Catholic Bible translation, came with the encyclical issued by Pope Pius XII on September 30, 1943 entitled *Divino afflante Spiritu*. The encyclical encouraged the study, exposition, and translation of the Bible from the text in its original languages. This was further undergirded by the work of Vatican II in the 1960's. See VERSIONS, CATHOLIC.

2. The Protestant Movement. The Bible was clearly at the center of the Protestant Reformation. In Europe this provided a stimulus for the translation and revision of the Scriptures, especially in the languages of nations where the Reformation was active. Yet in its early centuries the movement was so engrossed in the problems of survival and controversy—both with the Roman Catholic Church and within itself—that it did not reach out in mission to other parts of the world, except in a tentative and isolated fashion. Some Protestants even had a theological bias against such activity (Greenslade *CHB* 3: 387). But as nations where Protestantism was strong became more active in colonizing and in overseas commerce, people of those nations began to take interest in missionary endeavor. It was A. C. Ruyl, a representative of the Dutch East Indies Company, who in 1629 issued the first Malay Gospel, "the earliest example in the history of the translation and printing of a book of the Bible in a non-European language as a means of evangelization" (North 1938: 220).

It was not, however, until the 18th century, with the Evangelical Revival in Great Britain, the Great Awakening in America, and similar movements on the continent of Europe, that the stage was set for the phenomenal growth of the Protestant missionary movement, which caused Latourette (1941–44) to call the 19th century "the Great Century." This movement resulted in a marked increase in Bible translation.

As a result of the Protestant missionary movement, the Bible or significant parts of it were nearly always translated into the language of a people as soon as missionary work was begun among them. In fact, more than once the Scriptures were translated in the language of a people and sent in among them even before the missionaries themselves could gain access (e.g., Korea, China, Tibet).

The Protestant churches did not have monastic orders from which to recruit missionaries. Instead, serving to recruit, train, and support missionaries on the field, there grew up a large number of missionary societies and agencies in Europe and America. This movement had tentative beginnings in Great Britain and Europe about 1700, but it burgeoned beginning in the last decade of the 18th century (*CHB* 3: 387), and had much to do with the great increase in Bible translation activity in the modern era.

Further, of greatest significance for the cause of Bible translation was the rise of the Bible societies (*CHB* 3: 388–93), again at first in Europe and America, but spreading eventually to over a hundred nations around the world. The primary function of these societies was the translation, publication, and distribution of Scriptures around the world. To avoid the sectarian rivalry associated with many earlier annotated versions of the Bible, and to encourage interdenominational support and cooperation, the Bible societies, beginning with the first one formed, the British and Foreign Bible Society (1804), undertook to publish the Bible "without note or comment." Later on the United Bible Societies adopted the modified guideline, "without doctrinal note or comment," as a concession to the usefulness of objective notes on text and rendering and on cultural or historical background. The Bible society movement had the most profound effect on the proliferation of Bible translations around the world. In time, many other organizations were formed with similar, though often with more special or limited purposes, that served to provide Bible translations as part of the Christian missionary movement (see C.2 below).

3. Orthodox Churches. The long history of the Orthodox churches of E Europe and the Middle East was marked by conservatism in the translation and use of the Scriptures. In the centuries before the modern era, one ancient version stands out, that done in the 9th century C.E. by Slavic missionaries from Macedonia (Salonika) to Greater Moravia, namely Cyril and Methodius. They translated the Bible—or major parts of it—from Greek (LXX and the traditional NT text) into what is called Old Church Slavonic, a version long used liturgically by Orthodox churches even after Slavonic was no longer a living language. The alphabet for this venture in translation was devised by Cyril (or his brother Methodius, or a disciple) and later became the alphabet used for the Russian language.

Old Church Slavonic continued to be used liturgically in some countries (Russia, Bulgaria, Serbia), even in the modern era, much as Latin was used by the Roman Catholic Church long after Catholics could no longer understand it. The Slavonic version underwent numerous revisions reflecting regional development of the Slavic languages. In turn, it became the basis of early translations into Czech (1475) and Bulgarian (1840), and influenced still other versions in Slavic tongues (Nida 1972: 397).

In the 19th and 20th centuries, as further Bible translation and revision took place in the languages where Orthodoxy was strong, the text basis slowly became Hebrew and

Greek. A Russian version of the Psalms translated from Hebrew was published in 1822; the books Genesis to Ruth followed in 1825. Another example was Bulgarian, with a NT based on Greek published in 1859, and an OT from the Hebrew printed in three parts between 1862 and 1864 (Metzger *IDB* 4: 779). The gospels were translated into Modern Greek by A. Pallis from Codex Vaticanus and published in 1902.

4. Jewish Bible Translation. As Jewish people settled in the nations of Europe in significant numbers during the Middle Ages, there was need for their Scriptures, the Tanakh (which Christians call the OT), to be translated into the languages of those nations, and into Jewish national languages such as Yiddish and Ladino.

In part because of proscription against Jewish outreach into the gentile community, most Scripture translation by Jewish scholars was done for Jewish readers. Yet it is significant that during the 16th century and following, as Christians translated the OT into their vernaculars, they sometimes depended on the work of Jewish scholars for translation from the Hebrew Bible.

It is also important to note on the other hand that as versions of the Bible were produced for Jewish readers, there was sometimes dependence upon Christian versions for wording in the languages of Europe. A notable example of this was the influence of the English KJV on the Jewish Publication Society version of the Scriptures in English published in 1917. Long before that, Jews of England had published the KJV text itself, but without the tendentious headings and notes of earlier editions of the KJV.

By 1800 there had been significant Scripture translation by and for Jews into several European languages. During the 19th and 20th centuries, some of the previous Jewish versions were revised, and there were new translations made, sometimes guided and informed by previous efforts. If one counts the translations of parts of the Jewish Scriptures, along with those projects that embraced the whole, the number of Jewish Bible translations in this period is considerable.

Languages in which at least one whole Bible—i.e., the entire Tanakh—was published sometime between 1800 and 1971 are: Judeo-Tatar (for the Karaites of the Crimea, in Russia), Yiddish, English, German, Italian, French, Hungarian, and Polish. Parts of the Jewish Scriptures were translated during this period into Russian and Danish (see *EncJud* 4: 864–89 and VERSIONS, JEWISH).

5. Interconfessional Bible Translation. Although there had been some more or less isolated cases of interconfessional cooperation and consultation in Bible translation before, during, and after the Reformation period, the movement for this became a matter of stated policy in the period following World War II. Contributing greatly to such cooperation were the papal encyclical of 1943, *Divino afflante Spiritu*, and the new openness toward ecumenical cooperation encouraged by Vatican II. In 1968 a statement was issued jointly by the United Bible Societies and the Vatican's Secretariat for Christian Unity, entitled "Guiding Principles for Interconfessional Cooperation in Translating the Bible." By 1985 no less than 172 translation projects had been based on the guidelines of this publication (see G below).

There have been in the modern era a great variety of forms of interconfessional cooperation in Bible translation. To illustrate, the New American Bible of 1970, a Roman Catholic translation done for the most part by members of the Catholic Biblical Association of America, included among its translators five prominent Protestant biblical scholars. In Thailand, a thorough revision of the Thai Bible was published (NT, 1967; OT, 1971) under the auspices of the Thailand Bible Society (TBS), with the aid of the American Bible Society (ABS). Although most of the work was done by Protestant scholars, both Thai and American, Roman Catholic scholars worked with them on a new system of transliterating Bible proper names, so that this might be used in the revised text, to make it possible for the Roman Catholics of Thailand to use the TBS/ABS text of the OT. There was a Catholic version of the NT in Thai.

In many other instances there has been a larger or smaller degree of cooperation, especially between Protestants and Catholics in Bible translation. Further, several recent Protestant Bibles have included the Deuterocanonical (Apocryphal) books in at least some editions, and have received the Roman Catholic imprimatur. On the other hand, many recent Catholic versions have come to be widely used by Protestant readers and scholars. It may also be noted that as biblical scholarship has become more and more ecumenical and interconfessional in nature and appeal, Bible translators in recent decades have, even in working on versions intended for readers of a particular confession, used the help to be gleaned from all reliable sources, whatever the background of the scholars consulted might be.

B. The Expansion of Bible Translation, 1800–1988

As was noted in the introduction, up until the beginning of this period, by far the greatest number of versions of the Bible, or of parts of it, had been published in languages of Europe (48 languages). Asia was a poor second (13, several of which were no longer living languages), and then, with very few, came Africa (4), North America (3), and Latin America (2). What follows is a brief sketch of the phenomenal growth of Bible translation in the period under review, looked at area by area, for the most part continent by continent, following the arrangement used by the UBS publication, *Scriptures of the World*, which is issued biennially.

It should be noted that in this study in some cases a particular language may be included in an area or continent on the basis of geography, while linguistically it belongs to another. For example, Malagasy, the language of Madagascar, is counted here among the languages of Africa, but linguistically it is related to the Malayo-Polynesian family of Asia and Oceania.

1. Europe. By the year 1800 there had long existed versions of the Bible in all the major languages of Europe, except Russian. There were also versions in some of the languages spoken by smaller numbers of people than the major languages. In addition, significant parts of Scripture had been rendered in still other European languages.

Thus, in the period under review, most European Bible translation activity was devoted to the revision of earlier versions, and to the extension of parts translated in the

cases of versions not yet including the whole Bible. In the case of some languages, however, even where older versions existed, fresh translations were made. The reasons for this were various. As the language in which older versions were translated became outdated, completely fresh translations were undertaken, in part because of the feeling people had against revising older, cherished versions. Again, better texts of the Bible in the original languages, and new understanding of the ancient meaning of some passages, often seemed to demand a fresh approach. Sometimes new kinds of readers were identified in major languages, and translations were made especially for them. In 1800 there were still some languages of Europe in which there was no part of Scripture, but they were nearly all languages spoken by relatively few people.

The first European language in which a complete Bible was published in the period 1800 to 1988 was Gaelic (1801), a language spoken by some of the people of Scotland, and closely akin to Irish—which is also sometimes called Gaelic. The first portion, for the purpose of this article at least a whole book of the Bible, was Romans in Russian, published (1815) in a diglot with Slavonic, long the liturgical language of the Eastern Orthodox Church. The NT was published in 1821, the OT in 1867. The first complete Russian Bible in a single volume did not become available until 1877 (known as the version of 1876).

By the beginning of 1988, the number of languages in which there were complete Bibles in European languages was 58, Testaments 23, and portions 105, for a total of 186.

2. Asia. William Carey and his associates, principally Joshua Marshman and William Ward, made the first substantial beginning with the translation and publication of the Scriptures in Asian languages in the modern era. Carey, an English Baptist, sailed to India in 1793, established the Serampore Mission near Calcutta, and with his colleagues began one of the most extraordinary efforts at Bible translation in history. By the time of Carey's death in 1835, the Serampore group had translated some or all of the Bible into 34 languages of India, and had given help to translation projects in Chinese and Burmese. They had significant help from native speakers of the languages they worked with. From their work came six complete Bibles, three others that were nearly so, 20 New Testaments, and at least a gospel in five more languages.

In the 19th century the first Asian language in which any portion of the Scriptures was published was Bengali. In this language Carey's translation of Matthew was printed in 1800, his first NT in 1801, and the first complete Bengali Bible in 1809. All this was printed first by the Mission Press at Serampore.

By the end of the 19th century the number of languages in which whole Bibles had been translated and published in Asian languages had grown to 33, and from then until 1988 there were another 59, for a total of 92. In addition to this there was a very large number of languages in which New Testaments (153) or portions (226) had been published. By the beginning of 1988 the total came to 470.

3. Africa. In the 19th century, missionary activity under the societies burgeoned in Africa as it did in Asia. The first Scripture portion printed in a modern African language after 1800 was the gospel of Matthew, published in the Bullom language of southern Sierra Leone in 1816 (Nida 1972: 54). The first NT in a language of Africa was in Amharic, now the official language of Ethiopia (1829). The first complete Bible was in Malagasy (1835), a language spoken in the Malagasy Republic (before 1960, known as Madagascar). By the end of the century there were 14 complete African Bibles in that many languages, and by the end of 1987, 100 more, for a total of 114. In addition to this there was a very large number of portions (226) and Testaments (197), so that by the end of 1987 the total number of languages in which there was some Scripture came to 537.

4. Oceania. As North (1938: 2) says, by 1800 there was one language of Oceania in which there had been Bible translation; it was Malay, a language geographically associated with Asia, though of the Malayo-Polynesian language family, which is also found in Oceania. The first Bible translation in the area was Tahitian: Luke (1818), the NT (1929), and the Bible (1838). Tahiti was the first island in the South Pacific where a Christian mission was founded, and it became the center of mission work in the area.

By the end of the 19th century, Bible translation had produced 10 complete Bibles in Oceania, and by December 31, 1987, 15 more, for a total of 25. The total number of languages in Oceania in which there are Bibles, Testaments, or portions comes to 288.

5. North America. Before 1800 little Bible translation work had taken place on the North American continent. Settlers from Europe brought with them to the New World their versions in the languages of Europe. Following 1800, the first portion to be printed in North America was in Labrador Eskimo (1810), the first NT in the same language (1826), and the first complete Bible in Hawaiian (1838). If this last should rather be included in Oceania, then the first Bible in North America in a non-European language was in Plains (or Western) Cree, in 1861.

During the period under review, most of the Bible translation activity in North America in new languages was in various Indian tribal languages of Canada and the U.S.A. By 1988, the total number of languages in which complete Bibles had been printed was 7; New Testaments, 17; and portions 45, for a total of 69. Of course, the languages in which there were now Bibles and Testaments had, in many cases, had portions in print prior to the completion of the larger units.

6. Latin America. Bible translation was slow to begin in Latin America. This was due in part to the dominance of Roman Catholicism in the region, at a time when the Catholic Church did not encourage the use of the vernaculars of the native populations in worship and the study of Scripture. Spanish was the common language of government and commerce, except in Brazil, and Latin was the language of liturgy.

Before 1800 very little had been done. By the end of the 19th century, however, there were portions in 12 scattered Indian languages of the area, and just one NT, in Sranan, or "Negro English," the creole used in the coastal area of Surinam.

In the 20th century, Bible translation in the region increased greatly, so that by 1988 there were complete

Bibles in six languages of Latin America, Testaments in 165, and portions in 160, for a total of 331 languages.

C. Translators and Their Sponsors

The modern era of Bible translation has been marked by the extraordinary variety and numbers, both of the translators and of the sponsors who supported their work.

1. Translators Themselves. Bible translators and their assistants in the modern era, numbering in the thousands, included missionaries, nationals, trained linguists, scholars and teachers in Biblical studies, men of letters, and yet others.

By far the largest group were Christian missionaries from Europe and America, though some came from other continents as well. Through most of the modern era, Bible translation was dominated by Protestant missionaries, who upon first entering a country—and sometimes even before that—made the translation of some part of Scripture into the language (or languages) of that country a priority.

Pioneer translators, to name a few by way of example, were: William Carey (India), Robert Morrison and S. I. J. Schereschewsky (China), Adoniram Judson (Burma), Karl F. A. Gutzlaff (Japan), Henry Martyn (Persia), Henry Nott (Tahiti), John Williams (Rarotonga), John G. Paton (New Hebrides), Hiram Bingham, Sr. (Hawaii), Hiram Bingham, Jr. (Gilbert Islands), and, working in Africa, Robert Moffat (Chuana), Edward Steere (Swahili), and George Pilkington (Ganda).

In most cases, these translators depended heavily on native speakers for assistance. These nationals were often, though not always, converts. As the period of the pioneer translators drew to a close, and churches and biblical training were established in mission lands, there was a shift from missionary translators to more and more reliance upon native speakers of the languages into which translation and revision was done. But even in the earlier period, there were sometimes native speakers who did the actual translation. For example, as early as 1804 the Gospel of John was published in Mohawk, having been translated by John Norton, a Cherokee Indian who had lived among the Mohawks. This was the first publication of the newly organized British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS). In 1829 Matthew was published in Cherokee, having been translated by both S. A. Worcester of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and Elias Boudinot, a Cherokee Indian, using the syllabary that had been devised by George Guess (also known as Sequoya), another Cherokee. Ye Suchon, a Korean converted in Japan, translated the Gospels and Acts into his own language; they were published in Yokohama in 1884 by the ABS and the BFBS.

During the modern era the preparation of translators for the task varied greatly. Some did the work by necessity, with little or no formal training. Others were well trained. It was the policy of some Bible societies to use missionaries on the field for Bible translation. Other societies, e.g., the Netherlands Bible Society, trained and sent out their own personnel to do Bible translating.

Also active in Bible translation, especially in Europe and the U.S.A. during this period, were scholars, usually connected with universities or theological seminaries, with special training in biblical studies, theology, and sometimes philology and linguistics. There was some involvement in Bible translation by literary specialists, sometimes as stylists rather than primary translators. One example is J. R. R. Tolkien of England, who had such a role in the preparation of the Jerusalem Bible (1966).

Some translators do not seem to fit into any of the categories so far delineated. B. J. Bettelheim was a Hungarian Christian physician of Jewish birth, who while serving the British "Naval Mission" to the Luchu Islands, learned the Japanese dialect used there and translated the NT into that form of Japanese. It was published in Hong Kong, but the dialect was unusable in Japan proper. Later Bettelheim revised his work in Chicago with the help of Japanese residents there. Luke and John were published by the BFBS in 1873, and Acts in 1874 (North 1938: 181, 183).

Along with those engaged in direct translation, there was a large number of others in this period who assisted in translation work in a variety of ways: as language teachers, consultants, stylists, copyists, members of committees that reviewed and helped to revise drafts, administrators of translation and revision projects, and editors and publishers.

Most of the Bible translators in this period were men, but some women were involved as well. For example, Mrs. Hiram Bingham, Jr., is said to have inserted 120,000 commas into her husband's translation of the Gilbert Island Bible. Ann H. Judson, who, while her husband Adoniram worked on the Burmese Bible, learned Siamese (Thai) from prisoners of war in Burma and translated Matthew into that language ten years before any Protestant missionary set foot on the soil of Siam. There have been husband and wife teams that have done translation work. For example, Mr. and Mrs. Paul Lewis together translated the NT into Akkha (a tribal language of Burma); it was published in 1968 by the Bible Society of Burma.

2. Sponsors of Translators. The Bible translators of the modern era could not have done the monumental work they did without having behind them a large number of organizations that provided support, expert help with the organization and work of translation, and in some cases training for the task, and facilitation of publication and distribution. Notable among these organizations were the Bible societies and other groups devoted to Bible translation. Also of importance were the missionary societies of various churches, some of them interdenominational in scope; the denominations themselves with their mission agencies; at times and in some places, governments, publishing houses, and in much rarer cases, individuals.

The Bible society movement began about the turn of the 19th century and very quickly took on a most important role in Bible translation. Although the British and Foreign Bible Society and the American Bible Society were the largest societies, there came to be over 100 national societies and offices around the world, all committed to the translation, publication, and distribution of the Scriptures. Along with the BFBS and the ABS, the Netherlands Bible Society (NBS) has been among the most active. The results of the work of the Bible societies have been almost incalculable. In some countries, more than one society worked, and projects have often been done on a cooperative basis. In 1946, most of the Bible societies of the world formed

an organization, the United Bible Societies, in order to coordinate work around the world, and to share resources and personnel for the common task.

Other groups devoted to Bible translation, usually with more limited purposes than the Bible societies, have played a significant part. Among them are the following:

The Wycliffe Bible Translators, along with its related organization, the Summer Institute of Linguistics, is dedicated to the translation of Scriptures into languages that have had no such translation before, and often where there is no written form of the language. Begun in 1934 (SIL) and 1942 (WBT), by 1983 these organizations had translated and published 200 New Testaments. The hallmark of the group is the special training given to translators, who are required in many cases to reduce the languages they work with to writing. Evangelization is an essential aim of the WBT/SIL.

The International Bible Society, based in New York, sponsors the publication of translations around the world that are based on the principles of the (English) New International Version, whose translators were committed to a plenary view of the inspiration of Scripture.

Living Bible International undertakes translations in various parts of the world that are based on, or translated from, the paraphrased Living Bible of Kenneth Taylor, published by Tyndale House.

The Institute for Bible Translation, based in Stockholm, is concerned with translations in the non-Slavic languages of the former Soviet Union.

Scores of missionary societies and other mission agencies provided personnel for Bible translation work and cooperated with the Bible societies in helping to provide Scriptures for the people among whom they worked. This has sometimes included the work of publication and distribution, as well as translation. These societies were typically agencies of church denominations, but there have been examples of interdenominational cooperation, as, e.g., the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, organized in 1810 and supported by the Congregational, Presbyterian, and other churches. Further, denominations have often worked together to produce particular versions, such as the ASV (the International Council of Religious Education), the RSV (the National Council of Churches in the U.S.A.), and the NEB, sponsored by most of the Protestant denominations of Great Britain and Ireland, as well as Bible Societies (BFBS and NBS; for a discussion of state-sponsored Bible translation and revision projects, see VERSIONS, ENGLISH (AUTHORIZED).

The most notable individual to sponsor Bible translation in this era was Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte, a nephew of Napoleon, who had a keen interest in philology, and especially in the dialects of European languages. During the mid-19th century, for reasons of philology, he arranged for the translation and publication, in limited editions, and at his own expense, of portions (Matthew or the Song of Solomon) in about 70 dialects of English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, and languages of Russia (Nida 1972: 7).

D. Source Texts

There is no single, uncomplicated answer to the question of just what was translated during the modern era into so many languages. At times the translation was done from some form or other of the text in the original languages of Scripture, sometimes from one or more versions—or from a variety of combinations of both.

1. Texts in Original Languages. When a text in the original languages was used for translation, one must still ask, what particular text form?

When the OT has been translated from Hebrew (and Aramaic), the text used in the modern period has nearly always been the Masoretic Text (MT), but with a significant development that resulted, in many cases, in modifications of the MT as the text base used for translation. There became available critical printed editions of the text, with alternative manuscript and versional readings in the margin. These alternative readings were sometimes adopted for translation. Notable among the critical editions of the MT, and widely used, was Rudolph Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*, beginning with the first edition in 1906. At first, there was also in Kittel much reliance in the critical apparatus on conjectural emendations. In the 7th edition (1951) there was added to the textual apparatus variants from the almost complete Dead Sea scroll Isaiah ms and from the Habakkuk scroll. Many of these variants have been used by Bible translators since they appeared. The most recent form of Kittel is *Biblia Hebraic Stuttgartensia*, edited by K. Elliger (1977).

Critical study of the text provided guidelines that enabled Bible translators to make informed judgments on variant readings in cases of textual difficulty. Thus most translations from the original language of the OT in the latter part of the modern era have used an eclectic text, basically the MT, but modified to include readings from Hebrew mss, from the Qere as well as the Kethib, and from the ancient versions. Occasionally conjectural emendations were adopted by translators.

As for the NT, the Textus Receptus (TR) continued to be used for Bible translation. But as new and improved texts became available, they were increasingly used as the text base for translation. Critical editions of the Greek NT based on better mss than the TR slowly found acceptance. See TEXTUAL CRITICISM (NT). The first NT text based on such mss, critically evaluated, came after 1800.

A recent Greek NT of great importance for Bible translation was prepared by an international team of scholars under the auspices of the United Bible Societies, *The New Testament in Greek (1966, 1968, 1975, 1983)*. The textual apparatus includes evaluation of selected alternative ms readings of special importance to translators.

2. Versions as Source Texts. A considerable amount of Bible translating done during this period, especially in the first part, was not based on the Hebrew and Greek texts. Instead, it was done from various versions of the Scriptures already in existence, both ancient and modern. Or, if the text in the original languages was used for translation, one or more versions was often used as a guide to text and interpretation in the translation process. Sometimes it was the other way around: the translation was made from a version, and then checked against the Hebrew or Greek to make sure that it accorded with the original languages.

Illustrating the role of versions of the Bible in modern translation work is the fact that, until recent decades, the

translation base for most Roman Catholic Bibles was the Latin Vulgate, even when the Hebrew and Greek texts were consulted in the process of rendering the Latin text.

In Europe, the German version of the Bible that went back to Martin Luther had great influence upon other European versions, especially those in the Scandinavian languages and Dutch. It was sometimes translated directly, and often used as a guide. As the latter, its influence has continued well into the modern era.

Again, in the English-speaking world, as missionaries went out across the world, more often than not the first Bible translation efforts were based on the KJV, and later in some cases on the ERV and the ASV or the RSV. Even some of the versions more recent than these have had a role in Bible translation in cases where the translators do not use Hebrew or Greek.

3. Scope of Texts Translated. The scope of biblical texts translated in the modern period has varied greatly, from short passages to complete Bibles. For the purpose of counting languages in which Bible translation has taken place, the Bible societies have generally included only those languages in which at least one book has been translated. This has usually, but not always, been one of the four gospels.

In the list of 670 languages in which Testaments (apart from complete Bibles) have been published by 1988, nearly all are New Testaments. Further, there has not been agreement as to what constitutes a "complete Bible." The canon varies among different religious traditions. The scope of the text of the Bible is not the same for the following groups: Jews (the Tanakh), Protestants (the 39 books of the OT and the 27 of the NT), Roman Catholics (the 66 books of the OT and the NT, plus the Deuterocanonicals), and the Eastern Orthodox (who include apocryphal books not in the Roman Catholic canon).

E. Bible Translation Process

Before considering the organization of Bible translators for their work, and the means of getting translations on paper, we will discuss various factors affecting the translation process: languages with written forms vs. those with no writing, translation aims, intended readership, language and dialect groups, kinds of language, types of rendering, and new translation vs. revision. At times decisions regarding such matters were made deliberately, in other cases they were not consciously made, but were always important in determining process and results.

1. Written and Unwritten Languages. As Bible translators began to reach out into areas where the Bible had not been translated before, they encountered a wide diversity of languages and writing systems. In the case of many languages, there was not only a well-established written form ready for use, but a well-developed literature. In some cases this literature either included religious expression, or was predominantly religious in character. This meant that translators had to take the literature into account, sometimes using its vocabulary and forms of expression to advantage, but in others avoiding some terminology in order not to compromise the biblical message. An example was Arabic, with its great religious classic, the Quran. Some languages are written in more than one script; the selection of writing system may be related to social or religious factors. Translators of Scripture in such languages must select the writing system to be employed. In some instances translations of Scripture have been published in more than one script.

Scores of languages did not employ any writing system. In such cases, translators of Scripture have often developed a script in which to write the language.

2. Effects of Translation Aims. The aims of the translators (and their sponsors) often had a marked effect on the way a translation was done, and upon the results. Let us look first at the effect of the intended function or functions of a version, and then at that of the intended readership.

a. Intended Function. Typically, when a new translation, or a revision, was undertaken, the translators and their sponsors had in mind certain kinds of usefulness that they hoped the version would serve: evangelism, Christian nurture, public worship and liturgy, personal study, private devotion, and so on. The aim at times focused on one or more of these purposes, but sometimes embraced all of them. The intended function governed several aspects of the translation process. For example, if the primary purpose was evangelism, this helped to govern what was translated and published first in a new language: it was usually a gospel, though in some instances (as in Thailand) Genesis might be regarded as crucial for laying the groundwork for evangelization. If the purpose was mainly Christian nurture, then vocabulary that had become traditional in the life of the church for which the translation was made needed to be considered. The first translation in Asia that was made primarily for an established church, rather than for evangelistic purposes, was in Malayalam, which was spoken by members of the Malayalam-speaking Syrian Church in Travancore (completed in 1841). Versions used for the liturgy took into account the way passages deemed important for public worship sounded when read aloud.

b. Intended Readership. Many matters important for the translation process, such as choice of vocabulary, interpretation, the use (or non-use) of explanatory notes, and so on, were effected by the intended readership of a version.

There is first of all the intention with regard to the religious constituencies translators have had in mind, such as Roman Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, Eastern Orthodox, or, more broadly, interfaith readership in some combination or other. Obviously, if a version was intended for one or another of these communities, decisions regarding the above matters were affected.

Further, within a religious communion, there have often been special groups for which particular versions were intended. In English, for example, as an answer to the RSV, which some conservatives regard as being too "liberal," the NIV was prepared to appeal to conservative Protestants. On the other hand, interfaith versions have attempted to appeal to readers of various persuasions by an approach to language and interpretation that is more inclusive.

The ways in which translations were made was influenced in many cases by the social or cultural groups that translators had in mind as they worked. For example, some versions have been done for children (e.g., the American Bible Society *A Book about Jesus*), others for new readers in

various languages, still others primarily for scholars (e.g., the Anchor Bible), one for people in the southern part of the U.S.A. (the Cottonpatch Version). Such intended readership has affected not only the vocabulary used, but also interpretation of the text, the format, the use of illustrations or pictures, and so on.

c. Language Groups. In addition to the translation of the Bible into major, primary languages, there has been much attention in our period to translation into various dialects of those, or of lesser languages. Also, in cases where it was feasible, there has often been the attempt, at least, to prepare translations in "union" languages, that might be useable among peoples who speak closely related dialects. In three cases, there have been translations into constructed languages, such as Esperanto.

3. Kinds or Levels of Language. Bible translation has often involved the choice of the kind or level of language to be used for a particular version. Should it be literary, reflecting established literary norms? Or colloquial, to meet the needs of people who do not know or have a literature? Should "common" language be used, so that the version will be intelligible to all users of the language? For a few versions the question has been asked, to what extent can translators or revisers of a version of the Bible use gender-inclusive language. Such language has been used in a few versions to the extent that sound exegesis will permit (e.g., NJB, and the rev. NT of the NAB).

4. Types of Rendering. There is a wide range of types of rendering that have been used in the modern era. The summary here is based on de Waard and Nida (1986: 40–42). Basically there have been five main types, with some versions marked by more than one type. The five kinds of translation are: (1) interlinear, word-for-word translations, usually of special interest to linguists or philologists; (2) literal renderings, that conform as much as possible to the form of the source language, while at the same time being grammatically possible, though often stylistically awkward, and sometimes misleading; (3) renderings that provide the "closest natural equivalence," whether on a literary level, or the level of "common" language; (4) adapted renderings, with some special accompanying code in mind, such as verse form; or adaptation governed by a theological stance (e.g., the Living Bible, with its harmonization, deletions, additions, explanations, and "corrections"); (5) Culturally reinterpreted renderings (such as Clarence Jordan's Cottonpatch Version of most of the NT).

5. Revision Versus New Translation. The approach to Bible translation has been deeply affected by whether a particular translation project is conceived as a revision of a previous version or a fresh translation. If it is a revision, then it needs to be determined what kinds of changes are to be made, and on what basis: correction of translation errors, changes in the language, better text, or new light on meaning. There has been much need for revision, sometimes often repeated, in the modern era, because the first translation in so many languages was done by non-speakers of the language.

6. Organization of Translators. There has been almost endless variety in the way Bible translators and their assistants have organized for their task. Many, especially in the earlier part of the period, worked alone, or virtually so. Even these usually had some kind of help from consultants or native speakers of the languages they worked with.

In other cases where the work was done by a team, the ways of setting it up varied. Typically, there were one or more primary translators, who provided the initial draft of the translation, sometimes of an entire portion, Testament, or Bible. Again, there were often many translators who worked separately on various parts of a version to produce working drafts. Then there were one or more committees to review and correct the work of the primary translator(s). In addition, there were often consultants, who usually did not meet as a group, who read the translation drafts and provided written criticisms to be taken into account by the translators and the review committee. If the translation project was connected with a society or organization devoted to such work, there were often specialists related to these organizations who from time to time gave help with special problems, or took part in the training of translators. Often persons with a special sense of the language were brought in for stylistic review. Lastly, in the case of projects sponsored by Bible societies or church bodies, there was at times review by representatives of these groups for final approval before publication. There were, of course, many variations in the actual application of the above pattern. In connection with any particular translation project there was usually a statement of principles and procedures for the guidance of those involved.

7. Writing Technologies. A period of less than two hundred years saw a marked change in the ways of actually getting the text of a translation down on paper. In the early decades the mss of new translations were handwritten. In some cases, where the work was a revision rather than a new translation, the changes were simply introduced by hand into printed copies of the version being revised.

The second stage was the development of typewriters. The first practical typewriter was built by Christopher L. Sholes, an American inventor, in 1867. In 1874, the first typewriters were put on the market. The typewriter was soon adapted for use with scripts of other languages than those that used the Roman alphabet, and these became available for the use of Bible translators. For example, the first Siamese (Thai) typewriter was made by Edwin MacFarland, the son of a Presbyterian missionary to Siam in the latter part of the 19th century. More recently, sophisticated electronic typewriters have become available and been put to use.

In recent years, there has become available a still more versatile writing tool, that greatly facilitates the correction and reproduction of translated text. This is the computer, with its word processing capabilities and the capacity to generate a wide range of fonts and type styles. Word processors are now being widely used in Bible translation in numerous languages around the world.

F. Results

We have already focused attention in this survey on the remarkable increase between 1800 and 1988 in the number of languages in which the Bible or some significant part of it was translated (see B above). This is only part of the story, however. In many major languages of the world,

there have been in this period numerous versions in a particular language produced for a variety of purposes. The reasons for this are mainly three: changes in the language that required either revision of previous versions, or new translation; new knowledge of the biblical text and its interpretation, that needed to be used; and the development of new aims and insights in the area of rendering. In numerically important languages where there is a developed Christian community, it has come to be recognized that at least three types of versions may be useful: "one of a traditional and conservative orientation for the majority of Bible readers, one based on critical texts and provided with helps for more sophisticated readers, e.g., students and ministers, and a 'simple-language' translation for the newly literate and for those who are reading an acquired language" (Bratcher 1971: 1245).

Along with the multiplication of versions, however, there have been in numerous instances of particular versions the production of more than one—often many—editions and forms to meet the needs of various kinds of readers. For instance, many recent versions have been published in basically two forms: one with few or no aids to study and use, and another with a range of accompanying aids, such as: introductions to the Bible, Testaments, extended portions, or individual books; section headings, cross references, concordances, indexes, glossaries, chronologies, lists of weights and measures, maps, illustrations.

There has been an effusion of kinds of Bibles produced for various sorts of readers: family Bibles (one with material doubtful for children printed at the bottom of the page), Scriptures for women, youth, children, new readers, the blind (in Braille or sound recordings), the sight-impaired (large print Bibles), red-letter editions (with Jesus' words printed in red), diglots and polyglots, editions with special forms of the language (e.g., in American English and in British English), editions for scholars, editions for various religious communities or combinations of them.

G. Future of Bible Translation

The momentum of Bible translation in the last two centuries is still with us. Currently, under various auspices, there are under way over 570 Bible translation and revision projects in which the UBS is in some way involved *(World Translations Progress Report 1987)*. These are of four kinds: translations into languages that have up to now had no Scripture, continuing translation to extend the scope of versions partly completed, the revision of previously published versions, and fresh translation in languages where there are older versions. In addition to the above, over 765 translation projects are reported by other groups, notably Wycliffe Bible Translators.

A most important development is the production of "common" language translations in many of the world's languages. "Common" language here means the resources of a given language common to the usage of both the educated and the uneducated. It strikes to make the version both acceptable to the former and accessible to the latter. At present the total number of such versions as recorded at the Library of the American Bible Society comes to 173, including 34 Bibles, 94 New Testaments, and 45 portions, with many more to be produced in the future. Many persons have been involved in this development, but two have had major roles in the formulation of the linguistic principles and guidelines behind it: Eugene A. Nida, formerly Translations Secretary of the American Bible Society and Translations Research Coordinator for the United Bible Societies, and William L. Wonderly, Translations Consultant for the UBS.

Another important development that will have a considerable effect upon Bible translation in the years to come is the production of interconfessional translations of the Bible. By the end of 1987 there had been reported no less than 292 interconfessional projects undertaken to date, with a substantial number of them having produced versions in the publication stage, while others are yet to be completed.

If all goes as expected, the 1990's should see the Bible, or some substantial part of it, published in over 2,000 of the world's languages and dialects, with a total number of versions and editions of the Bible, or parts of it, far greater than this.

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VESPASIAN (EMPEROR). Titus Flavius Vespasianus, the future emperor Vespasian, was born in 9 A.D. His father was a tax-collector; on his mother's side he had senatorial connections. The major steps in his career occurred under Gaius Caligula and Claudius. The former advanced him to the praetorship, the latter to legionary commands in Germany and Britain, followed by a consulship in 51 A.D. Under Nero, he held the proconsulate of Africa (ca. 63 A.D.) and accompanied the emperor to Greece in 66 A.D. as one of his *comites*, or staff. It was here that he was appointed to take command of the Roman army engaged in suppressing the rebellion in Judea (February, 67 A.D.). His operations in Judea were so successful that only Jerusalem still remained to be subdued at the time of Nero's downfall and suicide (June, 68 A.D.). Vespasian immediately halted operations to watch on events in Rome.

Vespasian accepted the rule of Nero's successor, Galba, and then that of Otho. However, after the suicide of Otho and the advent to power of Vitellius, Vespasian and Mucianus, the governor of neighboring Syria, began to form plans for an attempt on the imperial position. They were

joined by the Prefect of Egypt, Tiberius Alexander, himself a Hellenized Jew. On July 1, 69 A.D., Vespasian's movement began with his proclamation as emperor by the Egyptian legions; the legions of Syria and Judea quickly followed suit. Vespasian's plan was that Mucianus should lead an army against the Vitellians in Italy, Vespasian himself should hold Egypt and its grain supplies, while Titus, Vespasian's eldest son, should press on with the Jewish War. However, the plan was frustrated by the accession to Vespasian of the legions of the Danubian provinces. Troops from these provinces, commanded by the legionary commander Antonius Primus, without waiting for Mucianus, burst into Italy and defeated the Vitellian army at the second battle of Bedriacum. After the battle, Antonius' troops stormed and sacked Cremona and commenced a bloody march through Italy against Rome. Before his arrival at Rome, Vespasian's brother, Flavius Sabinus, was killed and the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol burnt down by the soldiers of Vitellius. Antonius' entry into Rome was accompanied by savage fighting; Vitellius was seized and executed; and on December 22, 69 A.D., the Senate met and formally acclaimed Vespasian as emperor. A part of the Senate's decree conferring the imperial powers on the new emperor may be seen on the famous bronze tablet set up 1300 years later in the church of St. John Lateran by Cola di Rienzi.

The power of Antonius, in alliance with Vespasian's younger son, Domitian, was soon broken by the arrival in the capital of Mucianus. Vespasian himself remained in Alexandria, where he allegedly performed miracles of healing. He returned to Rome only in late 70 A.D. Meanwhile, Mucianus controlled affairs in Rome and the West. His ruthless removal of potential enemies and skilful dispersal of Vitellius' Praetorian Guard put Vespasian deeply in his debt.

The new regime was faced with many problems. Politically, there was the task of consolidating the power gained by usurpation. Economically, it was necessary to restore financial stability to a state that had been devastated by Neronian extravagance and a year of civil war. Militarily, there was the need to restore discipline among the troops and to suppress a serious rebellion on the Rhine, as well as complete the reduction of Judea. Finally, order and confidence had to be revived in all sections of the community, especially at Rome itself.

To consolidate his rule, Vespasian frequently hearkened back to the examples of Augustus and Claudius. He also tried to increase the prestige of his family by ensuring that he and his sons held many consulships. His supporters in the civil war were also rewarded with consulships and other offices. The office of censor, held along with Titus, further increased his dignity. Military distinction was essential for a Roman emperor; and Vespasian sedulously promoted the victories won during his reign. The settlement of the Jewish rebellion, culminating in Titus' capture and destruction of Jerusalem in September, 70 A.D., was celebrated by father and son in a joint triumph in 71 A.D. and coins were struck with the legend "Judea Captured." The fact that Vespasian had two adult sons to succeed him had been a powerful argument used by Mucianus in 69 A.D. Vespasian diligently promoted his dynastic plans in his speeches and on his coins. Titus was carefully groomed to succeed; and for the greater part of the reign was effectively the deputy-emperor. Some senators disapproved of the dynastic concept, but most accepted that it removed the danger of civil war among rival contenders. Moderation and accessibility were Augustan qualities practiced by Vespasian and much approved after the regal trappings of a Nero. He was able to pursue this policy largely because Titus, as Praetorian Prefect, efficiently crushed any plots and opposition before they could mature. The success of Vespasian's consolidation of his and his family's power can be seen in the smooth and undisputed succession of Titus.

The measures taken by Vespasian to restore the finances of the empire were far-reaching, in some cases harsh and inevitably unpopular. Among the measures may be mentioned: removing from some areas of the immunity from taxation granted by previous emperors; turning client-states into Roman provinces and hence tax-producing areas; increasing—in some instances doubling—provincial taxation; and devising new taxes. As an example of the last may be mentioned the poll-tax imposed on all Jews in the empire, for which a special Fiscus Iudaicus ("Jewish Treasury") was established. In theory, the Jews were obliged to pay to Jupiter the two drachmae which they had paid each year to the temple at Jerusalem. Vespasian's methods in raising new sources of revenue made him the object of satire and won for him a reputation for avarice. His success may be seen from the fact that he was able to pursue an extensive program of public building at Rome and to hand on to Titus an apparently full treasury.

In the military sphere, both the rebellion on the Rhine and the Jewish revolt were ended in 70 A.D. Discipline was restored to the Roman armies, and units that had disgraced themselves were disbanded. Next, the frontiers could be given the emperor's attention. Military operations in S Germany resulted in the annexation of the Black Forest area between the Rhine and the Danube. On the E frontier, client-kingdoms were brought under direct Roman rule and the upper reaches of the Euphrates were secured by making Cappadocia an armed province. Roman influence was also strengthened in the Caucasus area. In Britain, Agricola completed the conquest of N Wales.

The restoration of order and confidence was achieved in several ways. As censor, with Titus as his colleague, Vespasian carried out a revision of the Senate. Many new senators were enrolled or promoted to higher rank. The new senators were mostly from the Italian municipal aristocracies and they brought into public life the more frugal, sober virtues of that class, in strong contrast to the extravagance and ostentation of Nero's reign. The emperor himself was an example, being averse to pomp and ceremony and modest in his life-style. Measures were passed to strengthen the difference between the freeborn and servile sections of society and to deter money-lenders from lending to young men against their future inheritances on the death of their father. An impressive program of building both provided work for the masses of Rome and emphasized Vespasian's concern for religion and the people. Most significant of these were the new temple of Jupiter Capitolinus—a symbol of Rome's resurgence—the Temple of Peace, the completion of the temple of the Deified Claudius, and the commencement of the Flavian Amphitheatre, or Colosseum, which was completed by

Domitian. The emperor's interest in promoting among the subject-peoples the benefits of the Roman way of life can be seen in his grant, perhaps as censor, of Latin status to the whole of Spain. Latin status guaranteed the attaining of Roman citizenship by the magistrates of each Spanish municipality and thus an ever increasing body of Roman citizens of Spanish origin. Extensive remains of the charters regulating the administration of three of the new Latin communities have been recovered from Baetica in S Spain.

When Vespasian died in 79 A.D., he was immediately deified by the Senate—a genuine mark of its respect and admiration for the man and his work. The coins which he struck during his reign proclaimed "The Augustan Peace," "Rome Rising Anew," and "The Happiness of the People." These were not empty phrases. Even "Liberty Restored" had a certain plausibility. For though Vespasian was no less an autocrat than Nero had been, his modest, down-to-earth manner, his affability, and his accessibility at least helped to conceal the realities of power. His shrewd judgement, combined with a quick wit and keen humor, enabled him to avoid or deflect difficult and unpleasant situations. He had deserved well of Rome, for he had ended a calamitous civil war, brought back order and prosperity and, above all, had restored confidence in Rome and its system of government. He has been called "the common-sense emperor"; but in Vespasian it was the common-sense of genius. For further discussion see *CAH*[2] 10: 808–39; 11: 1–45, 131–86, 393–432.

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VESSELS. See POTTERY.

VESTIBULE [Heb *ʾûlām*]. See TEMPLE, JERUSALEM.

VICES. See VIRTUE/VICE LISTS.

VINE. See FLORA.

VIPER. See ZOOLOGY.

VIRGIN [Heb *bĕtûlâ*]. The Hebrew word occurs 50 times in the OT; the Greek word *(parthenos)* appears 15 times in the NT.

The Semitic root from which the Hebrew word derives does not appear in other Hebrew words except in a plural form, which means "virginity." The closest cognate is Akk *batultu*, generally meaning "young (unmarried) girl," with an equivalent masculine form. In Ug, *btlt* occurs as an epithet for the goddess ʿAnat, the wife of El.

A. Old Testament

The writers of the OT use the word in a variety of situations. From significant passages, one sees that the word's meaning is not that of the modern English word, one who has not experienced sexual intercourse. The Hebrew word is usually qualified by a phrase such as "who has never known a man" (e.g., Gen 24:16, Num 31:18) when the word is used specifically to mean what the word "virgin" means today. The Hebrew word designates a young woman who has not yet married, although in Joel 1:8 it seems to refer to a woman who has already had a husband. In later legal terminology, the Bible's usage approaches the modern use. One can compare that development to the gradual specialization of the German word *"Jungfrau"* from "young woman" to "virgin."

This lack of a word for the condition suggests that physical virginity held no special role in ancient Israel. Israel, indeed, shares a linguistic phenomenon with other ancient languages, as put by C. Gordon (*UT*, 378): "There is no word in the Near Eastern languages that by itself means *virgo intacta*." The word frequently simply suggests "youth." One can see this emphasis on youth when the word is paired with the word for young man *(bāḥûr)*, about 12 times.

The book of Deuteronomy offers a passage which might deceptively suggest that physical virginity of a woman before marriage was a particular value in ancient Israel. Closer inspection of Deut 22:13–21, however, reveals a different stress. The young woman who marries but who previously had intercourse with a different man has disgraced not herself but her father. On the other hand, if the husband's charge of his wife's premarital indiscretion does not prove correct, this procedure in Deuteronomy protects the innocent woman from being abandoned.

B. Special Uses of the Word

In Job 31:1, Job avers that he has not "looked upon a virgin." Although one might read this as an exercise in avoiding sexual arousal, the weight and the context of the verse indicate that the reference is to the Canaanite goddess and not any young woman. The Israelites often appear in the Bible as somewhat attracted to the Canaanite religion that had both male and female deities. Job declares his resistence to this attraction.

Another striking use of the word "virgin" occurs in the phrase in two of the prophets, "the virgin of Israel" (RSV has "virgin Israel"). Commentators often have taken the phrase to be an instance of the feminine depiction of the people Israel. Careful analysis, however, has argued that Israel is never depicted as feminine. This position relies in part on the grammatical gender of peoples (masculine) and cities (feminine) in biblical Hebrew and especially on the analysis of particular texts.

In the phrase "virgin of Israel," "virgin" is a reference to a city, just as cities are typically termed mothers, wives, whores, sisters, daughters, and widows. Amos refers to the impending fall of Samaria (5:2). The book of Jeremiah, too, uses the phrase in reference to Samaria (31:4, 21), but also to Jeremiah's native city, Jerusalem (18:13). The des-

ignation "virgin," beyond the general feminine depiction of the city, alludes to the ancient practice by which an unmarried woman continued to live under the protection of her father.

C. New Testament

In two passages Paul uses the word "virgin." In 1 Cor 7:36–38, Paul writes of a man who has a virgin, and he is uncertain whether to marry her (to another?) or not. There is a problem of translation and interpretation: the passage leaves unclear whether the man is the father of the young woman or her fiance (RSV has "unmarried" in v 25, "girl" in v 28, and "betrothed" in vv 34, 36, 37, 38). In either case, physical virginity is not the issue. Paul thinks, at that point, that one need not bother about marriage since the world will soon end.

In 2 Cor 11:2, Paul compares the Christian community of Corinth to a "chaste virgin" (RSV, "pure bride") whom Paul has betrothed to Christ. It is unclear whether Paul is influenced mainly by the traditional depictions of cities as women, by the reputation of Corinth as a center of prostitution, or by the Adam and Eve story (cf. 11:3).

The authors of both Matthew and Luke emphasize that the mother of Jesus conceived him while she was still a virgin (in the modern sense). This emphasis on the virginal conception of Jesus is primarily a statement about the special status of Jesus and secondarily a statement about his mother, Mary. The tradition in both these gospels is somewhat different, and the variations suggest that the tradition is already an old one by the time of the writing. It is well known that Matt 1:23 quotes from the LXX of Isa 7:14, which has the word "virgin" *(parthenos)* while the Hebrew has simply "young girl" *(ʿalmâ)*.

One of the parables of Jesus in Matthew concerns "ten virgins" (Matt 25:1–13). Matthew lays no obvious emphasis or interpretation on the "virginity" of the ten. The RSV translates the word as "maiden"; Robert Lattimore translates it as "girls." The parable deals rather with the readiness with which the Christian should respond to the gospel. The tradition uses the *parthenos* as "unmarried."

The last occurrence of "virgin" in the NT is in Rev 14:4. The passage describes 144,000 followers of the Lamb, those who "have not defiled themselves with woman, for they are virgins" (RSV, "chaste"). Although this brief passage could be understood as remarkably offensive toward women, the more careful understanding is that the faithful (of both sexes) have been true to their Christian faith and not followed the Hellenistic religions with their goddesses.

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VIRGIN MARY. See MARY, MOTHER OF JESUS.

VIRGIN, APOCALYPSES OF THE. There are two *Apocalypses of the Virgin Mary*, as well as some similar material in the Assumption literature:

A. Greek *Apocalypse of the Virgin*

This work is known in a large number of Gk mss, which vary quite considerably. (Variant texts, from various mss, are published by Gidel 1871; James 1893: 109–26; Vassiliev 1893: 125–34; Pernot 1900; Delatte 1927: 272–88; Dawkins 1948; see also Tischendorf 1866: xxvii–xxx; Stegmüller 1950: 238–39; Halkin 1957: 128–130; 1984: 294–295.) There are also versions of it in Armenian (Voicu 1983: 177), Old Slavonic (Kozak 1892: 151–52; Müller 1961; de Santos Otero 1978: 188–95) and Rumanian (Stegmüller 1976: 207). It is very probably dependent on the *Apocalypse of Paul*, but other literary relationships cannot be determined until a critical edition of the text is available. Its date is uncertain: it might be as early as the 6th century or as late as the 9th.

This text is one of the latest of a group of apocalypses in which a seer is given a conducted tour of the torments of the damned in hell and intercedes for them *(Apocalypse of Zephaniah, Apocalypse of Peter, Apocalypse of Paul*, Greek *Apocalypse of Ezra*, Latin *Vision of Ezra*). In this case, the archangel Michael conducts Mary the Mother of God through hell and explains the punishments to her. They correspond to particular kinds of sin, according to a pattern which is standard in such apocalypses: in this case they also have strongly ecclesiastical and anti-Semitic features. Mary's prayer for mercy for the damned, in which she is joined by Michael and various saints, is granted in the form of a respite from punishment for fifty days each year (the period from Easter to Pentecost), presumably in addition to the weekly Sunday rest which Paul's intercession (in the *Apoc. Paul*) had already secured for the damned. At least one manuscript adds an appendix in which Mary is shown the righteous in paradise.

The work was evidently very popular in the Orthodox churches, no doubt because it both portrays hell in vivid imaginative terms as a warning against a whole series of specific sins and also because it expresses a natural compassionate reaction to the sufferings of the damned. The conflict between eschatological justice and mercy is not expressed as penetratingly as in some other apocalypses of this type, but at least this issue is posed. This accounts for the Russian novelist Fyodor Dostoyevsky's use of a summary of this apocalypse (in its Slavonic version) in Book 5, chap. 5 of *Brothers Karamazov*, where it helps to form a link between Ivan Karamazov's argument about eschatological justice and forgiveness in the preceding chapter and his famous parable of the Grand Inquisitor which follows.

B. Ethiopic *Apocalypse of the Virgin*

This work, though distinct from the Gk *Apoc. Vir.*, belongs to the same type. Mary is taken up into heaven, sees the fate of good and bad souls as they leave the body at death and are judged, paradise and its inhabitants, and the punishments of hell and their victims, and pleads for mercy for the damned. Much of the content is closely related to the *Apoc. Paul*, from which it seems to have been borrowed and freely adapted. Since the *Apoc. Paul* itself is

not extant in Ethiopic, it could be regarded as in effect the Ethiopic version of that apocalypse.

There are some undoubtedly late features: one category of sinners in hell are Muslims, while the weekly period of respite for the damned, granted at Mary's intercession, lasts from the evening of the sixth day to the morning of the second, in line with the Sabbath observance of the Ethiopian church. But whether the work was composed in Ethiopic or translated from another language is uncertain. The fact that the *Apoc. Paul* is not known in Ethiopic might suggest the latter, but it is possible that an Ethiopic version of the *Apoc. Paul* fell out of use, replaced by this *Apocalypse of the Virgin*. Another closely related work is the Eth *Apocalypse of Baruch*, which is perhaps dependent on the Eth *Apoc. Vir.* and on the *Apoc. Paul*.

An interesting feature of the work, not to be found in the *Apoc. Paul*, is the abundance of biblical quotations. Explicit quotations of Scripture are rare in the older apocalypses, but are found in later apocalyptic works, such as the apocryphal *Apocalypse of John* and the medieval Hebrew apocalypses, where they serve to give canonical support to non-canonical revelations.

C. Assumption Literature

In addition to these two *Apocalypses of the Virgin*, some of the narratives of the *Assumption of the Virgin* contain what are in effect apocalypses: revelations of heaven and hell given to the Virgin after her death and resurrection. Two such apocalyptic accounts occur.

One is in the final section (fifth and/or sixth book) of the Syriac *Transitus Mariae* (Lewis 1902: 64–69; Wright 1865b: 156–60; cf. Budge 1899: 131), which in its present form dates from about the 5th century. (The section is also found in Arabic and Ethiopic versions: Enger 1854: 88–107; Chaîne 1909: Latin section 39–42). It describes how Mary, whose body has been transported to the earthly paradise, is raised up by Christ and taken by him through the heavens to see the heavenly Jerusalem where God dwells, the mansions of the righteous, and the fires of hell. One text adds a further vision of the throne of God and the worship of Christ by all the angels (Lewis 1902: 67–68). Unlike the other apocalypses of the Virgin, this one shows little or no sign of dependence on the *Apoc. Paul*. Some features of the account link it with the old apocalyptic tradition of accounts of ascents through the heavens.

In heaven Mary sees the mansions which the righteous do not yet inhabit, but will inherit on the day of resurrection. Similarly, she does not see the wicked suffering in hell (as is usual in apocalyptic visions of hell): rather they view it from afar and fear the day of judgment when they will be consigned to it (cf. *4 Ezra* 7:78–87; Hipp. *de Universo* 1). Mary begs Christ to have mercy on them when he judges them at the last day.

Apart from the plea for mercy, which is found in other apocalypses, this account of Mary's vision of hell has nothing in common with the Gk *Apoc. Vir.* to which it is probably quite unrelated.

Other versions of the assumption narrative include a different apocalypse at the same point, following Mary's resurrection in paradise. This is best preserved in the Eth *Liber Requiei* (Arras 1973: Latin section 34–39) and in the Irish *Testament of Mary* (Donahue 1942: 50–55), though there is also a substantial Syriac fragment (Wright 1865a: 47–48) and a somewhat abbreviated Latin version (Wenger 1955: 258–59). It must date from about the 5th century.

In this account Christ takes Mary, accompanied by the apostles and the archangel Michael, to see hell. They see the punishments of a number of particular types of sinners. The damned cry out for mercy, and the intercession of Mary, accompanied by Michael and the apostles, wins for them a period of three hours respite each Sunday. (Probably the *Apoc. Paul* is here presupposed, so that readers would know that the period of respite was later extended, through Paul's intercession, to the whole of Sunday.)

The account seems dependent on the *Apoc. Paul* (35–39, 43–44). Its resemblances to the Gk *Apoc. Vir.* extend only to features which both share with the *Apoc. Paul*, and since both must also be independently indebted to the latter there is no reason to postulate a direct connection between this vision of hell by the Virgin and that in the Gk *Apoc. Vir.* But the fact that the Gk *Apoc. Vir.* was well known in the Byzantine church and provided a fuller account of the same kind of material may account for the absence of a vision of hell from the extant Greek versions of the Assumption narrative.

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VIRGIN, ASSUMPTION OF THE. An apocryphal legend about the death of Jesus' mother Mary, and about her bodily transfer to heaven shortly afterwards. In 1950, "the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin" became an official part of Roman Catholic dogma, consequently there has been renewed interest in this legend. (The materials relevant to the dogmatic question have been collected by Jugie 1944, and Balic 1948.)

Written legends about the Dormition of the Virgin Mary exceed 70 various types of texts, most of which are in non-Greek languages, the oldest Greek type having disappeared. There remains one old legend in Greek (Wenger 1955: 210–240), and from ca. 591 onwards, a standard liturgical lecture for the 15 August (Tischendorf 1866). The oldest manuscript fragments of the legend are in Syriac, dating to the 5th century (Wright 1865a; Smith-Lewis 1902). The oldest quotation is a sentence in a homily of Eusebius of Alexandria from the late 4th century (van Esbroeck 1985: 292). The most primitive redaction corresponds to the "Exsequiae Mariae Virginis" published by W. Wright (1865a: 55–65). Its strong literary parallelism with the Ethiopic, Irish, and Georgian versions points to a lost old Greek redaction (van Esbroeck 1973: 55–57). A further development is the so-called Syriac version "in six books" (each one by two apostles), also published by Wright (1865b) and illustrated by the old palimpsest (Smith-Lewis 1902). That redaction reflects the period of Zeno's Henoticon (A.D. 483), while it attempts to harmonize previous divergent traditions about the Virgin's Dormition. The standard Greek liturgical text (Tischendorf 1866) strongly resumes this longer Syriac legend. Another Georgian redaction, the pseudo-Basilian Transitus, presupposes Justinian's policy in 543, with a whole Holy Week for the Virgin (van Esbroeck 1974). The Coptic (and Ethiopic) traditions presuppose (and therefore post-date) the Monophysite-Chalcedonian struggle over various theological views about the body of the Virgin.

The general outline of the legend in its Greek/ Latin/ Syriac form is the following: the Virgin is visited by an Angel (in the Coptic version she is visited by Christ Himself) who tells her of her imminent death, and that Christ himself will take her personally above any celestial power. The apostles then gather from all parts of the world to assist the Virgin and to hear her last recommendations (in the Coptic version the apostles have not yet been scattered around the world). Christ then descends from heaven and takes the soul of Mary back with Him. All the celestial powers and the patriarchs and prophets assemble to praise God's grace. The apostles take the body of the Virgin and place it in the tomb of Gethsemane. Along the way, a certain Jew attempts to destroy her body; he is punished by heaven but healed by the prayers of the apostles addressed to the Virgin. The apostles sealed the tomb and remained three days in prayer. On the third day, celestial voices proclaim that the Virgin has been assumed bodily to heaven (in the Coptic version the Virgin's assumption occurs 206 days after her death).

An important and related question is the origin of the liturgical celebration. Emperor Mauritius introduced the fixed date of August 15 around 591; however, the Georgian pseudo-Basilian text and their calendar make it clear that earlier Emperor Justinian devoted a whole week to the celebration (a sort of Virgin's Holy Week) associated with the inauguration of the *Nea Maria* church in Jerusalem on August 17, 543. Before Justinian, the celebration had been the subject of debate between Monophysites and Chalcedonians just after 451. One can demonstrate that the Coptic version's chronology of 206 days between Mary's death and assumption—January 16 (= 21 Tobe) for the death of the Virgin, and August 9 (= 16 Mesore) for her Assumption—reflects the struggles of 453, when Juvenal used the imperial police to reduce Monophysite opposition in Gethsemane on January 16. The Virgin and her immortal nature was understood to have been killed on that same day, and her body was believed to have been taken to heaven simultaneously with the former celebration of the Jewish destruction of the temple 206 days later (August 9).

A full bibliography is available in Arras 1974: 71–74, where reference to extant texts are given. A general summary of these early medieval texts is offered by van Esbroeck (1981).

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MICHEL V ESBROECK

VIRTUE/VICE LISTS. The practice of compiling lists of virtues and vices was widespread in the ancient Mediterranean world. These lists typically specified vices or sins that were to be avoided and virtues that were to be practiced. The code of conduct reflected in such lists was normally the conventional one of the period. Both abstract and concrete terms for virtues and vices were employed, and mental dispositions as well as overt acts were mentioned. In addition, types of people who exhibited particular virtues and vices were frequently enumerated, and occasionally various vices and virtues were even personified. These ethical lists were used for a wide variety of purposes, including characterization, description, exemplification, instruction, exhortation, apology, and polemic. Numerous examples of these lists, which vary enormously in length, form, function, and content, are contained in polytheistic, Jewish, and Christian literature.

A. Greco-Roman World

As the comprehensive examination by Vögtle (1936) established, lists of virtues and vices occur in both literary and non-literary sources of the Greco-Roman world. They are found, for instance, in philosophical discussions of virtue and vice, in the diatribe and Roman satire, in rhetorical and astrological texts, and on inscriptions. Stoics, who maintained that virtue is the only good and vice the only evil, were especially fond of compiling extensive lists of the various virtues and vices. Accepting Plato's fourfold division of virtue *(aretē)* into *phronēsis* (wisdom, prudence, understanding), *sōphrosynē* (moderation, temperance, self-restraint), *dikaiosynē* (justice), and *andreia* (courage), they divided these cardinal virtues into numerous sub-types.

A similar procedure was used in regard to both vices and emotions, with a basic fourfold division applied in each case. *Aphrosynē* (folly), *akolasia* (profligacy, licentiousness), *adikia* (injustice), and *deilia* (cowardice) were given as the four cardinal vices *(kakiai)*, and each was understood as the antithesis of the corresponding virtue. Closely linked to the vices were the emotions and passions *(pathē)*. Stoics viewed these negatively and regarded *apatheia* or freedom from passion as the ideal. The four chief passions were seen as *lypē* (grief), *phobos* (fear), *epithymia* (desire, lust), and *hēdonē* (pleasure). Specific types of *lypē* were said to include not only such emotions as anguish and distress but also jealousy, envy, and even pity.

Both passions and vices proper were mentioned in Stoic vice lists, which were often used to describe and castigate the sinful and irrational life led by the masses or by particular individuals. Whereas vice lists thus depict the deficient life that fails to achieve its human potential, virtue lists paint and praise the ideal, whether it be that of the ideal manner of life or of some ideal figure, such as that of the wise man or of the good sovereign. Lists of virtues and vices thus play an important role in moral instruction and exhortation (Malherbe 1986: 138–41).

Greco-Roman authors who use the lists include Pseudo-Aristotle *(On Virtues and Vices)*, Pseudo-Cebes (Fitzgerald and White 1983), Cicero (e.g., *Tusc.* 4.11–27), Pseudo-Crates (e.g., *Ep.* 15), Pseudo-Diogenes (e.g., *Ep.* 28), Dio Chrysostom (Mussies 1972: 67–70, 172–77), Diogenes Laertius (e.g., 7.92–93, 110–12), Epictetus (e.g., *Diss.* 3.20.5–6), Pseudo-Heraclitus (Attridge 1976: 25–39), Horace (e.g., *Ep.* 1.1.33–40; 6.12), Lucian (Betz 1961: 183–211), Maximus of Tyre (e.g., *Or.* 36.4c), Musonius Rufus (e.g., Frag. XVI), Onasander (Dibelius and Conzelmann *Pastoral Epistles* Hermeneia, 158–60), Philostratus (Petzke 1970: 220–27), Plautus (e.g., *Pseudolus* 138–39, 360–68), Plutarch (e.g., *Mor.* 468B, 523D; see the indices in Betz 1975: 367 and 1978: 581), Seneca (Bultmann 1910: 19 n. 3), Soranus (Vögtle 1936: 79–80), Teles (e.g., Frag. IVA), Virgil (e.g., *Aen.* 6.733), and various astrologers, including Ptolemy (= Claudius Ptolemaeus), Teucer of Babylon, and Vettius Valens (Vögtle 1936: 84–88; Kamlah 1964: 137–39). In addition, lists of virtues and vices occur in the Corpus Hermeticum (Kamlah 1964: 115–36), especially in tractates I and XIII (Grese 1979: 111–12, 121, 127–28, 131–33).

B. The Ancient Near East

While catalogs of sins and transgressions in both Mesopotamian (Schmökel 1978: 131–33) and Egyptian materials (e.g., *Book of the Dead* 125) have been noted, particular attention has been given to lists in ancient Iranian cosmological traditions. These mythological lists contain the names of various spirits of good (under Ahuramazda) and evil (under Angra Mainyu) which oppose one another in a cosmic, dualistic struggle. These divine and demonic spirits are largely personifications of abstract virtues and vices (Jackson 1928: 37–109), so that the juxtaposition of these two groups serves to form an antithetic catalog of good and evil. Kamlah (1964) has paid particular attention to this primitive Iranian myth with its antithetic catalog form and has endeavored to trace the history of its development and use in both Iranian (e.g., the *Bundahishn*) and non-Iranian literature (e.g., Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 46–47 = *Mor.* 369D–370C).

C. The Hebrew Bible and Non-Canonical Early Jewish Literature

The Hebrew Bible contains surprisingly few lists of sins. Simple lists occur in Jer 7:9 and Hos 4:2, which presuppose the sins forbidden in the Decalogue (Exod 20:1–17; Deut 5:6–21), and in Prov 6:16–19, which gives seven evils hated by God (cf. Prov 8:13). Similarly, lists of virtues are brief and appear in descriptions of God (Exod 34:6–7; Num 14:18; Pss 86:15; 103:8; Jonah 4:2), of humans endowed by God (Exod 31:3; 35:31; Eccl 2:26), and of righteous men (Job 1:1, 8; 2:3). In the judgment of most scholars (e.g., Wibbing 1959: 26; Conzelmann *1 Corinthians* Hermeneia, 100; Schweizer 1976: 463 n. 13; Betz *Galatians* Hermeneia, 282), however, these lists neither constitute a fixed literary form nor serve as the models for later Jewish and Christian catalogs.

In contrast to the Hebrew Bible, lists of both virtues and vices are quite numerous in later Jewish literature. They vary widely in both form and content, with some reflecting the influence of the Decalogue (Berger 1972: 272–73) and others that of Greek philosophy. The lists appear, for example, in *Apocalypse of Abraham* 24, *3 Baruch* (4:17; 8:5; 13:4), *1 Enoch* (10:20; 91:6–7), *2 Enoch* (9:1; 10:4–6; 34:1–2; 66:6; Kamlah 1964: 160–62), *Jubilees* (7:20–21; 21:21; 23:14), *4 Maccabees* (1:2–4, 18, 26–27; 2:15; 5:23–24; 8:3), Philo (Lagrange 1911: 539–42; Lietzmann *An die Römer* HNT, 36; Vögtle 1936: 107–13; Wibbing 1959: 27–29; Kamlah 1964: 50–53, 104–15), *Sybilline Oracles* (Bussmann 1975: 155–57), *Testament of Abraham* 10 (rec. A), *Testament of Moses* 7, *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Vögtle 1936: 102–06; Wibbing 1959: 31–33; Kamlah 1964: 171–75), Wisdom of Solomon (8:7; 14:22–26; Easton 1932: 1–3), and in rabbinic literature (Klein 1909: 94–101; Francke 1930: 24–27; Kamlah 1964: 150–60; contrast Vögtle 1936: 106–07), as well as in the writings of Qumran. The double catalog in 1QS 4:3–14 has received particular attention (Wibbing 1959: 43–76; Kamlah 1964: 39–50; von der Osten-Sacken 1969: 150–63) in regard to Gal 5:19–23 and other early Christian texts (Braun 1966: 1.172, 212–14; 2.289–301; Mussner *Galaterbrief* HTKNT, 392–95).

D. The New Testament

The fullest list of NT catalogs of virtues and vices is given by Mussies (1972: 67, 172), who cites as examples the following:

Virtue Lists: 2 Cor 6:6–7a; Gal 5:22–23; Eph 4:2–3, 32–5:2; 5:9; Phil 4:8; Col 3:12; 1 Tim 3:2–4, 8–10, 11–12; 4:12; 6:11, 18; 2 Tim 2:22–25; 3:10; Titus 1:8; 2:2–10; Heb 7:26; 1 Pet 3:8; 2 Pet 1:5–7; (1 Cor 13:4–7).

Vice Lists: Matt 15:19; Mark 7:21–22; Rom 1:29–31; 13:13; 1 Cor 5:10–11; 6:9–10; 2 Cor 12:20–21; Gal 5:19–21; Eph 4:31; 5:3–5; Col 3:5–8; 1 Tim 1:9–10; 6:4–5; 2 Tim 3:2–4; Titus 1:7; 3:3; 1 Pet 2:1; 4:3, 15; Rev 9:21; 21:8; 22:15.

While other scholars would delete some of Mussies' examples and/or add further instances (e.g., Luke 18:11), there is a broad consensus that the lists played an important role in both early Christian parenesis and polemic (Karris 1971; 1973). Debate has centered on the origin of the NT lists. Various Hellenistic (e.g., Lietzmann *An die Römer* HNT, 35–36; *ANRW* 25/2: 1088–92), Jewish (e.g., Seeberg 1903: 9–44; 1905: 109–29; Daxer 1914: 25–58; Wibbing 1959), and Iranian (Kamlah 1964; Suggs 1972: 65–73) sources have been proposed, but no solution has become definitive (so Käsemann 1980: 49–50; Coetzer 1984: 37–39). Of the NT lists, greatest attention has been paid to those in the Pauline corpus (Larsson 1962: 210–23; Furnish 1968: 84–89; Schweizer 1976), especially those in the Pastoral Epistles (McEleney 1974; Mott 1978; Donelson 1986: 171–76).

The functions of the NT lists are broadly analogous to their use outside of early Christian literature. For example, Greco-Roman philosophers frequently began their speeches with a list of vices in order to depict the wretched moral condition of the masses. Paul, similarly, uses a vice list at the beginning of Romans (1:29–31) to depict the condition of people who have not appropriated the knowledge of God (Malherbe 1987: 24, 31–32). Again, lists of virtues are employed in both philosophical tractates and the NT to delineate the qualifications and characteristics of good leaders, such as the ideal king or bishop (Malherbe 1986: 138–39).

E. Non-Canonical Early Christian Literature

Many of the Apostolic Fathers, the apologists, the authors of the NT Apocrypha and Nag Hammadi Codices, the theologians, and other early Christians made frequent use of lists of virtues and vices. In general, these lists have received surprisingly little scholarly attention. Recent exceptions to this neglect include studies by Rambaux (1978) of Tertullian's lists and by Mussies (1981) of a personified list of vices and virtues in the Gnostic treatise *On the Origin of the World* (NHC II,106,27–107,17). Examples of the non-canonical lists cited in secondary literature include the following:

1. Apostolic Fathers: *Barn.* 2:2–3; 18–20; *1 Clem.* 3:2; 30:1,3,8; 35:5; 62:2; 64:1; *2 Clem.* 4:3 (see Donfried 1974: 114–18); *Did.* 2:1–5:2; *Herm. Mand.* 5.2.4; 6.2.3–5; 8.3–5, 9–10; 11.8, 12; 12.2.1; 12.3.1; *Sim.* 6.5.5; 9.15.2–3; *Vis.* 3.8.3–7; Ign. *Eph.* 3:1; Pol. *Phil.* 2:2; 4:3; 5:2; 12:2.

2. Apologists: Aristides, *Apol.* 8; 9; 11; 13; 15; Athenagoras *Res.* 21; 23; Justin *Apol.* 11,2; 5; *Dial.* 14; 93; 95; 110; Theoph. *Autol.* 1.2; 2.34.

3. New Testament Apocrypha: *Acts Andr.* 8; 10; *Acts John* 29; 35–36; *Acts Paul and Thecla* 17; *Acts Pet.* 2; *Acts Phil.* 90; *Acts Thom.* 12; 28; 55–56; 58; 79; 84–85; 126 (see Klijn 1962: 218–19); *Apoc. Paul* 5–6; *Apoc. Pet.* 22–34 (see Dieterich 1913: 163–95); *Ps-Clem. Hom.* 1.18; 2.44; 8.23; 11.27; 17.16; *Ps-Clem. Rec.* 4.36; 9.17.

4. Nag Hammadi Codices: 1,80,3–11; 85,7–12; II,18,14–31; 106,27–107,17; VI,23,12–17; 30,34–31,7; 39,22–33; VII,37,26–35; 84,19–26; 95,20–33. For other Gnostic lists, see *Pistis Sophia* 102; 127; 146–47; Irenaeus *Haer.* 1.29.4.

5. Other: *Altercatio Simonis et Theophili* 21; Ps-Clement, *de virg.* 1.8; Clement of Alexandria *Strom.* 2.6, 20; 7.12; *Const. App.* 2.6, 24; 7.18, 33; Ps-Cyprian, *adv. aleat.* 5; Hippolytus, *Haer.* 4.15–26; John Chrysostom, *Cat.* 1.32–33, 36 (Series Stavronikita); 2.16, 39, 42–43 (Series Montfaucon); and Tertullian (see Rambaux 1978: 212–13). For additional Christian vice lists, see esp. Resch 1905: 117–24.

Lists of virtues and vices continued to play an important role in later Christianity. The three "theological" virtues

of faith, hope, and love were added to the four Platonic-Stoic "cardinal" or "natural" virtues to form the "Seven Virtues" (Zöckler 1904; Kirk 1920: 29–48). The most famous vice list was that of the "Seven Deadly Sins," which were held to be pride, covetousness, lust, envy, gluttony, anger, and sloth (Zöckler 1893; 1897: 253–56; Kirk 1920: 265–68; 1932: 201 n. 4). The popularity of such lists resided, above all, in their utility for moral instruction and exhortation.

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JOHN T. FITZGERALD

VISION. See PROPHECY; MYSTICISM.

VOPHSI (PERSON) [Heb *wopsî*]. The name Vophsi is not known outside of the Hebrew text of Num 13:14. Manuscripts of the LXX, on the other hand, have five different readings with *Iabi* or *Iabei* being the most probable. This unlikely transliteration suggests that the Hebrew text containing the name Vophsi is problematic. Although its meaning is uncertain, Noth (*IPN,* 8) speculates that the name may have a Persian origin. Vophsi is the father of

Nahbi who represented the tribe of Naphtali among the 12 men Moses sent from the wilderness of Paran (Num 12:16) to spy out the land of Canaan.

JON PAULIEN

VULGAR LANGUAGE. See BIBLE, EUPHEMISM AND DYSPHEMISM IN THE.

VULGATE. The name Vulgate, indicating a text generally accepted as standard (Latin *vulgatus*, meaning "common," or "commonly known"), was not applied to Jerome's Latin Bible until the Middle Ages. While its title of "Jerome's Vulgate" is unlikely ever to be abandoned, the most striking result of the past century of study is to have shown that Jerome's role in the production of its NT was far more limited than had traditionally been assumed.

A. Origins

A chief characteristic of Old Latin biblical texts is their lack of unanimity. It was because of this that in 382 or 383, Pope Damasus (ca. 304–384) commissioned Jerome (ca. 342–420) to produce an authoritative Latin Bible. The new version of the gospels was completed within the year. It has been shown that, as the work progressed, Jerome altered fewer and fewer acceptable readings from the OL mss on which his version was based. Neither the character of these mss, nor the Gk mss with which he collated them, has been identified in specific terms. Suggestions that he used several text-types of each kind are more acceptable, although these theories emphasize the fact that, particularly for the OL, we do not have enough evidence to form a judgment. All that is clear is that the text-type represented primarily by Codex Bezae (which contains both a Gk and an OL text) is not influential.

At about the same time, we find Jerome concentrating his attention on the OT. In a letter of 384 he writes that he has been comparing Aquila's Greek version with the Hebrew. In this period he produced the first of three versions of the Psalter. This is generally identified with the Roman Psalter, so-called because it was used in the Roman Liturgy until about 1570. This is a far less detailed revision than the gospels. Based on the Septuagint (LXX), it presents a predominantly OL text.

Returning from Rome to the East, Jerome settled at Bethlehem in 386. His next edition (387 is a possible date) was the Gallican Psalter (the title is due to its first being adopted by the churches of Gaul). For this he used the best materials available—Origen's Hexapla. This second Psalter is the text printed in the official version of the Vulgate. Shortly afterwards he produced Job, the three books attributed to Solomon, and Chronicles, again translating from the LXX. Of these revisions only Job is extant. We have the prefaces of the remainder.

There is no proof that Jerome translated any more books from the LXX than these, although he occasionally implied that he had translated the whole of it. It is more likely that instead he broke off and—as was perhaps inevitable—began a more thorough undertaking. He was already using the Hebrew in his LXX revisions. But to abandon the LXX altogether was a bold step, for it was accorded a higher place in the Western church than the Hebrew itself. Learning Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic was to labor in empty fields of study, and in several prefaces Jerome tells of his difficulties. The result, his Latin version of the *Hebraica veritas*, the Hebrew verity, appeared at intervals between 390 and 405. H. J. White (1902) suggested the following chronology:

390 or 391	Samuel and Kings
392–93	The Psalter (his third version, the *Psalmi iuxta Hebraicum*), Prophets, Job
394	Esdras
396	Chronicles
398	Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles
401?	Genesis, Exodus–Deuteronomy
405	Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Esther, Tobit, Judith, and the apocryphal parts of Daniel and Esther.

At this point it must be emphasized that we have been describing, not precisely the creation of the Vulgate itself, but Jerome's work as a Bible translator. The formation of the Latin Vulgate is another stage.

B. Development

Jerome's version of the Hebrew OT and the gospels by no means won universal approval. Given a deep-seated and irrational resistance among the churches, we should not be surprised that many OL texts, far from being outdated, were still in their infancy. We find them being copied as late as the 13th century. The fact that these late examples are all from Vulgate Bibles of which some books are OL, illustrates the development of the Vg. The vast majority of ancient Bible mss were of a part only. Larger collections were made from whatever materials were available. The creation of the Vg was from just such disparate elements, and this is how the rest of the Vg NT became connected with Jerome's versions.

An early form of the Vg Pauline Epistles is first encountered in Pelagius's Commentary, which was written between 405 and 410. The version's origins probably lie in the closing years of the 4th century. The same translator was certainly responsible for the Catholic Epistles, and possibly for the other books of the NT. Many different OL text-types were used as the bases of these productions.

In spite of the opposition, Jerome's version and its companions continued to grow in popularity. One indication of this is the provision, during the 5th and 6th centuries, of ancillary material, namely, chapter headings and prefaces. Some, such as the *Marcionite Prologues* to the Pauline corpus, were taken over from the OL tradition. The *Priscillianist Prologues* to the NT were probably of independent origin. Chapter headings to Acts that are to be found in a few mss were the work of a 4th-century Donatist. Other prefaces are from Pelagian circles. Thus the Vg proves to be as variedly orthodox and heterodox in its ancillary material as its text is mixed. These aids are to be found in the mss in a variety of combinations, and their study is of great importance in reconstructing the history of the Vg.

By the middle of the 6th century, there was the first movement of which we know towards the compilation of a

complete Latin Bible. It is associated with Cassiodorus (ca. 485–ca. 580), the monk and scholar of Vivarium in the extreme S of Italy. He brought together a team of scholars who prepared three editions of the Bible. The first, in nine volumes, was the OL text which Cassiodorus himself used. The second and most famous was the one volume *Codex grandior littera clariore conscriptus*. Its OT text was Jerome's revision according to the LXX (we have to assume with other sources for the books not treated by Jerome). For the NT Cassiodorus probably used Jerome's gospels, and an OL text or texts for the rest. The third edition, known as the Lesser Pandect, has a Vg text throughout. Nothing is known in detail of the character of any of these three editions, although Cassiodorus's biblical citations in his writings give us a little knowledge about the first. It is not therefore possible to make any assessment of their influence on the transmission of the text.

It is only in relation to the Northumbrian school that we know anything about the fate of Cassiodorus's productions. Ceolfrid, the abbot of Wearmouth in Northumbria, brought the *codex grandior* to his monastery in 678. And here, in the first years of the 8th century, he instigated the copying of the Codex Amiatinus. This was derived largely from Italian mss, the gospels being of a Neapolitan type, although the Psalter is an indifferent Irish text, and the Catholic Epistles include elements of a Northumbrian type. The influence of the *codex grandior* consists in externals—the adoption of the one volume format (and Ceolfrid was responsible for two more such), and the order of the books.

C. The Vulgate in the Middle Ages

The further development of the Vg is marked by the growth of a number of distinctive texts. These texts, either local or national according to their degree of importance, owe their distinctiveness partly to the influence of the OL text predominant in their area, partly to their continued history in isolation. Typical to each group is the text, the orthography, and the ancillary material. The study of the Vg down to the 9th century is the study of these groups. Seven texts are generally isolated as being of the first importance. These are Italian (which can be subdivided in more detail), the Spanish, the Anglo-Saxon (the Northumbrian and Canterbury texts can be isolated), the Irish (these can be divided into those written in Ireland and those written on the Continent), the Languedoc, a number of Gallic texts, and the Swiss (of which mss connected with St. Gall form a particularly clear sub-group). It must be added that these groups did not all continue for centuries in isolation.

The 9th century and the Carolingian renaissance saw a new stage. It is associated with the work of two scholars. The first, Theodulph (ca. 750–821), was abbot of Fleury and bishop of Orleans from the closing years of the 8th century. He was responsible, not for a single definitive text, but for a revision which he continually modified. The belief that his text was fundamentally Spanish in character has now to be abandoned: amongst many sources, Italian models were pre-eminent.

The edition of Alcuin (ca. 735–804) was, deservedly, far more influential. Undertaken at the very end of the 8th century, it was presented to Charlemagne at his coronation in 800. Alcuin drew on the textual traditions of his native Northumbria, which by now included a S Italian text mediated through Canterbury, as well as the text of Ceolfrid. By the consistency both of its physical appearance and of its text, as well as by its importance in Charlemagne's program of reform, the Alcuin Bible has a claim to be the first standard Latin Bible. It was to become, for the majority, "the Vulgate" of the Middle Ages. In particular, we may trace its influence down to the early 13th century. At this period there was developed the Paris Bible. This small, convenient "hand edition" was designed for use by students in conjunction with the Gloss. From it come the chapter divisions in use today. In spite of attempts to improve this text, full as it was of interpolations and corruptions, its influence continued into the Renaissance.

D. The Modern Period

The first printed Vg was the Mazarin Bible, probably completed in 1455. Over a hundred more editions are known to have been produced by 1500. The first critical editions were the work of Robert Estienne (Stephanus) of Paris. Seventeen mss are cited in the *apparatus criticus* of his fourth edition of 1540. This formed the basis of the 1547 Louvain edition of Hentenius, who collated a further 31 mss, and the 1574 revision by Arianus Montanus, who examined over 60.

As a result of the authority accorded the Vulgate by the Council of Trent in 1546, a committee to produce a new text was established. Using good mss that included the Amiatinus, and based on the Louvain Bible, the Sixtine edition appeared in 1590. It was short-lived. The Clementine Vulgate (both editions are named after their sponsoring pope) of 1592 took its place. Corrected editions appeared in 1593 and 1598, and it has been the official Roman Catholic Vg text ever since.

One aspect of the developing science of textual criticism was a growing awareness of the importance of the Vulgate in understanding the early history of the biblical text. John Mill (1645–1707) and Richard Bentley (1662–1742) both stressed this. Their arguments are worked out in practice in the *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine* (1842–50) of Karl Lachmann.

In the most recent period two great projects have collected much manuscript evidence, and established a critical text. Since there are estimated to be over 10,000 Vg mss in existence, it is clear that only the most important can be used. The NT of Wordsworth and White has a text based on the Codex Amiatinus. Twenty-nine mss are cited for the Gospels, and between 15 and 21 for the rest of the NT.

In 1907 Pope Pius X established a commission to revise the Vg Genesis appeared in 1926 under the first editor, Dom Henri Quentin, and publication of the OT was almost complete in 1988. As yet none of the NT has been undertaken.

Among many smaller editions the most valuable, with respect to both text and apparatus, is the Stuttgart edition (1969 2d ed. 1973 3d ed. 1983); whose chief editor was Robert Weber. Study of the Vulgate is also a part of the researches of the Vetus Latina Institut at Beuron in Germany.

Besides its importance in text-critical studies, the inves-

tigation of the history of the Vulgate is fundamental, not only for the study of exegesis in the Latin church, but also for the understanding of the growth of western European society.

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VULTURE. See ZOOLOGY.

W

WADI. Geographic names with the element "wadi," meaning "river," generally can be found under the second element of the name; for example: DALIYEH, WADI ED-; JILAT, WADI AL. Exceptions are WADI MURABBAAT and WADI MUSA.

WADI MURABBAAT (M.R. 110185). At the end of November 1951 bedouin from the Judean desert began to bring fragments of manuscripts to Jerusalem. It was immediately clear that they did not come from Qumran, but it was only in January 1952 that the bedouin were persuaded to reveal their source. The documents came from a series of four caves in the N wall of the Wadi Murabbaat, which is the name given to a section of a long wadi that begins just W of Herodium and drains into the Dead Sea. On modern Israeli maps it is identified as Nahal Teqoa which becomes Nahal Darga.

A. Archaeology

When the excavators arrived on the site on 21 January 1952 they found the bedouin manuscript seekers actually at work in the caves. This guaranteed the provenance of the manuscripts and artifacts they sold in Jerusalem. The excavation continued until 1 March 1952, and was directed by R. de Vaux, L. Harding, and D. Barthélemy. Their task was complicated by two earlier clandestine excavations that had disturbed the stratigraphy. The first was the bedouin exploitation of guano deposits in the 1920s, when pieces of leather (now known to be manuscripts) were thrown away as valueless, and the second the recent manuscript hunt. Nonetheless, a clear occupation series could be reconstructed from the artifacts discovered.

In the 4th millennium B.C. the caves were occupied for a considerable time. The pottery vessels and flint tools are typical of the middle Chalcolithic period. Most unusual for this period in Palestine, an undisturbed layer produced wooden objects, splints, hardwood needles, fire-making devices, and an adze handle with its leather binding for the flint blade intact.

The later MB and Iron Age II remains do not suggest permanent occupation. The MB artifacts (a scarab of the Hyksos period, an alabaster juglet made in Egypt, toggle pins, wooden combs) suggest an Egyptian fugitive who, like Sinuhe, sought refuge in the desert. Similarly the paucity of Iron II remains (pottery and two iron knives with wooden handles) indicates a passing traveller who accidentally dropped a document (Mur 17).

The majority of the finds come from the Roman period. Although the clandestine operations had been most destructive in this level, the excavators were able to distinguish two main phases.

One coin of the year 42/43, three dated to 58/59, and one to 69/70, when taken in conjunction with pieces of pottery that have close parallels with Qumran II, indicate that the caves were occupied by Jewish refugees during the First Revolt (66–70). This is confirmed by an IOU dated to 55/56 (Mur 18), which would not have been conserved indefinitely by its owner.

The second phase is the more important, and is securely dated by nine coins of the Second Revolt (132–135), by two letters from the leader of the rebellion, Simeon ben Kosba (Mur 43–44), and by two legal documents dated 131 (Mur 22) and 133 (Mur 24). That Jewish rebels with their families took refuge in the caves during this troubled period is confirmed by a variety of domestic objects, a key, a writing tablet, needles, spindles, rings, combs, buttons, and sandals belonging both to adults and children. The remains of their garments show them to have been of excellent quality though repatched many times. They had prepared for their exile by bringing with them a saw to provide firewood. Some of these objects may have been leftovers from the occupation during the First Revolt.

The presence of Roman soldiers is indicated by the discovery of a pilum, two javelins, three arrowheads, and parts of military uniforms. One of the soldiers left behind a wooden stamp with two lines of Roman script, C[ENTURIA] ANNAEI/GARGILIU[S] "Gargilius of the century of Annaeus." Since all the biblical texts on parchment, with the exception of the phylactery, were deliberately torn into shreds, it seems clear that the Roman patrol must have trapped the refugees, who would never have left their sacred books behind. On the basis of two coins of the Tenth Legion and a fragment mentioning the emperor Commodius (Mur 117), de Vaux argues that a Roman garrison must have remained in the caves until the end of the 2d century A.D. The evidence is perhaps better explained as due to sporadic visits by desert patrols, since the caves do not offer the wide perspective that would merit permanent observers.

The caves also had visitors in the 8–10th centuries A.D. as indicated by a coin struck in Ramla in the 8th century and by a document written in Arabic on paper and dated 938/939.

In March 1955, three years after the end of the excavation, a bedouin shepherd discovered the remains of a scroll

containing the Hebrew text of the Twelve Minor Prophets in a fifth cave located in the S wall of the wadi some 300 m upstream from caves 1–4. It had been buried with a corpse, but the cave showed no sign of habitation.

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B. Texts

In addition to material culture, finds in the four large Murabbaat caves have yielded numerous manuscripts. Letters appear from the period of the Second Revolt (132–135 C.E.), written on papyrus and addressed to the cave dwellers from Simeon Bar Kokhba. Other nonbiblical materials include documents written in Greek, Aramaic, and Hebrew.

The Hebrew biblical remains from Murabbaat date to the Roman period and are written in Herodian script. All are fragmentary, and their tears may have been deliberately made by Roman soldiers. Fragments from the Pentateuch appear to derive from a single scroll, although little of their text remains. Pentateuchal readings also appear on phylacteries which, unlike those found at Qumran, adhere to tannaitic regulations. From Isaiah, only eleven verses remain.

Most numerous and complete of the texts are fragments from the Minor Prophets, likely from a single scroll. Very little of Zechariah and no readings from Hosea and Malachi have been preserved; all other books of the Minor Prophets are represented, in present Masoretic order.

Many textual critics consider these biblical manuscripts, along with those retrieved from Nahal Hever and Masada, as evidence that the consonantal text of the Hebrew Bible was standardized by the period of the Second Revolt. While the great variety in types of biblical texts found at Qumran suggests that no one textual type was considered authoritative at the turn of the era, the biblical manuscripts from the second century at Murabbaat, Nahal Hever and Masada reflect only the textual type preserved in the present MT. This interpretation of the Murabbaat finds was suggested by de Vaux during his initial work and has been accepted by most historians of the biblical text.

The Murabbaat biblical manuscripts do exhibit some differences from the present MT. Most of these differences are minor, often involving the presence or absence of vowel letters (25 cases) or alternate spelling. Occasional variations are more substantive, reflecting the use of a different preposition (e.g., Mic 5:7) or even a different phrase (e.g., Hab 3:10, perhaps a harmonization toward Psalm 77). Despite these differences, the prominence of the MT textual type is clear: all additions and corrections to the fragments are made toward the MT (18 cases).

Of further interest to textual critics, the Murabbaat texts alternately agree with the *qere* and the *kethib* readings of the MT. This fact may lend support to the argument of Rabin (1955) and Orlinsky (1960) that the Masoretic *qere/kethib* system functions to preserve variant readings rather than to offer corrections.

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WADI MUSA (M.R. 196970). The name of an Arab village located E of Petra. As a designation of a settlement, the name is relatively recent. In Musil (1907–08) "Wâdî Mûsâ" refers only to the valley which derives its name from the perennial spring of 'Ain Mûsâ. The name of the valley changes at its exit from the depression of Petra. The name of the wadi, "Valley of Moses" is secondary to the name of the spring, "Moses' Spring." The post-biblical, but pre-Christian Jewish tradition localized Kadesh (Num 20:1; 20:22) at Petra, and, accordingly, the miracle of the water from the rock (Num 20:2–13) and Aaron's death (Num 20:23–29) in its vicinity. Aaron's tomb, originally a pre-Islamic sanctuary (Jeremias 1958: 107), is traditionally located at the highest peak of the Petra region: Nabî Hârûn, "The (sanctuary of the) Prophet Aaron." For the name of the village below that spring, Musil and his contemporaries still recorded el-Jî'. This is the ancient name of the settlement: *Gaia* (Eus. *Onomast.* 62, 18–19 [4th century A.D.]), *gy'* in Nabataean inscriptions (1st century A.D.), and *rĕqam gê'â* (Petra) for Kadesh-barnea in the Targum (Deut 1:19). "The Valley," *hag-gay'* in 1 Chr 4:39 may refer to the same place (see *infra*).

Wadi Musa is situated on the first terrace of the Transjordanian Plateau's escarpment leading down to the Wadi 'Arabah. Relatively gentle slopes surrounding the village to the N, E, and S and continuing below the village to the W provided potential for terrace farming and horticulture. Annual rainfall averages 300 mm; together with the perennial flow of its spring, 'Ain Mûsâ, the village occupies an environment that allows continuous settled occupation. This case is an exception rather than the rule in S Jordan. Manageable roads, transformed by Trajan into the *Via Nova Traiana,* linked Wadi Musa/el-Jî' to the N and to the S. A camel track, which was still used by pilgrims in the Roman period, connected Wadi Musa with the caravan station of Udhruh on the E side of the Transjordanian ridge. All traffic bound for Petra from the N, E, and S had (and still has) to pass through Wadi Musa.

Being continuously occupied, i.e., without standing monuments, and overshadowed by the magnificence of the architectural remains at nearby Petra, Wadi Musa had not yet become a focus of archaeological research. Monumental architecture which is epigraphically and literally attested (Eusebius called Gaia a *polis,* "city"!) has been destroyed and partially recycled by later building activity (Wenning 1987: 91–92). Nabataean and Roman architectural pieces have been reported by Dalman (1908: 359–60), Kirkbride (1960), and Zayadine (1981: 350). A Nabataean inscription from Wadi Musa was erroneously attributed to Petra (Khairy 1981). The foundations of a major temple were bulldozed in 1978 (Brooker and Knauf fc.).

The Iron Age predecessor of Wadi Musa was located at

Ṭawīlān, which produced Midianite sherds (13th–12th centuries B.C.) and Edomite occupational strata (8th through 5th centuries B.C.). See TAWILAN. From the Hellenistic period onwards, surface pottery is reported from Wadi Musa (unpublished). I Chr 4:39–43 reports an action of Simeonites against *hag-gay*ʾ (v 39) in Seir (v 42) with repercussions on *mēʿînîm*, Minaeans (v 41). Because this action cannot have taken place in the time of Hezekiah (v 41), it is likely that the account alludes to economic and political conflicts at the time of the Chronicler, i.e., the late Persian or early Hellenistic period (Knauf 1985: 116–17; and see MEUNIM). The text, then, reflects the prominence of Gaia/Wadi Musa in the early Nabataean period. Minaean presence among the Nabataeans and in the Petra region is epigraphically attested (Knauf 1985: 117, n. 17). The supreme deity of the Nabataean state is called "Dushara of Gaia" in two inscriptions from Dumah/el-Jôf (A.D. 44; Savignac and Starcky 1957) and Oboda (A.D. 98; Negev 1961: 127–28). The evidence from epigraphy and geography suggests that Gaia/Wadi Musa was the administrative center of the Nabataean realm (Milik 1982: 265; Brooker and Knauf fc.), whereas the significance of Petra was predominantly religious in nature. The precedence of Gaia over Petra is also reflected in the Targumic designation of Petra: *Reqam Gêʾâ*, "Petra of Gaia" vis-à-vis a second *rēqam*, *Rēqam d-Ḥegrâ* (the Nabataean rock-cut necropolis Madâʾin Ṣâliḥ near ancient Hegra, al-Ḥijr). Besides Dushara, Nabataean inscriptions mention the deities Baalshamin (Khairy 1981) and al-Kutbâ (Savignac 1934: 586–89) for Gaia/Wadi Musa. When, early in the 12th century A.D., the Crusaders erected a fortress NW of el-Jîʾ amidst an early Nabataean sacred area (Brown 1987), for the first time its name referred to the "Moses-Valley-tradition": "Li Vaux Moyse," today al-Wuʿayrah.

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WAFER. As a translation of Heb *rāqîq*, "wafer" indicates an item that was part of the array of foodstuffs which comprised the various sacrificial offerings specified in the priestly texts of the Pentateuch. As "wafer" suggests, this type of break was a thin cake; the Hebrew term can be related to an Arabic word meaning "to be thin." In the more detailed listings of the offerings (Exod 29:2; Lev 2:4; 7:12; Num 6:15), the wafer is said to be unleavened and to be spread with oil. It was to be made of fine wheat flour.

The wafer was used in the "wave offerings" to consecrate priests (Exod 29:2, 23; Lev 8:26); it was also included among the elaborate sacrifices made by Nazirites when they completed their vows (Num 6:14–15). The officiating priest would wave the wafers along with other forms of unleavened bread, the meat from the sacrificed animals, and sometimes its fat and kidneys.

The wafer was also used in the "cereal offerings," when an Israelite layperson would prepare and bring the wafers to the officiating priest, who would offer part of the bread directly to God; the remainder would go to the priest (Lev 2:4, 8–10). Like other cereal offerings (see Leviticus 2), wafers could either be brought by themselves (Lev 2:4) or accompany a peace offering (Lev 7:12). The wafer also appears in the list in 1 Chr 23:29 of foodstuffs that the Levites were supposed to help prepare.

Although all these references to wafers are in cultic passages, it is to be assumed that thin cakes were eaten in everyday life. One passage in Exodus (16:31) compares manna to "wafers made with honey," although the Hebrew word in this verse is *ṣĕpîḥit*.

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WAHEB (PLACE) [Heb *wāhēb*]. Considered a place name by the RSV and the NEB, Waheb introduces a poetic fragment taken from the ancient Book of the Wars of Yahweh which has been inserted into the Transjordanian itinerary of the Israelites (Num 21:14). Both the grammar and versional variants indicate that the reading is disputed. Though the MT considers Waheb to be an object it appears to provide no verb on which Waheb is dependent within the poetic section. The LXX and OL read *Zōob* for Waheb assuming the Heb reading *zāhāb* which is the name of a locality in Deut 1:1. The KJV following Vg, which in turn reflects early targumic readings, assumed the Heb root *yhb* for Waheb and translated it by a verb "what he did." If Waheb is a place name, as is most likely, it designates an unidentified location in Moab near the river Arnon.

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WAILING WALL. See TEMPLE, JERUSALEM.

WALLS. See FORTIFICATIONS (LEVANT).

WANTING AND DESIRING. The expression "desire" or "inordinate longing" is reflected in the OT primarily by the roots *ʾwh* and *ḥmd*. The root *ʾwh* appears as a verb in the *Piʿel, Hitpʿael,* and *Nipʿal* (30x) and as a noun in the forms *ʾawwâ, taʾăwâ,* and *maʾăwayîm*. The root *ḥmd* appears as a verb in the *Qal, Piʿel, Nipʿal* (21x) and as a noun in the forms *ḥemed, ḥemdâ, ḥămudôt, ḥemdûn, maḥmād,* and *maḥmōd* (*TWAT* 1: 145–48; 2: 1020–32; *THAT* 1: 74–76, 579–81).

The words *ʾwh* and *ḥmd* are synonymous and often appear in parallelism (Gen 3:6) or interchangeably in the same context (Exod 20:17 and Deut 5:21; Prov 6:25 and Ps 45:12; Ps 68:17 and Ps 132:13–14). Nevertheless, even the word *bḥr* ("choose") can appear in parallelism with *ʾwh* (Ps 132:13–14; Job 23:13, conjecture following Fohrer, *KAT* XVI, 362–63). Likewise, there is a thematic connection between the terms *ʾwh* and *ḥmd* and the semantic range of *ḥšb* ("think, consider"). Finally, even the noun *hawwâ,* "desire" (Mic 7:3; Prov 10:3; 11:6), is related in meaning and cannot be distinguished semantically from *ʾwh*.

In the *Piʿel* the verb *ʾwh* is always associated with *nepeš* as a subject (except in Ps 132:13–14). Likewise, the nouns *ʾawwâ* and *hawwâ* are always found in connection with *nepeš,* while the noun *taʾăwâ* is determined by *nepeš* (Isa 26:8; Ps 10:3), *leb* (Ps 21:3), or *ʾādām* (Prov 19:22). That indicates clearly that the verb *ʾwh* (shades of meaning between its verbal roots cannot be distinguished) as well as the corresponding nouns understand "desiring," "wishing," and "wanting" as a natural expression of the human personality or ego. The intensity and the object of this desire can be quite diverse. It is noteworthy, however, that this desire is concerned primarily with the basic needs of human life such as drinking (2 Sam 23:15), eating (Deut 12:20; Mic 7:1; Job 33:20; Prov 23:3, 6), a partner of the opposite gender (Ps 45:12), or good fortune in general (Prov 10:24; 11:23; Ps 21:3), to which belongs even a correct relationship with God (Isa 26:8–9; Amos 5:18).

Human desire is viewed throughout as normal and good insofar as a reasonable and correct measure is not exceeded and it is not directed toward the wrong ends. For this reason, desire for the property of one's neighbor (Deut 5:21) and striving for the company of evil persons (Prov 24:1) is prohibited. Whoever strives for evil is a wicked person (Prov 21:10), and the wicked person's desire is just as fruitless as is that of the lazy person (Prov 13:4; 21:25–26; Ps 112:10), because it is an inappropriate desire that has no actual basis. That applies also especially to an unquenchable desire that is directed against God (Num 11:4; Pss 78:29–30; 106:14). This desire, which is an expression of human self-realization, represents gulity rebellion against God that must be punished. Eve's desire for the tree in the midst of God's garden and its fruits should also be understood from this perspective (Gen 3:6): in doing this, she abandoned a state of obedience, and this called for punishment.

When God is the subject of *ʾwh* (Ps 132:13–14; Job 23:13), the word *ʾwh* expresses God's far-reaching freedom to make decisions, of which he makes full use.

Statements associated with the semantic range of the word *ʾwh* allow one to recognize that the latter does not simply refer to desire as an intellectual reflection, but even includes forms of behavior that might lead to the acquisition of the object. This information applies equally to the semantic range of *ḥmd* (Herrmann 1927). If the word *ʾwh* expresses the desire that arises from an inner human need, then the word *ḥmd* refers to the desire that comes from seeing something beautiful (Moran 1967).

Both the verb *ḥmd* in its various verbal roots and the corresponding nouns always designate a behavior or activity that was caused by a visual perception of a desired object or person. Still, in such a situation one should again distinguish between positive and negative uses within the semantic range. Just as the semantic range of *ʾwh* expresses desire that is allowed, one may treat the word *ḥmd* also as an expression of such desire—as long as it is not directed toward clearly forbidden objects and does not harm the neighbor and the community. Sexual desire is not prohibited *per se* (Cant 2:3); on the other hand, desire for the wife of one's neighbor (Exod 20:17 = Deut 5:21; Prov 6:25) as well as his property (Exod 20:17; Mic 2:2) is. Likewise, the desire for goods that are reserved for God, and which have therefore come under the ban *(ḥrm)* (Deut 7:25; Josh 7:21), is not allowed. In contrast, God's legal judgments are characterized as especially desirous (Ps 19:11). The desire for objects and goods that enhance human life, thereby making it more comfortable—e.g., nice clothes (Gen 27:15), good food (Dan 10:3), and possessions in general (Ps 39:12; Isa 32:12)—is thought of as normal and legitimate. Of course, even striving for beauty and a good figure are entirely permissible (Cant 5:16; Ezek 23:6, 12, 23), while plainness is unpleasing (Isa 53:2).

Just as individuals and human groups can be the subject of *ḥmd,* so can God (Ps 68:17). God's desire can be fulfilled without limitation.

Whether expressed by *ʾwh* or *ḥmd,* the expression "desire" acquires a theological significance whenever the desire in question not only breaks human rules of behavior but even violates divine instructions. Such a situation appears both in Eve's desire to eat from the fruits of the tree that stands in the midst of God's garden, in spite of divine prohibition (Gen 3:6), and in the desire of the Israelites in the wilderness for food other than manna (Num 11:4; Ps 78:29–30; 106:14). These desires amount to a rejection of God's leadership and care. Such human behavior, directed against God, is understood theologically as sin necessitating divine punishment. Moreover, the statement that God does what he desires (Job 23:13) unconditionally and independent of human influence provides a clear testimony to God's eminence and omnipotence. This is also confirmed in the view that God desires Mount Zion as an earthly residence (Pss 68:17; 132:13).

Based on Num 11:4, there emerged in late Judaism a tendency to interpret every human desire that issued from external stimulation as a strong action against God, and to understand it as a sin. The thematic overlapping of the prohibition of theft (Exod 20:15 = Deut 5:19) and of coveting (Exod 20:17 = Deut 5:21) was fundamentally significant in extending this view. Regardless of how illogical it may seem, this view led to the false inference that Exod 20:17 = Deut 5:21 in particular must refer to a mental transgression, thereby already prohibiting desire as *intention* (rather than as *deed*). This perspective devalues all human desire and makes all human urges, especially

the sexual one, a tabu. In Judaism as well as Christianity this attitude led to unequivocal statements about the general sinfulness of desires and urges. Corresponding statements can be found in the Qumran writings (1QS 9:25; 10:19; 4:9–11; and 5:5) and rabbinic sources (Str-B 1: 298–301; 3: 234–36; 4/1: 466–68).

The NT, in Matt 5:28 and Rom 7:7, makes this especially clear (*TWNT* 3: 168–73). According to Matt 5:28 Jesus already considers desirous thoughts about a married woman—thoughts which have been caused by an urge—as tantamount to adultery with her. This agrees with the rabbinic view that an adulterer is not only a person who physically has had sexual relations with a married person but anyone who commits adultery with his eyes (*Lev. Rab.* 23 [122b]). Undoubtedly, optical-mental desire is already understood in this case as a sin. According to Paul in Rom 7:7, desire in general is a sin: he held the view that the prohibition of desire (= the Law) had initially awakened desire in humans, thereby bringing them for the first time into a state of sin. Correspondingly, Col 3:5 prohibits each and every type of desire and puts it on the same level with greed, incest, unchastity, and passion.

Finally, *4 Macc* 2:2–6 reveals how human desire can be controlled and overcome, especially the sexual urge. Using Joseph as its model, this passage introduces reason or rational thinking as a counterforce to desire. Accordingly, the knowledge of human susceptibility vis-à-vis the senses of seeing and feeling, which compel the person to act, points to the possibility of self-control and self-examination. The human *ratio* is able to interrupt the connection between perception, desire, and action by bringing that desire under its control.

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WAR AND WARFARE. See WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS OF WARFARE; MILITARY ORGANIZATION IN MESOPOTAMIA. On the subject of "holy war," see DEUTERONOMY, BOOK OF.

WAR IN THE NT. War is a state of armed conflict between two groups of people in which lethal violence is used to coerce one to do the other's will. Karl von Clausewitz (1780–1831) described war as an activity engaged in by duly constituted states that is: "a continuation of political commerce . . . by other means" (von Clausewitz 1968: 101, 119). In the 2d century, Aelius Aristides wrote that "people no longer believe in wars" and indeed they doubted that they had ever happened. War was like a myth from the past (*EulogyR.* 70; Levin 1950). That may have been true in Athens, where Aristides acquired his rhetorical skills, or Rome, where he visited; but Palestine had been ravaged by war nearly 200 times in 150 years; and between the time that Jesus lived and most of the NT was written the Jews experienced the worst war in their history, leaving Jerusalem in ruins and the temple destroyed. See JEWISH WAR. Whatever Greek or Roman historians may have written and whatever emperors may have claimed about the Roman peace, the perception "from below" of the NT writers is quite different. Weary of war, and disillusioned with its claims to bring or enforce peace, they saw it as demonic and the opposite to the peace which their Lord had brought.

A. NT Words for War
B. War in the Greco-Roman World
C. God as Warrior in Judaism
D. Jesus as Messianic Warrior
E. War in the Early Christian Writings
F. The Early Church and the Military

A. NT Words for War

The noun "war" *(polemos)* appears sixteen times in the NT, of which nine occurrences appear in Rev (eight are symbolic) and the verb "to make war" *(polemeō)* appears 7 times, of which 6 occurrences are found in the Revelation. Christ is described as "making war" with the "sword of his mouth" (Rev 2:16); the Word of God is "just in judgment and in making war" (19:11) (an allusion to Ps 96:12 and Isa 11:4; the reference to war is an addition to the LXX). The other occurrences depict war as something done under evil influence. Related words like "fighting" (*machomai, machē:* 2 Cor 7:5; 2 Tim 2:23; Titus 3:9; Jas 4:1; John 6:52) describe quarrels and are negative, for "the servant of the Lord must not be pugnacious" (2 Tim 2:24). The term "to contend" *(palē)* appears only once (Eph 6:12). The verb *strateuō* "to serve as a soldier" and the related terms *strateia* ("battle," "warfare") *strateuma* ("army," "soldier") and *stratiōtes* ("soldier") are used a total of 45 times, both literally and figuratively. Paul, although never referring to himself as a "soldier of Christ" describes his work as an apostle (1 Cor 9:7; 2 Cor 10:3–4; 1 Tim 1:18) along military lines; but the operative statement is: "While we are in the flesh, we do not fight according to the flesh" (2 Cor 10:3). The admonition of 2 Tim 2:3, "Take your share of hardship, like a good soldier of Christ Jesus," could be a genuinely Pauline sentiment, but it is a simile (rather than a metaphor) and it occurs only once.

The hope expressed in Mic 4:3, Zech 9:10, Hos 2:18–23 and Isa 2:4 that eventually the instruments of war and war itself will be abolished as the nations allow God to adjudicate their disputes, is not reflected in the NT. Rather, a pronouncement is attributed to Jesus that war is a birth pang of the new age signaling the coming of the end (a

recurrent motif of Jewish apocalyptic: Volz 1934: 157, 213). Thus in Mark 13:7 (= Matt 24:6) reference is made to hearing of "war and rumours" of wars (Luke 21:9 "war and tumults"). Some see an indication here that wars are an essential divinely willed aspect of history. That question is not addressed in this text. The primary reference is to the temple's destruction.

James asks, "From whence come wars *(polemoi)* and conflicts *(machai)* among you? Don't they come from the fighting *(strateuō)* among your members? You desire uncontrollably and cannot have, you quarrel *(machōmai)* and fight *(polemeō)*. You have not because you do not ask" (4:1–2).

In two of the fifteen references to war in the Revelation, God or God's agent is portrayed as making war (2:16; 19:11); always by the "word of his mouth." "To make war" is behavior more characteristic of the beast (11:7; 13:7; 16:14; cf. 17:14; 19:19; 20:8) or the angelic beings against the dragon (12:7, 17).

Research on war in the NT has focused on five issues: war in the Greco-Roman world, God as "warrior" in Judaism, Jesus as eschatological or Messianic Warrior, the NT and the Christian Soldier, and the Early Church and the military.

B. War in the Greco-Roman World

In ancient Greece war was seen as essential to the existence of the nation state. Had it not been for the unsuccessful war of Athens against Sparta the praise for war could have been unrestrained. Even the great epics of war, the *Illiad* and the *Odyssey* of Homer, painted graphically both the horrors of war and its glories. In Hector's farewell there is no hint that this is a war to end all wars; rather, much as he regrets the foolishness of the Trojan war, as he takes his son into his arms he prays to Zeus not for the vocation of peace for his young son, but for the life of a warrior, who, better far than his father, might "kill his enemy and bring home the blooded spoils and delight the heart of his mother" (*Il.* 6.465–82).

Bauernfeind (*TDNT* 6: 503) has shown that in the Homeric epics war is intimately tied to the rule of the gods, although it is hardly legitimate to designate war-gods. The symbol depicted on the shield of Achilles of Ares and Pallas Athena leading the armies indicates that these two stand together only in war (*Il.* 18.516).

Ares, originating in pre-Homeric times, is the ideal wild hero, driven by a warrior's courage, insatiable in fighting (*Il.* 5.388) and noted for his violent acts, "for killing so many and such good Achaian warriors for no reason, and out of due order," and he is referred to as "this maniac who knows nothing of justice" whom Kypris and Apollo of the golden bow had let loose (*Il.* 5.759–62).

Athena, however, rewards only the deliberate strategies of war and the heroes who emerge from it. She seeks to control the more impetuous Ares (*Il.* 5.851ff.; 21.385ff.), who seems to be in poor repute even on Mount Olympus (*Il.* 5.890; *Od.* 8.267ff.). Thersites, however, lays the blame for war squarely at the feet of the monarch, Agamemnon, who seeks to fill his storehouse with plunder and his harem with new women (*Il.* 2.211–42).

In reaction to this and to balance the poems of Tyrtaeus which encouraged men to battle there were the writings of Euripides and Aristophanes, which dramatized the evils of war. Euripides had a special talent for bringing to the world stage the voices of the children and women most deeply affected by the tragedies of war *(Medea, Women of Troy)*. In Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* the magistrate decries the impudence of the women who have no idea what a war means and seek to instruct men on politics. Lysistrata replies, "We are the people who feel it the keenliest, doubly on us the affliction is cast; we bore the sons you took for soldiers" (Rogers 1955: 310).

The wisdom poet Hesiod accepts the divine origins and city-destroying actions of Ares (*Theog.* 922). He reports that the goddess Athena derives deep joy from war and battle (*Theog.* 926). On the whole, however, he approaches the relationship between the gods and war differently. Presumably Hesiod saw behind the wars of mortals the designs of the immortals, but the latter are not seen as being an original cause nor as directly involved; thus, Hesiod places a greater distance between the gods and war (*TDNT* 6: 503).

The cause of war is *eris* (*Op.* 14): contemptible, despicable *eris*. Because there are two kinds of *eris* on earth, whose spirits are completely opposed, the person who is wise should praise the one, and blame the other, which stirs up the evil of war and the conflict of battle. In the first two world ages there was no war. Only in the third age does the tragic business of Ares begin (*Op.* 145ff.). As time goes on the goddess Athena takes precedence over the god Ares; Ares becomes someone who needs to be vanquished. The epithet Eualios, the war-like one, is used for Ares by many writers and on temples (*TDNT* 6: 502–7).

Hesiod recognizes that "even war has its honor." But the honor given to *eris* and what it breeds is reluctantly bestowed. Already Achilleus expresses the wish that "*eris* would vanish away" but seems driven by destiny to allow it to run its course in his own life (*Il.* 18.105–15). Hesiod does not recognize war as natural nor as divinely directed to confirm and maintain the truly human. In this respect he differs from Heraclitus, who believed: "It is necessary to know that war *(polemos)* draws people together, and justice is strife *(eris)* and all living things come into being through strife *(eris)* and necessity" (B 80). His most often quoted saying: "War *(polemos)* is the father of all things and is the king of all" (B 53) has been the philosophy which has guided much of Greek and Roman statecraft.

Among the philosophers the legitimacy of war is at first seldom questioned. Plato describes the Greeks and Barbarians as "enemies by nature and war as the fit name for this enmity and hatred" (*Resp.* 5.470C). The origin of war, "comes from those things from which the greatest disasters, public and private come to states" (*Resp.* 2.373E). He sees armies as necessary for they protect "all our wealth and luxuries." He calls the business of fighting an "art and a profession" *(agonia* and *technikē)* and tries to persuade others that "the right accomplishment of the business of war is of supreme moment" (*Resp.* 2.374C). Soldiers are "to be gentle to their friends and harsh (Gk *xalēpous*) to their enemies" (*Resp.* 2.375C). When asked how they can have both traits, he replies that even dogs are kind to those whom they know and harsh to the stranger (*Resp.* 2.375E).

For Plato, education revolves around military preparedness; the guardians should learn mathematics, geometry,

and even astronomy "for the uses of war and for facilitating the conversion of the soul itself from the world to the generation of essence and truth" (*Resp.* 7.525C–527D).

In considering whether a *politeia* in which there is reconciliation of Greek with Greek can ever come into existence, Socrates is told that if it did it would be altogether lovely ". . . and the [inhabitants] would also be most successful in war [against barbarians] because they would be least likely to desert one another, knowing and addressing each other by the names of brothers, fathers, sons. And if the females should also join in their campaigns . . . I recognize that all this too would make them irresistible *(amachoi)*" (*Resp.* 471D).

The pursuits of men and women must be the same in peace and in war and their rulers are to be those who have proven themselves the best in both war and philosophy (*Resp.* 8.543).

The Greeks gave strong impetus to viewing war as under human control and determined by degrees of tolerance, and by access to appeals to justice and communication rather than weapons (Leipoldt 1958). This is especially true of the Cynics, who sought to get rid of war by attacking the causes of war. In the Cynic Utopia as described by Crates there will be no war, for the "things for which men make wars on each other, or take up arms for cash or for renown" will not exist; only Pera, the knapsack (Baldry 1965: 109). When that which all have in common and the unity of humankind are stressed the glorification of war ceases. There is at the same time a considerable expansion of the military metaphor as applied to the struggles of life, begun already by Plato and probably going back as far as the Pythagoreans and appearing with some prominence in both the cult of Isis (Apuleius speaks for example of the "holy militia of Isis" which one joins through the *sacramentum* [*Meta.* 9.15, 5]) and of course Mithraism (Edmonds 1938: 21–30). Indeed Ovid enjoys the use of war metaphors in his manual on how to conquer in love and boasts that he has supplied his reader "with arms as Vulcan did to Achilles" and foresees that the reader will "conquer your Amazon with the sword I have sharpened for your use" (*Ars* 2). He sees himself as providing the "proper tools of war" (*Ars* 3), and the love chase as a military service (*Ars* 2).

Sharp criticisms of war come also from the Cynics of the first century, who direct at Alexander their judgment that war is "senselessness" (Diogenes *Ep.* 40). Their clever rhetorician under the name of Heraclitus registers one of the sharpest denunciations of war. Not even animals arm for conflict; war is "defiling" and insulting to "Athena the warrior, as well as Ares who is called the war-like." He does not consider it a laughing matter that they draw up phalanxes and "men against men pray for each others' slaughter" (Heraclit. *Ep.* 7).

Cicero spoke of two ways of settling disputes: "one by reasonable discussion, the other by force. Although reason is characteristic of men and force of beasts, you must resort to force if there is no opportunity to employ reason. Therefore wars should be undertaken only so that one may live in peace without wrongdoing" (*Off.* 1.34).

It is not entirely true that the concept of the religious or holy war is missing from among the Greeks and Romans (Nestle 1935) but religion was less intrusive in Greek and Roman wars than it was in some Hebrew sources and certainly than it was in later Christian and Islamic practice. The Romans more than the Greeks politicized all religion and tended to sacralize war. In the 4th century B.C.E., M. Furius Camillus upon becoming dictator brought the ten-year war against Veii to an end by calling upon her tutelary deity, Juno Regina, with a prayer promising her a temple in Rome worthy of her majesty and offering to make Rome her city (Livy 5.21.3; Schilling 1969: 461).

In a class by themselves are the various expressions of praise for the *pax romana* culminating in Aelius Aristides in the latter half of the 2d century. Augustus took pride in having closed the doors of the war temple of Janus Quirinus three times, something that had happened only twice before in history. Seneca described his age as a "time of deep peace when military conflict is in abeyance everywhere, when an international peace covers all of the globe" (*Epis.* 91.2). In the provinces, at Priene near Ephesus, Augustus is celebrated in 9 B.C.E. as the one "who has brought war to an end and has ordained peace." For the world the birthday of the god means "the beginning of his tidings of peace" (Wengst 1987: 9). The inscription at Halicarnassus in Asia Minor celebrates Augustus as Savior of the human race for "land and sea have peace . . . people are filled with happy hopes for the future and with delight at the present" (Wengst 1987: 9).

The *pax Romana* has been hailed as "one of the most solid, if not sublime, achievements in history" (Levin 1950: 8). Klaus Wengst has observed, however, that such a judgment can only be sustained if made without any serious comparison with Jewish and Christian views of peace and war. In those religious communities war, and of course peace as well, were seen from the perspective of a God of love and a community in which power was shared with the weak (Wengst 1987).

C. God as Warrior in Judaism

The warlike image of Yahweh or the example of Jewish fighting prowess is no longer invoked as exemplary, as it was during the First World War (e.g., Gunkel 1916: 2–3, 23, 25) and during the Second World War (Rendtorff 1937). The discovery of the War Scroll at Qumran gave considerable impetus to research on this theme for the period of the Second Temple.

As evident from the LXX, some members of the Jewish community were uneasy about portraying Yahweh as a warrior. The Hebrew prophets had already portrayed Yahweh as a military leader of foreign nations, thus modifying the idea that Yahweh might be invoked as their exclusive military leader (Isa 42:13–16). Cyrus is depicted as Yahweh's anointed, the instrument of righteousness. Of him it is said that God will "take him by the hand, to subdue nations before him" (Isa 45:1–8).

The LXX was equally daring in taking each of the four texts in which Yahweh is described as "a man of war" and changing them to "one who destroys war" (Exod 15:3; Isa 42:13; Jdt 9:7; 16:3). In at least one LXX passage the "destruction of war" is added where it does not appear in the MT (Mic 2:8); and in some the hope is escalated from the destruction of instruments of war to the destruction of war itself (Hos 2:20). Apparently influential members of the Jewish community sought to minimize the bellicose

depictions of Yahweh (van Leeuwen 1940: 24–29) for it is reflected in the Targums as well (on Isa 42:13 see Chilton 1987: 82). The external pressures which bore on the community thus to change the Hebrew text are not known. There is inherent, however, in the theology of war developed in the Hebrew scriptures the potential for this change. If Yahweh is God of war, Yahweh can destroy it, for it is an institution, not a part of the created order.

Philo foresees an end to war globally (*Praem* 91) and certainly is convinced that "war will not pass through the land of the godly at all . . . when the enemy perceives . . . that they have in justice an irresistible ally" (*Praem* 93). A permanent and bloodless victory will be won over war.

The Qumran Scrolls depict a war in more graphic terms, although it is not likely that a literal war is visualized. 1QM is apparently based on a Roman military manual and the battle cries, banners, and the detailed prescription of how to fight would seem to indicate that this group, while nonviolent towards their own Jewish compatriots, did not hesitate to engage the Romans in battle when the occasion presented itself. It has been argued that in 1QM a distinction is made for the first time not on the basis of nationalistic or ethnic language "but rather on the moral forces of good and evil, or the cosmic principles of light and darkness . . . it opens up a possibility radically different from the traditional nationalistic conception of holy war which we still find in the mythological framework of Daniel" (J. Collins 1975: 609). This possibility, according to Collins, is not carried through consistently, nor indeed does he see it as an unmixed blessing. In any case the cry, "Rise up O Warrior! Take your captives, O Man of Glory" in 1QM 12:10 appears to be an exception to the trend noted above.

Finally there was a very strong movement within Judaism which took evil seriously, and consistently saw life as a conflict between evil and good in non-literal terms. Some examples from one of the oldest midrashic works, the Tractate Beshallah [(Lauterbach 1976); *Mek.* 214] illustrate this. Four groups of Israelites are depicted at the Red Sea: (1) Those who want to throw themselves into the sea; "Stand still and see the salvation of the Lord." (2) Those who wish to return to Egypt. (3) Those who wish to fight the Egyptians are promised that the Lord will fight for them. (4) Those who wish to cry out against them are told to hold their peace confident that the Lord will always fight for them. They are assured, "if even when you stand there silent, the Lord will fight for you, how much more so when you render praise to him!" God will fight for them and their task is to engage in worship.

In the Tractate Shirata (Lauterbach 1976: 2.30–35) commenting on Exod 15:3–4 ("The LORD is a Man of war") R. Judah finds this verse to mean that the LORD appeared to them with all the implements of war: *like* a mighty hero girded with a sword (Ps 45:4); *like* a mighty horseman, (Ps 18:11); in a coat of mail and helmet (= righteousness and salvation; Isa 59:17); with a *spear*, (Hab 3:11; cf. Ps 35:3); with a bow and arrows (Hab 3:9; cf. 2 Sam 22:15); shield and buckler (= truth; Pss 91:4; 35:2).

For R. Judah, the LORD fights with his name and has no need of any of these weapons. "If so, why need Scripture specify every single one of them? Merely to tell that when Israel is in need of them, God fights their battles for them." There follows an extensive comparison between Yahweh as divine warrior and a "king of flesh and blood" (Lauterbach 1976: 2.35).

This depiction of Yahweh as a warrior who fights with his word or with his name is exceedingly frequent in Judaism. The transfer also applies to instruments of war; e.g., the sword and the bow are in fact "prayer and fasting" (*Tg. Onq.* Gen 48:22 [Grossfeld 1988: 156]), the "soldier and the warrior" and "those who repel attacks at the gate" in Isa (3:2; 28:6) are not warriors but "those who know how to dispute in the battle of the Torah" (*b. Hag.* 14a; *b. Meg.* 15b). The sword of the mighty is the Torah (*Midr. Ps.* 45:4). The military leaders of the Bible are transformed into scholars and heads of the Sanhedrin, and David's armed men (2 Sam 23:8) are none other than manifestations of the might of his spirit.

Military terms are applied to the struggle between good and evil. In 2 Maccabees the zeal of the martyrs emulating Phineas becomes the ground of Divine deliverance. Moreover in *4 Maccabees*, where the battles of Judas Maccabaeus are not even mentioned, the mother of the Maccabean sons is described as a "warrior of God in the cause of religion" who "defeated the tyrant by her endurance and was found stronger than a man" (*4 Macc.* 16:14–15). The mother urged the sons to "fight their battle zealously on behalf of the Law" (*4 Macc.* 16:16), for "truly it is a holy war" (17:11). Not only has justice been victorious through their sacrifice and the propitiation made by their deaths purified the country, Israel has been delivered through their death (*4 Macc.* 17:22). Lastly, "through them the nation obtained peace and restoring the observance of the Law in our country has captured the city from the enemy" (*4 Macc.* 18:4; Brownlee 1983: 288).

The members of the Qumran group also saw themselves as chosen to clear iniquity "by active performance of justice and passive submission to the trials of chastisement" (1QS 8:3–4). Participants in the community are seen as "effecting atonement for the earth and ensuring the requital of the wicked" (1QS 8:10). Apparently the members of the community will participate in the holy war or in the vengeance which God enacts against the evil. In the highly symbolic War Scroll it is said repeatedly, "Thine is the battle" (11). At the same time the community seems to prefer military imagery for God, referring to El as the "hero" or "strongman" (Heb *gibbôr*) of the war (12:9). It appears that they are not prepared to depict God in nonmilitary terms and their own role was aggressively enough defined that they most likely joined in battle against the Romans some time between 66 and 74. This likelihood increases if one admits the possibility that John the Essene, mentioned by Josephus (*War* 2 §567; 3 §11, §19) as a military commander against Vespasian, was a member of the sect. Indeed one of the difficulties of identifying the Qumran sect with the Essenes is that Philo states clearly that the Essenes would have nothing to do with the manufacture and sale of weapons (*Quod Omn* 78). Josephus, while describing them as "ministers of peace" (*JW* 2.135) says that they wore arms for protection against brigands (*JW* 2.125). To speak here of "spiritualizing" or internalizing a struggle does not do justice to it. Rather there was emerging among Jews and Greeks an understanding of the human struggle which saw it as going beyond flesh and

blood to ideas, concepts and values. Perhaps it was always there but the articulation of this new kind of battle came into its fullest strength when military images were used to portray the human battle.

D. Jesus as Messianic Warrior

One writer states that "the extensive use of the Holy War theme has not been elucidated . . . only implicitly recognized" by students of the NT (Longman 1982: 291). In fact attention to this theme goes back to the same decade in which OT scholars began to publish on the subject, and to the first and still most important book to deal with Jesus and the messianic war motif (Windisch 1909). Windisch saw that there are certain strands in the gospel tradition which point in the direction of militancy, battle and struggle; in short, despite other indicators; nevertheless "Jesus possessed a certain militancy" (1909: 53). Without the messianic war, it is hard to understand how these militant features came into the gospel tradition. It is no longer possible to deny them: "Jesus conducts the holy war in deed and word to defend and establish the Divine Rule" (Betz 1956: 128–29).

A comparison with the Targumim and their definition of the role of the Messiah as military liberator (Levey 1975: 11, 65) indicates that Jesus took the myths of the Messiah around him, and transformed them by engaging in a battle against the demonic powers which freed people from slavery to them. In the gospel tradition "the exorcisms themselves are regarded as a victorious combat with the devil and his kingdom" (Leivestad 1954: 47). On the road to his victory as "the complete renunciation of every demonstration of power on his own behalf" (Leivestad 1954: 12) he was rejected as simply another messianic pretender when he died on the cross. "We had hoped this one would save Israel," Cleopas said in deep discouragement shortly after Jesus died on the cross (Luke 24:21). Later they would attribute to Jesus (or perhaps recall?) the statement: "My kingdom is not of this world; if my kingdom were of this world my 'officers' would have fought and continued to fight" (John 18:36; for this translation, see BDF 360 (3)). The verb *agonizo* translated "fight" is used only twice in the gospels (Luke 13:24), but only here in the literal sense. The usage has affinities with the wrestling match portrayed in *T. Job* 27 as well as *4 Maccabees,* where it ends in martyrdom. The images of an athletic contest and battle merge into one and this word makes it easier to see the struggle as unconventional. The difference in the kingdoms can be seen most clearly in the fact that the followers of Jesus do not use violence.

In Paul, where the *agon* motif is especially strong, there is a rich confluence of Jewish and Greek ideas on the theme of conflict. The Greek sources, going back to at least Plato, were gathered by Hilarius Edmonds (1935). In 1 Thessalonians 5 with its reference to "peace and security" (v 3) Paul invites the Thessalonians to be "armed with faith and love as breastplate, and the hope of salvation for helmet" (1 Thess 5:8, alluding to Isa 59:17 [LXX]). We have here the first evidence of Paul's inclination to use war terminology and apply it to three fundamental aspects of the style of the Christian life. Malherbe (1983) has pointed out some striking parallels between Paul and Philo and Hellenistic writers of the 1st and 2d centuries. In 2 Cor 10:3–6 Paul uses the image of the siege, and the main verb "to fight" *(strateuō)* is modified by three participles meaning, respectively "to demolish," (v 4), "to compel to surrender" (v 5) and "to punish" (every rebellion; v 6). Although the image of the siege is also used in Prov 21:22, it is much more detailed here. It is similarly used in Philo, but as Malherbe observes, Philo along with the Hellenistic moralists has in mind primarily the passions. Here virtue becomes the "indestructible and impregnable fortress." He further points out that for Paul the structures he attacks are defensive in nature, the issues are cognitive and volitional rather than sophistical, as in Philo. He writes that "the Spartans held that a city is well fortified when it is surrounded by brave men, who are in fact its walls and the virtues of its inhabitants provide sufficient fortification" (Malherbe 1987: 59). Sentiments like that appear regularly for centuries in many different kinds of literature; only once in Paul.

These observations could also be extended to Eph 6:10–20, which has an extended listing of battle imagery. The threefold repetition of the command to "stand" (vv 11, 13, 14) already indicates the author's main concern. Borrowing freely from Wis 18:14–25, this passage obviously has taken individual pieces of armor and the image of a battle and radically revised it. For here it is not a virtuous person fighting against vices or evils. It is a community clothed in the armor of God and battling, not against people, but against the structures of evil which lie behind them. Although the imagery is similar to that found in Isa 59:15b–18 the weapons of justice (2 Cor 6:7) are depicted differently here. Nevertheless similar imagery appears in the "triumphal procession" terminology (Col 2:15; 2 Cor 2:14). Obviously Paul found some war terminology useful. He used it ingeniously to assist people in struggling against evil powers.

The most problematic book in the NT with regard to war symbolism is the book of Revelation. Recent scholarly work (Caird 1966; Leivestad 1954) makes it possible to see the rich imagery of apocalyptic literature in context and to perceive that many apocalyptic thinkers were in fact non-violent and quietists. Above all it is possible to see in the book the myths of conflict found in the OT as well and to observe their adaptation to the Christian community.

One cannot make sense of the book without recognizing the central place which the Lamb has in the book. Clearly this Lamb (Gk *arnion*) is the source of all action after chap. 5 and becomes the central figure. The author while describing the Lamb's wrath (6:16) shows it as leading (7:17; 14:4) and even as conquering (17:14), but never as engaged in warring activity or as waging war (contra Longman 1982: 300, 302) even when the ten kings and the Beast attack. Rather, the Lamb's victory takes place in solidarity with those "who are called, chosen and faithful" (17:14). The most difficult passage of all is Rev 19:11–21. The imagery of Word and Sword are brought together here and the critical question is how the sovereignty of King of Kings and Lord of Lords is affirmed. The language to describe the victory is borrowed from classical war terminology: "rider on a horse" (19:11, 19, 21), "armies of heaven" (19:14, 19) "the sharp sword that smites the nations" (19:15; cf. 1:16) and the marshaling of the "kings of the earth and their armies to do battle with the

Rider upon the horse and his army" (Rev 19:19). This clearly is the last war. Here the Lamb has become the Word, but even the instrument used to overcome the enemies is the Word coming out of his mouth (Rev 19:15), and whatever "killed" means in verse 21, the instrument used remains the sword that comes out of the Rider's mouth. These images do not lend themselves to facile translation into modern language. It is surely possible that the community out of which they come had not resolved the tension that exists between Christ as Lord of Lords and as suffering Lamb who died for the World out of love for it. In addition we are here in the presence of rich imagery with a long history in which apocalyptic and wisdom realms flow together. Wisdom 18:14–25 which sees the "Almighty Word leaping from the throne in heaven . . . like a relentless warrior, bearing the sharp sword of thy inflexible decree" subduing the avenger and beating back the Divine wrath may be in the back of the author's mind. In any case the motif of the Divine warrior comes to its historical climax here and must in some way be seen in the light of the rich history or "appropriation, reformulation and transformation" it has experienced (Neufeld Yoder 1989: 156).

Although Isaiah, Wisdom and Paul as well as the author of Ephesians had contributed to it, the most thorough rewriting in all of Jewish Christian literature of the war motif was done as the titles of Domitian (Stauffer 1955) are conferred upon the Lamb, and the symbol of non-violent suffering of Judaism—the Lamb—is used to transform the Messianic War. This is not a retreat into privacy, for the Revelation engages political power which has become demonized. In a rich assortment of images, the text signals the direction holy disobedience is to take. The Revelation "makes use of holy war traditions to interpret the situation of its first readers . . . and advocates passive resistance. . . . The elect are not purely passive, because the deaths suffered by members of the community are thought to play a role in bringing about the turning point, the eschatological battle" (A. Y. Collins 1977). Far from advocating "an abortive hatred that can only lead to . . . destruction" (*IDB* 2:176) the book's evocative Christology combines an appeal to faithfulness and following the Lamb. While taking injustices seriously it also rejects all vengeance secure in the knowledge that the Lamb was "slain and by his blood ransomed for God people from every tribe and language, people and nation, making of them a royal house, to serve God as priests; and they shall reign upon the earth" (Rev 5:9–10; cf. Klassen 1966).

E. War in the Early Christian Writings

Some scholars argue that the NT itself has nothing to say directly on the matter of war or military participation. Others insist that a careful reading of the NT can only lead to the conclusion that "war by its very nature contradicts the principles [of the Kingdom] point by point" and that it "represents a concentration of all those things in human life which are most irreconcilably opposed to the will of God as shown in Jesus Christ" (Dodd 1939: 12, 15). The dominant position until recent times is that the NT does not rule out all participation in wars.

Those who allow for Christian participation in war have to come to terms with two aspects of the early Christian teaching which are very difficult to reconcile with participation in war, or indeed with any lethal violence.

The first and the most important is the teaching of Jesus that his disciples are to love their enemies (Luke 6:28, 35). The illustrations he provides on how this might work make the point that the enemy can be treated as God treats people, treating enemy and friend alike (Matt 5:43–8). No Stoic passivity is recommended; rather, an assertive act of engaging the enemy through an act of love which invests in the furtherance of the life of the enemy. Any attempt to justify participation in war must come to terms with this clear and undisputed teaching.

During past wars it has usually been stated or tacitly assumed by exegetes that the teachings of Jesus do not apply in this instance. A manual provided for German soldiers during the Second World War written by a distinguished professor argued that Christians make the best soldiers and that "the Christian is cheerful in life, cheerful in death, friendly towards friends and courageous towards enemies" (Rendtorff 1937: 6). The same author affirms that "Genuine soldierhood and genuine faith in God belong together. It is no joke that on our belt buckles as soldiers the words appear: God with us; and that these words have been preserved for us over many dark years" (ibid. 7). It is difficult to resurrect such arguments in favor of wars, for our understanding of the message of the kingdom of Jesus and of the church has grown. Moreover, Martin Luther King and Cesar Chavez, who actively loved their enemies and manifested courageous non-violence, seem closer to the rule of God.

In addition, the technology of modern warfare makes a profound difference to the discussion. Few believe that a "just" war is possible today, and it is hard to make a moral case for pursuing a nuclear war. The greatest global security may come as people learn to love their enemies and seek a solution in which there will be no losers but only winners. Modern war depersonalizes the enemy. To love enemies makes it possible to regard them as human beings for whom Christ died. To be sure some would restrict "enemies" to personal enemies and suggest that the command has nothing to do with international relations or group relations; or that the claims of justice must also be met and that Jesus says nothing about what to do when others are being abused. In the case of grave abuses, it is argued, resorting to violence is necessary to avert greater harm. There is no easy way to resolve the dilemma.

The second issue to be addressed is the nature of the social reality Jesus brought into being, which he called the kingdom, and which later Christians called the church. While the argument whether the NT allows participation in war cannot be settled, there is agreement that the conflicts which came into being as a result of Jesus' call to discipleship do not constitute the purpose of his mission. When he said that he came "to bring not peace but a sword" he was not disagreeing with his own beatitude for the peacemaker (Matt 5:9) or denying that his disciples should be called children of peace (Luke 10:6) or the hope of the angelic promise at his birth: "Peace on earth" (Luke 2:14). Rather he was realistically and compassionately saying that the birth pangs of the messianic age would be violence and war (Borg 1984: 199). The writer of Acts

described the message of the early church in a nutshell as a "gospel of peace" (Acts 10:36).

The writer to the Ephesians saw the work of Christ as the great bringer of peace who destroyed walls and brought reconciliation between Jew and Greek, and who killed not his enemies but the enmity that existed between humans and God and between various human classes (Eph 2:14–18). With all this came a new view of God—as the God of peace.

Finally in contrast to the earlier pacifism which was grounded on an optimistic view of human nature biblical scholarship now takes seriously the relation between peace and justice and recognizes that passivism, or indeed nonresistance, is never the way of the NT. The profound commitment of early Christians to the values of justice and peace, their sagacity in avoiding the pitfalls of the *pax romana* are in retrospect impressive. There is increasing recognition of the fact that behind this movement stood one person of considerable strength, Jesus of Nazareth, who, drawing from his religious heritage said a decisive no to war. There were other strands in his heritage. He could have chosen Phineas as his hero, the most widely honored Jewish leader in the first century (Klassen 1986). The dominant positions in Judaism of his time saw participation in war as a god-given duty and his creativity in rejecting those options is especially remarkable (Kocis 1971). He stood with Johanan ben Zakkai and others of his generation and in retrospect it is hard to fault him for that path. Those who chose the path of war brought untold pain and suffering to their people and harm to their religion. It is generally agreed "that the ethic of Jesus is the antithesis of the warlike mood, and if universally accepted, would create an ethos in which war was impossible" (*IDB* 4: 801).

F. The Early Church and the Military

Since Adolf Harnack wrote his book *Militia Christi* in 1903, scholars have devoted much time to the question, Did early Christians participate in the military and if not what were the reasons for their refusal? Hans von Campenhausen argued that until the year 175 C.E. there is no evidence that there were any Christians in the army, ergo there was no problem. Even the NT he argued, cannot be pressed into service on this issue: "Every attempt to derive answers from the early sources, especially from the NT itself on this question are doomed to failure" he concluded (von Campenhausen 1960: 206).

Ten years later the distinguished church historian, Robert M. Grant reached the opposite conclusion. He singled out, "The only point, though it was a crucial one, at which Christian teaching sharply diverged from that of most Greek and Roman moralists was in relation to war and military service. Jesus' pronouncements about nonresistance left an indelible impression on the minds of the early Christians. Early Christian theologians condemned murder and cited war as prime instance. Manuals of church discipline refused to allow for the possibility of military service and insisted that upon conversion a soldier had to leave the army" (Grant 1970: 273).

There has, however, been unrelenting pressure from those for whom the early church is in some sense normative, to ask why there are no Christian soldiers in the army till 175 and why so few from 175 till 310? Was it the violence connected with the army or the idolatry? Or did it perhaps have something to do with the fact that the words, "love your enemies" as a summary of their faith were among the most often quoted by the 2d-century Christians? Already *2 Clement* noted that pagans, when they heard of Christians, admired the doctrine of loving the enemies, but goes on to lament the fact that it was so seldom put into practice (*2 Clem.* 13:4), even towards their friends.

Adolf Harnack's interest arose from the growth of the church. He was fascinated by the fact "that the early Christians perceived themselves as God's soldiers and that the historical shift from paganism to Christianity first took place publicly in the army" (1963: 24). Harnack's work was severely criticized by historians, pacifist (Cadoux 1919: 10–13) and non-pacifist (Hornus 1980) alike. In the introduction to the English translation of Harnack (1981) David McInnes Gracie has masterfully outlined the course of the discussion. It is clear from his survey that the discussion can easily be divided into "hawks and doves" as he himself does. It is also clear that through the careful historical work of Hornus, Helgeland, Daly, Bainton and others more light is cast upon this issue. The fullness of the evidence is now being assimilated and we will need clearly to revise the extreme positions on either side.

Harnack was no doubt mistaken in his conclusion that apocalyptic imagery can lead to easier use of violence. He is also perhaps less than candid in his reasons why the designation, soldier *(miles)* for a Christian fell into disfavor. The evidence Hornus (1980) gathered suggests that Christians invoked a higher loyalty and that there was always then some uneasiness about Christians serving in the military (police duty) or killing their neighbors. Just as modern policemen and soldiers often have trauma after killing someone, so by the late 2d and 3d centuries Christians sought to assist not only their own when lethal violence had been used, but also to prevent them from doing so. Invoking the higher law then covered more than merely the commandment to "love one's enemies." It made it possible to serve the *politeuma* of God without renouncing the *politeia* in which they lived.

Even now there is no agreement on the issue of Christian participation in the military in the first few centuries. The NT indicates that army personnel were recruited into the church. There is no report whether they continued in their occupation. Some Church Fathers speak against Christians participating in the military. By the 4th century, Martin of Tours, a Christian in the military, was so revolted by the use of violence in his time that he left the military because "It is not lawful for me to fight" (Hornus 1980). Without the strong conviction that Jesus was the Messianic King and that the Christian call is to fight with different weapons under his Lordship, that break could not have been undertaken. In any case the NT cannot be invoked in support of participation in war or for traditional pacifism. When certain questions are asked of it we must first ascertain the context in which those questions are asked and the context in which the NT was written. On the question of war, the answers have always been varied and therefore invite continuing dialogue based on careful study before a consensus can be reached.

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WILLIAM KLASSEN

WAR RULE (1QM). Also known as the *War Scroll* or *War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness*, this scroll was among the major documents discovered in Qumran Cave 1, and was first published by Sukenik (1954–55). The definitive edition in English is that of Yadin (1962). Several fragments from this work have also been found in Cave 4 (see Hunzinger 1957; Baillet 1972, 1982), their contents suggesting that the work existed in different recensions, probably at different times. Nineteen columns of 1QM (= *Milḥamah*) have been preserved, but the bottom of all the columns and almost certainly some final columns have been destroyed. Column XIX was written on a separate sheet, and may not have followed directly after XVIII; however, its contents form a plausible sequel to those of XVIII.

A. Contents

The document is divided into three sections. The first (cols. I–IX) describes the plan of the war, and regulations regarding the warriors and their equipment. The overall sequence of events is first given (col. I): the war will last for forty years, beginning with a conquest of the land of Israel in six years. It will be fought by the "children of light" and predominant among the enemy (the "children of darkness") in the initial phase is the nation of the "Kittim." The seventh, sabbatical year (col. II) is devoted to the (reformed) temple cult. The remaining years of the war will be divided into campaigns against the nations of the known world, who are listed according to Genesis 10. Cols. III–IV describe the army's trumpets, banners, (also shields?) and their inscriptions. Cols. V–VI.7 are apparently intended to depict the formation, weaponry, and age-limits of the three components of the army of the "children of light": infantry, light infantry (?—*ʾnšy hbynym*), and cavalry. All women, children, and cultically ineligible persons are barred from the camp. VII.9–IX describe military maneuvers, the pitched battle, siege (?), and ambush.

The second section (cols. X–XIV) contains various liturgical pieces juxtaposed without any explicit rationale, and unfortunately the beginning of the section is lost at the foot of col. IX. However, it seems from the quoting of Deut 20:2–4 that the first item (XI.1–5) comprises a speech from the chief priest before battle. X.5 prescribes an address by "officers" *(sôterîm)* to the soldiers, but it is unclear whether the following items of liturgy in X.6–XII.17, which are juxtaposed without a break or any further rubrics, are meant to constitute such an address, or whether the whole of cols. X–XII is the chief priest's speech. There is certainly no doubt that the various items are originally quite independent and indeed quite varied in theme and ideology. They offer an interesting form-critical challenge to scholars. By contrast, the settings of the contents of cols. XII and XIV are clear. XIII opens with a rubric stipulating that the chief priest (?—the reference is lost at the end of col. XII), the other priests, the Levites, and "elders of the *sereḥ*" ("army"?) shall "bless . . . the God of Israel . . . and they shall curse Belial, and all the spirits of his lot *(gôral)*." The following material is the only markedly dualistic part of this section, and shows strong similarities with the covenant renewal ceremony described in 1QS 1:18 (see Yadin 1962: 224). Col. XIV also opens with rubrics: "After they have retired from the slain towards the camp, they shall all sing the 'psalm of return.' In the morning . . . they shall bless all together the God of Israel. . . ."

The third section, cols. XV–XIX, describes the battle against the "Kittim," whose seven stages are won alternately by the "children of light" and the "children of darkness." This consists of three kinds of material: liturgical items, battle-descriptions, and the framework which binds them together and provides the overall picture of the encounter. Some of the material is paralleled elsewhere in the document (see below).

The battle itself, as well as the liturgy, is conducted by the priests, headed by the chief priest. Priestly leadership of the army is in fact maintained throughout all the sections of the scroll. The brief reference to the inscription on the shield of the "Prince of the Congregation" (v 1) is tantalizing. This character belongs to the source-material rather than to the ideology of the scroll as a whole, for its presence serves to emphasize the complete absence of any lay figure elsewhere in 1QM, a curious and interesting absence. It seems that the only "messianic" figure in 1QM is priestly. The place of a lay warrior "messiah" is filled by the angelic host, or an individual angel, the "Prince of Light" (XIII.10) or Michael (XVII.6), or God himself (XIII.13; XIX.1). The lack of consistency in 1QM in this respect as well as others is almost certainly to be explained by its complex literary history.

B. Literary History

Although the overall plan as outlined above is reasonably clear, the arrangement of the contents is not without its problems. First, the relationship between the 40-year war of cols. II–IX, and the seven-stage battle of XV–XIX is unclear. Although col. I seems to explain that the battle of XV–XIX represents the opening stage of the war of II–IX, XV–XIX depict an eschatological confrontation between light and darkness, while II–IX depict Israel against the nations. Second, the relationship between the liturgical items in X–XIV and between this section as a whole and

the rest of the scroll is unexplained. Third, the three sections of the scroll share material which is either virtually identical (XII.7ff. and XIX.1ff.) or closely related (XIV.2ff. and XIX.9ff.; battle descriptions from VII and XVI). Such observations have led to suggestions that it was compiled from several sources. After earlier assumptions about the literary unity of the document, it has been recognized that the document has a literary history (Davies 1977). This is confirmed by fragments from Cave 4, which appear to belong to a different recension (or recensions) of the work.

Although the Cave 4 fragments (4QM^{iii-f} [491–496]) have now been published in full (Baillet 1982) and compared with 1QM, no analysis of the data has yet been undertaken in terms of the literary history and recension of the document. On the basis of a study of dualism at Qumran (P. von der Osten-Sacken 1969) argued that the "eschatological war-dualism" of 1QM I was the earliest form of that belief at Qumran and the earliest stratum of 1QM itself. A detailed analysis focusing on the document itself (Davies 1977) reached the opposite conclusion, namely that the dualistic material in the document was one of the latest strata, and the non-dualistic nationalistic ideology lay in the earlier strata. Similar conclusions have been reached by Duhaime (1977, 1987). The first Cave 4 fragment published (4QM^{iii}: Hunzinger 1957) was held to represent an "older recension" which was demonstrably less "sectarian" and more "nationalistic." Further comparison of 1QM with the Cave 4 fragments will hopefully clarify: (1) the nature of literary recensional activity at Qumran (which can be applied to other works such as 1QS, CD, and 1QH); and (2) the development of ideology at Qumran, especially with respect to dualism.

C. Genre and Historical Background

The purpose of the scroll remains disputed. The ms of 1QM dates from the end of the 1st century B.C.E. or early 1st century C.E. According to Yadin the tactics and weaponry described in it reflect Roman practice of the time of Caesar and Augustus. However, this view remains disputed, and the fact that all the fighting in the scroll is done by light infantry with a large body of heavy infantry and cavalry used only in pursuit may point to the experience of guerrilla warfare such as used in the Maccabean period (Davies 1979: 65–67). If the scroll has a long history then obviously many different political and military conditions may have influenced it. However, it seems impossible that in our document the Kittim are any other than the Romans; no other "final enemy" could possibly be in view. In Yadin's view, and that of several other scholars, 1QM is essentially a practical composition which foresees a war against Rome which would be eschatological. Such a background is plausible; indeed, the mixture in the scroll of dualistic and nationalistic viewpoints may be the result of a deliberate effort to harmonize formal idealistic notions of the final overthrow of evil with zealous antagonism to the power of Rome. However, this can only be speculative and may not hold for earlier versions of the work which seem to have circulated and will have reflected a different historical context and even a different enemy. It has been suggested, for example (Davies 1977), that II–IX contain materials from a Hasmonean military manual (see also Duhaime 1986). The view has also been expressed that 1QM is entirely idealistic—perhaps a liturgical text (Carmignac 1958; North 1958). Generic analysis is important for this question; although earlier commentators have sometimes described 1QM as an "apocalypse" (e.g., Michaud 1955), more recent analyses based on more technical definitions (Collins [ed] 1979) of "apocalypse" have withheld this label. Duhaime (1986) has recently conducted a comparison with other Greco-Roman military works, concluding that 1QM corresponds rather closely in content and structure to Hellenistic military manuals. Nevertheless, its obvious impracticalities, such as the highly choreographed movements which entail the enemy falling or fleeing on cue, the direction of all maneuvers by priests blowing trumpets, and the direct intervention of God render this work unique and link it as closely to OT theological traditions (see, for example, 2 Chronicles 20) as to the practicalities, political and military, of the Hellenistic-Roman world whose destruction it envisages.

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PHILIP R. DAVIES

WARRIOR, DIVINE. The understanding of God as a warrior is grounded in the origins of biblical religion. The image of the divine warrior dominates the oldest Israelite poetry, remains a frequent characterization of God throughout the biblical period, and gains a new prominence in the apocalyptic literature of both Jewish and Christian communities. Throughout its use in different literary and historical contexts this image of God retained many of its fundamental features and yet func-

tioned in various ways in the thought and practice of the communities which employed it.

A. The Hebrew Scriptures
1. The Premonarchic Era
2. The Monarchy
3. The Postmonarchic Era
B. Postbiblical Jewish Literature
1. Apocrypha
2. Qumran
C. Early Christian Literature

A. The Hebrew Scriptures

1. The Premonarchic Era. Israel's earliest literature, a group of archaic poems, describes divine activity primarily in terms of war. Most of these poems—Exodus 15, Deuteronomy 33, Judges 5, Habakkuk 3 (cf. Genesis 49, Psalm 68)—are hymns of victory recording Israel's early military successes. In them God is described fighting alongside Israel's tribal militia and representing the determinative factor in the victory. The oldest of these hymns introduces Israel's deity with explicit military language: "Yahweh is a warrior,/Yahweh is his name./Pharaoh's chariots and army/ he cast into the sea" (Exod 15:3–4). Though not mentioned in these hymns, references in other historical traditions indicate that the ark was carried into war in this early period as a concrete representation of the divine presence on the battlefield (Numbers 10:35–36; cf. Joshua 6; 1 Samuel 4–7). The "Book of the Wars of Yahweh," which is quoted briefly in Numbers 21:14–15 but has not survived, and mention of other records of divine war (Exod 17:14–16), suggest that these archaic hymns are a small sample of a larger literature which once existed in early Israel describing God as a warrior.

This notion of war as a religious event in which God fought as a participant was not unique to Israel, but common throughout the ancient Near East. The historical annals of the great empires in Mesopotamia and Egypt describe major military engagements as including the participation of divine warriors, both male and female, alongside the king and his human armies. Wars recorded in these texts are typically initiated by a deity through an oracle or divination ritual, and won as a result of the strategy, frightening presence, and superior strength of the deity (e.g., *ANET,* 234–37, 253–56, 267–90). This understanding was reflected on the battlefield itself where, for example, each division in the armies of Seit I and Ramesses II was named for a god whose image preceded it into battle (*ANET,* 253–56).

While Israel's premonarchic poems represent divine warfare as an historical reality undertaken to secure its existence in the land of Canaan, the imagery for the divine warrior as well as for Israel's enemy is taken from the realm of nature. The divine warrior is portrayed as a storm god. God appears with the storm cloud representing the divine chariot (Judg 5:4; Hab 3:8; Ps 68:4, 7–9, 33) and heavily armed with the powers of the thunderstorm, violent winds (Exod 15:8–10), and lightning bolts (Hab 3:9–12). Accompanying the storm god are heavenly armies, sometimes identified with other aspects of nature (Deut 33:2–3; Judg 5:20; Ps 68:18; Hab 3:5, 11; Miller 1973). When the divine warrior appears, nature on earth is devastated (Judg 5:4–5; Hab 3:6, 16–17). The historical enemy in these poems is commonly identified with another natural symbol, the sea or river (Exod 15:4–10; Judg 5:19–21; Ps 68:22–23; Hab 3:8–15). When the enemy is vanquished, nature returns to life and produces abundant crops (Deut 23:28; Ps 68:10–11).

This imagery indicates that Israel's understanding of the divine warrior has its roots in an ANE myth recounting a battle between the gods themselves: the storm god and the sea, a deity symbolizing cosmic powers of chaos and death. Detailed examples of this conflict myth are present in the neighboring cultures of Mesopotamia and N Canaan. In *Enūma eliš,* a Babylonian myth, the storm god Marduk defeats the deity Tiamat, the sea, thereby vanquishing all forces of chaos and disorder in the cosmos. Consequently, Marduk establishes the natural orders underlying human life and the political orders in which Babylon was granted preeminence (*ANET,* 60–72, 501–3). A similar picture is presented in texts from the Canaanite city of Ugarit in which the storm god Baʿal defeats Yamm, the sea (alias Nahar, the river), a myth recited presumably to celebrate Baʿal's control of both natural and historical orders (*ANET,* 129–42).

By using nature imagery drawn from the ANE myth of divine conflict to describe its divine warrior, its enemies, and its battles themselves, Israel's early poet-theologians claimed that each historical battle was part of a larger conflict, a conflict between Israel's God and the forces of chaos in the universe as a whole. The primordial victory of Israel's God over these forces, celebrated in the mythic imagery of these early poems, ensured the stability and fertility of the natural orders which sustained physical life and also secured the political orders which guaranteed the survival of Israelite tribal society. Israel's poets knew existence as a struggle to survive and recognized threats to well-being from both natural and political realms, realms not clearly distinguished from one another in antiquity. Within this struggle they perceived the presence of divine powers—described as warriors—who were believed to be instrumental in its outcome. The fascination of Israel's early poets with the notion of God as warrior thus expressed their confidence that the life of the people of Israel would be preserved from all threats against it.

The exact character of the historical conflicts between Israelite tribal coalitions and their enemies, which the divine participation legitimated and mandated is difficult to determine because the literary corpus of poetry from this period is limited and the historical and sociological situation hard to reconstruct. The warfare of Israel and its God in this early period has been described as primarily offensive (Miller 1973), primarily defensive (von Rad 1951), and as a popular struggle for liberation from an oppressive city-state regime (Gottwald *IDBSup,* 942–44). Likely, conflicts of each of these kinds were involved in the emergence of the new Israelite state in the Canaanite hill country. Whether Israel understood its divine warrior to fight these wars alone, requiring no human participation, is less likely (Lind 1980; see esp. Exodus 15). The emphasis on the determinative character of the divine presence does lead to a kind of passivism in later apocalyptic presentations. But in Israel's old poetry, as war literature from neighboring cultures also suggests, the focus on the divine

warrior acknowledges divine power as the ultimate determiner of human fate without denying or discouraging the warfare of human armies (e.g., Judg 5:12–18, 23; cf. *ANET,* 289–90).

2. The Monarchy. The conception of the divine warrior in Israel's premonarchic poetry is preserved in its fundamental features in literature which comes from the royal court and temple in Jerusalem during Israel's monarchy. In fact, the notion of divine warfare is a major theme linking the religious ideology of the tribal period to that of the kingdom (*CMHE,* 91–111). In psalms written to honor the rule of God and the Davidic king on Mount Zion, the imagery of the divine warrior is prominant (e.g., Psalms 2; 18; 24; 46; 48; 76; 89; 97; 132; 144). As did the earlier poetry, these poems picture the deity as a warrior who has vanquished primordial chaos and become king in the universe, ruling on Zion and ensuring the failure of any natural or historical threat to Israel's security and well-being. In some hymns, reflections of primordial-divine conflict are particularly vivid (Pss 18:8–16; 89:6–14; cf. 74:12–17). The new element in these monarchic hymns is the connection between the divine warrior and Jerusalemite royal institutions. Mount Zion has taken the place of the old southern mountain as the divine sanctuary (Psalms 46; 48; 76; cf. Deut 33:2; Judg 5:4; Hab 3:3–7), and the Davidic king, as commander of the royal armies, has become the human representative of the divine warrior (Psalms 2; 89:9, 25). The identification of the divine warrior with Jerusalem lends divine legitimation to the monarchic institutions and to the use of force to preserve the political orders they represent (cf. Paul's view of the state in Rom 13:1–7).

Another type of Israelite literature from the royal court which highlights the warfare of God is the Deuteronomistic History (DH, Deuteronomy–2 Kings), a history of the state of Israel which reflects in its original edition the point of view of the court of the Davidic King Josiah near the end of the monarchy. This history of Israel preserves older traditions about divine warfare in poetry (e.g., Deuteronomy 33; Josh 10:12–13; Judges 5), narrative (e.g., 1 Samuel 2; 4–6) and legislation (e.g., Deuteronomy 20). As did these and other early traditions, the DH attributes Israel's military successes, both in the tribal period and in the monarchy, to the fighting of the divine warrior (Deut 7:16–26; Joshua 6; 2 Sam 5:17–25), though the primordial dimension of divine warfare which was so much a part of earlier poetry has essentially been omitted in the historian's own commentary. The historian's particular treatment of the divine warrior focuses on God's declaration and leadership of tribal warfare as a unified conquest of the entire land (Joshua 1–12), on God's demand that the enemy with its idols and possessions be completely annihilated (Heb *herem;* Deut 20:10–18; Joshua 6–7), and on God's demand for obedience to the law as a condition for divine combat on Israel's behalf (Josh 1:1–9; 23; Judges 2; 2 Kings 17). These characteristics of the divine warrior's activity in Israel's history all appear to reflect the understanding of the Josianic historian rather than actual earlier concepts or practice. They reflect a theological interpretation of the divine warrior's activity in Israel's history which lends support to Josiah's own policies; his renewed commitment to the law, his purge of non-Yahwistic shrines and killing of their priests, and his move toward political independence from Assyria and the reclamation of land which had earlier been Israel's (2 Kings 22–23).

A third kind of literature from the period of monarchy reflects an understanding of the divine warrior within a different institutional setting—the circles of the prophets. Israel's prophets shared the tribal and royal conception of God as a warrior whose involvement in military engagements determined their outcome and preserved or destroyed nations, but they saw political implications in this image less closely identified with Israel's own national interest. The prophets, like Israel's poets and historians, considered Israel's deity to be king of the universe who executed the divine will through the practice of divine warfare (Isaiah 6; Mic 1:2–4; Zeph 1:14–18; Joel 2:1–11). The fervent concern for justice among Israel's prophets, however, gave a unique emphasis to their apprehension of the kinds of warfare in which the divine warrior was engaged. For the prophets, the divine warrior entered military conflicts against any nation characterized by injustice and political hubris. Thus the prophecy of Amos begins with the announcement of a series of attacks against Israel's neighbors who had violated acceptable standards of international fidelity and social justice (Amos 1:3–2:3). Yet, the more remarkable conviction, which dominates the remainder of Amos' speeches (2:4–9:10) and the prophetic books as a whole, is that Israel's divine warrior could attack Israel itself as judgment for the corruption in its own society. Repeatedly, in oracles against Israel (e.g., Amos 2, 9; Hosea 9) and Judah (e.g., Micah 1; Isaiah 5; Jeremiah 9), the divine warrior is identified with the armies of Assyria or Babylonia fighting against God's own people. Thus prophetic circles associated the warfare of God with the divine maintenance of justice in the world, a justice which would eventuate ultimately in the abolition of war and the reign of peace (e.g., Isaiah 2; 11; Jeremiah 31).

3. The Postmonarchic Era. After Jerusalem was destroyed and Israel ceased to be an independent ANE state with its own government and political institutions, the conception of God as a warrior was preserved and developed primarily in a new literary genre, the apocalyptic vision. In this literature, arising from circles which had become disillusioned with efforts to revive the Israelite state after the Babylonian exile, the image of the divine warrior is invoked in a way which exploits its earliest roots in ANE myth and at the same time identifies it with a new political crisis. New divine warrior hymns from prophetic schools preserving and editing the oracles of Isaiah and Zechariah picture the divine warrior with images which highlight the cosmic conflict with the chaos deity present in the ANE combat myth, and in Israel's earliest divine warrior poetry (e.g., Isa 26:16–27:6; 59:15b–20; 63:1–6; Zech 9:1–17; 14:1–21; Hanson 1975). In apocalyptic visions, however, the setting of the divine combat shifts from the primordial origins of the universe when chaos was vanquished and order established as preeminent, to the future in which the powers of chaos and death will be annihilated absolutely and the universe will be reconstituted as a world free from any threat to physical or political well-being. This new emphasis on the character of divine conflict as a cosmic event inaugurating a new era, together with the fact that Israel no longer had its own

state or military, gives the impression that divine warfare was no longer considered part of an actual historical battle between human armies. Rather, the appearance of the divine warrior was understood as an attack by heavenly forces which would destroy existing political institutions oppressing God's faithful people and establish an enduring divine government without precedent.

The culmination of this apocalyptic conception of the divine warrior within the Hebrew Scriptures is found in the book of Daniel, composed in response to the Seleucid repression of Jewish religion in the middle of the 2d century B.C.E. With imagery reminiscent of the divine warrior's conflict with the sea in older Israelite and ANE texts, the visionary describes in Daniel 7–12 the fall of four earthly kingdoms culminating in the destruction of that of Antiochus IV Epiphanes. The victory is so exclusively attributed in these visions to the divine warrior that the author appears to renounce any human participation in the conflict (Daniel 7; 12; Collins 1977: 153–223). The final solution to oppressive force is still seen as force, but the force of divine armies, not human ones. The culmination of the war, anticipated by this visionary, was to be a new age without death in which God's people would reign (Daniel 12).

B. Postbiblical Jewish Literature

1. Apocrypha. Written to record another Jewish response to the same political crisis which gave rise to the book of Daniel, 1 and 2 Maccabees also see the survival of the Jews dependent on the intervention of God as a warrior. In these works, however, the divine warrior is not described as acting alone to achieve a final, apocalyptic victory over the evil earthly kingdom of Antiochus. Rather, God is understood to command and participate in the armed insurrection led by the Maccabees. The outnumbered Jewish guerrillas recognized, according to these accounts of the war, that only power from heaven could ensure their success (1 Macc 3:18–22; 4:9–11, 30–33). In visions on the battlefield itself the Maccabees are reported to have seen a heavenly cavalry leading the Jewish army into battle (2 Macc 10:27–31; 11:6–12; cf. 5:1–4). Thus the old image of the divine warrior was used in response to a new political crisis in contrasting ways: in 1 and 2 Maccabees to inspire armed resistance in an actual historical conflict, in Daniel to disparage human resistance and express confidence in a divine solution beyond the limits of current human institutions.

2. Qumran. Within the separatist religious sect at Qumran, the image of God as a warrior is particularly prominent in the War Scroll, where it assumes highly apocalyptic form. The War Scroll describes a divine battle against the forces of darkness which will eradicate evil once and for all. In this case, members of the sect expect to participate in the final war, and detailed instructions are included to prescribe the regulations for officers, recruitment of soldiers, organization of armies, kinds of signals, battle strategy, and even the hymns of victory to be sung following the conflict. In this apocalyptic document, the expectation of a cosmic conflict between the divine warrior and cosmic and earthly evil is combined with the preparation for human participation in the battle. The war will not be a narrowly historical one, however, as the Maccabean war or the insurrections against Rome, but one inaugurated by the appearance of the divine warrior and culminating in the founding of divine rule in the world.

C. Early Christian Literature

Though the use of the divine warrior image is not widespread in early Christian literature, it does have a prominent place in one NT book, the Apocalypse of John (Revelation). Its use here is influenced primarily by its apocalyptic coloring in Isaiah 56–66, Zechariah 9–14, and Daniel 7–12. The author of these visions, writing in response to the repression of Christianity by the Roman Empire, regards the divine warrior in ways particularly reminiscent of the book of Daniel. The Apocalypse is structured according to the pattern of the ancient combat myth. It pictures the divine warrior, heavily armed and leading the heavenly armies against the Roman Empire, symbolized as a dragon (19:11–21; Yarbro Collins 1976). As in Daniel, this conflict was to be no ordinary war but the final conquest by the divine warrior—in this case the triumphant Christ—of human political institutions which acted contrary to God's designs and persecuted the faithful communities of believers. The result was to be the establishment of the rule of God on earth at which time both natural and political orders would be reconstituted to ensure the complete well-being of God's people (chaps. 21–22). As in Daniel, the divine warrior acts alone and the description of victory over the dragon reflects the author's confidence that ultimate powers were moving against repressive human institutions and would in the end reward the passive resistance of the faithful.

Elsewhere in the NT, imagery drawn from the divine warrior tradition is neither as prominent nor as directly related to actual political institutions as it is in the Apocalypse of John. When Paul (Rom 13:11–14; 2 Cor 6:7; 10:3–6; 1 Thess 5:2–11) or his disciples (Eph 6:10–20; Col 2:15) use military imagery, they urge the Christian community to see itself involved in a struggle not with human adversaries or institutions (2 Cor 10:3–4; Eph 6:12; cf. Rom 13:1–7), but with the powers of evil which threaten the gospel. Lying behind this Pauline perspective is the apocalyptic idea that the world is caught in a struggle between divine and diabolical forces which will one day be resolved by the conquest of chaos and death (Rom 8:18–25; 1 Cor 15:1–28). Until then, Paul and his disciples instruct Christians to arm themselves with the values of the gospel—truth, righteousness, faith, peace—in order to become participants in the present, earthly dimensions of this larger spiritual and moral struggle.

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WARS OF THE LORD, BOOK OF THE

[Heb *sēper milḥāmōt yhwh*]. A book, or perhaps an epic poem, mentioned only once in the Bible, which apparently contained an archaic poetic account of God's "Holy War" directed against the enemies of Israel in the time of Moses and Joshua (Num 21:14). Most scholars have assumed it to be an anthology of old war poems dealing with the conflict between the invading Israelites and the original inhabitants of Canaan, suggesting that it perhaps be identified with the Book of Jashar. See JASHAR, BOOK OF. According to a tradition preserved in the LXX and in the Aramaic Targums, the phrase "The Wars of the Lord" is the beginning of the poetic quotation and not part of the actual title. The book referred to would then be the Torah. But according to the Vulgate and both medieval and modern exegetes, this is the complete title of a book which, like the Book of Jashar, has not been preserved.

The brief poetic quotation was cited by the narrator primarily because it placed the boundary of Moab at the Arnon River. Though the Hebrew text is difficult, it may be rendered as follows:

> The Benefactor (i.e., Yahweh) has come in a storm;
> Yes, He has come to the wadies of the Arnon.
> He marched through the wadies;
> He marched, he turned aside—to the seat of Ar;
> He leaned toward the border of Moab.

Because of archaic features, the text was subsequently misread with resultant confusion in the ancient versions and some textual corruption in the transmission of MT. The picture presented is that of the Divine Warrior poised on the edge of the promised land, before the most celebrated battles of the Exodus-Conquest. He has come in the whirlwind with His hosts to the sources of the Arnon River in Transjordan. He marches through the wadies, turning aside to settle affairs with Moab before marching against the two Amorite kings to the N, and then across the Jordan to Gilgal and the conquest of Canaan. The picture is indeed a fitting one for the *incipit* of a narrative poem entitled "The Book of the Wars of Yahweh."

The citation appears in a prose context in which two other ancient poems are also quoted: "The Song of the Well" in Num 21:17–20; and the Amorite "Song of Heshbon" in Num 21:27–30 (Hanson 1968). It is not certain whether the book was actually a written source as such. It may have been a familiar song in the oral repertoire of the professional singers of ancient Israel, which was used within some festival context—perhaps in the celebration of the Ritual Conquest tradition at Gilgal in premonarchic Israel. If so, we have here a reference to a major poetic source behind the familiar JEDP sources of Pentateuchal criticism.

The origin and concept of the Day of the Lord in Israel's prophetic tradition is apparently connected with the content of this book (von Rad 1959: 108). The "Wars of the Lord" are the classical battles of the Exodus-Conquest era, which were celebrated within the cult of ancient Israel (see also Christensen 1975: 50–51).

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DUANE L. CHRISTENSEN

WASHINGTONIANUS.

See CODEX (CODEX WASHINGTONIANUS).

WASM (CAMEL BRAND).

Brands (Ar *wasm*, pl. *wusūm*) are used by the bedouin tribes as an indelible mark to indicate the ownership of camels. While, as with any herdsman, the bedouin would be able to recognize their own animals, were a dispute to arise over a camel that has strayed the brand would provide proof of ownership. Many different shapes, usually of quite simple and often symmetrical forms are used by the tribes as brands, and are known by the names of familiar objects. See Fig. WAS.01. In Jordan today, for example, the Howeitat tribe use the *ʾafayhij* and the Beni Sakhr the *dabbūs*. Subsections of a tribe sometimes use a completely different *wasm* from that of the main tribe, or use the same basic shape in combination with another. Frequently, the additional brand is one or more straight lines *(miṭraq)* which, when it is used to indicate this distinction, is called *šāhid* (pl. *šawāhid*). The line (or lines) may be placed in any relationship to the main *wasm* and in some instances is joined to the basic shape (for example, the *ṭuwayqah* in Fig. WAS.01 is used by the Faiz branch of the Beni Sakhr). Some authors have compared European heraldic devices used to distinguish branches of a family; however, too close a comparison is not justified, as there is no rigid system or set of rules governing adoption of *šawāhid*, and they are often subsequently abandoned when the distinction is no longer useful or necessary (Huber 1891: 178).

The position of the *wasm*, whether branded on the camel's cheek, neck, shoulder, or thigh, for example, is as important for identification as the shape itself (see the descriptions of *wusūm* in Dickson 1949: 420–25; Oppenheim 1939–52, 1967–68). In some cases when the same basic shape is used by more than one tribe it is the only distinction.

When a camel is sold, the new owner brands the animal with his tribal *wasm* and although the previous brand remains, the tribal *wasm* of the latest owner can be recog-

WASM	NAME	
	miṭraq	'stick, rod'
	bāb	'door'
	'arqay	'wooden cross used to support a leather bucket'
	ḥalaqah or *ḥātimah*	'ring'
	dabbūs or *miḥmasah*	'club' 'coffee spoon'
	ṭuwayqah	'little necklace'
	hijār	'tether'
	hilāl	'new moon'
	bākūr	'hooked staff'
	miḥjan	'crooked staff'
	'afayḥij	'having the hind legs apart'
	burṭun or *kiffah* or *rijl el-ġurāb*	'claw' 'palm of the hand' 'raven's foot'

WAS.01. Some bedouin camel brands with names.

nized as more recent, thus identifying the animal (Musil 1926: 28–29).

The tribal brand is not generally used on smaller livestock such as sheep and goats, which are either not marked at all (Musil 1927: 232) or which have their ears clipped or incised with a different shape.

In addition to being used to mark the ownership of camels, the *wasm* is often inscribed on graves, on the rocks around wells and shelters and on isolated boulders and outcrops. On gravestones a single *wasm*, that used by close kinsmen of the deceased, is usually engraved alone, although sometimes the *wusūm* of all branches and subsections of his tribe can be inscribed as well (Musil 1928b: 419). *Wusūm* are hammered into rocks around or inside wells to indicate ownership (Dickson 1949: 428) but also, as with shelters, to mark the temporary presence of members of a tribe. As a form of graffiti they are found on isolated boulders and rock faces throughout the deserts of Arabia.

The identification of inscribed *wusūm* presents considerable difficulties (Field 1952: 2). It is impossible to date them, and even if they are not very old, they are frequently not recognized by the people living in the area today. Different tribes often use the same shape as a *wasm*, the identifying factor being the position of the brand on the camel's body; this distinction is lost when the *wasm* is hammered or chiseled into a rock. A further complication when inscribed *wusūm* occur in groups such as those covering the walls of buildings (Field 1952: fig. 22–23) is the difficulty of separating the various signs into particular combinations. Unless there is an obvious space, difference of patina, or technique of inscribing, it is hard to know where one *wasm* ends and another begins. A few records of inscribed *wusūm* have been made, but the only major published study is Field (1952). In recent years systematic recording of inscribed *wusūm* has been undertaken in Jordan as an important aspect of epigraphic surveys (Macdonald and Searight 1982; King 1987).

Wusūm have been identified as marked on camels depicted in the ancient rock art found in Arabia; an example occurs, for instance, in Littmann (1904: pl. VII) and have been found in association with Early North Arabian inscriptions (Field 1952: 31–35; van den Branden 1950 *passim*, 1966: 63–64; Livingstone 1983: 114) although, in some cases the copies of these inscriptions are inaccurate and misleading and the interpretations of the signs as *wusūm* incorrect.

Littmann (1904: 78–102) pointed out the similarities between the forms of *wusūm* (both ancient and modern) and the shapes of the letters of the Thamudic inscriptions. However, one should not place too much significance on this (cf. Knauf 1985: 75) since it is probably the result of a preference when defining a brand to choose simple clear shapes based on a cross, circle, triangle, or rectangle which also frequently correspond, coincidentally, to the symmetrical forms of some of the letters in the scripts used in Early North Arabian and Sayhadic inscriptions. After all, similar shapes used as *wusūm* have been found in such diverse locations as Algeria, the Central Sahara, and Egypt (Field 1952: 31–35).

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GERALDINE KING

WATEN, KHIRBET EL-. See MOLADAH (PLACE).

WATER FOR IMPURITY. Water which has been mixed with ashes obtained from the burning of the Red Cow for purifying persons and objects from corpse contamination (Numbers 19). (On the burning of the Red Cow, the treatment of the ashes and the preparation and use of the ash-water mixture, see HEIFER, RED.)

The Hebrew term *mê (han)niddâ* (Num 19:9, 13, 20, 21; 31:23) has been variously understood. Most of the instances of the noun *niddâ* signify "impurity." It is used specifically of menstrual impurity (Lev 12:2, 5; 15:19, 20, 24, 25, 26, 33; 18:19; Ezek 18:6; 22:10; 36:17) and of impurity in a general sense (Ezek 7:19, 20; Lam 1:17; Ezra 9:11; 2 Chr 29:5). Once it has the meaning "abomination" (Lev 20:21). In view of this usage, the phrase *mê (han)niddâ* has been translated "water of impurity," or since, the water mixture is used to remove corpse contamination, "water (for the removal) of impurity."

Recently a different understanding of *niddâ* has been advanced (J. Milgrom and D. P. Wright in *TWAT* 5: 250–53). Its etymology is not entirely clear; it may be connected with the root *ndd* which means "depart, flee, wander" *(Qal)* and "make flee, chase away" *(Hipʿil)* or with the root *ndh* "chase away, put aside" *(Piʿel)*. Whatever the etymology, the base meaning of *niddâ* according to these near synonymous verbal roots could be "explusion, elimination." Thus, in the case of menstruation, *niddâ* could signify "discharge" or "elimination" of blood. From this specific use the noun would have acquired a more general sense of "impurity" and "abomination." In the phrase *mê (han)niddâ* the noun retained its more original meaning "elimination." Hence *mê (han)niddâ* signifies "water for the elimination (of impurity)," or simply, "water for purification." This understanding is supported by Zech 13:1 which talks of a water source being opened up for *ḥaṭṭā't* and *niddâ*. It has been shown that *ḥaṭṭā't* here can be understood as a privative *Piʿel* noun meaning "purification, purgation" (Milgrom 1971). This suggests that *niddâ* should have a similar meaning of "purification" rather than "sin." Also Num 8:7 prescribes that the Levites are to be cleansed with *mê ḥaṭṭā't*. Again, if *ḥaṭṭā't* here is taken as meaning "purification," then this phrase and *mê (han)niddâ* have a very similar meaning: "water for purification."

Wefing (1981: 356–63) views the term *mê (han)niddâ* as a secondary element of the text. In its present context it means "water against impurity" or "water for purification." Perhaps the term at an earlier stage of the ritual had a connection with ordeal waters such as in Num 5:18, 19, 22, 23, 24, 27 and Exod 32:20.

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DAVID P. WRIGHT

WATER GATE (PLACE) [Heb *šaʿar hammayim*]. A gate on the E side of Jerusalem in the Persian period, mentioned in connection with Nehemiah's building of the wall (Neh 3:26) and its dedication (Neh 12:37). At this site Ezra read the law to the returned exiles (Neh 8:1, 3 (= 1 Esdr 9:38, 41), and booths were set up for the celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles (Neh 8:16). All that is known about the gate is that it was located on the E side of Jerusalem. There is general agreement that the Water Gate was in some proximity to the Gihon spring, serving either as a city access to the spring (Burrows 1933–34: 120), a palace gate (Avi-Yonah 1954: 247), or an access for water for temple use (Pohlmann 1970: 151–54). The parallel account in 1 Esdras identifies the site only as the "east gate of the temple" (1 Esdr 9:38). Williamson (*Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 287) suggests that because of the ruined state of the E wall the reading of the law (Neh 8:1, 3) and celebration of Sukkoth (Neh 8:16) took place outside the city wall "a little down the slope in the general vicinity of the spring itself," rather than inside the city. The mention of the Water Gate provides a common link between material considered to belong to the Ezra Memoir (Ezra 7–10 and Nehemiah 8) and the Nehemiah Memoirs.

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WATER WORKS. Because of the necessity of water for human existence, access to and/or storage of this commodity has been a matter of constant concern, and particularly so in the marginally arid regions typical of the E Mediterranean land masses.

A. Introduction
B. Springs
C. Wells
D. Cisterns and Reservoirs
E. Conduits, Aqueducts, and Qanats
F. Terraces, Cleared Fields, Dams
G. Irrigation Cultures: Mesopotamia and Egypt
H. Water-lifting Devices

A. Introduction

The climate throughout the E Mediterranean is dry or subject to annual periods of minimal rainfall, usually from May through September. Palestine proper has quite a significant overall annual rainfall, totaling 300 mm at Gaza, but rising gradually as one moves N and E, to 700 mm near Bethlehem and 600 mm at Acco. The coastline of Lebanon and Syria also receives substantial precipitation. But the rest of the Middle East is far more arid, and 90 percent of the region S and E of Palestine in an average year receives less than 100 mm of precipitation. The lower limit at which drought farming can be carried on is 250 mm. Not only is the rainfall meager in this area, but it is unevenly distributed in space and time, and the total amount that actually falls in a given area can vary dramatically from year to year. This precipitation arrives during the cooler months, so there is no cloud cover or new moisture to moderate the strength of the summer sun. In consequence, the rates of evapo-transpiration are very high. Because of the low levels of precipitation, the protective cover of vegetation in the Middle East is thin and difficult to replace once damaged. The soil, often light and lacking an absorbent cover of humus, is then soon washed away by the winter rain, which, when it comes, tends to fall in short, intense storms.

These factors, combined with topography, have always had a marked effect on the location and density of human populations in this region, and on their activities. Since humans and the plants and animals on which they feed cannot live without water, and since immediate local water resources usually were not sufficient to sustain life in this region, settled populations have always had to interfere with the natural hydrology. From at least the early Neolithic period it was necessary, or at the very least advantageous, to enhance the flow of springs, to divert the local runoff from precipitation, to conduct and store water, and to tap the flow of occasional or perennial streams. These activities were assisted early on by water works: structures or specialized procedures and tools designed to manipulate the flow of water for human benefit. The types of structures involved were spring houses, wells, agricultural terraces, enhanced runoff fields, wadi barriers, conduits, cisterns, reservoirs, dams, and canals. Several simple water-lifting devices were in use by the MB Age, and a wide variety of procedures evolved in tandem with the appearance of the structures just noted. Not least of all, the crucial importance of a secure water supply, and the vulnerability of most water works, stimulated the appearance in the ancient Middle East of formal law codes regulating the management and use of water. This process was simply the codification of informal rules of ownership, access, precedence, and maintenance that had evolved among earlier nomadic and settled groups in response to the demands of typical local situations. The hierarchy of applications usually applied to the water managed by such ancient societies in this region included drinking, watering livestock, washing, industrial or craft processes, and irrigation. The Greek and Roman cultures applied much the same sequence of needs to water use (see Vitr. 8.1.1, 6.2; Frontin. *Aq.* 2.91; Pl. *Criti.* 117, a-b). Several related topics fall outside the boundaries of this discussion, such as agricultural schedules, harbors and navigational canals, baths and bathing, sewers, sanitation and drainage, the law codes dealing with all the above, and the symbolic value and practical applications of water in the ancient Middle East.

A rich variety of source materials survives for the history of ancient water works in the Middle East. The archaeological evidence is the most extensive, including both the remains of structures, machines, or tools and the contemporary visual representations of such structures or implements in use. Written sources are also important for our understanding of the ancient water works. Literary sources, such as the Bible or the works of Greek and Roman historians, everyday records on clay tablets in palace archives, inscriptions, and Egyptian papyrus documents all provide critical data on the design, construction, use, and social context of ancient water works in the Middle East. It is fortunate that the literary evidence is richest for the cultures of Egypt and Mesopotamia, where the archaeological evidence has for the most part been lost, and that there is much archaeological evidence in ancient Palestine and the adjacent territories, for which the literary evidence is more restricted. Although essentially outsiders, the Greeks and Romans occupied and affected much of the region, and the written comments and sophisticated structures they left behind testify to the special character of problems of water supply in the ancient Middle East. The Greek and Latin texts in particular provide more objective and extensive information than most local sources.

Nevertheless, in this context the biblical evidence will be the point of departure for the discussion. Certainly the author of Deut 11:10–11 identified the major dichotomy that characterized the use of water in the region in antiquity: "For the land which you are entering to take possession of it is not like the land of Egypt from which you have come, where you sowed your seed and watered it with your feet, like a garden of vegetables; but the land . . . is a land of hills and valleys, which drinks water by the rain from heaven." Hydraulic technology in ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia was governed by the presence of the only three great rivers in the region: the Nile, Tigris, and Euphrates.

All three were fed by sources far outside their thickly-settled river valleys: they constituted exogenous water sources in regions where local precipitation was and still is completely insufficient for agriculture or urban life. The rest of the region had to depend on endogenous resources, particularly precipitation and the consequent recharge of local aquifers. Irrigation in the Egyptian sense of the word was impossible here, except on a very small scale for special crops. It was also for the most part unnecessary once structures and procedures had evolved to deal with the typical aridity. Since for the most part the water works of the Egyptian and Mesopotamian cultures differed markedly in character from those in the rest of the Middle East, they will be discussed separately below. Another typical pattern is the contrast, and sometimes the conflict, between the farmer and the herder, embodied early on in the story of Cain and Abel (Gen 4:1–16). Most often the settled and the nomadic ways of life were complementary, enforced by the natural and social resources of specific regions or periods. The two groups did, however, have need of different water works, and distinct resources were available to them. The literary and archaeological evidence reflect this reality as well.

B. Springs

The author of Deut 9:7 optimistically describes the promised land as "a land of brooks of water, of fountains and springs, flowing forth in valleys and hills . . ." Since perennial streams are rare in the region, most early settlements had to depend on springs for their water supply. These sources are fairly common in the porous limestone landscape that comprises most of Palestine, bursting to the surface of the hilly landscape at points where the percolation of ground water is arrested by an impermeable stratum, but are far less frequent elsewhere in the region. The clarity and convenience of flowing spring water led biblical authors to use it as a symbol of God's goodness: Pss 87:7; 104:10; 107:35; 114:8; Isa 41:18; 58:11; John 4:14. Springs were particularly welcome in the arid regions of the S and E where other water sources were absent, as at the oasis of Elim on the border with Egypt (Exod 15:27; Num 33:9). In completely waterless regions, long-distance travel required the provision of water depots, such as those Herodotus (3.6) reports were developed by the Persians in the N Sinai: all the empty wine jars in Egypt were sent to Memphis, filled with water there, and carried out to the desert for storage at strategic points. The Pharaohs of New Kingdom Egypt made similar provisions for travel along the critical Wadi Hammamat pass from the Nile valley to the Red Sea by building cisterns along the road.

In certain situations it is possible to increase the flow of water by excavation of the rock or earth around the mouth of a spring. It may be that some such intervention is behind the famous story of Moses striking a rock in the Sinai to release a stream of water (Exod 17:1–7; Num 20:10–11). Some spring houses in the ancient Mediterranean world are merely facades fronting deep galleries cut back along the water-bearing stratum to increase the flow and store the result. The famous Peirene spring in Corinth is an example, and in the early stages of its use the Gihon spring at Jerusalem probably was enhanced in this manner. Certainly at Palmyra, Gezer, and Gibeon the original spring caves were excavated to expose more of the aquifer. Strabo (16.2.13) records an ingenious solution to the problems of exploiting a submarine spring near the small, waterless island of Aradus off the coast of Syria (cf. also Pliny *HN*, 5.34.128). The inhabitants collected the precious flow of water by letting down over it a weighted funnel connected to a leather pipe. The fresh water gradually displaced the saltwater in the pipe and was allowed to pour into containers in waiting boats. Just as the flow of springs could be enhanced, so it could be reduced or stopped altogether. Such sabotage could be inflicted by an invading army on occupied land (2 Kgs 3:25), or be adopted as part of a scorched earth policy by a retreating populace. During his preparations for Sennacherib's siege in 701 B.C., Hezekiah had the springs around Jerusalem stopped up in order to deny water to the invading army (2 Chr 32:2–4).

Although the purity of spring water could generally be assumed in antiquity, there were some exceptions caused by natural or man-made pollution. In 2 Kgs 2:19–22, Elisha is informed that the spring of Jericho causes miscarriage, death, and agricultural infertility, and he purifies the water with a bowl of salt. Vitruvius (8.6.15) recommends the addition of salt to purify and improve the taste of cistern water. Pliny (*HN*, 31.22.36) states that water from certain "nitrous and salty acid" springs in the desert around the Red Sea could be made sweet within two hours by the addition of pearl barley, and that the barley itself could then be eaten. The character of well or cistern water was less reliable, and to the prophet Jeremiah (2:13) perverse faithlessness was symbolized by a preference for leaky cisterns over flowing spring water. Pliny (*HN*, 31.21.31) also notes the superiority of flowing water over still, and there was even a connoisseurship of the varying qualities of spring water in the Greek and Roman world (see Hippoc. *Aër.* 7.58–65; Vitr. 8.1.2; Pliny *HN*, 31.2.4–20.30, 24.41; Frontin. *Aq.* 1.11–12, 2.89–93). Perhaps because of the general scarcity of water in the Middle East, such refinements of judgment generally did not find expression there. The Parthian kings were an exception: they drank only water from the Choaspes and Eulaeus rivers, scorning the Tigris, Euphrates, and all others (Pliny *HN*, 31.21.35).

Most ancient city mounds in the Middle East were located over or near springs, but the earliest stages of development have now nearly always been lost. Since pools of water attract significant human and animal traffic, unimproved springs soon become muddy and polluted. This unpleasant condition is a symbol of wickedness in Prov 25:26, and all the Roman authors concerned with hydraulic technology emphasize the need to keep springs and wells free of reeds, vegetation, and mud (Vitr. 8.4.2; Pliny *HN*, 31.22.36–7; Faventinus 5; Frontin. *Aq.* 2.90; Vegetius *Epitoma rei militaris* 3.2). At Byblos it can be seen that planning was exercised from an early stage in the city's history. Even before 3000 B.C. a small pool was dug out of a marsh below the spring to receive the flow and keep the area around it dry. The area was also kept free of habitations and burials for a radius of ca. 15 m. As the level of the town rose during the mid-3d millennium, the walls of the original pool were reinforced with stone blocks, a second reservoir 25 m in diameter was added, and steps were provided to facilitate access to the water. This sort of

structural protection, including paving and the provision of pools, must have been repeated countless times throughout the Middle East from the Bronze Age onward. Another Bronze Age example survives at Tell Dor, and the remains of the Efca spring at Palmyra embody many of the same features.

Later periods saw the introduction of proper spring houses: architecturally distinct structures designed to collect the water, protect it from the sun and from pollution, provide convenient access to the flow, and—occasionally—to present an impressive facade. These needs usually were served by the construction of a small reservoir hidden behind a protective wall provided with overflow spouts that might be used to fill containers directly, or to fill a basin for dipping. The populist tyrants of 6th-century B.C. Greece first fulfilled these requirements with the monumental public spring houses that appeared in Megara, Samos, Corinth, and Athens. Paving and drainage channels for the runoff were essential. There are two ornate fountains of the 2d century B.C. at the Hasmonean palace of Iraq el Emir, in which water poured through the mouths of panthers cut in low relief in stone slabs set into the facade. The Greeks and Romans expended particular care on the architectural facades of their spring houses, which might resemble a small shrine or an enormous theater building. The most elaborate structure of this type in the ancient Middle East was the Nymphaeum at Gerasa, constructed in the late 2d century A.D. The two-story Corinthian facade was a paradigm of Roman baroque architecture, combining rich architectural decoration with sculpture, jets of water, and a large pool. Similar monumental fountains were built during the Empire at Petra, Miletus, and Corinth.

Structures such as these usually were far removed from their water source and were served by conduits, but a different and more utilitarian solution to the problem of water supply was needed at many of the fortified centers typical of the LB and early Iron Age in the Middle East. At Megiddo, Gibeon, Gezer, Hazor, and Ibleam the springs on which the settlement depended were close by the habitation mound but outside the massive fortification walls. In order to secure their access to water during siege, the rulers of Megiddo built a covered stairway down the side of the mound to the spring early in the 10th century B.C. Since this arrangement was very vulnerable to interruption, a tunnel was excavated during the mid-9th century B.C. in the bedrock below the city, connecting the spring with a shaft 30 m deep inside the walls by means of a stepped tunnel. At first, access to the spring from outside may have been preserved, but later on the whole spring was enclosed, and the sloping tunnel was extended to allow the water to flow of its own accord to the base of the stepped access shaft, a total distance of 75 m. Similar but smaller-scale arrangements were made during the LB or early Iron Age at Gezer and Gibeon, where the springs appeared in caves. At Gibeon, a circular shaft 11 m in diameter and 11 m deep cut in the bedrock provided access through a spiral staircase to a stepped tunnel leading to a spring 14 m below. See Fig. GIB.02 and GIB.03. This complex, possibly the "Pool of Gibeon" mentioned in 2 Sam 2:13, was constructed soon after 1200 B.C., but early in the 1st millennium it had to be supplemented with a stepped tunnel 40 m long that led down to a radically enlarged spring cave outside the city walls. The arrangement in 9th-century Hazor looks similar but reflects a greater understanding of the behavior of groundwater. An enormous shaft 15 m by 19 m was excavated through the earth inside the settlement to a depth of 30 m. Stairs around the interior led to a tunnel 25 m long cut in the bedrock and sloping downwards for another 10 m to a water-bearing stratum. The engineers had apparently observed the level of a natural spring located outside the walls and predicted correctly that the same aquifer could be tapped artificially at a more convenient point. The similar but smaller scale spring shafts dug at Tel Beit Mirsim in the early Iron Age are possibly the *gullôt mayim* mentioned in Josh 15:19 and Judg 1:15 (but see discussion also of DEBIR).

This type of protected access to water provided by a combination of cyclopean architecture and tunneling can be seen throughout the E Mediterranean in the LB, with particularly striking examples at the Mycenaean citadels of Mycenae, Tiryns, and Athens. At Tiryns, two sloping, corbel-vaulted tunnels 20 m long were built at the end of the 13th century B.C. to provide passage to subterranean springs, and at Athens a hidden stairway was constructed down a 35 m deep fissure in the Acropolis to water level. The Hebrew word for such stepped tunnels may have been *ṣinnôr*, a term used in 2 Sam 5:8 when David sends his men into Jebusite Jerusalem through "the water shaft" (cf.1 Chr 11:6), revealing the innate vulnerability of such a system. Because of chronological considerations, the shaft mentioned in this passage is probably not the one that led to the Gihon spring, later incorporated into King Hezkiah's complex (discussed below).

C. Wells

Common sense suggests that constantly flowing spring water at ground level was the first type of source to attract the attention of human populations and would have continued to be preferred for its purity, coolness, and convenience. Nevertheless, well water, although inferior to spring water, was still considered high in quality. Pliny, in fact, extols its character (*HN*, 31.23.38–9):

> From which type of source, than is the best water obtained. From wells, of course, as I see them arranged in towns, but from those which through frequent dipping have the recommendation of circulation and that clarity produced by filtration through the earth. This is enough for wholesomeness. For coolness, both shade is necessary, and that the well be open to the sky. Above all, one observation . . . : the spring should issue from the bottom of the well, not its sides.

This judgment is echoed in Jer 6:7. Because of its high quality and the effort required to draw it, well water was used mainly for human consumption and for watering livestock rather than for irrigation. Exceptions usually involved the use of water-lifting devices (see below). It was a sign to Abraham's servant when he arrived at Nahor in Mesopotamia that Rebekah willingly drew water for both him and his camels (Gen 24:11). The drawing of well water was a proverbially tedious task, and as such it was usually

delegated to women. It was this difficulty that stimulated the pathetic eagerness of the Samaritan woman at Jacob's well in John 4:6–15 to obtain the "living" (i.e., "flowing") water that she might "not thirst nor come here to draw."

Vitruvius (8.1.1–5) provides detailed instructions on the selection of a suitable site for a well, and he outlines the proper procedures for safe excavation and lining of the shaft (8.1.6, 6.12–13; cf. Pliny *HN*, 31.26.43–28.49). No such instructions survive in ANE literature, but the basic procedures are based on empirical experience and most undoubtedly were current even in the Neolithic period. They involve the observation of topography, soil, surface moisture, and vegetation. The settled, agricultural character of Neolithic life meant that communities could no longer follow their water supply, as they had once followed animal and plant food sources. The concomitant restriction of nomadic groups herding domesticated species of animals to increasingly marginal land in this arid region meant that they too, although ostensibly more mobile, were hard-pressed to find sufficient water. If springs or streams were not available or were seasonal in character, the easiest method of obtaining an alternative water supply was to tap an aquifer through excavation. The presence of wells has been proposed to explain the success of early Neolithic herding and agricultural communities at Beidha and Wadi Dhobai in Jordan, but at most sites successful early wells probably have been transformed by later enlargement.

The first wells must have been ragged, unlined pits in wadi beds, something even desert animals provide for themselves. Progress would have involved first the provision of a wood, stone, or baked brick lining to prevent collapse of the shaft, construction of a wellhead to keep people and animals from falling into it (cf. Luke 14:5), and—much later—the construction of a roof to protect the pooled water from the sun. Some of these developments may have come about early, for a Neolithic well found in a submerged site off Kefar Samir near Haifa was lined with alternating courses of unshaped stones and wooden beams. The provision of rollers or a pulley wheel to facilitate the lifting of the containers came only after the 9th century B.C., when the earliest such device appears in an Assyrian relief. An inscription of Sennacherib concerning the water supply of the palace at Nineveh mentions posts, crossbeams, cables, and bronze buckets intended to make the supply from the wells more abundant and reliable. In general, biblical texts are reticent about the design of the wells they mention, other than specifying occasionally the presence of some sort of cover (which implies a firm wellhead; e.g., Gen 29:1–3; 2 Sam 17:19) and of a trough nearby to receive the water drawn for animals (e.g., Gen 24:20; 30:38; Exod 2:15–16). These troughs probably were carved out of stone.

Success in well-digging depends not just on an understanding of the local hydrology, but also on the ability of a culture to excavate to a sufficient depth or through hard enough strata to tap reliable aquifers at a location convenient to the settlement or grazing grounds. In most of Palestine the presence of hard bedrock close to the surface ensured that wells were relatively small and shallow until the advent of metal tools. Subsequent accomplishments were remarkable. Wells of the Roman period in Palmyra were 75 m deep, and a Byzantine well at Eboda in the Negeb was cut 60 m through limestone. Digging all but the most rudimentary wells required skill and the organization of significant amounts of labor, and in the Bible such structures consequently are associated with major personalities who own the well and jealously guard access to it. In typical Near Eastern fashion, the people of Israel in Num 21:17–18 describe the new well at Be'er as "the well which the princes dug, which the nobles of the people delved, with the scepter and with their staves." Since a successful well tended to remain in use for as long as a particular site was occupied, the real or imagined antiquity of wells in Palestine led the inhabitants to connect most of them with the Patriarchs. The most famous was the well at Beer-sheba, called "Well of the Oath" or "Well of the Seven" because Abraham asked Abimelech for an oath over seven lambs "that you may be a witness for me that I dug this well" (Gen 21:30–31). Lapses in use could result in disputes over title, however, as Isaac found when he cleared out old wells in the valley of Gerar that had been stopped up by the Philistines after Abraham's death. The local herdsmen successfully claimed ownership even though they had not participated in the restoration (Gen 26:18–22). During the exodus, Moses asks for permission for the people of Israel to travel through Edom on the King's Highway, first assuring the local king that they would not drink water from any well (Num 20:17), then—more realistically—offering to pay for any water the people or their livestock consumed (Num 20:19; cf. Deut 2:27–28). Numerous Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptions and literary sources mention that armies on the march in arid regions had to dig their own wells to obtain water (cf. 2 Kgs 19:24; Isa 37:25). Some Egyptian representations of such wells show only irregular pools, others neat circular wellheads built of masonry. Hydrostatic pressures encountered in the deep, porous sandstones of oases W of the Nile occasionally provided the Egyptians with artesian wells.

In situations where several families owned rights to a single well, simple mechanisms developed to ensure fair distribution of the supply of water. In NW Mesopotamia, for example, Jacob encountered a group of three Aramean shepherds who shared a well with Laban, his uncle. The wellhead was covered with a stone large enough that only the entire group of co-owners could roll it away, preventing any unsupervised use of the water (Gen 29:1–3, 7–8). In urban situations, wells could be found in the courtyards of private homes (e.g., 2 Sam 17:18; cf. Pro 5:15–17). These presumably were privately owned, but wells in the streets, whatever their origin, seem to have been available to all comers (Gen 24:11; John 4:6–11). Unless very deep, urban wells were subject to pollution through percolation of the contents of adjacent cesspools into the aquifer. Cisterns were more reliable in this regard, and they were most often private property.

Wells have been encountered in archaeological excavations throughout the Middle East, but because of the patterns of preservation and excavation, most are from urban situations. At the palace of Ebla a series of wells and cisterns were dug and built in a courtyard around 2350–2200 B.C. The cisterns were meant to be filled by runoff from adjacent roofs, but the wells tapped the local aquifer.

Wells of the 14th or 13th centuries B.C. have been identified inside private homes and in the palace courtyard at Ugarit. The wellheads were made of square or round stone slabs carrying a circular opening ca. 0.50 m in diameter, allowing access to a stone-lined shaft of approximately the same dimensions. At the site of Habuba Kabira on the upper Euphrates, wells were sunk at the same time the site was fortified in the second half of the 3d millennium. The wells, which are spaced at regular intervals inside the line of fortification walls, were apparently intended for the use of refugees and their flocks. More sophisticated wells were found in the palace of Assurnasirpal II (884–859 B.C.) at Nimrud. The shaft of one was round in plan and lined with 330 courses of burnt brick. Another had a stepped platform of bricks waterproofed with bitumen that supported some sort of large pulley for lifting water from the well. Tethering stones standing nearby suggest that the well was designed to water animals.

D. Cisterns and Reservoirs

In the absence of sufficient supplies of running spring water or of well water from an accessible subterranean aquifer, it was necessary to catch and store the runoff from whatever precipitation fell during the wet months. Even in areas that received less than 250 mm of precipitation annually, properly designed catchment fields—anything from a rooftop to a hillside—of appropriate dimensions provided enormous amounts of water. In an area receiving only 100 mm of rain annually, the runoff from a 1.0 ha field is 1000 m^3. If only 20 percent of this water is caught and stored, it still can provide 4 lt/day for over 100 people for a year, or sufficient water for over 700 sheep for the same period. At a site such as Petra, runoff was the only possible source of water for many areas of the settlement and necropolis, and in consequence the cliffs are riddled with cisterns. The high acropolis with its Iron Age settlement contains so many cisterns that it is now called Umm el Biyara, "Mother of Cisterns." But even where wells and springs were available, cisterns were also constructed to provide an emergency reserve of drinking water or a supply of low-quality water for irrigation or craft processes. In some households, cistern water might also have to replace well or spring water that was difficult of access, controlled by hostile families, or sold at too high a price. Even in Jerusalem, which was well supplied with water from both local springs and regional springs connected to the city by aqueduct, domestic cisterns constituted an important supplement. The drying up of the cisterns in Jerusalem represent the ultimate catastrophe of drought in Jer 14:1–6 and the extremity of siege conditions in Bethulia in Jdt 7:20–1 (cf. Vegetius *Epitoma rei militaris* 3.10). In the inscription on the Moabite Stone, set up in Dibon around 830 B.C., Mesha of Moab commemorates his regulation of this aspect of the local water-supply system: "Since there was no cistern inside the city . . . , I said to all the people, 'Each of you make himself a cistern in his house!' "

Nevertheless, cistern water had a bad reputation among the Greeks and Romans with regard to taste, clarity, and healthfulness. According to Pliny (*HN*, 31.21.34), cistern water was bad for the digestion, and contained more "slime and disgusting insects" than water from other sources. Judging from the lack of complaints in biblical texts, ancient cultures in the Middle East were less fastidious about their water, but Jeremiah 2:13 does imply that a preference for cistern over spring water is foolish. Perhaps the experience of being thrown into Malchiah's cistern in Jerusalem soured him (Jer 38:6), even though "there was no water in the cistern, but only mire. . . ." Although rain water is pure, sediment and pollution can enter the water as it drains off the catchment field. Most ancient cisterns were supplied with a settling tank to allow the heaviest particles to settle out of the water before it flowed into the storage tank, but the sudden intensity typical of rain storms in the Middle East, combined with their generally infrequent occurrence, meant that significant amounts of sediment could enter a cistern each year. The provision of a roof over the storage tank prevented further pollution or the proliferation of animal and plant life (cf. Lev 11:36), and slowed down the loss of the contents through evaporation. Most cisterns had to be cleaned out every year, generally when they went dry in late summer.

In contrast to the supply of water from springs and wells, that from cisterns is frequently associated in biblical passages with agricultural activities as well as stock-raising. Cisterns are mentioned along with houses, vineyards, olive and fig trees as one of the facilities or amenities of a small farm in Deut 6:10–11; 2 Kgs 18:31; Isa 36:16; Neh 9:25; 2 Chr 26:10; and Eccl 2:4–6. Although in 2 Kgs 18:31 and Isa 36:16 the cistern water is to be drunk, its use for irrigation is implied as well.

Cisterns are mentioned frequently in the Egyptian papyri of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, primarily in the context of irrigation, but also in use for stock-raising and various craft processes. Since there is virtually no rainfall along the Nile valley, most of these structures were filled from wells or from canals connected with the Nile, by means of water-lifting devices (discussed below). The papyri from Nessana in the S Negeb include two 6th-century A.D. documents (P.Ness. 31, 32) that mention orchards and vineyards fitted out with cisterns and water channels to allow irrigation. Since there are no rivers or springs in the immediate area, these cisterns must have been filled with runoff water. In exceptional circumstances, even very large cisterns could be filled with water carried in by donkey-trains or porters, as at Masada. In the Jewish world, specially designed cisterns filled at least in part with rainwater that had not been dipped or poured in a broken stream were used as *mikva'ot*, or ritual baths. Cisterns of this type, provided with a stairway to allow immersion, have been found in large numbers at Jerusalem, Qumran, Masada, Herodium, and elsewhere.

As Deut 6:10–11 implies (cf. Jer 2:13; Neh 9:25; 2 Chr 26:10; Sir 50:3), cisterns usually were cut into the bedrock. This procedure saved on building materials and ensured the stability of a structure that had to resist very substantial internal pressure. Since the limestone bedrock underlying most of Palestine is very porous, it has been suggested that only the discovery of an impermeable plaster made of burnt and slaked lime at the beginning of the Iron Age (ca. 1200 B.C.) made possible the routine construction of cisterns and consequently the spread of habitation to locations distant from springs and wells. Recent archaeological discoveries, however, include much earlier cisterns water-

proofed both with clay and plaster. At Tell Ai, the early Iron Age inhabitants cut their cisterns only in deposits of chalk that became impermeable automatically when wet. The simplest and possibly earliest form in the Middle East is the bottle-shaped cistern: a deep, round reservoir with a small entrance hole, all cut in the rock. This design and variations on it, made waterproof with clay or plaster, appears in the EB at Bab edh-Dhra^c and Taanach, in the MB at Hazor, and in the Iron Age at many other sites. The Augustan historian Diodorus Siculus describes just the same type of cistern in use among the Nabateans of his day (19.94.6–8). Most ancient urban and rural habitation sites in the Middle East located in areas where bedrock was accessible are riddled with cisterns of one sort or another, testifying to the importance of this type of water source: Gezer, Beth-shemesh, and Jerusalem are only a few examples. Built cisterns were not only less common but also less likely to survive.

During the Hellenistic and Roman periods, cisterns tended to take on a more regular square or rectangular shape and were lined with a waterproof plaster made with the addition of crushed potsherds. A very characteristic design found in the regions occupied by the Nabateans was a deep square or rectangular basin cut in the rock or built of blocks and roofed with long flat slabs carried on arches that crossed the cistern on its short axis. This design, well suited to the treeless regions of the desert, probably was borrowed from the Greeks, since examples of the Hellenistic period appear at Delos and Claros. Nabatean examples of the 1st century B.C. or 1st to 2d century A.D. can be seen in large numbers at Eboda, Mampsis, Nessana, Avara, Petra, and Umm el-Jimal. See Fig. UMM.01.

In contrast to cisterns, which tended to be small and private, reservoirs were large, usually unroofed pools designed to store quantities of water for public use or for applications that required significant volume. They could be filled by springs as well as by runoff water. Irrigation is the typical application and is mentioned explicitly in Eccl 2:4–6: "I made myself pools from which to water the forest of growing trees" (cf. Neh 3:15). The upper and lower pools and an associated reservoir mentioned in 2 Kgs 18:17; Isa 7:3; 22:9–11; and 36:2 may have been part of the water system of Jerusalem supplied by the Gihon spring, designed to save surplus water that would otherwise have drained off down the Kidron valley. A primary purpose of this system probably was the provision of drinking water, but the upper pool mentioned in 2 Kgs 18:17 was on the highway to the Fuller's Field, suggesting that it may also have supplied the large volumes of relatively clean water needed for the processing of woolen cloth. Since the sick bathed in the commodious Pool of Bethzatha in Jerusalem (John 5:2), it is unlikely to have been used for human drinking water. But it was located next to the Sheep Gate, so perhaps it provided water for livestock. Around 200 B.C. the high priest Simeon built a reservoir to help Jerusalem withstand siege (Sir 50:3): "In his days a cistern for water was quarried out, a reservoir like the sea in circumference." Other pools are mentioned at Samaria (1 Kgs 22:38), Gibeon (2 Sam 2:13), and Hebron (2 Sam 4:12).

Because of their size, reservoirs usually were at least partly built rather than cut in the rock (but cf. Sir 50:3), the blocks being used to supplement spots where the bedrock was lacking. The inscription on the Moabite stone mentions that King Mesha himself built "the retaining walls of the reservoir . . . inside the city" of Dibon. They were also usually unroofed. The great vaulted reservoirs built into the platform of the temple at Jerusalem were an exception, and their imperial scale and finish were paralleled only in the covered reservoirs of Byzantine Constantinople. Significantly, reservoirs appear as early in the archaeological record as cisterns: it is their scale and potential application that is different rather than their technology. Already in the late 4th millennium B.C., engineers at Jawa in Syria's basalt desert built a system of reservoirs with a volume of 75,000 m^3, designed to be filled by runoff. The water was meant for human consumption, for livestock, and for irrigation in an otherwise almost waterless region. Other urban reservoirs of the Bronze Age, built of slabs of stone sealed with clay, have been found in Byblos, Arad, Tell Ai, Ugarit, and Ebla. Reservoirs also formed part of the system of inundation irrigation practiced in Mesopotamia and Egypt (discussed below). During the late 8th century B.C. a great shaft 22 m by 25 m square and 25 m deep was dug into one corner of the city mound of Lachish, possibly to serve as a reservoir, but the project was never completed. The famous Pools of Solomon, a series of three large reservoirs near Bethlehem fed by springs and runoff, were connected to the aqueduct system serving Roman Jerusalem. Some features of the complex may be as old as the Hasmoneans, but there was much expansion in the Roman and Byzantine periods. As preserved, they have a total capacity of 400,000 m^3. Numerous enormous, rain-fed reservoirs were built in the Negeb and Transjordan by the Nabateans and Romans: for example at Sobata, Bostra, Umm el-Jimal, Qasr Hallabat, Petra, Avara, and Quweira.

E. Conduits, Aqueducts, and Qanats

The significant weight and typical liquid form of water provide the advantage that it can be made to flow of its own accord to locations distant from the source. All that is needed is a relatively impermeable conduit with a slope sufficient to overcome the friction along the surface in contact with the water. This adaptability is noted in Prov 21:1: "The king's heart is a stream of water in the hand of the Lord; he turns it wherever he will." The term used is *palgê mayim*, which can also take the significance of "irrigation conduit" (cf. Ps 65:10; Job 38:25). The main problems with water conduits of more than local significance are the investment of time and materials required for their construction, the need for constant maintenance, and their vulnerability. These characteristics meant that in the pre-Roman Middle East, as in pre-Roman Greece, aqueducts on a regional scale were extremely rare. The small and troubled states simply did not have the resources or stability to support aqueducts on the scale later made customary by the Romans. Exceptions were Jerusalem, which was a capital city, the facilities developed within the centralized Assyrian empire, and the subterranean *qanats* of Persia. A unique temporary pipeline in the region mentioned by a skeptical Herodotus (3.9) probably never existed:

> The Arabian king had cowhides and other skins stitched together to form a pipe long enough to reach from the Carys—a large river in Arabia which runs to the Red Sea—all the way to the desert; here he had large reservoirs constructed, filled them by means of the pipe, and so stored the water. The water was brought to three separate places, over a total distance . . . of a twelve day's journey.

The famous aqueduct of Hezekiah at Jerusalem is mentioned in 2 Kgs 20:20 as a characteristic example of his might (see also Isa 22:8–11; 2 Chr 32:2–4, 30). It was essentially a rock-cut tunnel 533 m long designed to carry the water of the Gihon spring through a limestone ridge to a more protected position at the Pool of Siloam. See Figs. DAV.03; DAV.04; and JER.09. The system's elements are listed in Sir 48:17: "Hezekiah fortified his city, and brought water into the midst of it; he tunneled the sheer rock with iron and built pools for water." The stimulus was Sennacherib's threatened siege of Jerusalem in 701 B.C. An inscription cut into the conduit wall commemorates the accomplishment, which was considered all the more remarkable because the tunnel was cut from both ends at once. Hezekiah's engineers preempted water that previously had been carried around the Kidron valley by open-air conduits built of mortar or cut in the rock, possibly alluded to in 2 Chr 32:30. There were only two similar accomplishments in the Greek world. The first was a tunnel several km long excavated through a mountain sometime in the 14th century B.C. to drain Lake Copais in Boeotia. The second was a water tunnel at Samos cut 1000 m through a mountain by Eupalinos in the third quarter of the 6th century B.C. Tunnels cut in rock were a common feature of some of the extensive water systems constructed by Assyrian kings in the 13th and 9th centuries B.C. to supply their royal cities. The system at Jerusalem was extended 22.5 km S of the city by one of the later Hasmonean kings who built tunnels and a plastered conduit to tap the water of the spring at the lowest of the later "Solomon's Pools." It was only in the early empire that the resources of Herod the Great and then of the Roman procurators allowed extension of the system to its final length of 67 km, including upper and lower aqueducts and the reservoirs later attributed to Solomon.

Herod built a totally new aqueduct system 8 km long to serve his city of Caesarea. It was later expanded by the Romans, who also built aqueduct systems at Antioch on the Orontes, Salamis, Pella, Sebaste, Palmyra, and many other cities in the region. A handbook of the aqueduct system of Rome in the late 1st century A.D., Frontinus' *De aquis urbis Romae*, has survived and provides excellent evidence for the careful design, maintenance, and administration of Roman aqueducts. Such water-supply systems were expensive but could completely alter the natural hydrology of a city. Both aspects are embodied in Josephus' allusion to the aqueduct Herod built to serve his Herodium near Jerusalem (*Ant* 15.318325): the palace was "worth seeing because of the way in which water, which is lacking at that place, is brought in from a distance at great expense." See Figs. HER.05 and HER.07.

The *qanats* of Persia constitute another exception to the local character of water conduits in the pre-Roman Middle East. These were gently sloping tunnels tapping the aquifer of a talus, or debris slope, at the foot of a mountain range. The course of the channel and the proper water level were found by sinking access shafts every 30 to 50 m. These shafts allowed excavation to proceed from two directions at once, provided a means for removing debris, and facilitated maintenance. The subterranean water course could extend from several km up to 20 or 30 km, depending on the depth of the source, surface topography, and the distance from source to intended point of use. The technique probably was developed in Urartu, where the use of *qanats* is alluded to for the first time in the late 8th century B.C. by Sargon II, who was busy destroying them. They became characteristic of Persia and probably spread from there westward. They appear at Damascus, Palmyra, Phasael in the Jordan valley, Jotbata in the Wadi Arabah, and N Africa. The fact that they were cut in the subsoil rather than built, protected *qanats* to an extent from the problems of materials and vandalism that affected conventional aqueducts, but they did require constant maintenance. Systems of this type are still in use.

The earliest small-scale water conduits undoubtedly were simple earth channels connecting a spring or stream with an irrigated field. As long as the soil is not too porous and the stream velocity not high enough to cause serious erosion of the channel walls, earth conduits are perfectly satisfactory for temporary purposes, and they have continued in use up to the present. For the most part these would have been relatively short conduits used in gardens, but the great irrigation systems of Egypt and Mesopotamia depended on earth conduits as well. Xenophon (*An.* 2.4.13) compares the final ramifications of the extensive system of irrigation channels leading from the Tigris in Mesopotamia to the small channels used in Greece to irrigate fields of millet. At Jawa, too, in the late 4th millennium, the conduits of the great urban water system supplied by runoff were simply excavated in the stony soil.

Where erosion or the porosity of the soil was a problem, or permanence was required, conduits were constructed of lines of stone slabs waterproofed with clay, or made of a series of blocks carved with a longitudinal channel, set end to end. Both types are found already in the 14th century B.C. at Ugarit, Knossos, and most other major palace and habitation sites of that period in the E Mediterranean. The long blocks carved with a channel had the advantage of a greater resistance to leaking and collapse, and they continued to appear throughout the region into the Late Roman period wherever raw materials and financial resources allowed. This type of conduit was particularly favored by the Nabateans, who used it in systems of varying lengths, from a single farm to the water supply for a whole settlement. At Avara (modern Humayma) in the Hisma, 26 km of conduit carried the water from three springs to the habitation center. Examples of the Roman period can be seen elsewhere in the E Mediterranean at Corinth and Kourion. An alternative to the monolithic stone conduit was the conduit built of mortared rubble covered with a layer of waterproof plaster. This design was in use throughout the Middle East from the early Iron Age on, and particularly extensive systems have been found serving Qumran and the Hasmonean and Herodian palaces at Jericho. See Fig. QUM.02 and JER.06.

The growing sophistication of ceramic production in EB Mesopotamia suggested to hydraulic engineers the possibility of manufacturing sections of water pipe in clay, and such pipelines appear during the late 2d millennium at Ur and later on at Mari. By the LB, the innovation had spread throughout the E Mediterranean, and examples have been found at Knossos and numerous sites in Egypt. Clay pipelines enjoyed great popularity because they were very effective when the joints between the sections were properly sealed, inexpensive to manufacture, relatively easy to lay, and provided a clean water supply with the added convenience and security of a subterranean course. Even in early imperial Rome, where lead pipes had become common, Vitruvius notes that terra-cotta pipelines were preferable for the purity of their water and the simplicity of repair (8.6.10–11). Extensive municipal water-supply systems were executed using such pipes in classical Athens, Hellenistic Pergamon, and during the 2d century A.D. at Kourion.

Water in open conduits can flow only downhill, while tightly sealed pipelines, whether of metal, stone, or terra-cotta, can be pressurized systems in which the conduit rises back up almost as high as its source after descending into one or several intermediate valleys. As long as the pipes could withstand the increased pressure at the low points, this procedure allowed conduits to avoid long detours around valleys and other depressions and made it possible for the first time to provide a supply of running water to an isolated acropolis. The first major pressurized system was constructed to serve the acropolis of Pergamum in the early 2d century B.C.; it sustained maximum pressures of 20 atm. This feature reappeared during the Roman period in the water-supply systems of Jerusalem, Philoteria, Hippos, Caesarea, and the baths of Gadara. The technology is described in Vitruvius 8.6.6–9.

F. Terraces, Cleared Fields, Dams

Even in extremely arid regions of the Middle East, runoff water from local precipitation constituted a substantial resource that was often tapped for filling cisterns. The resource was even more substantial if the water was held back by terraces and wadi barriers so that it could sink into the soil and sustain crops. Early man in the Middle East recognized these possibilities, and by at least the MB, terraces had appeared on the hilly areas of Palestine, especially in central Canaan, and in Lebanon. These terraces depended on the action of low, massive stone walls built across the slope to hold back soil and increase its depth, to prevent erosion and allow water to sink into the soil, and to provide horizontal fields for more convenient cropping. In the portions of this area that receive significant quantities of rain (up to 700 mm/year) the procedure was meant as much to avoid erosion as to store up water, but elsewhere it was crucial to the preservation of moisture. S and E of the Mediterranean coast, where the topography was less steep and the soils lighter, the runoff from surrounding hills was often directed by low earth barriers or channels to wide terraces in the more gentle slopes directly below. The Nabateans were particularly skilled in this practice, and terraced farms of this type are common in the Negeb, around Eboda, Mampsis, and Subeita. The runoff fields on the hills sometimes were enhanced by heaping up the small stones on the surface in long rows or regular patterns of piles: this procedure fostered crusting of the soil immediately upon contact with rainwater, inhibited its absorption in the soil, and thus increased the yield of water below.

Low walls, sometimes reinforced with natural vegetation, were also built across small natural watercourses, now called wadis, to hold back the water that surged through them after rain in the surrounding hills. The sudden violence and unpredictability of these watercourses became a proverb, as in 2 Kgs 3:16–17: "I will make this dry stream-bed full of pools . . . You shall not see wind or rain, but that stream-bed shall be filled with water, so that you shall drink, you, your cattle, and your beasts" (cf. Ps 126:4). Some extensive examples of the 9th to 6th centuries B.C.—one 740 m long—have survived at el-Buqei'a, the ancient Valley of Achor. Hillside terraces and, to a lesser extent, stream barriers were used throughout the E Mediterranean world from the Bronze Age on and are still maintained today. Plato (*Leg.* 761 a-b) describes the practice and its long-term effect on the landscape:

> Concerning the rainwaters, they are to take care that these waters not harm the land, but help it instead. They are to block up with dams and channels the outflows of the runoff which comes down from the heights into hollow torrent glens up in the mountains. By both storing up and causing the water to be absorbed into the ground, thereby making streams and springs for the fields and all the underlying districts, they will cause even the driest spots to become abundantly supplied with water, and good water at that.

Biblical texts do not mention these procedures explicitly, but the allusion to the Israelites destroying fields in the hill country of Moab by piling stones on them (2 Kgs 3:25) may possibly refer to interference with runoff fields, particularly since this action is linked with the stopping up of springs.

Where water requirements were more extensive or greater resources of manpower available, dams were built across watercourses to divert the water to reservoirs or hold it back in a pool. There is very little comment in ANE or classical texts on the construction and function of this type of structure, but the remains of a surprising number of dams have survived in the archaeological record. Very substantial dams were built as early as the late 4th and early 3d millennia B.C. The earliest, at Jawa, were rubble-mound structures designed to divert runoff from several major wadi systems to a series of reservoirs. The enormous dam across the Wadi Garawi in Egypt, built around 2600 B.C., was intended to control flooding: it was 116 m long 10 m high, and 85 m thick, built of masonry over a rubble core. Unfortunately, a great flood destroyed it during construction. There were other large and more successful Bronze and Iron Age dams in the Fayūm, and across the Tigris 30 km above Nimrud. The knowledge of this large-scale intervention in stream-flow probably spread from the Middle Eastern cultures to the Hittites, who constructed a number of major dams in central and SE Anatolia, to the Mycenaeans, who built a rubble dam near Tiryns and major dykes around Lake Copais in Boeotia (Paus. 8.23.2)

and to Urartu, whose kings built dams as part of the extensive, integrated irrigation systems commemorated in inscriptions of the 9th and 8th centuries B.C.

Most of the later dams in the region were built by the Nabateans or Romans, who usually produced more scientific designs executed with cut stone blocks or mortared rubble. Very substantial Nabatean dams for diverting or pooling the flow of wadis survive at Mampsis, Petra, and numerous smaller sites such as Avara. Large Roman dams, sometimes based on Nabatean predecessors, were built along the Arabian frontier to provide drinking and irrigation water for desert settlements. Extensive remains survive at Harbaka, 80 km SE of Homs, of a masonry dam 200 m long and 18 m high. At Homs itself, a dam built by Diocletian still holds back the Orontes to form a large lake: the structure, built of masonry over a rubble core, was 2 km long, as high as 6 m, and as thick as 20 m at the base.

G. Irrigation Cultures: Mesopotamia and Egypt

In biblical tradition, Adam, the first man, was given a typical Mesopotamian pleasure garden to inhabit in Eden (Gen 2:8–14); it was watered by a river that split into four streams, including the Tigris and Euphrates. This idyllic tradition is a reflection of the early awareness of the unique fertility of Mesopotamia: a flat land of deep, rich alluvium, sodden with water. Egypt too was proverbially rich, and during the Exodus, the people of Israel longed for the fleshpots of their former land (Exod 16:3), the fruitful gardens, and its dependable water supply (Exod 17:3; Num 20:5). The author of Deut 11:10–11 succinctly sums up the essential contrast between life in the river valleys of Egypt and Mesopotamia and that in Palestine: in Egypt "you sowed your seed and watered it with your feet, like a garden of vegetables," but Palestine "drinks water by the rain from heaven." The contrast is that between irrigation from perennial sources and drought farming based on precipitation, local runoff, and small-scale exploitation of rain-fed aquifers.

But there were also significant differences in the patterns of irrigation that developed in these two great river-valley civilizations during the Neolithic and Bronze Ages, differences based on the behavior of their rivers. The Tigris and Euphrates, fed by melting snows in the highlands of Armenia and Anatolia, rise suddenly and violently in the late spring or early summer, too late to help a spring sowing, and too early to assist a crop through the summer's heat. In consequence it was necessary to store up water in great reservoirs for flow irrigation of the fields after the flood, or to lift it from an intricate network of irrigation canals to the level of the fields by means of water-lifting devices (discussed below). This irrigation network was vulnerable to damage from the floodwater and could easily be choked by the silt carried by the river, a load five times heavier than that in the Nile. Careful drainage was crucial to prevent salinization of the soil, but difficult because of the low relief and high water table. There is a detailed account of the design, function, and maintenance of this water system in Strabo 16.1.9–10 (cf. Hdt. 1.193).

Increasing centralization of government in the course of the Bronze Age allowed the development of enormous and gradually more sophisticated irrigation networks, attested by bureaucratic records, accounts, and law codes preserved on clay tablets in palace archives. Great canals were dug to harness the water of the Tigris; the longest, the Nahrwan, was 120 m wide and ran parallel to the river for 340 km. The date of this canal is unknown, but Sennacherib himself recorded his construction of the Jerwan canal in 691 B.C. It brought the water of the Greater Zab 90 km to irrigate fields around his capital at Nineveh. A great weir stored up river water and diverted it into the stone-lined channel, which passed over at least one valley on a stone aqueduct bridge 100 m long.

While in Mesopotamia the objective was storage of the floodwaters to allow irrigation through the growing season, in ancient Egypt the flood came in the heat of summer, and the procedures were designed to ensure that the river itself flooded every possible field. The Nile began to rise gently early in July and reached its maximum in August. At a moment carefully calculated by measurement of the height of the river at the Nilometers (see Strabo 17.1.48; Pliny *HN*, 5.10.58), dykes were breached simultaneously throughout the length of the valley to allow the water to inundate the maximum number of fields. The water was kept in the fields through September to drop its load of fertile silt and to replenish the groundwater, then drained off. The wet fields were then sown with seed, weeded once, and the rich harvest gathered in late spring, before the summer sun parched the fields. Water-lifting devices were used to supplement the reach of the inundation. This strikingly convenient natural cycle was the basis for Egyptian prosperity, and—unlike the author of Deuteronomy—the Egyptians regarded dependence on rain as very risky: ". . . for learning that the Greek land is watered by rain, and not, like theirs, by river, they said that some day the Greeks would be disappointed of their high hopes and miserably starve" (Hdt. 2.13). Pliny (*HN*, 18.47.167–70) provides a detailed account of Egyptian irrigation (see also Hdt. 2.14). The character of the Nile is noted in Jer 46:8, and Egyptian irrigation works are summed up in Exod 7:19 as "their rivers, their canals, and their ponds, and all their pools of water" (cf. 2 Kgs 19:24; Isa 37:25).

Clearly there was nothing in Palestine to equal these idyllic circumstances. Only the Jordan valley came close, which in Gen 13:10 is compared to both Egypt and the Mesopotamian Eden: "And Lot lifted up his eyes, and saw that the Jordan Valley was well watered everywhere like the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt." The Jordan even provided its own inundation (Josh 3:15) but at an inconvenient time, like the Tigris and Euphrates. The water probably was carried to the fields by a combination of water-lifting devices and dirt channels. Outside of the three great river valleys, inundation irrigation on a large scale in the E Mediterranean was always the product of special local circumstances, as at Thisbe in Boeotia. In contrast with the otherwise arid landscape of Greece, this mountain valley without natural exit was inundated with runoff. This resource was used to water the land by flooding half of it each year, on either side of a great earthen dyke (Paus. 9.32.3).

H. Water-lifting Devices

Since water naturally flows downhill, it is necessary either to intercept the flow above the level where it is needed, or to lift it artificially to a higher point after which it is

channeled to the target area. Because of the relative convenience of tapping into flowing water and the relative difficulty of lifting it in sufficient quantities, all cultures have tried to intercept water as close to its source as possible: on the slope of a hill, at a spring, or near the headwaters of a river.

Nevertheless, in many situations water must be lifted to the point of use. Wells and most cisterns are good examples: although they were positioned to be filled by freeflowing water, their contents had to be removed by dipping, a circumstance crucial to the meaning of the story of the Samaritan woman at Jacob's well in John 4:6–15 (cf. Isa 30:14; Eccl 12:6). Jars, skin bags, and buckets were the typical containers used (e.g., Gen 21:19; 24:20), which were either hand-held or lowered on a rope. Pulley wheels or rollers were known after the 9th century B.C. as aids for lifting water from wells or deep cisterns, but the cranked bucket roller is not attested until the 9th century A.D. In any case, most wells in the Middle East in antiquity, as today, probably provided only a sturdy wellhead with a circular opening through which the container was lowered directly on the rope. In drawing up the heavy, full container, the rope often was allowed to rub on the sides of the stone curb, leaving sets of abrasion grooves. Exceptions were found in palace situations, such as the well at Nimrud mentioned above, or the water-supply system of the gardens of the Persian king at Susa in the 4th century B.C. Fragments of Ctesias of Cnidus report (*FGrH* IIIC no. 688, frag. 34): "In Susa the king has a large number of cattle, each of which lifts 100 buckets of water a day to irrigate the drier sections of his parks." Details provided in the rest of the passage suggest that the oxen were working at a water-lifting device now called a *čerd*, a large, self-emptying leather water bag lifted from a well by means of a rope passing over a roller as the animals were guided down a sloping walkway. A similar device is probably intended by Diodorus Siculus' description of the water-supply system of Hanging Gardens of Babylon (2.10.6): "a gallery with shafts from the highest level and water-lifting machines by means of which a quantity of water was drawn up from the river." This original system was modernized sometime in the Hellenistic period by the installation of the series of water-screws mentioned by Strabo (16.1.5).

The only other water-lifting device in use before the Hellenistic period was the *shādūf*, a swing beam with counterweight at the short end and a pole or rope suspended from the other to lift a bucket or skin bag from a well, cistern, river, or water channel. This simple but effective device first appears in Mesopotamian art in the mid-3d millennium and in Egyptian art and literature slightly later. It is still in use today essentially unchanged. Irrigation accounts in ancient archives throughout the Middle East record its use in lifting water for irrigation, livestock, craft processes, and human consumption. Although there is no explicit mention of it in the Bible, the *shādūf* probably was involved in some of the situations involving water-lifting recorded there.

The other mechanical water-lifting devices of the ancient E Mediterranean region probably were invented by scholars or engineers associated with the Museum in Ptolemaic Alexandria: the wheel with compartmented rim or body, the water-screw, the bucket-chain, and the force pump. The water-screw, a rotating tube with interior helix of wooden or copper vanes to lift the water, was invented by Archimedes in the late 2d century B.C. to solve certain irrigation problems in the Nile delta. Agatharchides of Cnidus records its typical application (*FGrH* IIA no. 86, frag. 19):

> Since [the Nile delta] is formed by river alluvium and is well watered it produces fruit of all sorts in great quantity; for the river in its annual inundation always deposits new mud, and the inhabitants easily irrigate the whole region by means of a certain device which Archimedes the Syracusan invented, called the "screw" on account of its design.

The wheel with compartmented rim to lift water is mentioned in the 3d century B.C. by Philo of Byzantium (*Pneumatica* 61), and is probably "the wheel broken at the cistern" in Eccl 12:6. This type of device, which is mentioned in numerous Greek papyri and Greek and Latin literary works, could be worked by men treading on the rim or by water power working on paddles around the circumference. Like the water-screw, the compartmented wheel was used to raise water for irrigation throughout the ancient Middle East. Both devices also found application in water-supply systems for settlements, such as that serving the Roman camp at the later site of Cairo, described in Strabo 17.1.30: "There is a ridge running from the camp down to the Nile along which wheels and screws bring water up from the river; 150 prisoners are kept busy at the work." The early 2d-century papyrus P.Lond. 1177 preserves the account of the water-supply system of a small Egyptian *mētropolis: shādūfs*, water-screws, compartmented wheels, and bucket-chains were used to provide water for a bath, public and private fountains, a brewery, and a synagogue. The compartmented wheel could also be turned by oxen treading a circle and applying their power to the axle through an angle gear made of wooden wheels with peg teeth. This device, now called the *sāqiya* gear, in antiquity the *mēchanē, machina*, or *organon*, was also applied to the bucket-chain.

The bucket-chain allowed a degree of mechanization in the laborious task of lifting water from wells or cisterns too deep or narrow for the *shādūf*, water-screw, or compartmented wheel. It consisted of a series of wood, metal, leather, or ceramic containers on a rope or chain, strung over the water source on a thick revolving axle. Many of the Egyptian papyri mention such devices, and there is a charming description of a gear-driven bucket-chain in use in the Egyptian desert in Sulpicius Severus' *Dialogi* 1.13:

> There was a well at that spot, a very rare thing in those parts. The hermit possessed one ox whose only task was to raise water by driving a machine fitted with wheels, for the well was reputed to be about a thousand feet deep or more. There was a garden there, well supplied with numerous green vegetables . . . for the copious watering gave such fertility to the sandy soil . . .

The force pump, invented in the 3d century B.C. by Ctesibius of Alexandria, was used mainly as a fire extinguisher. Many cities of the Roman Middle East kept such

devices on hand for use by the local fire brigades (see Hero, *Spir.* 1.28; Apollod. of Damascus, *Poliorcetica* 174.1–7; Pliny, *Ep.* 10.33.2; Pion., *v. Polyc.* 28).

Although mechanical water-lifting devices figure frequently in Egyptian papyri, in various Syrian and Mesopotamian palace archives, and in Greek and Latin inscriptions and literary sources concerning the E Mediterranean, there are only two possible allusions in the Bible: Deut 11:10–11 and Eccl 12:6. The allusion in Deuteronomy, probably 7th-century B.C. in date, is made to agricultural practices in Egypt—"where you sowed your seed and watered it with your feet, like a garden of vegetables." This comment may refer to the labor of raising water to high fields by means of the *shādūf,* but it may also simply allude to the constant work of irrigation agriculture in contrast to the more sporadic tasks of drought farming in Palestine. The proposal of an allusion to a compartmented wheel in Ecclesiastes is more secure, since the context of a cistern and the vocabulary resemble many Greek papyri that concern irrigation with this device. The absence of mechanical water-lifting devices elsewhere in the OT, and in the NT as well, is probably a reflection of the concentration of the narration for the most part on arid rural environments where the wells were used to water livestock and a small population, and on villages in which one would not expect wells to be equipped with devices to provide large-scale discharge.

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WATERS OF MEGIDDO. See MEGIDDO, WATERS OF.

WATERS OF MEROM. See MEROM, WATERS OF.

WAVE OFFERING. See SACRIFICE AND SACRIFICIAL OFFERINGS.

WAW. The sixth letter of the Hebrew alphabet.

WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS OF WARFARE. What distinguishes a butcher knife from a soldier's dagger is the context in which the implement is used. Having been developed for very practical purposes, weapons cannot be understood apart from the context of warfare within which they are employed. The context of warfare, though, is virtually unrestricted because it encompasses military, civilian, domestic, political, religious, technological, economic and other realms of human existence, as well as factors such as geographical location, terrain, climate, and natural resources. Due to the overwhelming scope of this aspect of the discussion, treatment of the context of warfare is deferred to other more thorough technical works (e.g., Yadin 1963).

Taking the Bible as a point of reference, it is apparent that the weapons mentioned there are not unique to the political entities and religious communities which compiled the Bible. ANE civilizations developed weapons long before the nation of Israel was formed; these were utilized in battles with enemies, never in isolation from other people. Several works cover the development of, and archaeological evidence for, weapons from the dawn of human history through the 2d century C.E. (Maxwell-Hyslop 1946; Goetze 1963; Yadin 1963; Snodgrass 1964; Glock 1968; Gonen 1975; Bar-Kochva 1989; Davies 1989). This ongoing history supplies the background for the more narrowly focused survey developed herein, which is primarily concerned with enumerating and illustrating those weapons that the Bible mentions.

In the Bible, weapons are named or discussed in various literary contexts, and these names may refer to several technically distinct weapons (e.g., Heb *hereb* "sword" may signify several very different types of swords or daggers). General terms like "weapons," "weaponry," or "armor" translate various Hebrew (e.g., *kēlî; nešeq; šelaḥ*) and Greek terms (e.g., *hoplon; panoplia; skeuos polemikos*); most characteristic of these terms is the use of the plural form, as in 1 Chr 12:34—Eng 12:33 ". . . equipped for battle with all the weapons of war . . ." The Bible specifies by name individual weapons in such diverse literary contexts as narrative (1 Sam 17:5–7, 38–39), law (Deut 20:19–20), and poetry (Job 41:5–21—Eng 41:13–29).

Broadly defined, weapons and implements are tools or instruments utilized in armed conflict. To organize our treatment, a system based on the function of weapons is employed. More specifically, the functions and uses of weapons allow them to be classified into four groups: (1) projectile; (2) shock; (3) mobile; (4) protective.

David's use of a sling and stones to kill well-armed Goliath (1 Sam 17:40–50) illustrates both the employment and effectiveness of this primitive projectile in combat. Stones can be shock weapons (e.g., hitting an enemy on

the head, rolling boulders down a hill), but when hurled from a sling (Heb *qelaᶜ*; Gk *sphendonē*) they become lethal. Similar to the sling stone, the javelin (Heb *kîdôn; sĕgôd; širyâ*) and dart (Heb *massāᶜ; šĕbet;* Gk *belos; kentron*) are thrown. The javelin is hurled by hand, possibly aided by a cord with a loop on the end to increase distance and accuracy (Yadin 1955). The javelin, with its metal head attached to a shaft of reed or wood, was effective because it could penetrate protective armor, as opposed to sling stones. Likewise, metal-tipped darts could penetrate armor, but they were supposedly smaller and therefore could be thrown, blown through a hollow reed, or thrust at close range (2 Sam 18:14, though here Heb *šĕbet* could mean "shaft" or "spear"). Eph 6:16 speaks figuratively of the "flaming darts" of the evil one, which might indicate another dimension of this weapon, but Gk *belos* is more frequently translated "arrow," and "flaming arrows" are widely attested as weapons for setting cities on fire.

The sharp metal or stone head of an arrow was designed to pierce armor from long range. Several Hebrew *(ḥēṣ; ḥēṣî; ben qešet; nešeq)* and Greek terms *(belos; schiza; toxeuma)* are translated "arrow." The designation *ben qešet* (lit. "son of the bow") identifies the arrow by its correlate; the other part of an archer's gear is the quiver (Heb *ʾašpâ; tĕlî;* Gk *pharetra;* see Gen 27:3). Aside from the natural wonder of the rainbow after the deluge (Gen 9:13–16), the bow placed in the sky is God's promise of no more war with humanity (Mendenhall 1973: 47–48). Simple "convex" as well as "composite" bows were used with stone- and metal-tipped arrows throughout the 2d millennium (*AncIsr* 1: 243). Armies included corps of expert archers (1 Chr 5:18; 2 Chr 35:23; Jdt 2:15) who might, like Jonathan (1 Sam 20:20–22), have taken target practice. Throughout the Bible, the bow and the arrow signify death and evoke fear.

Most prominent and diverse in the storehouse of weapons was the cache of shock weapons. Shock weapons are generally used in hand-to-hand combat. Though shock weapons can be theoretically divided into thrusting and striking implements, the exigencies of combat blur this distinction. In addition to the sword (Heb *ḥereb; mĕkērâ; šelaḥ;* Gk *machaira; hromphaia*), the spear (Heb *ḥănît; kîdôn; ṣilṣāl; qayin; rōmaḥ;* Gk *gaisos; dory; komax; logchē*), the lance (Heb *rōmaḥ*), the handpike (Heb *maqqēl yād*), and the peg (Heb *yātēd*) fall within the thrusting category.

Various types of sword were developed in the ANE for different purposes: (1) the sickle sword whose convex edge was sharp and intended for striking (Josh 10:28–39); (2) the long, straight-blade two-edged sword which could stab as well as strike the enemy (Ps 149:6); and (3) the short two-edged sword or dagger (Judg 3:16; see Yadin 1963, 1: 10, 44, 60, 78; *AncIsr* 1: 241). To carry the sword a soldier wore a sheath or scabbard (Heb *nādān; taᶜar;* see 1 Sam 17:51; 2 Sam 20:8; Ezek 21:3–5). During the late 2d millennium the swords used by most soldiers would have been made of iron (1 Sam 13:19, 22), while other less economical metals were also used (e.g., bronze).

Spears and lances are distinct from javelins in that javelins are thrown, but spears (John 19:34) and lances (1 Kgs 18:28) are thrust at the enemy. Individual footsoldiers carried spears (usually with shields) and a unit or phalanx was outfitted with lances that had longer shafts. Similar, but much shorter, weapons were the handpike (Ezek 39:9) and peg (Judg 4:21). Each of these thrusting weapons, except the peg, had a sharp metal head attached to a shaft of variable length. Depending on the length of the weapon, the soldier would use it to stab or slash the enemy.

Equally common in the arsenal were the striking weapons, the axe (Heb *garzen; qardōm*) and the club (Heb *mēpîṣ; tôtaḥ;* Gk *xylon; hrabdos*). Axes were standard military equipment in the ANE (Yadin 1963), but there are only two biblical occurrences of "axe" in battle contexts, neither of which is narrative: Jer 46:22 speaks of axes cutting down Egypt's forest, Ezek 26:9 refers to Babylonian axes destroying Jerusalem's towers. Like sickle swords, axes slashed and cut the enemy. The club, on the other hand, smashed the helmet and knocked out the enemy. A technically unsophisticated weapon, the club was available to warrior and civilian alike (Matt 26:47, 55 = Mark 14:43, 48). Shock weapons as discussed above are wielded by individual soldiers, but there are other types of shock weapons.

Two pieces of weaponry that might be considered support equipment are the battering-ram (Heb *kar; qēbōl;* Gk *krios*) and the siege work (Heb *dāyēk; derek; māsôr; mĕsûrâ; sōllâ*). These weapons were intended to overcome fortifications, either by breaking them down (e.g., city gates, walls), or by scaling and mounting them, and because of their magnitude these weapons required teamwork. During a siege the army surrounds a city, builds up siegeworks (2 Kgs 25:1 = Jer 52:4) and uses battering-rams to destroy the fortifications (Ezek 4:1–8). Although the armies of Israel and Judah besieged various cities during their history, the Bible never records their use of battering-rams or siegeworks, only of Israel's and Judah's enemies using these weapons against them (cf. 2 Macc 12:15–16).

Projectile and shock weapons combine with mobile weapons to constitute the full compliment of military firepower. Horses (Heb *sûs; pārās*), or cavalry (Gk *hippeus; hippikos; hippos*), and chariots (Heb *merkāb; merkābâ; ᶜăgālâ; rekeb; rĕkûb;* Gk *harma*) are the most versatile weapons. They serve as mobile attack platforms for archers and javelin throwers, and play a major role in battle tactics and strategy (Yadin 1963). Solomon's army had companies of horsemen and chariots (1 Kgs 4:26; 9:19, 22; 10:26), as did the armies of his successors in Israel and Judah. But it was the horses and chariots of Assyria and Babylon that intimidated the entire ANE in their day, and the fear of which gripped Israel and Judah before they were taken into captivity. Nonetheless, horses and chariots play an important part in Israel's early history (Exod 15:1, 19, 21; Judg 5:22) and continue as an important image in later, NT writings (Rev 6:2–8).

Aside from the weapons carried to attack the enemy, soldiers were outfitted with protective gear. A soldier's gear could consist of: (1) a coat of mail (Heb *siryōn; širyôn;* Gk *halysidōtos; thōrax*); (2) a breastplate (Heb *širyôn;* Gk *endyō; thōrax*); (3) scale armor (Heb *debek*); (4) greaves (Heb *miṣḥâ*); and (5) a helmet (Heb *kôbaᶜ; māᶜôz rōʾš; qôbaᶜ;* Gk *korys; perikephalaia*), all of which is referred to as armor (Heb *măgôrâ; kĕlî; mad*). This armor protects the soldier from the impact of some projectiles and shock weapons, but a shield (Heb *māgēn; ṣinnâ; šeleṭ;* Gk *aspis; hyperaspizō; thyreos; kalymma; hoplon*) or buckler (Heb *māgēn; sōḥĕrâ; ṣinnâ*) provides the primary defense against projectiles and

shock weapons. Long shields, half-shields, and the smaller circular buckler were mostly constructed of a wooden, wicker, or metal frame covered with leather. The equipment issued by Uzziah to his army included "shields, spears, helmets, coats of mail, bows, and stones for slinging" (2 Chr 26:14); the shield probably being a lighter half-shield which allowed for mobility.

The development of projectiles, shock weapons, mobile weapons, and protective gear resulted from successful and unsuccessful military engagements. ANE weapons of warfare were diverse and numerous, the weapons named in the Bible simply bringing to light one segment of the ANE arsenal. Further insight into the design, development, function, and war contexts of these weapons depends on the fortunes of future archaeological excavation.

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MARK J. FRETZ

WEASEL. See ZOOLOGY.

WEATHER. See PALESTINE, CLIMATE OF.

WEDDING. See MARRIAGE.

WEEDS. See AGRICULTURE.

WEEK. See CALENDARS.

WEEKS, FESTIVAL OF. In the Hebrew Bible the second of the three pilgrimage festivals is named "the feast of harvest" (*ḥag haqqāṣîr* [Exod 23:16]), "the feast of weeks" (*ḥag šābuʿôt* [e.g. Deut 16:10]), and "the day of the first fruits" (*yôm habbikkûrîm* [Num 28:26]).

A. Definitions and Sources
B. The Festival in the Hebrew Bible
C. Later Evidence
   1. The Targum to Chronicles and the Book of *Jubilees*
   2. The Qumran Texts
D. The Evidence of the New Testament

A. Definitions and Sources

The holiday was called Pentecost (*pentēkostē*) in the Greek texts of apocryphal books (Tob 2:1; 2 Macc 12:32), the writings of Josephus (*Ant* 3.10.6; 13.8.4; 14.13.4; 17.10.2; *JW* 1.13.3; 2.3.1; 6.5.3), the works of Philo (*Dec* 160; *Spec Leg* 2.176), and the NT (Acts 2:1; 20:16; 1 Cor 16:8). This term, which means "fiftieth," was selected because the rules for calculating the date of the festival prescribe that it be celebrated on the 50th day after the "sheaf of the wave offering" was presented (Lev 23:15–16). In rabbinic texts one meets the name *ʿăṣeret* (*m. Bek* 9.5; *m. Ḥag.* 2.4, for example; cf. Josephus *Ant* 3.10.6: *asartha*)—a word which is used elsewhere for the sacred assembly on the last day of the Festival of Booths (Lev 23:36; Num 29:35; 2 Chr 7:9; Neh 8:18). Use of it may suggest that the Festival of Weeks was regarded as the final day of the harvest season which began at the time of the wave offering. The festival is unusual among holidays in the Hebrew Bible in several respects: it is never assigned a precise date; it is never associated with one of the great events of Israel's history (but see Deut 16:12); and it is never mentioned by name except in lists of cultic festivals (Exod 23:16; 34:22; Lev 23:15–21; Num 28:26–31; Deut 16:9–12; and 2 Chr 8:13). Though it is somewhat surprising that it is named only once in the historical books, it is most remarkable that Ezekiel fails to include it in his calendar for the restored community (Ezek 45:18–46:7).

B. The Festival in the Hebrew Bible

Exodus 23:16 (E), which is part of the Covenant Code, designates the second of the annual festivals "the feast of harvest" (*ḥag haqqāṣîr;* cf. the Gezer Calendar, l. 5: *yrḥ qṣr*) and refers to the first fruits of crops that are planted in the field. One first meets the name "feast of weeks" in Exod 34:22 (J) where it is associated with the first fruits of the wheat harvest (*bikkûrê qĕṣîr ḥiṭṭîm*). These two passages specify no date for the festival but place it in relation to a part of the spring harvest season.

Deuteronomy 16:9–10a addresses the question of the time of the festival and clarifies why it was named Weeks: "You shall count seven weeks; begin to count the seven weeks from the time you first put the sickle to the standing grain. Then you shall keep the feast of weeks to the Lord your God." Verses 10b–12 stipulate that one is to present a freewill offering whose size depends upon one's ability to pay and that all are to rejoice before the Lord at the sanctuary as they remember Israel's former bondage in Egypt.

Two pericopes from the priestly source provide additional details about dating the festival and about the sacrifices which are to be presented. Leviticus 23:15–16a gives a formula for dating whose working appears to be sufficiently specific: "And you shall count from the morrow after the sabbath [*mimmāḥŏrat haššabbāt*], from the day that you brought the sheaf of the wave offering; seven full weeks shall they be, counting fifty days to the morrow after the seventh sabbath." The day for starting the 50-day count is the one when the *ʿōmer* (Lev 23:9–14) was waved, but, since Leviticus gives no exact date for it, by implication it does not identify the date for the Festival of Weeks. The ambiguity of the phrase "from the morrow after the sabbath" was later to occasion lively debates about the correct

times for presenting the wave offering and observing the holiday, though all groups agreed that Weeks fell at some point in the third month of the year.

Leviticus 23:16b–20 and Num 28:26–31 enumerate the sacrifices and offerings which marked the Festival of Weeks. Leviticus 23:16b–17 further describes the new grain offering as consisting of two loaves of bread baked with leaven. The only other place where leaven is required in a sacrifice is in Lev 7:13 which deals with the "sacrifice of his peace offerings for thanksgiving." Both Lev 23:21 and Num 28:26 refer to a holy gathering on this day on which no work is permitted.

C. Later Evidence

The Festival of Weeks was clearly important to many groups in the period after the books of the Hebrew Bible were written, and sources from that time eliminate two of the deficiencies in the biblical treatment of the festival: they frequently relate it to events in Israel's history, and they furnish several specific dates for it.

1. The Targum to Chronicles and the Book of *Jubilees*. These texts indicate that at least two OT passages became associated with the Festival of Weeks: 2 Chr 15:8–15 and Exod 19:1. The Chronicles pericope describes several cultic reforms by King Asa and a large assembly of Israelites and Judeans at Jerusalem in the third month (v 10—that is, the month in which Weeks occurs). Verse 12 says that they entered a covenant with the Lord, and vv 14–15 add that this was done with an oath and with rejoicing. Though the Hebrew text does not mention the date for this covenantal ceremony, the targum to Chronicles places it on the Festival of Weeks.

This targum is late, but it can be shown that the association of Weeks with covenant (or rather renewing of covenant) and oath far antedates the targum in question. The book of *Jubilees* (ca. 150 B.C.) demonstrates that already at the time of its author these connections had been drawn. It seems likely that Exod 19:1, which dates the Israelites' entry into the Wilderness of Sinai to the third month (no date is specified), first suggested a correlation between the covenant and giving of the Law at Sinai on the one hand and the great festival of the third month on the other (later, Exodus 19 became the lectionary passage for Weeks [*b. Meg.* 31a]). *Jubilees* 1:1 implies that the covenant of Exodus 19 occurred on 3/15 (that is, the fifteenth day of the third month) because it has Moses ascending the mountain to receive the Law and testimony on the sixteenth. In *Jubilees* one learns that the Festival of Weeks had been celebrated in heaven from the day of creation on and that Noah and his family first observed it on earth (6:18). On the occasion of the Noachic covenant which was concluded in the third month (see 6:1), Noah and his sons swore an oath that they would not consume blood (6:10), and Moses, to whom the contents of the book are addressed, is told that the covenant which he made with the Israelites occurred in the same month. It, too, was accompanied by an oath (6:11). "For this reason it has been ordained and written on the heavenly tablets that they should celebrate the Festival of Weeks during this month—once a year—to renew the covenant each and every year." The covenant with Abraham likewise fell on this festival (15:1; cf. 14:20; for other references to the festival, especially as a harvest holiday, see 6:21–22; 22:1–5; 44:1–4; and 29:7–8, in which Jacob and Laban swore on 3/15 not to cross over the boundary of the other). The regular association in *Jubilees* of the oaths which accompany covenants and the Festival of Weeks has led some authors to conclude that in this book the holiday was named, not Weeks *(šābuʿôt)*, but Oaths *(šĕbuʿôt)*. It is more likely, however, that the author was resorting to paronomasia than that he changed the name of a historic festival.

It can be shown that in the calendar of *Jubilees* the festival was celebrated on 3/15. This conclusion follows from 15:1, where it is said that Abraham celebrated it in the middle of the third month, and from 44:1–5 which implies that 3/15 is the date since Jacob offered a sacrifice on 3/7, waited seven more days, then observed the harvest festival, and received a theophany on 3/16 (cf. also 1:1). If 3/15 is the date for Weeks, it entails that 1/26 would be the time for the wave offering, though *Jubilees* never mentions this rite. The same dates are found in some of the calendaric texts from Qumran (see below) and indicate that the writers of *Jubilees* and the Dead Sea Scrolls did not follow the other known calculations for these days. These authors interpreted "morrow after the sabbath" in Lev 23:11, 15 to mean the first Sunday after the Festival of Unleavened Bread. The Pharisees, however, understood it to refer to the day after the first day of Unleavened Bread (i.e., 1/16) and hence Weeks would occur on 3/6 (see *m. Menaḥ.* 10.3). Still other groups (the Boethusians, Samaritans, and Karaites) took "sabbath" to mean a literal Sabbath and regarded it as the one that fell within the seven days of Unleavened Bread. Their exegesis produced a varying date for Weeks early in the third month (see *b. Menaḥ* 65a).

2. The Qumran Texts. It is now well known that the Qumran covenanters followed the 364-day calendar of *1 Enoch* 72–82 and *Jubilees* 6 (see 11QPs^a 27.6–7). The evidence from the so-called Mišmārôt texts and from the Temple Scroll allow one to establish that the *ʿōmer* ceremony occurred on 1/26 and the Festival of Weeks was celebrated on 3/15. The Temple Scroll (its section about the festival is found in 18.10–19.10) does add a new dimension of some interest because it makes Weeks only one in a series of four first fruits festivals (including the day of the *ʿōmer* ceremony) each of which is separated from the previous one by 49 days. 11QT 43.3 also mentions that the new wheat may be eaten from the time of Weeks until the same festival the next year. It is often claimed that the Qumran sectarians not only celebrated the festival on 3/15 but also used it as the occasion for their annual ceremony in which they admitted new members and renewed the covenant. 1QS 1.16–2.18 is supposed to describe this ceremony, but nowhere is it said that this ritual was performed on the Festival of Weeks (2.19 does mandate that this be done every year). J. T. Milik has written that the oldest manuscript of the Damascus Document dates the ceremony for renewing the covenant to the third month (Milik 1959: 117). If this is so, then it is very likely that the occasion was Weeks, especially when one considers the close relation between the Qumran texts and *Jubilees*. CD 16.1–5 is also important in this regard. It mentions the covenant and an oath to return to the Law of Moses, refers to *Jubilees* for calendrical details, and notes that Abraham was circumcised on the day when he gained

knowledge. *Jubilees* 15 dates his circumcision to the Festival of Weeks (the sequel in the Damascus Document deals with oaths).

D. The Evidence of the New Testament

Pentecost is mentioned three times in the NT (Acts 2:1; 20:16; 1 Cor 16:8). In Acts 20:16 it is reported that Paul, as he neared the end of his third journey, wished to return to Jerusalem by the time of Pentecost, and in 1 Cor 16:8 he writes the Corinthians that he would be staying in Ephesus until Pentecost. The only more extended description of it figures in Acts 2 in which the famous account of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the nascent church is dated to Pentecost (2:1). Because of the rich overtones of covenant renewal that the Festival of Weeks had acquired in at least some Jewish circles, it would not be surprising to find some of this reflected by the author as he depicted what could be regarded as the beginning of a new covenant and the inception of a new revelation. In fact, several scholars have maintained that there are subtle reminiscences of the Sinai tradition in the Pentecost story and in its context. For example, it has been noted that there is a parallel of sorts between Moses who disappeared into a cloud on the mountain (Exod 24:15–18) and brought back the divine Law and Jesus who, as he ascended, was hidden from the disciples' view by a cloud (Acts 1:9) and later sent the Spirit with its inspiring power. Also, it is possible that the phenomenon of glossolalia echoes a rabbinic tradition that at Sinai all nations heard, in their 70 languages, the voice from the mountain (*b. Shabb.* 88b). Yet, it must be admitted that the narrative in Acts 2 does not refer explicitly to the Sinai covenant or giving of the Law, nor does the narrative seem to have been influenced to any significant degree by the traditional accounts about them. Peter referred to the Law in his sermon (v 23) but by that term he meant only the specific injunction which those who were responsible for executing Jesus had violated. Patristic authors certainly drew the connection between Sinai and Pentecost, but Acts 2 is largely silent about this.

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JAMES C. VANDERKAM

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

The origin of weights and measures probably goes back into the paleolithic period, long before people planted grain and herded animals, but about such matters our knowledge is minimal.

A. Overview of Metrology
  1. Near Eastern Metrology in General
  2. Mesopotamian Metrology
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B. Length
  1. OT Systemic Measures of Length
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  1. Weight Measures in the OT Period
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A. Overview of Metrology

1. Near Eastern Metrology in General. In the Mesopotamian area measures had already been formed into systems by ca. 3000 B.C., and these may go back as far as ca. 3500 B.C. Parallel developments must have taken place in Egypt about the same time, and highly developed systems of metrology are attested in Syria (at Ebla) from the latter part of the EB Age and for the LB period at Alalakh and Ugarit, as well as for the Hittites in Anatolia. From the 2d millennium on, such systems must have existed all across the Near East, though it is still impossible to describe any of these in detail except for Mesopotamia and Egypt.

2. Mesopotamian Metrology. Attested over a period of almost three millennia (literature and discussion by Powell in *RLA* 7: 457ff.), a consecutive history is possible only for Babylonia, where one can distinguish four eras: (1) to ca. 2200; (2) ca. 2200–1600; (3) ca. 1600–650; (4) after 650 B.C. The 3d millennium is characterized by many local systems structured along sexagesimal lines, a heritage from the Sumerians, but around 2200 B.C., probably under the patronage of one of the Akkad kings, a system of integrated measures linking length, area, volume, capacity, and weight was created. Completely developed by the end of the Ur III period (ca. 2000), it was incorporated into mathematical instruction as a part of scribal training and became the standard system of calculation and accounting down to the end of the Old Babylonian (OB) period (ca. 1600 B.C.). As a scientific system it continued to be taught and used at least into the Seleucid period and probably later.

Only a few key units of this elaborately structured system can be given here: the "forearm/cubit" (Sum KUŠ, Akk *ammatu*) ≈ 50 cm; the "garden plot" (Sum SAR, Akk *mušaru*) ≈ 36 square m, based on the square of a *nindan*-rod (≈ 6 m) consisting of 2 reeds (Sum GI, Akk *qanû*) or 12 cubits; the "volume garden plot" ≈ 18 cubic m, defined as an area "garden plot" by 1 cubit of height; the SILA (Sum) or *qû* (Akk) ≈ 1 liter; and the mina (Sum MANA < Akk *manû*) ≈ 500 g, consisting of 60 shekels (Sum GIN, Akk *šiqlu*) or 10,800 barleycorns (Sum ŠE, Akk *uṭṭetu*). Sub-units ("fractions") of surface, volume, and capacity are expressed in a

system of shekels and barleycorns taken over from the weight system.

The period 1600–650 B.C. shows restructuring of the area and capacity systems, and, for the first time areas of land are expressed in units of capacity, like the surface homer and seah in the OT. Basic norms seem to continue relatively unchanged throughout, but after ca. 650 B.C., there is again restructuring in the systems of length, area, and capacity. Nevertheless, all systems remain primarily sexagesimal, and even the 7-cubit length and area reed is only a device to avoid irrational fractions. The sexagesimal structure of the weight system perseveres intact, but the Semitic system of unit-fractions, already well-known from as early as the OB period, manifests itself in such units as ¼, ⅕, ⅙, ⅛, 1/12, and 1/24 shekel. The last, identified with the seed of the carob tree *(ceratonia siliqua)*, Akk *girû*, appears in the OT as gerah and was to have a long and varied history as the carat.

The Sumero-Babylonian scientific system was exported as a part of scribal training in cuneiform and is attested in upper Mesopotamia at Gasur/Nuzi as early as ca. 2200 B.C.; however, by at least 1800 B.C., we find evidence there of strong non-Babylonian influences. These result in such typically non-Babylonian phenomena as decimal rather than sexagesimal patterns, in the previously unattested and obviously West Semitic "homer," and in much non-Babylonian nomenclature. The scientific system continued to be taught as a part of scribal education, but in Assyria by the 1st millennium most sexagesimal structures had been modified by decimal influences.

3. Egyptian Metrology. The history of measures in Egypt, as in Mesopotamia, runs parallel to the major historical periods (literature and summaries: *LÄ* 3: 1199–1214). The cubit is attested by both textual and monumental evidence at least as early as the Third Dynasty (ca. 2700). From the Old Kingdom also comes textual evidence for the derived system of area and marked specimens of weights (but no textual evidence); capacity measures seem to be unattested, but the Middle Kingdom "sack" is thought to go back to the Old Kingdom. With the Middle Kingdom begins a more or less continuous documentation that continues down into the Greco-Roman period.

The cubit *(mḥ)*, estimated conventionally at 52.5 cm, was composed of 7 palms *(šzp/šp)*, each consisting of 4 fingers *(ḏbʿ/ṯbʿ)*. The 7-palm cubit, obviously longer than the normal 6-palm "cubit of a man," is, like the Late Babylonian 7-cubit reed, a device to avoid irrational fractions in calculations. The so-called "short cubit" of 6 palms is never attested in Egyptian calculations (*LÄ* 3: 1205, n. 5).

The Egyptian area system is based on squares of the cubit and operates on the same principle as the Late Babylonian system of measurement in reeds: one takes a linear base measure and then extends lines at right angles from each end of this base until a square is reached. Pharaonic land measure seems originally to have used 10 cubits (≈ 5.25 m) as the base and thus arrived at a land unit of 100 square cubits (≈ 27.5625 square m), called *t3* or *mḥ-t3*. Higher units corresponded to powers of 10, and lower units were formed by the principle—widely attested in ancient land measure—of halving. Noteworthy is the unit (called *sṯ3t*) of 10,000 square cubits, formed on a base of 100 cubits, which continues through the New Kingdom into the demotic period (called *st3*) and becomes the *aroura* of Ptolemaic times. By the New Kingdom 100 cubits had been defined as the length of the standard measuring rope *(ḫ-nwḥ)*, and in the late period a cubit of ground *(mḥ-jtn)* consisted of a base of this length with a side of 1 cubit (i.e., 100 square cubits). This type of mensuration is also well known from Late Babylonian surface measures, which likewise use the unit of 10,000 square cubits (≈ 2,500 square m), and similar mensurational procedures probably were employed throughout the ANE.

Volume measures were based on the cubic cubit, and, in the Ptolemaic period, volume and capacity measures seem to have been linked, but the absolute norms on which this linkage was based are still obscure. A late text identifies the cubic palm (but probably not 1/7 of the pharaonic cubit) with a hin (*LÄ* 3: 1210, 1212, n. 21; cf. Viedebannt 1917: 49, 129, 151–55).

The Egyptian capacity system was apparently grounded on the hin, now reckoned conventionally at ca. 0.48 liters, with a multiple of 10 hin (*ḥq3t* ≈ 4.8 liters), from which higher units (not all attested contemporaneously) were formed: 40 hin, 50 hin, 100 hin (*ḫ3r*, "sack" ≈ 48 liters), 160 hin (*jpt*, Gk *oipe* ≈ 76.8 liters), 200 hin (two "sacks" ≈ 96 liters). Fractions of the basic units of 10 and 160 hin were formed by the principle of halving up to 1/64, with *r3* representing 1/320 of the *jpt/oipe* (= 1/20 *ḥq3t* ≈ 240 ml). In the Greco-Roman period, the *artabe* (Persian in name but with varying local norms) plays a major role, varying in size from 29 to 40 of the Greek *choinix* (a capacity unit of ca. 1 liter: Foxhall and Forbes 1982).

The basic unit of the weight system was called deben *(dbn)*, for which the Old and Middle Kingdom norm seems to have been ca. 13.6 g and for which a double standard for weighing copper also seems attested. In the New Kingdom, the deben weighed ca. 91 g and was divided into 10 *qdt* of ca. 9.1 g.

4. Biblical Metrology. Which measures the Israelites brought with them, as opposed to which measures they found when they appeared in the region of present-day Israel-Jordan at the end of the LB Age, are questions that two millennia of discussion have not been able to resolve. Lack of contemporary documentation for economic life makes reconstruction of OT systems of metrology heavily dependent upon non-biblical sources, and deportation of thousands of Hebrews into upper Mesopotamia in the 8th century and into Babylonia in the 6th has left an enduring imprint on the metrology of the OT. Even elements from the patriarchal narratives, such as the "three seahs of fine meal" used by Sarah to prepare food for the three strangers in Gen 18:6, like Ur of the Chaldees (Gen 11:28, 31), probably reflect postexilic redactions. For the period after the Macedonian conquest of the Near East, Greek (and later Roman) influence becomes increasingly important and manifests itself particularly in the NT.

Measures have always posed a special problem for translators, for which various solutions have been tried: (1) an approximate equivalent such as the ubiquitous cubit, a choice made already by Wyclif and followed by most subsequent English versions, or the firkin (quarter-barrel) in Tyndale's "two or thre fyrkyns" for the "two or three *metrētai*" in John 2:6 (followed by KJV); (2) a metrological "translation," as in RSV's rendering of the latter passage

by "twenty or thirty gallons"; (3) paraphrase, as in the rendering of seah as "measure" by KJV and RSV in Gen 18:6; 1 Kgs 18:32; 2 Kgs 7:1, 16, 18, and even to the point of using "measure" for entirely different words in one and the same work, as KJV and RSV do in Luke 13:21 (*saton*, "seah"), 16:6 (*batos*, "bath"), and 16:7 (*koros*, "kor"); (4) phonetic transcription, of which ephah and shekel are the best examples.

The first and last methods have much to recommend them. It is almost impossible to translate ancient measures precisely into modern metrological terms. Regardless of how precisely stated, most modern equivalents have a margin of error extending to ±5 percent or even greater, and ancient measures were never able to achieve either the degree of precision or of standardization that characterize modern measures. The ancients themselves encountered great obstacles when they tried to define units of measure in the absence of standardized systems, and the difficulty was especially great when diachronic or cross-cultural definitions were involved, making most ancient "equivalences" only rough approximations.

5. Other Biblical Uses of Measures and Mensuration. The universal lack of precise standards in antiquity left the door wide open to fraudulent use of weights and measures, and the prophets have a rather dim view of measuring associated with buying and selling, typified by Amos' condemnation of those who are anxious for the sabbath to be over so that they can get back to the business of making a profit and who "make the ephah small and the shekel great, and deal deceitfully with false balances" (Amos 8:5). Amos' suspicion of merchants was all too justified, as we know from other biblical passages forbidding or denouncing such deceptive practices or admonishing the use of just measuring practices (Lev 19:35–36; Deut 25:13–15; Prov 11:1; 16:11; 20:23; Ezek 45:10; Hos 12:7; Mic 6:10–11; Sir 42:4), as well as from the Code of Hammurabi and other Mesopotamian sources (Powell 1979: 83–86). Measurement and measures are also used as literary devices, as in the portent foreshadowing the doom of Belshazzar (Dan 5:24–28), prophetically as an image of divine judgment (Ezek 5:1–12), symbolically in apocalyptic visions (Zechariah 5; Rev 6:5–6), describing human misery (Job 6:2–3), in appeals for divine justice (Job 31:6; 2 Esdr 3:34), in proverbial metaphors (Sir 28:25; Matt 5:15; Mark 4:21; Luke 11:33), and as a means of evoking the power of the divine and the limitations of humanity (Ps 39:6—Eng v 5; 62:10—Eng v 9; Isa 40:12; 2 Esdr 4:5).

B. Length

1. OT Systemic Measures of Length. These include the cubit (*ʾmh*), span (*zrt*), handbreadth/palm (*tpḥ*), and fingerbreadth (*ʾṣbʿ*). The probable structure of this system is:

$$\text{finger} \xrightarrow{4} \text{palm} \xrightarrow{3} \text{span} \xrightarrow{2} \text{cubit}$$

Cubit or ell means basically the forearm and probably usually expressed the length from elbow to tip of fingers. The 4-finger palm and 24-finger cubit is attested all over the ANE and Mediterranean area and may be a widespread convention that goes back to the paleolithic period. It seems likely that this was the structure of the Hebrew cubit. The Egyptians also used a 4-finger palm, but reckoned 7 palms to the cubit, probably to circumvent the irrational fractions that occur in calculating with the number 7. The 30-finger Babylonian cubit is probably also prehistoric, originating in Sumerian sexagesimal counting, though here, too, 6 "hands" (but reckoning 5 fingers each) seem to underlie the cubit. This cubit continued to be used for scientific calculation in Babylonia, but, by the Chaldean period and perhaps considerably earlier, the usual 24-finger composition of the cubit had been reintroduced for normal mensuration (houses, lots, fields, etc.). Probably the restructuring was due to West Semitic influence, but redefinition was accomplished by varying the size of the finger rather than the size of the cubit itself (*RLA* 7, §§ I.3.b–I.4).

In the OT, the cubit is the length measure par excellence, analogous to the shekel in the weight system. The Hebrew system shares with N Mesopotamian systems (*RLA* 7, §§ I–IA.13) the practice of using the cubit to express all long distances that can actually be measured, e.g., the 21,815 cubit perimeter of Nineveh mentioned in an inscription of Sennacherib (actual measurement: ca. 12 km) or the 25,000 cubit length of the holy district in Ezek 45:1 (other examples over 300 cubits in length: Josh 3:4; 2 Kgs 14:13; 2 Chr 25:23; Neh 3:13; Ezek 45:2–6; 47:3–5) or the 1,200 cubit length of Hezekiah's tunnel in the Siloam Inscription. Essentially a West Semitic, decimally oriented system, its tendency to express great distances by large numbers associated with a small unit marks it as a later stage of development than the Sumero-Babylonian system which expresses long distances in sexagesimally structured units with special names (reeds, rods, ropes, stages, etc.: *RLA* 7, §§ 1–IA.13).

The foot, so familiar to speakers of English, does not occur in ANE systems. These systems reflect an older tradition of natural measures, whereas the foot (normally ⅔ cubit) is characteristic of later strata of cultural development like the Greek and Roman. Cubits, spans, hands, and fingers are the natural units in which to express the height of a person or of any other object, because objects were measured, by laying on the forearm, the span of the hand, the palm, or the finger. In Babylonia and Egypt, these natural measures had already been transformed by ca. 3000 B.C. into an abstract system, defined by reference to some objective standard, such as a measuring rod, which was, in theory, universally applicable. However, non-systemic, natural measures continued to be used all over the ancient world, and we find excellent examples of this in the OT in the bed of Og of Bashan, four by nine cubits "according to the cubit of a man" (Deut 3:11), and the height of Goliath as "six cubits and a span," i.e., 6.5 cubits (1 Sam 17:4; cf. *RLA* 7, § I.2.d for similar accounts).

For translating cubits into modern metric or British-American terms, division in half gives the approximate number of meters or yards and multiplying this number by 3 gives the approximate number of feet. This yields a very rough approximation, but precision is rarely an issue in the length measures in the Bible.

Many attempts have been made to determine the size of cubits mentioned in biblical and post-biblical Jewish sources (e.g., Petrie 1892; 1894: 73–77; Scott 1958; 1959:

23–27; Ben-David 1978; Kaufman 1984), but none is without problems of method and evidence. Inference of cubit standards from the monuments is fraught with many difficulties, and it seems doubtful that, in the absence of written evidence, reliable standards can be inferred from the archaeological evidence alone.

Varying standards must have existed, since this characterizes the history of metrology until recent times; however, specific demonstration of such standards has proved elusive. In particular, the "short cubit" and the "royal cubit," which have played major roles in modern discussions of biblical measures, are not actually mentioned in the Bible, and neither Mesopotamia nor Egypt has produced unequivocal evidence to support the existence of such standards. Thus, modern scholars conventionally use 50 cm for the Mesopotamian cubit and 52.5 cm for the Egyptian cubit. Given the significant geographic and time dimensions, it is probable that the bounds of these values cannot be reduced below ±5 percent, and ±10 percent may be more realistic. Outside of Egypt, 50 cm recommends itself as a rule of thumb, unless there is reliable evidence to the contrary, because it is the midpoint of values (44 to 56 cm) derived from the "natural" cubit. There were larger "cubits," but these always have special names, e.g., the Babylonian *ammat arê*, "cubit of the pace," which was ca. 75 cm and thus approximately identical with the 40-finger Greek *bēma* (conventional value 74 cm).

In all attempts to determine the structure and size of the Hebrew cubit, the metrological statements in Ezekiel's vision of the New Jerusalem (Ezekiel 40–48) have played a major role, because the cubit is twice defined in parenthetical comment as being "a cubit and a handbreadth" (*bʾmh wṭph* in 40:5; 43:13). From this it has been inferred that the intended cubit consisted of 7 palms. This inference, however, has no direct evidence to support it and is based primarily on two further hypotheses: (1) postulated identity of the structure of Ezekiel's cubit-plus-a-handbreadth with the structure of the Egyptian cubit of 7 palms; and (2) postulated identity of the base cubit, to which the handbreadth is added, with a "short" cubit of 6 palms. These hypotheses have been combined with 2 Chr 3:3 (MT-LXX-Vg differ slightly; KJV: "by cubits after the first measure"; RSV: "in cubits of the old standard") to infer that Solomon's cubit also contained 7 palms. This is an extremely tenuous hypothesis. No archaeological evidence substantiates that the dimensions given in 1 Kings 7 and 2 Chronicles 3–4 are in fact contemporaneous with Solomon himself, and the extraordinary number of sexagesimal ratios in the account of Solomon's building activities, as well as the equally remarkable fact that building of the temple is said to have begun exactly 480 years after the Exodus (1 Kgs 6:1), points to Babylonian influence, making the metrological value of the given dimensions doubtful.

Serious problems arise in attempting to use the metrological statements in Ezekiel, because, even if the professed Babylonian background of Ezekiel is unproven, the context is indisputably postexilic. Thus, the "cubit and a handbreadth" may be nothing but the Babylonian cubit of ca. 50 cm, and "cubit and a handbreadth" may reflect nothing more than the fact that the Babylonian cubit really was approximately equal to the "cubit of a man," measuring from fingertips to elbow, plus a handbreadth. A parallel case is the "royal cubit" of Babylonia, said by Herodotus (1.178) to be 3 fingers larger than the "measuring cubit," where "measuring cubit" may mean nothing more than the OT "cubit of a man" (against Powell, *RLA* 7, § I.4k). Modern treatments of these and other ancient comparisons proceed from the unlikely assumption that the authors of such comparisons were speaking in precise terms.

Clearly of Babylonian origin, but raising even more serious textual problems, is the reed *(qnh)*, mentioned in the OT only in Ezekiel (40:3, 5–8; 42:16–19) and said explicitly to be composed of "six cubits in the cubit and a handbreadth" (40:5). This 6-cubit reed must derive ultimately from the Babylonian "scientific" system, standard from ca. 2200 to 1600 B.C. but subsequently replaced in house and field mensuration by other systems. In the Chaldean-Achaemenid period, field measure was based on the square of 100 cubits, and house and lot measure was based on a reed that consisted of 7 cubits, which was created by simply adding another standard-sized cubit to the reed (to avoid problems with the number 7). Thus, Ezekiel's 6-cubit reed can hardly have been borrowed from Babylonian practice in the Chaldean-Achaemenid period. An earlier origin than the Exile is unlikely, because there is no evidence for preexilic use of the reed. A possible solution is suggested by a metrological table preserved in a Byzantine author of the 14th century A.D. and attributed to a much earlier but otherwise unknown architect Ioulianos (Julian) of Askalon, which gives the length measurements used in Palestine in the late Roman period (Viedebantt 1917: 123–25) and seems to reflect a merging of Greek units with the Babylonian units of the older scientific system (*RLA* 7, § I.2i), making it likely that the 6-cubit reed was spread westward from Seleucid Babylonia. Whether this be true or not, the metrological statements in Ezekiel are of dubious value for preexilic measures.

The span, Heb *zrt*, probably represented the maximum reach of the open hand from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the fingers, and is translated by Gk *spithamē*, a unit of 12 fingers (*Ant* 3.6.3 § 116–119) representing the half-cubit (Exod 28:16; 39:9; 1 Sam 17:4). In describing rims for the altar, Ezek 43:13 uses "span" *(zrt)* in parallelism to and apparently as a synonym of the more common term "half of the cubit" *(ḥṣy hʾmh)* in 43:17.

Handbreadth, Heb *ṭph*, probably the width of the four fingers at their base, occurs in a metrological sense in Exod 25:25; 37:12; 1 Kgs 7:26; 2 Chr 4:5; Ezek 40:5, 43; 43:13. That this "handbreadth" corresponded to the expected 4-finger pattern is indicated by the translation "palm" (Gk *palaistē*, Lat *palmus*) in the LXX-Vg of Ezekiel, and by four "fingers" in the LXX-Vg of Exod 25:25 and the Vg of Exod 37:12, and by three "inches" *(unciae)* in the Vg of 1 Kgs 7:26 (metrologically, 3 *unciae* = 3/12 of 16 fingers = 4 *digiti*). It is the preferred measure in the Mishnah, probably because it was regarded as less ambiguous than the cubit (cf. Krauss 1911: 388; on the Aramaic synonym *pšk*, see *RLA* 7, §§ I.4b, IA.1a).

Fingerbreadth, Heb *ʾṣbʿ*, occurs only in Jer 52:21, where the dimensions of the bronze pillars carted away by the Chaldeans are said to have been 18 cubits high, 12 in circumference, and 4 fingers thick *(ʾrbʿ ʾṣbʿwt)*, and the

same thickness is given in the LXX of 1 Kgs 7:15. Smaller units than the finger are not attested in the Bible, but later rabbinical tradition (*HDB* 4: 909) assigned 144 barleycorns to the cubit, making 6 per finger (as in the Babylonian system), and this may have been the ancient Hebrew system also.

2. Non-systemic and Uncertain OT Measures of Length. The day's journey (*drk ywm:* Gen 30:36; 31:23; Exod 3:18; 5:3; 8:27; Num 10:33; 11:31; 33:8; 1 Kgs 19:4; 2 Kgs 3:9; *mhlk ywm:* Jonah 3:3–4) does not usually imply specific length measurements. However, Num 11:31–32, which describes the quails sent to feed the children of Israel as being spread out a day's journey about the camp, suggests some underlying calculation because of the specificity of the other numbers: 2 cubits deep, at least 10 homers gathered apiece, and the 600,000 people mentioned in Num 11:21. Marching patterns of the Assyrian army suggest 40,000 cubits or ca. 20 km as a vague rule of thumb for the day's journey (*RLA* 7, § I.2l). Another natural measure for approximating shorter distance was the bowshot (Gen 21:16), probably about the same length as the *stadion* (see NT below). It is possible that the MT of 1 Sam 14:14 contains a reference to a length measure *ʿmʿnh,* "furrow length"; for parallels, see Krauss 1911: 175; *RLA* 7, §§ I.2i, IA.10, IIC.4), but the variants in the LXX and Vg show that the passage was already obscure in antiquity, and the date of the corruption is uncertain.

The gomed *(gmd)* occurs only in Judg 3:16 as a description of the length of the sword with which Ehud killed Eglon. The word was already enigmatic in ancient times, but "cubit" (KJV-RSV) is impossible, because "cubit" (Heb *ʾmh*) is one of the most common words in the OT, and the LXX translates *spithamēs,* "of a span," the Vg *palmae manus,* "of a palm of the hand." Some Jewish sources (Krauss 1911: 390) interpret it as the length from the elbow to the knuckles (≈ Gk *pygmē,* i.e., 18 fingers; cf. perhaps Akk *kimṣu,* "shin," *RLA* 7, § IA.5). It is uncertain whether the pace or step *(ṣʿd)* in 2 Sam 6:13 is a systemic or indefinite unit of length.

3. Length Measures in the Apocrypha and NT. Among smaller measures, the cubit *(pēchys)* continues (Matt 6:27; Luke 12:25; John 21:8; Rev 21:17), but its precise length is as uncertain as the OT cubit, and the same rules of thumb apply. The fathom, Gk *orguia,* denoted the stretch of the arms from fingertip to fingertip. Reckoned as 4 cubits (ca. 1.8 m) in Greco-Roman usage, 20 and 15 fathoms are used in Acts 27:28 to describe the depth of the sea.

As larger systemic measures, we find the *stadion* (2 Macc 12:9–10; Matt 14:24; Luke 24:13; John 6:19; 11:18; Rev 14:20; 21:16), *milion* (Matt 5:41), and *schoinos* (2 Macc 11:5). The *milion* is a Roman intrusion from Roman *mille passus,* "thousand paces," where the pace equaled 5 Roman feet of ca. 0.296 m each, thus making a Roman mile of ca. 1480 m. In relating the *stadion* to the mile, western Greco-Roman practice normally used the ratio 8⅓ stadia (of 600 Roman feet each) per Roman mile. Near Eastern practice reckoned 7.5 stadia per Roman mile (or 7.5 *rys* in Jewish sources; Krauss 1911: 391–92). This divergence may reflect larger Near Eastern cubits, but the origin of this practice probably lies in reckoning 360 (rather than 400) cubits to the *stadion* (as per Ioulianos of Askalon), and this must ultimately go back to Mesopotamian practice (probably diffused during the Assyrian, Chaldean, Persian, and Seleucid empires), because 360 cubits = 1 Babylonian uš (reading unknown) ≈ 1 *stadion* ≈ 180 m; and 60 *stadia* ≈ 1 Babylonian *bēru* (stage) ≈ 10.8 km. The *schoinos,* for which lengths of 60, 48, 40, and 30 stadia are attested, should probably be identified with 30 stadia (≈ the Persian parasang ≈ 0.5 *bēru* ≈ 5.4 km).

The sabbath day's journey (Acts 1:12), the traveling distance permitted by religious law for the Sabbath, is generally reckoned in Jewish sources (Krauss 1911: 391) as 2,000 cubits (≈ 1 km).

C. Surface

This type of measurement is poorly attested in the OT and not at all in the NT. Small areas (houses and lots) were probably expressed in some form of square cubits, but field measure may have been expressed in the whole Levant as early as the 3d millennium in terms of the normal amount of seed used to sow a specific area of ground. The origin of this has often been sought in Mesopotamia, but this cannot be correct. "Seed" mensuration in Mesopotamia (*RLA* 7, §§ II–IIC.6) is first attested in the LB Age and is probably of West Semitic origin, being introduced to some areas of Greater Mesopotamia in the early 2d millennium by the Amorites and spread to Babylonia in the 1st millennium by the Arameans.

A common misconception about biblical surface-capacity systems is that they were somehow vague or only grossly approximate; however, the Mishnah everywhere implies (e.g., *Kil.* 2:9–10, 3:7; *ʿErub.* 2:3; *B. Qam.* 6:2, 4; *B. Bat.* 2:5, 7:1–3) and Mesopotamian sources everywhere demonstrate that areas expressed in "seed" always correspond to precise squares of length measures. "Seed" (Heb *zrʿ*) is merely one ancient way of expressing square measure. This usage of "seed" (Akk *zēru*) is well known from Babylonia and is not very different from "acre" (etymologically, "field"). Surface-capacity systems arose naturally out of agricultural practice, but, metrologically, they served the more important purpose of avoiding the cumbersome fractional terminology associated with squares of length measures.

In the OT, it is almost impossible to draw the line between preexilic and postexilic surface measures. Perhaps preexilic are the "homer" in Lev 27:16 and Isa 5:10 and the "yoke" in Isa 5:10 (perhaps also, to judge by the Vulgate, in the corrupt MT of 1 Sam 14:14). Almost certainly postexilic is 1 Kgs 18:32, describing the area within Elijah's trench on Mount Carmel, where the "house of two seahs" is probably a gloss that has crept into the text.

Leviticus 27:16 prescribes the basis for redemption of dedicated land as 50 shekels per homer of barley "seed." This suggests the 1:1 ratios favored by ancient metrology and perhaps implies a system of surface:money linkages: 1 homer ≈ 1 mina; 1 ephah ≈ 5 shekels; 1 omer ≈ 1 beka (= 10 gerah = 0.5 shekels). If so, the system may not be preexilic (see F below).

Isaiah 5:10, decrying acquisitiveness, predicts that ten yoke of vineyard will produce only a bath of wine, and "seed" (i.e., land) of the size of a homer will produce only an ephah of grain. The parallelism of 10 yoke ≈ 1 bath

and 1 homer ≈ 1 ephah suggests a conceptual, though not necessarily metrological, identity of 10 yoke of vineyard and 1 homer of grain land. Both LXX and Vg interpret "yoke" *(ṣmd)* in Isa 5:10 as the amount of land worked by a yoke of oxen in a day, pointing to a "yoke" in the range of the Roman *iugerum* (≈ 0.2523 ha.). "Yoke" *(ṣmd)* and "furrow length" *(mʿnh)* occur together in the MT of 1 Sam 14:14, which is too obscure for precise interpretation; however, the Mishnah (*Ohol.* 17:1) explicitly associates the "furrow length" with 100 (length, not square) cubits (so correctly, Krauss 1911: 175, 559 n. 172) and with 4 seahs (i.e., 10,000 square cubits). This again suggests that, regardless of what the passage in 1 Sam 14:14 originally said, the "yoke" in the MT probably refers to an area of 10,000 square cubits. This in turn indicates that the 10 yoke in Isa 10:5 are probably 100,000 square cubits; the homer may have been about the size of the postexilic surface kor (see below).

The postexilic surface system is almost identical in structure to the Late Babylonian systems and was surely derived from them, but the proportions of seed reckoned per unit of land are different, indicating that, like the late Hebrew capacity system, a lot of adaptation and adjustment of norms has taken place. Two Late Babylonian systems are known (from Babylon and Uruk; *RLA* 7, § IIB.2). Both used the square of 100 cubits, but their systems of calculation were sexagesimal and the technique of halving was not vital as in the more traditional Hebrew system. The postexilic Hebrew system identified 2,500 square cubits (¼ of the base square formed on a length of 100 cubits) with a unit, the seah, and the rest of the system was constructed around this identity:

$$\text{kab} \xrightarrow{6} \text{seah} \xrightarrow{30} \text{kor} = 75{,}000 \text{ sq. cubits}$$

Modern approximations for the postexilic system are obtained by using a cubit of ca. 50 cm: seah ≈ 625 sq. m, homer/kor ≈ 1.875 ha. This is similar to the homer of ca. 1.8 ha. known from the Nuzi texts, which is based on 80 × 100 "legs" or "strides" (Akk *purīdu*) of land (= 240 × 300 cubits = 72,000 square cubits; *RLA* 7, § IIC.6). The structure of the postexilic seah system is sexagesimal, whereas the preexilic structure of the surface homer was probably decimal, as Isa 5:10 perhaps implies. See E below.

D. Volume

Sparsely attested in the ANE and in the Bible only indirectly, volume measure is well known only from Egypt and Babylonia, where both documents and mathematical texts have survived.

The Bible does, however, imply a linkage of length, area, volume, and capacity in the accounts of Solomon's famous "molten sea" in 1 Kgs 7:23–26 and 2 Chr 4:2–5. The shape of this vessel has been debated since antiquity, but both accounts merely say that it was "round," and the simple, integer dimensions (30 cubits in circumference, 10 cubits in diameter, 5 cubits in height) point to the common approximative value 3 for pi (explicit in the Mishnaic prescription, 3 palms of circumference = 1 of width, *ʿErub.* 1:5) and to a cylindrical shape for the intended figure.

Its contents are given in baths, 2,000 in 1 Kgs 7:26, 3,000 in 2 Chr 4:5. Various theories have been proposed to explain the divergent number of baths in these accounts, but most of these lack ancient evidence. Sophisticated values for pi and the formula for finding the volume of a hemisphere are not common knowledge today and are not likely to have been a part of the intellectual repertoire of the authors of either Kings or Chronicles and, in any case, are not likely to antedate the Hellenistic period. Josephus' statement that it was hemispherical, 10 cubits in diameter, and contained 3,000 baths (*Ant* 8.3.5 §79–80) is completely at odds with his statement (*Ant* 8.2.9 §57 also discussing the works of Solomon) that the bath contained 72 *xestai/sextarii* (≈ 36 liters), indicating that he, like the author of the 3,000 baths in Chronicles, was not capable of thinking through the implications of the metrological and mathematical realities.

It is highly probable that Kings presupposes a cylindrical "sea" of 375 cubic cubits or 5 layers of 75 cubes each. Thus, 2,000 baths would imply 5 layers of 400 baths each and a volume : capacity ratio of 1 cubic cubit ≈ 5⅓ baths or 1⅞ cubic cubit ≈ 10 baths, i.e., ⅛ ≈ 10. Where pi ≈ 3, 8:1 is the ratio between the area of a square inscribed within a circle and the area of one of the four segments of the circle, and eighths (i.e., 3 finger sections) of a cubit cube have a remarkable set of integer correspondences with the bath: 15 eighths ≈ 10 baths, 30 eighths ≈ 20 baths, 60 eighths ≈ 40 baths, etc. A peculiar sexagesimal "reciprocal" turns up in the ratios 60 eighths ≈ 7.5 cubic cubits. Higher ratios have integer relationships between the cubic cubit and the number of baths: 15 cubic cubits ≈ 80 baths, 30 cubic cubits ≈ 160 baths, etc.

Sexagesimal ratios always suggest Babylonian connections and a postexilic date, but the metrological evidence seems to favor preexilic tradition for this account in 1 Kings 7. Assuming a cubit in the 50±2.5 cm range and allowing a 3–3.16 range for pi, the bath would fall into the 19–27 liter range, with a median of 23 liters, close to the postulated value based on fragments of marked jars, on unmarked but measurable jars about double this size, and on similar evidence from the Greco-Roman period (Scott 1959: 29–30). If the archaeological evidence is sound, then the measures in 1 Kings 7 probably reflect a reliable metrological tradition about the size of the preexilic bath.

The 3,000-bath "sea" of 2 Chronicles 4 is likely to be the result of metrological miscalculation, perhaps by misapplying the "rule" for the ratio (2:3) of liquid to dry capacity known from Jewish sources (Krauss 1911: 392), formulated as 40 seahs liquid = 2 kors dry (*Kelim* 15:1; *Ohol.* 8:1), which expresses the approximate weight ratio between water and barley (reminiscent of Babylonian "coefficients"). The 3,000 baths in Chronicles may be an intended "modernization" of the more ancient text in Kings, based on identification of an "old" bath, supposed to be about 2 seahs, with a "new" bath composed of 3 seahs. This is mathematically impossible, but, just as mathematics did not prevent Josephus from making a hemisphere out of the molten sea, it will not have prevented the Chronicler from drawing this conclusion, and, if this is the origin of the 3,000 baths, it also points to a preexilic bath in the 24 liter range.

Volumetric calculations may be embedded also in the

size of the Ark of the Testimony in the P tradition (Exod 25:10; 37:1), which corresponds to the volume of 30 of the baths in 1 Kings 7. The unusual number ratios (5:3:3) are striking (interpreted by Josephus *Ant* 3.6.5 §135 as spans). Volumetric arithmetic may also have played a role in the dimensions of Noah's ark (Gen 6:15): 300 cubits long by 50 wide by 30 high. These ratios, 10:1⅔:1, are typical of a sexagesimal calculation with strong decimal overtones, and the base of the Ark just happens to be equal to 50 Chaldean-Achaemenid *qû* of "seed" in the Babylonian system (or 6 Hebrew seahs), and the volume just happens to correspond (in cubic cubits) to 5^5 Babylonian volume *sar* (12 by 12 cubits by 1 high). Perhaps all coincidences, but Utnapishtim's "ark" (in the Gilgamesh Epic) was a cube with an edge of 10 *nindan* (= 120 cubits), and the authors of these dimensions appear to have been little concerned about whether the boat would sail or sink, but they do seem to have had an abiding interest in numbers and number ratios.

E. Capacity

1. OT Capacity Measures. These are, in approximately descending order of size: kor (*kr*, cor in KJV-RSV), homer (*ḥmr*), letech (*ltk*), ephah (*ʾph*, *ʿyph*), bath (*bt*), seah (*sʾh*), hin (*hyn*), kab (*qb*, cab in KJV), issaron (*ʿśrwn*) / omer (*ʿmr*), log (*lg*).

Some of these belonged originally to distinct systems of liquid (bath, hin, log) and dry (homer, letech, ephah, kab, issaron/omer), while others (kor, seah) reflect Babylonian systems and probably belong to a postexilic stratum. In the postexilic period, probably under Babylonian influence, there seems to have been an attempt to merge dry and liquid measures into one system by identifying the absolute capacities of kor and homer and of bath and ephah, as explicitly stated in Ezek 45:10–14. Divergent systems and norms nevertheless persisted, as Ezekiel 45 tacitly admits by insisting that the bath and ephah should be identical but then names them together (45:10), showing that by custom, and probably by shape, they were distinct.

Ancient editors and commentators in the postexilic period who attempted to interpret preexilic measures were confronted with the same kind of obstacles that plague the modern metrologist: lack of preexilic measuring vessels and lack of documents from the preexilic period with which to interpret the preexilic metrological systems. A more serious obstacle was this: they possessed traditions, but they did not have access to the complex set of information and techniques which makes it possible for the modern scholar to make history rather than story out of the ancient evidence. Many of the problems in the ancient sources arise from the postexilic identification of the homer with the kor and the inability of ancient authors to see that different structures and norms distinguished preexilic metrology (primarily decimal structures and western norms) from postexilic metrology (strongly influenced by sexagesimal patterns and Babylonian norms).

It is inherently probable that there were a number of preexilic systems of capacity measure, but it is not now possible to reconstruct any of these except the system of dry measures, which seems to have had this structure:

$$\text{omer/issaron} \xrightarrow{10} \text{ephah} \xrightarrow{10} \text{homer}$$

Though the structure of this system is deducible from evidence in the OT (Exod 16:36; Ezek 45:11), there is no OT occurrence of the homer itself that can be assigned unequivocally to this system, and its range of values must be inferred from indirect evidence. If one takes diachronic and political circumstances into consideration, it seems likely that there could have been a number of homer norms in the preexilic period, which perhaps accounts for the rather contradictory statements in the later sources.

Instructive as a paradigm for the "natural" homer is the N Mesopotamian homer, which also had (originally) a decimal structure (*RLA* 7, §§ IVA.4–IVA.5):

$$qû \xrightarrow{10} sūtu \xrightarrow{10} imēru \approx 100 \text{ liters}$$

Unknown in Mesopotamia prior to the Amorite invasion, the homer is clearly a West Semitic import, making it likely that the norms of the Hebrew system were similar. The term homer derives ultimately from the "assload," and the weight which a donkey can carry lies somewhere in the 90 kg range, fixing the assload of barley at ca. 150 liters or the assload of wheat at ca. 120 liters. Even allowing for uncertainties and upward adjustment by redefinition of norms, the "natural" assload can hardly have exceeded 200 liters.

Also pointing to a smaller size for the preexilic homer is Josephus' identification (*Ant* 3.6.6 §142) of the issaron in Lev 24:5 with 7 Attic *kotylai* (≈ 1.75 liter). Since the issaron was one-tenth of the ephah and since, in the postexilic system, one-tenth ephah would be ca. 3.6 liters, modern opinion has long regarded this as an error. However, Josephus was well aware of what the postexilic norms were and consistently translates the entire postexilic system into Greek units via the basic approximation 1 log ≈ 1 *xestēs (sextarius)*. Much more likely is that this estimate goes back to some oral tradition that the "showbread" (containing 2 issaron) consisted of about 7 log (i.e., 14 *kotylai*).

Josephus' estimate would bring the homer down to ca. 175 liters, still above the range of the "natural" assload, but not wholly improbable if the system was no longer directly tied to the natural assload. Greek sources of the Roman period speak of a "little *gomor*" of 12 *modii* (≈ 96 liters) and a "big *gomor*" of 15 *modii* (≈ 120 liters), which is identified by Epiphanius, perhaps rightly but more likely wrongly, with the letech. These values are similar to large capacity measures known from Mesopotamian metrology where West Semitic influence is strong (*RLA* 7, §§ IVA.2–IVA.5). The parameters of the probable for preexilic OT dry measures can therefore be represented schematically as follows:

$$\underset{\text{omer}}{\text{1–2 liters}} \xrightarrow{10} \underset{\text{ephah}}{\text{10–20 liters}} \xrightarrow{10} \underset{\text{homer}}{\text{100–200 liters}}$$

However, that early Hebrew norms for the homer may not have been very different from the Mesopotamian homer of ca. 100 liters is suggested by the omer (*ʿmr*, LXX-Vg

gomor), named as a measure in the OT only in the story of manna (Exod 16:13–36). The omer is explicitly identified as the daily ration of "bread" (*lḥm* in Exod 16:15, 22, 32), and the preservation and dedication of precisely one omer of manna (Exod 16:32–34) probably reflects the character of this capacity measure as a daily food ration. The ancient norm for a daily food ration seems to have been widely regarded as ca. 1 liter, usually of barley, e.g., one SILA (Sum) or *qû* (Akk) throughout the entire history of Babylonia and two *sextarii* (Roman) or one *choinix* in the Mediterranean area (Foxhall and Forbes 1982). The basic meaning of omer is probably "sheaf" (as in Lev 23:10; Deut 24:19), thus the quantity of grain threshed from an average sized sheaf (cf. Josephus *Ant* 3.9.5 §251), known elsewhere as a traditional agricultural measure.

The usual term for this unit in the OT is issaron (Exod 29:40; Lev 5:11; 6:13—Eng 6:20; 14:10, 21; 23:13, 17; 24:5; Num 15:4, 6, 9; 28:5, 9, 12–13, 20–21, 28–29; 29:3–4, 9–10, 14–15), *assarōnos* in Josephus (*Ant* 3.1.6 §30 as an interpretation for omer in Exodus 16; *Ant* 3.9.4 §233 on Numbers 15), which means something like "one of a group of ten" (analogous to the Roman *sextarius*). It is sometimes specified in the MT as the tenth part of an ephah (e.g., Num 28:5; Lev 5:11), for which the corresponding espressions in LXX and Vg are *dekaton tou oiphi* and *decima pars ephi*. Not really a fraction but an archaic term reflecting a concept of number to which fractions are alien, it is rendered in KJV and other early translations as "tenth deal," whereas RSV and later translations opt for "tenth of an ephah."

Also suggesting smaller norms for the older system are: a loaf (probably a flatcake) of bread made from a tenth of an ephah (Lev 23:17; 24:5); Gideon makes cakes for the angel from an ephah of flour (Judg 6:19); Ruth (2:17–18) gleans and threshes about an ephah (reflecting late tradition, Vg adds, *id est, tres modios*) of barley in one day and carries it to her mother-in-law; Hannah takes to Shiloh her just weaned son along with a bull, an ephah of flour, and a skin of wine (1 Sam 1:24); and David carries an ephah of parched grain and 10 loaves to his three brothers and 10 cheeses for their commander (1 Sam 17:17–18).

The decimal structure of the homer also reflects this older system, and Ezek 45:11 explicitly defines the homer as 10 ephah but merges dry and liquid measures and divides the ephah into 6 parts (45:13; 46:14), reflecting postexilic metrology. Decimal structure probably underlies also the surface homer in Lev 27:16 and Isa 5:10 (see Surface) as well as Hosea's purchase of the slave girl for "fifteen (shekels) of silver and a homer and a letech of barley" (Hos 3:2). The letech, which occurs only here in the OT, is rendered by the Vg as *dimidio coro* (LXX has: "a *gomor* of barley and a *nebel* of wine") and is treated in the Mishnah as half a homer. One expects the slave girl to cost 30 shekels (as per the price scale in Lev 27:1–8), which suggests that the underlying homer had 10 parts and the letech 5, i.e., 15 ephah, and that 1 ephah ≈ 1 shekel. This seems a high price for barley, but 2 seahs of barley sell for a shekel in 2 Kgs 7:1, 16, 18 after the siege of Samaria, seemingly as a "good buy," and 2 seahs (in postexilic tradition) is ca. 24 liters. Thus, if the story in 2 Kings 7 means that barley was selling for half price (at a rate of ½ shekel per seah ≈ 12 liters), and if the seah in 2 Kings 7 is a postexilic "translation" of a preexilic ephah, then Hos 3:2 would imply 1 ephah ≈ 1 shekel ≈ 12 liters and 1 homer ≈ 10 shekels ≈ 120 liters, placing this homer within the expected range.

Preexilic liquid measures are likewise uncertain. Attested, in ascending order of size, are log (Lev 14:10, 12, 15, 21, 24, all probably referring to a vessel of standard size and shape), hin (Exod 29:40; 30:24; Lev 19:36; 23:13; Num 15:4–7, 9–10; 28:5, 7, 14), and bath (1 Kgs 7:26; 2 Chr 2:9—Eng 2:10; 4:5; Isa 5:10). Under "Volume" (sec. D above), evidence for a 20–30 liter bath was cited. This size is similar to large liquid capacity measures in Mesopotamia (*RLA* 7, § IVB.1c) and corresponds to what one expects in terms of the weight of such vessels (cf. the Roman amphora of ca. 26 liters). If the preexilic log was, like its postexilic counterpart, about 0.5 liters, i.e., ca. 1 *sextarius*, as implied in the Mishnah (*Kelim* 17:11), and if the preexilic log:hin ratio was 12:1 like the postexilic ratio, then the structure and size of the preexilic capacity system probably looked like this:

$$\text{log} \approx 0.5 \text{ liters} \xrightarrow{12} \text{hin} \approx 6 \text{ liters} \xrightarrow{4} \text{bath} \approx 24 \text{ liters}$$

This fits the evidence of the Pentateuch, which links fractions of the hin with the tenth-part (issaron) of the ephah but in such a way as to show that the hin cannot have had the decimal structure of the dry capacity system: one-fourth (Exod 29:40; Lev 23:13; Num 15:4–5; 28:5, 7, 14), one-third (Num 15:6–7; 28:14), and one-half (Num 15:9–10; 28:14), but never one-tenth or one-fifth. Ezekiel's prescription (46:14) for the morning cereal offering of "one sixth of an ephah, and one third of a hin of oil to moisten the flour," i.e., a 3:1 ratio, seems to be based on a different ratio from those in the Pentateuch. However, the prescribed portions of fixed offerings in Ezek 45:13–15, seem to be 1/60 for grain, 1/100 for oil, and 1/200 for sheep. Thus, the mention of one-tenth bath in Ezek 45:14 does not necessarily mean that the bath was ever fractioned into tenths.

The function of the ephah and hin as the primary measuring vessels for dry and liquid capacity, as well as their similarity in size, is indicated by Lev 19:36: "you shall have just balances, just weights, a just ephah, and a just hin." Mesopotamian parallels suggest that, for practical reasons (handling, pouring, etc.), the hin ought to lie in the range of the *sūtu* (minimum 4, maximum 12 liters).

Postexilic systems are better known, but distinguishing between competing norms mentioned in late Jewish sources remains problematic. The main postexilic system is an adaptation of the Late Babylonian capacity system:

$$\text{kab} \xrightarrow{6} \text{seah} \xrightarrow{3} \text{ephah/bath} \xrightarrow{10} \text{kor/homer} \approx 360 \text{ liters}$$

$$\textit{qû} \xrightarrow{6} \textit{sūtu} \xrightarrow{6} \textit{pānu} \xrightarrow{5} \textit{kurru} \approx 180 \text{ liters}$$

This system seems to have merged the ephah and bath and redefined them to coincide with the Late Babylonian *pānu* of ca. 36 liters (a vessel into which one poured a commodity to be measured). The Hebrew kor, twice the

size of the Late Babylonian *kurru,* may reflect decimal counting (10 × 36), a year's rations, the size of the seah, or all of these. The Late Babylonian *sūtu* was taken over as the seah but was doubled in size from ca. 6 to ca. 12 liters, probably to replace the functions of the preexilic ephah (a vessel size easily handled in the process of mensuration). Since the Jews arrived in Babylonia as prisoners of war, it is not likely that they brought along a whole array of large measuring vessels but very likely that the absolute values of the late system were built up from smaller measures by identifying 2 log with one *qû* and 2 *qû* with a kab (identified with 4 *xestai* in Josephus *Ant* 9.4.4 §62, on 2 Kgs 6:25).

The kab (probably of Egyptian origin) occurs in the OT only in the story of the siege of Samaria (2 Kgs 6:24–7:20), where its use together with seah points to a postexilic date (compare perhaps the "dove's dung" in 2 Kgs 6:25 with Akk *zē summati,* "seeds of the false carob"; Josephus, *Ant* 9.4.4 §62, guesses use as salt). The kab probably goes back to some preexilic norm in the 2 liter range, perhaps belonging to a system distinct from that of the preexilic homer.

The Babylonian system did not distinguish between dry and liquid capacity, and the Hebrew liquid capacity system seems to have identified the hin with the Late Babylonian *sūtu:*

$$\log \xrightarrow{12} \text{hin} \approx 1 \text{ sūtu} \approx 6 \text{ liters}$$

Approximate ancient equivalences deducible from Josephus and the Babylonian evidence are: 6 *qû* ≈ 1 hin ≈ 12 *sextarii* (= 2 Attic *choes: Ant* 3.8.3 §197, 3.9.4 §234), 12 *qû* ≈ 1 seah ≈ 24 *sextarii* (*Ant* 9.4.5 §85), 36 *qû* ≈ 1 bath ≈ 72 *sextarii* (*Ant* 8.2.9 §57). Divergences from this system in Josephus are probably due to text corruption or, less likely, to miscalculation (*Ant* 3.15.3 §321) and to the same kind of gross approximation that is ubiquitous in modern "translations" of ancient measures (10 Attic *medimnoi* = 1 kor, *Ant* 15.1.2 §314).

Given the nature of our evidence, it behooves us to follow ancient practice and identify the log with half a liter. Or if one prefers the "pint," one has a variety of choices, surely fewer than those which confronted the ancient writers on metrology: US liquid ≈ 0.473 liters, US dry ≈ 0.550 liters or British imperial ≈ 0.568 liters. These modern choices illustrate how futile it is, given our limited evidence, to argue about whether the *xestēs* was 0.544 liters or 0.453 liters or whether the log was identical with the Egyptian hin (e.g., Viedebannt 1917: 127–32). Small measures like the log and the *sextarius,* when linked with dry capacity, are usually tied to daily rations, like the Greek *choinix* (Foxhall and Forbes 1982) and the Babylonian *qû,* both ca. 1 liter.

Preexilic systems must have continued in Palestine after the Exile, accounting for the various norms mentioned in late Jewish sources, which attempt to relate these older norms to the new system via integer ratios (e.g., 2:3 and 5:6).

2. Capacity Measures in the Apocrypha and NT. Most of these are essentially the postexilic system described above, but with Greek names. The *artabē* is Persian in name but, like the daric, seems to have been shaped by Babylonian norms as it migrated westward, though it is obvious that many "bushel" sized capacity norms came to be called "artabe." Thus, in Bel and the Dragon 3, twelve *artabai* and six *metrētai* are offered by the Babylonians to the god Bel. The *artabe* and *metrētēs* are attested in Greek and Egyptian sources in sizes estimated at ca. 20 to 50 liters. However, the measures in Bel and the Dragon 3 probably originated in 12 and 6 Late Babylonian *pānu* of ca. 36 liters (≈ 72 log ≈ *xestai*) each. The same is true of the jugs of water in John 2:6 which hold "two or three *metrētai* (i.e., baths of ca. 36 liters each). The *choinix* (RSV "quart"), describing famine prices in Rev 6:6, is a day's ration (≈ 1 Babylonian *qû* ≈ 2 log ≈ 2 *sextarii* ≈ 1 liter), and the *modios* (Matt 5:15 ≈ Mark 4:21 ≈ Luke 11:33), translated "bushel" in KJV-RSV, would be ca. 8 liters (i.e., 16 log/*sextarii*) if it were a measure, but here it merely means "measuring vessel."

F. Weight

Weight-pieces were called "stones" in Hebrew (*ʾbn,* e.g., Lev 19:36; Deut 25:13, 15; Prov 11:1; 16:11) as in Akkadian *(abnu),* reflecting a tradition that is at least as old as the EB Age. Thousands of weight stones incorporating a plethora of norms have been recovered from all over the ANE, but systematic, scientific investigation of these remains a work for the future. Aside from Egypt and Mesopotamia, there is only sporadic evidence to show how Near Eastern weight systems were structured (Ebla, Alalakh, and Ugarit are quasi exceptions), leaving one to guess at these structures by analyzing the weight specimens themselves, which often leads to erroneous conclusions. Most surviving weight specimens are small and deviation from a given norm increases as the size of the weight decreases. Where diachronic and foreign factors come into play, correct interpretation of small specimens becomes almost a matter of chance. The difficulty of the problem is well illustrated by the deviant norms attested among over sixty weights found in a single goldsmith's cache from Old Babylonian Larsa (literature in *RLA* 7, § V).

1. Weight Measures in the OT Period. Insofar as the names of these are known, these are, in approximate order of descending size: talent *(kkr),* mina *(mnh),* shekel *(šql), nṣp* (only known from marked specimens), pim *(ṗym),* beka *(bqʿ),* and gerah *(grh).* The kesitah *(qśyṭh)* in Gen 33:19, Josh 24:32 and Job 42:11 is more likely to be a sheep than either a weight or a "piece of money" (as in KJV-RSV), which is a modern anachronism.

The talent probably originated in the "load" that a man could carry, as indicated by the etymologies of Akkadian *biltu,* Greek *talanton,* and probably Sumerian GUN. West Semitic words for talent seem to reflect a later stage of evolution (< **krkr* or **grgr,* a prehistoric, non-Semitic, word for something that rolls?). By the LB Age, however, the talent had become a trade weight, reflected in the widespread occurrence of talent-sized copper "oxhide" ingots in the 28–30 kg range. This norm may reflect, in part, accommodation to the Sumero-Babylonian "load" of ca. 30 kg, but W of the Euphrates, by the LB Age, it seems to have been widely defined as 3,000 shekels, attested at Alalakh and Ugarit (Parise 1970–71: 14–15; Zaccagnini 1978) and in the OT (Exod 38:25–26).

That talents had a sexagesimal structure had become a

basic tenet of western metrological theory by the Hellenistic period, formulated by an Alexandrian writer thus: "every talent has its own 60 minas" (Viedebantt 1917: 73 n. 4). This has also been the general opinion of modern scholars, but the Near Eastern evidence is equivocal about this.

The Sumerian mina with its typical sexagesimal structure, is attested in the 3d millennium at Ebla, but in the 2d millennium the mina is an elusive unit W of the Euphrates. Counting in hundreds and thousands of shekels without any mention of minas characterizes not only Alalakh and Ugarit but also the OT (Gen 20:16; 23:15–16; Exod 30:23–24; 38:24–25, 29; Num 3:50; 31:52; Judg 17:2–4; 1 Sam 17:5, 7; 2 Sam 14:26; 1 Kgs 10:29). The mina, on the rare occasions that it occurs in the OT, appears only in the postexilic contexts of Ezra 2:69, Neh 7:71–72 and Ezek 45:12, and in 1 Kgs 10:17, where it is probably also postexilic (along with weights associated with the stories about Solomon, which have too many sexagesimal numbers: 1 Kgs 9:14, 28; 10:10, 14, 16, 29, etc.). Ezek 45:12 has been interpreted as implying a sexagesimal structure for the mina, but the metrology of the MT-LXX-Vg versions is so muddled and so at odds with the other straightforward metrological statements in Ezekiel that the text cannot be in order and, standing alone as it does, is of no evidential value for the structure of the mina.

In the 1st millennium, Assyrian practice seems to have equated 2 Mesopotamian minas with 100 western shekels thus creating the "strong" (Akk *dannu*) shekel and mina norms, versus older norms which were referred to as the "lesser/lighter" (Akk *gallu*) norms. "Strong" talents, however, are not clearly attested (against *RLA* 7, § IVB.4; cf. also the 30 talents of gold, as tribute from Hezekiah in both 2 Kgs 18:14 and in Sennacherib's annals). This "strong" standard is not attested in Assyria until the 1st millennium (and never in Babylonia) and was probably never more than a mechanism designed to facilitate, for tax purposes, transformation of weights normed on a western decimal system into the Mesopotamian sexagesimal system.

Consequently, arguments about whether the Ugaritic or other western minas contained 50 shekels or 60 shekels may not be pertinent to the problem. The OT treats the shekel as the primary unit of weight metrology, even to the point of omitting the word shekel entirely (Gen 20:16; 37:28; Judg 17:2–4, 10). Parallel uses of the shekel are abundantly documented at Ugarit (Heltzer 1976: 17–73) and Alalakh (Zaccagnini 1978; Parise 1970–71: 14 n. 11, also with earlier examples from Mari).

It seems likely that *nṣp*, inscribed on Israelite weights (also attested in documents from Ugarit), incorporates the shekel norm that lies behind the Assyrian "strong" mina, because the norms deducible from marked Israelite specimens lie in the 10 g range (literature and examples in Ben-David 1979: 41–45), and 100 such shekels would indeed be roughly 2 Mesopotamian minas. The root *nṣp* has been compared to Arabic *nṣf*, but, although this root does produce words in Arabic meaning "half," the basic meaning may have been something like "divide into equal parts" (cf. Akk *mišlu*, "half" < *mašālu*, "to be like/equal"). Thus, the "double-shekel" of which the *nṣp* has been supposed to be the "half" is probably just another metrological phantom. Geographically, marked *nṣp* weights from excavations, like the *pym* weights, seem to be primarily from the kingdom of Judah (Ben-David 1979: 45). One small weight (2.54 g) marked *rbʿ nṣp*, "quarter *nṣp*," was purchased in 1890 near Samaria and bears on one side a bungled inscription sometimes interpreted, but improbably, as "quarter shekel" (*HDB* 4: 904; Pilcher 1912: 180–81; Diringer 1942: 85). To summarize: the *nṣp*, the Ugaritic shekel, and the Alalakh shekel were probably all in the 9–10 g range, corresponding approximately to the 100th part of 2 Mesopotamian minas.

A distinct norm seems to be represented by the *pym* (literature and examples in Ben-David 1979: 30). Mentioned in the OT only in the corrupt 1 Sam 13:21, where the Philistine fee of a *pym* seems to be associated with the plowshare or the mattock and, if the generally accepted emendations are correct, one-third shekel with the goad. In both cases these charges probably refer to smithing costs for covering the wooden share of the plow, the wooden blade of the mattock, or the end of the goad with a thin sheet of iron and reflect the precipitous drop in the price of iron that took place beginning about the 11th century.

The meaning of *pym* is not certain. Possibly a Semitic expression for "two-thirds" (Pilcher 1916; Diringer 1942: 87–88; Ben-David 1979: 35–37), it is certainly not derived from Sumerian but could be of foreign (Philistine) origin. It is not impossible that it represents "two-thirds" of the "shekel" norm in the 11–13 g. range, but both the philological and the metrological evidence is too tenuous to use this as the basis for entire metrological theories (with Ben-David 1979; *contra* Parise 1984: 129 n. 11). The Ugaritic text (Ben-David 1979: 29–35) around which the metrological part of this controversy now revolves is a bit obscure, but it does seem to translate 7 talents of Ashdod into 5 talents 1,800 shekels of Ugarit, and, if so, it probably means 10 shekels of Ashdod ≈ 8 shekels of Ugarit (i.e., 21,000 ≈ 16,800).

To summarize, the *pym* probably denotes the "shekel" of Ashdod. In the LB Age this "shekel" seems to have weighed about 80 percent of the Ugaritic shekel, i.e., 5 shekels of Ashdod ≈ 4 shekels of Ugarit. Since the Ugaritic shekel seems to have been in the 9–10 g range (Ben-David 1979: 30, 42), this suggests that the *pym* should be in the 7.2–8 g range.

Other "shekel" norms are more elusive. However, it seems clear from surviving weight specimens that there was yet another weight norm, distinct from and heavier than the *nṣp*. This heavier norm seems to have fluctuated (perhaps diachronically and geographically) in the 11–13 g range. Marked weights of this norm are characterized by a symbol which looks like an unfinished figure 8, usually interpreted as "shekel," but its meaning is obscure. Distinctive also is the use of Egyptian hieratic number symbols, where 5, 10, 20, 30, and 40 denote 4, 8, 16, 24, and 32 multiplies of a norm that usually lies in the 11–12 g range. Here again, there is a curious 10:8 ratio. These facts have usually been interpreted (since Aharoni 1966) to mean that the underlying standard of reference is the *qdt* (theoretically ca. 9.1 g), implying a shekel norm of ca. 11.4 g. This seems to be a workable rule of thumb, but much remains obscure about how this system functioned, and

even quite large weight specimens (e.g., Pritchard 1959: 30 from Gibeon, 51.585 g, marked "5" [= 4]; Kerkhof 1966 from Shechem, 188.5 g, marked "20" [= 16]) deviate considerably, leaving the underlying norm of reference in doubt.

Weight specimens marked *bqᶜ* leave no doubt that the beka (Gen 24:22; Exod 38:26) was the half-shekel of the 11–13 g norm (Shany 1967). The arithmetic of Exod 38:24–26 also makes it clear that the beka was regarded as the half-shekel; however, neither the arithmetic nor the parenthetical explanation "a beka a head (that is, half a shekel by the shekel of the sanctuary)" can be dated with certainty. It seems not improbable that this 11–13 g norm is the one implied by the "shekel of the sanctuary" (Exod 30:13, 24; 38:24–26; Lev 27:3, 25; Num 3:47, 50; 7:13, 85; 18:16), but neither the metrological evidence nor Talmudic calculations make this a certainty (against Ben-David 1968; see the evidence for *māᶜāh* cited in *RLA*, 7, § VA.1d).

This problem is associated with the history of the gerah, which occurs in the OT only in connection with the shekel of the sanctuary in the Priestly Code (Exod 30:13; Lev 27:25; Num 3:47; 18:16) and in Ezek 45:12, both of which identify 20 gerahs with one shekel. The origin of the gerah is still obscure, but both Babylonian and Greco-Roman sources point to ⅟₂₄ as the original division and ⅟₂₀ as the derivative (*RLA* 7, §§ VA.1c–d). The LXX translates "shekel of the sanctuary" as *to didrachmon to hagion*, "the sacred didrachma," but whether this hearkens back to a tradition identifying it with the daric and the Babylonian shekel of 8.3–8.4 g (i.e., a didrachma of the 5th century B.C.) or whether it reflects the identities that emerge in the Roman period is unclear. Josephus (*Ant* 3.8.2 §195 on Exod 30:13) identifies the shekel of the sanctuary with 4 Attic drachmas (≈ 13.6 g), probably only an approximation, but nevertheless suggesting that no reliable knowledge of ancient weight metrology survived in the 1st century A.D. (against Ben-David 1968).

Whether the "shekels" of Neh 5:15 and 10:33—Eng v 32 belong to this system or refer to the Achaemenid daric (i.e., Babylonian shekel) remains uncertain, but the latter cannot be excluded, because Aramaic papyri from the Jewish community at Elephantine already reflect a mingling of Babylonian, Greek, and Persian standards by ca. 450–400 B.C. (see *RLA* 7, § VA–VA.1j).

Special norms have sometimes been seen in the "shekels of silver current with the merchant" (Gen 23:16) and in the story that the annual cutting of Absalom's hair yielded "two hundred shekels by the king's weight" (2 Sam 14:26). However, the first story probably means only that Abraham went to a local merchant and had him weigh out 400 shekels to Ephron, and the point of interest in the second story was probably not the "king's weight" (royal standards can hardly have been remarkable in David's time) but rather the heaviness of Absalom's hair: about twice the wool produced by an average sheep.

2. Weight Measures in the Apocrypha and NT Period. With the Apocrypha begins an era in which "weights" of precious metals often refer to monetary units, rarely to actual weight (talents expressing the weight of silver vessels: 1 Esdr 8:56). Almost all weight units in the NT are monetary in nature. Thus, the "ten thousand talents" owed by the unforgiving debtor in Matt 18:24 would be at least 204 metric tons of silver but probably reflect the fabulous sum of 60 million denarii (versus the mere 100 denarii which he tries to squeeze out of his own debtor in 18:28). The "pound" *(litra)* of ointment used by Mary on Jesus' feet in John 12:3 and the "hundred pounds" of embalming ointments brought by Nicodemus in 19:39 are not intended as precise measures but are expressed in weight because ointments and perfumes, being expensive, were usually reckoned in weight rather than capacity; the underlying conceptual unit is probably either the Roman pound of ca. 326.4 g (= 96 denarii) or the mina of ca. 340 g (= 100 denarii). No precise weight is intended by the talent-sized hailstones poured out of the bowl of the seventh angel in Rev 16:21, but they would have been formidable, weighing, even by the late Jewish definition of the talent, at least 20.4 kg.

The metrology of the Near East during the Greek and Roman periods is still poorly understood. Coins bring additional evidence but complicate matters enormously because we do not have the evidence to control either the effect of prices or politics. Most remarkable is the survival of the Bronze Age definition of the talent as 3,000 shekels, reflected in a weight inscribed in Latin which identifies 125 "pounds" with a talent of 3,000 shekels (*pondo CXXV talentum siculorum <M> III*, also known from Epiphanius, *HDB* 4: 906), where the "shekel" is probably the Tyrian tetradrachma (theoretically, ca. 14.1666 g), which plays an important role in Talmudic money and metrology (Ben-David 1968; 1971), and this talent seems to be intended by a weight discovered in Jerusalem about a century ago weighing ca. 41.9 kg (*HDB* 4: 906). Mention of "125 pounds" is noteworthy, because Josephus (*Ant* 3.6.7 §144 on Exod 25:39) translates Heb *kkr* as "100 minas" and adds "*kinchares* is the Hebrew word that means *talanton* in Greek," where he is probably thinking about the Roman *centarius* of 100 "pounds," but elsewhere (*Ant* 14.7.1 §106) he relates that Crassus took a bar of gold "of three hundred minas," noting that "our mina is two and a half *litrai*." This *litra*, usually interpreted as a Roman pound, is probably the "mina" of 100 denarii (≈ 340 g), and 125 such "minas" would be the mass of a Tyrian talent (≈ 42.5 kg), suggesting that the Tyrian talent may have been divided in Josephus' time into 50 "minas" (340 g × 2.5 × 50 = 42.5 kg). Thus, the "shekel" of NT times probably refers to the Tyrian tetradrachma (so Ben-David 1966). This seems to be based on a "mina" of 100 denarii (100 × 3.4 g), corresponding to the Roman pound plus 4 denarii, divided into 24 parts, yielding a "shekel" of ca. 14.1666 g and a 3,000-shekel talent of ca. 42.5 kg. Thus, Josephus was probably speaking only in approximate terms in identifying the "shekel" with 4 *drachmai-denarii* (*Ant* 3.8.2 §195, 18.9.1 §312, *JW* 7.6.6 §218; likewise Matt 17:24).

The denarius was eventually identified in Jewish tradition with the *zūz*, originally a Babylonian term denoting the half-shekel (*RLA* 7, § VA.1j), and 3,000 of these "shekels" were identified with the "talent." However, in the Galilee area another system obviously prevailed, and the term called *šql* in the S was called *slᶜ* in the N, perhaps recalling an old "half-shekel" norm in the 6–7 g range (the OT beka) but more likely based on the mass of the Tyrian tetradrachma of ca. 14 g. The weight norms therefore

remain uncertain, but the approximate, relative ratios are fairly secure: 100 drachmai-denarii ≈ 1 mina *(mnh)*, 6,000 drachmai-denarii (= 3,000 *šql*) = 1 talent *(kkr)* ≈ 20.4 kg (denarius standard) or 21.25 kg (Tyrian standard), 3,000 Tyrian tetradrachmas (i.e., southern *sl*^{c}) ≈ 42.5 kg.

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WEST. The direction of the setting sun, which in both Hebrew *(mābô$^{}$ [haš]šemeš)* and Akkadian *(erēb šamši)* provided one of the common phrases for the direction. In many of its uses, west is contrasted with east, and the rising and setting sun serve as indicators of the two directions. In this usage, the phrase often becomes a merism representing a totality.

The Hebrew words for west include, in addition to *mābô$^{}$ (haš)šemeš, ma^{c}ārāb* (literally, the place of evening or sunset), and *$^{}$aḥărôn* (literally, behind or after). This last word for west shows how the Hebrews used their body for orientation. They faced east; west was the direction behind them. West was the location of the Western Sea *(yam $^{}$aḥărôn)* also called the Great Sea, which is known today as the Mediterranean Sea. Also the Philistines were the people who lived to the west of the Hebrews.

Like the Hebrews, the Akkadians used the phrase "the setting of the sun" to refer to west, but they also used the word *amūrrū,* which referred to the cardinal direction west. In addition, *amūrrū* referred to the people who lived in the western regions, the westerners, probably a term related to the Amorites mentioned in the OT.

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WEST SEMITIC LANGUAGES. See LANGUAGES (INTRODUCTORY SURVEY).

WESTERN SEA (PLACE) [Heb *hayyām hā$^{}$ăḥărôn*]. A body of water to the W of the promised land. The phrase appears twice in the Pentateuch (Deut 11:24; 34:2) and twice in the Minor Prophets (Joel 2:20; and Zech 14:8). In the former it depicts the ideal W border of the promised land, and in the latter, it designates the edge of the occident.

The LXX and the Vulgate render the term *hayyām hā$^{}$ăḥărôn* (Deut 34:2; Joel 2:20; Zech 14:8) as *tēn thalassan tēn eschatēn* and *mare Novissimum,* respectively. (For Deut 11:24, Field 1964: 290). While the W orientation of the sea is derived from the general content of the verses, the unique adjectives modifying *thalassa* and *mare,* clearly connote a remote location. Modern renderings have missed this sense completely. They translate the term as "western sea," i.e., the Mediterranean, and even modern commentators who sense the singularity of the phrase nevertheless choose to explain the term as the "western sea" and iden-

tify the geographical location as the Mediterranean Sea. See MEDITERRANEAN SEA.

The evidence, however, from the ancient sources and traditions prevalent among E Mediterranean peoples, indicates that *hayyām hāʾāḥărôn* is a cosmic body of water, located to the far W, leading to the Abode of the Dead.

The literal meaning of *mare Novissimum* is the farthest sea, referring to the water at the rear, the edge of the sea. Ugaritic literature calls these waters *nbk; mbk nhrm;* "the source of the two rivers" (*UT* 19.1957). The Bible, which incorporated the phrase *nibkê yām* into its sea nomenclature (Job 38:16), paralleled it to *tĕhôm,* the cosmic place of the Deep, known to the ancients as the watery abode of Ugaritic El (Gordon 1965: 51:IV:21–22). The Vulgate rendered *nibkê yām* and *tĕhôm* with Lat *profunda maris* and *novissimis abyssi* "the sources of the sea" and "the edge of the Deep" respectively. It would seem therefore that the Vulgate's use of the term *novissimum* is both literal and figurative and suggests that the Vulgate comprehended *hayyām hāʾāḥărôn* as the edge of the cosmic sea.

The standard Aramaic translations render *hayyām hāʾāḥărôn* as *yamāʾ maʿarbāʾāh* literally the "western sea," while other manuscripts of the Aramaic translate it as *yamāʾ batrāʾāh* (Deut 11:24; 34:2), literally the "rear" or "hinder" sea. Pseudo-Jonathan (Clarke 1984: 223) specifically identifies it with the ocean sea, the primordial waters of creation in the W. The equation with the primeval ocean places the sea in the cosmographic realm, reminiscent of the Homeric tradition about the ocean surrounding the world (depicted graphically on the shield of Achilles [*Il.* 18.606–7]), a perception cited by the Targum (Eccl 1:7). The conception of the extreme W direction is always balanced by an extreme E bearing. See EASTERN SEA.

The cosmic aspect of *hayyām hāʾāḥărôn* is further supported by the Greco-Roman term *Acheron* (Lubetski 1978: 73–74). The phonetic similarity between Greek *Acheron* and the Hebrew *(hayyām hā)ʾāḥărôn* is remarkable. Yet, it does not end there. *Acheron* lacks a Greek etymology and is likely to be a Semitic loan word. Both words indicate a body of water located in the W. Greek literature views *Acheron* as a cosmic river flowing around Hades (*Od.* 10.511–14), a river of gloom and misery. While Greek *Acheron* clearly was known to be the Abode of the Dead, the biblical term was not perceived to bear this characteristic. The Midrash, however, associates *hayyām hāʾāḥărôn* with the "last day," the time of the resurrection of the dead (cf. *Sipre Deut.* 357). The clearest relationship of the Abode of the Dead with the cosmic ocean located in the uttermost W is found in post-biblical pseudepigraphic literature (see *1 Enoch* 17:1–7). Enoch's journey to the nether world, the place where no humans walk, provides us with a full description of the cosmographic location and description. *Acheron,* common to Greeks, retains the original meaning of *hayyām hāʾāḥărôn.* While familiar to those who borrowed it, it became obscured to the originators.

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MEIR LUBETSKI

WESTERN TEXT. The term "Western Text" refers to a particular textual tradition or "text-type" in the NT manuscript tradition that is longer, less homogeneous, and generally less polished than the Alexandrian (Egyptian or "Neutral") textual tradition. Since the "Western" and Alexandrian are the earliest identifiable NT "text-types" (though this is disputed by Aland and Aland 1987: 54–56, 64–69) and both were widespread in their use, some scholars have argued that the less homogeneous "Western" text more closely represents the original text, though most consider it to be a secondary and aberrant tradition.

"Western Text" is applied first and primarily to a text of this kind in the gospels and Acts, represented most prominently by the 4th or 5th century Greco-Latin Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis (given the symbol D), and secondarily to a similar textual complexion in the Pauline Epistles, represented preeminently by the 5th century Greco-Latin Codex Claromontanus (given the symbol D_p). See CODEX (BEZAE CANTABRIGIENSIS); CODEX (CLAROMONTANUS). A number of other Gk mss attest the same general textual tradition, e.g., P5, P69 (3d century) and 0171 (3d/4th century) for the gospels; P38 (ca. A.D. 300), P29, P48 (3d century), 0165 (5th century), 614, 383 (13th century) for the Acts; and F_p and G_p (9th century) for the Epistles. In addition, it is attested by numerous Old Syriac (especially the Harclean marginal notes), Old Latin, and other ancient versional mss. It is of great importance also that most of the earliest Church Fathers who quote the NT reflect the "Western" text substantially, such as Marcion, Tatian (= Diatessaron), Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Cyprian. Ephraem of Syria (4th century) is a notable witness for Acts.

The term "Western" is placed in quotation marks because it is largely a misnomer, for the supporting witnesses are only partially western in their provenance. Codex Bezae, first thought to have originated in Gaul (where it was found) or in Sicily, actually might have originated in the East (Jerusalem or Egypt [Clark 1933]). Moreover, the various supporting witnesses are from both the West (North Africa, Italy, S France) and the East (Egypt, Syria). The "Western" textual tradition's actual place of origin is likely to have been Syria (Aland 1986).

The term "Western text" reaches back to the very beginnings of modern scholarship, for Richard Bentley in 1720 viewed Greek NT mss as transmitted from three areas: Egypt, Asia, and the West. It was J. A. Bengel, however, who (in 1734 and 1737) pioneered the division of extant mss into two classes (he called them "syzygies"): the "African family," which included the oldest Gk mss and versions (Codex A, the Greco-Latin codices, and the Ethiopic, Coptic, and Latin versions), and the "Asiatic family," consisting of the more recent Gk mss and versions. The "Western" tradition was included in his African group, along with other early witnesses. J. S. Semler, who (in 1766) appears to be the first to apply the term "recension" to a group of mss, regarded the "western" family as one of three old recensions. Then J. Griesbach (beginning in 1777) developed his theory of three recensions: the Alexandrian, the Western, and the Constantinopolitan. The term "Western" text was firmly established in scholarship, however, by its use in the influential work of Westcott and Hort (1881–82) and by numerous scholars up to the present. Others,

however, tried to replace it with more neutral terms, such as the "D-text" (from the symbol for its most famous representatives), used today by most scholars; or the "d" or "δ" *(delta)* text, used by F. G. Kenyon (1949: 213) to refer to his fourth important text-type, but at the same time linking it with the "D" mss; or the "non-committal" (and unexplained) symbol "Z," used by A. C. Clark (1933).

Though the "Western" text (from the time of Semler, to Friedrich Blass in 1896–97, and to J. H. Ropes in 1926) was considered a product of systematic revision, this is less certain now, especially because of the lack of homogeneity among its extant witnesses. Thus, H. A. Sanders (1934: 282) called the "Western" text a "group of related texts"; D. W. Riddle (1936: 230) called them "popular texts"; and E. G. Colwell (1969: 53, 166) referred to them as "the uncontrolled, popular text of the second century." Recently, Barbara Aland (1986) has attempted a developmental hypothesis for the "Western" textual tradition.

The "Western" text is usually longer or more expansive in its language than the Alexandrian text (one-eighth longer in Acts). There are substantial additions, including those in Matt 20:28; Luke 6:4; 23:53; Acts 1:2; 4:18, 32; 5:15, 39; 6:10–11; 8:24; 10:25; 11:2; 12:10, 23; 14:2–7; 15:2, 12, 20, 29; 16:4, 35, 39; 18:4, 8, 19, 27; 19:1, 9, 14; and 21:16 among many others (most are discussed by Metzger [1971] and, for Acts, by Ropes [1926] and Epp [1966]). The Bezan addition at Luke 6:4 provides an otherwise uncanonical saying of Jesus to a man found working on the Sabbath: "Man, if you know what you are doing, you are blessed; but if you do not know, you are accursed and a transgressor of the law" (Delobel 1985). There are, however, some celebrated instances where the "Western" text is shorter and lacks certain phrases or clauses which do occur in the otherwise shorter Alexandrian text. The most prominent examples are Matt 27:49; Luke 22:19b–20, 62; 24:3, 6, 9, 36, 40, 51, 52. These passages are designated "Western Non-Interpolations," a confusing term applied to them by Hort (Westcott and Hort 1881–82, 2: 175–77), who used this odd circumlocution (rather than the more proper phrase, "Neutral interpolations") because of his conviction that the "Neutral" (Alexandrian) text-type was pure and could have suffered no interpolations. Unfortunately, no alternative terminology has been established for this interesting group of textual variants (Snodgrass [1972]; Parsons [1986]).

Various explanations have been offered to explain the origin of this aberrant "Western" text. "Hort (Westcott and Hort 1881–82, 2:112–13) had demonstrated that "Western" readings can be identified in some abundance in early Church Fathers like Marcion, Justin Martyr, Tatian, Irenaeus, and Cyprian in the 2d century, and like Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus, and even Origen in the 3d century. With such demonstrable roots in the 2d century, the "Western" text's early origin was assured, and any arguments for its secondary nature had to be based on grounds other than date.

Its "love of paraphrase" and its penchant for assimilation led Hort (Westcott and Hort 1881–82 2:122–25) to describe it as a "corruption" of the "Neutral," derived from the "Neutral" by a freely creative reviser. Hort, and many after him, therefore treated the "Western" text as secondary. J. H. Ropes (1926: ccxxxi–ii; ccxliv–v) argued that it was expanded by a single reviser before A.D. 150, who used the Alexandrian text as a base in an unsuccessful effort to improve its literary character. More recently, Hanson (1965–66) has argued that an "interpolator" with no strong connections to Judaism produced the "Western" text in Rome between A.D. 120 and 150. The dual features—its early and widespread use and its lack of homogeneity—suggested to others that the "Western" text might represent very early "unrevised" textual traditions of the NT, perhaps even the original text. A. C. Clark (1933: xxiv–xxxii), argued that the longer "Western" text of Acts, which is "more picturesque and more circumstantial," was the original and was systematically abbreviated to form the Alexandrian version, which is "more colorless and in places more obscure."

Another explanation for the "Western" text of Luke-Acts is that their author wrote two "editions" of his work. Friedrich Blass (1896; 1897; 1898), building on older suggestions, proposed that the longer, "Western" Acts was written first in Rome, followed by the shorter, Alexandrian edition in the East. He was forced, however, to argue on the same grounds that the slightly longer Alexandrian edition of the gospel of Luke was written first, in Rome, followed by the shorter, "Western" edition. This theory, though not widely accepted, has been revived recently by Boismard and Lamouille (1984) and by Delebecque (1986); Schneider (1987) offers a critique of both works.

After many generations of scholarship, there is still no definitive answer as to whether the Alexandrian or the "Western" text better represents the original text of the gospels, Acts, and Pauline letters, though the vast majority of textual critics hold that the Alexandrian is more likely original. The lack of finality is due, primarily, to the recognition that the origins of both the Alexandrian and "Western" traditions are lost somewhere in the 2d century: the Alexandrian is attested by 2d century papyri and 3d century Church Fathers, while the "Western" is attested by 2d century Church Fathers and 3d century papyri. The preference for the Alexandrian text is based primarily on its presence in the "best" mss (Codices Vaticanus and Sinaiticus as well as P75) and on arguments that numerous "Western" readings can be shown to be secondary to Alexandrian readings. Rather than seeking to demonstrate the originality of either the Alexandrian or the "Western" text *in its entirety,* the predominant approach currently is the eclectic method which separately assesses each variation-unit in the NT text to determine the likelihood of an *individual reading's* originality. Under this methodology, a fair number of "Western" readings are judged to be original, but far more are judged to be secondary. See TEXTUAL CRITICISM (NT).

The question of originality is not the only kind of assessment made of the "Western" text. J. Rendel Harris (1891) hypothesized that its Greek form, as in Codex Bezae, was due to Latinization; F. H. Chase (1893; 1895) proposed, rather, that it was influenced by re-translations from Syriac; C. C. Torrey (1941: 112–48) tried to demonstrate that it had been translated from Aramaic; and A. J. Wensinck (1937; see Black 1967) maintained that Aramaic influenced its textual transmission. Another approach is the attempt to identify a distinctive ideological flavor or theological bias in the "Western" text by studying the

variations between it and the Alexandrian. For example, Harris (1891: 148–53, 221–34) claimed that the "Western" text had been both "Montanized" and influenced by Marcion. An anti-Judaic bias was suggested as early as 1896 by Peter Corssen and in 1897 by Blass, who pointed to a few instances in Acts; more were noticed by P.-H. Menoud in 1951, and the view was developed fully by Epp (1966), then documented in Luke (Rice 1979–1985) and explored in Paul (Eshbaugh 1975), but disputed for Acts by others (Hanson 1965–66; 1967–68; Barrett 1979; Wilson 1979; see the surveys by Grässer 1976: 175–81, and Martini, 1980: 165–79) and found absent from Matthew (Holmes 1984). The "Western" text's treatment of the apostles has been explored by Martini (1980: 103–13; 181–88) and Rice (1984), and recently the themes of women and antifeminism have been treated by Witherington and Pervo.

In spite of extensive study over many generations, the last word has yet to be written on the origin, development, nature, value, and significance of the so-called "Western" text of the NT. (For literature prior to 1966, see the works of Klijn [1949; 1969] and the extensive bibliography in Epp 1966: 172–85.)

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ELDON JAY EPP

WESTERN WALL. See TEMPLE, JERUSALEM.

WHEAT. See AGRICULTURE; FLORA.

WIDOW. See LEVIRATE LAW.

WIFE. See FAMILY.

WILD GOAT, WILD OX. See ZOOLOGY.

WILDERNESS WANDERINGS. Following the exodus from Egypt and the giving of the law on Sinai, the wilderness wanderings are the traditional "forty years" which the people of Israel spent in the wilderness of Sinai, on account of their unfaithfulness to Yahweh, before they entered Canaan.

A. In the Bible
B. Literary Analysis
C. Geographical Aspects
D. Historical Questions
E. Theology

A. In the Bible

The main wilderness narratives are found in Exod 15:22–17:15 and Num 10:33–22:1; 33:1–49, with a preliminary "exposition" in Exod 13:17–22 (Coats 1972a). The status of the sea-narratives (Exodus 14–15) and especially the speeches located in "the plains (*ʿarbōt*) of Moab" (Num 22:1–Josh 2:24) is somewhat ambiguous and transitional, and they will be left out of the account here, as is the Sinai-complex, which is dealt with separately. See EXODUS, THE; and SINAI, MOUNT. Further accounts are found in Deut 1:19–3:29 (cf. 8:2–5, 15–16; 9:22–24; 10:6–7; 29:5–8), in several Psalms (78; 105; 106; see also 81:7; 95:8–11; 114:8; 135:10–12; 136:16–22), and in prophetic literature (e.g., Jer 2:2–6; Ezek 20:10–26; Hos 2:14–15; 13:4–5; Amos 2:10; 5:25). The expression "wilderness wanderings," though common, is misleading, as the itinerary framework of the narrative suggests an orderly journey through the wilderness: indeed the closest literary analogies are descriptions of armies on the march (see below). Only in the latter stages is the idea of aimless wandering present, where it is regarded as a divine punishment for the Israelites' failure to make a direct assault on southern Palestine (Num 14:33–34; 32:13; Deut 2:1–3). In the wilderness itinerary in Num 33:1–49 the notion of "wandering" is completely lacking.

B. Literary Analysis

Structurally the wilderness narratives consist of a sequence of episodes and laws more or less loosely attached to an itinerary "chain," which describes a journey from the borders of Egypt to the river Jordan (Coats 1972b). The Sinai-complex is one such episode that has been elaborated more than any other. The other episodes mainly describe the Israelites' experiences of various physical problems posed by life in the desert environment, such as lack of food, lack of water, disease, earthquake, snakes, but also warfare and attempts to enter the cultivable land of E and W Palestine (for their theological motifs see below, E). The legal material is mainly found in Numbers 15; 18–19 (see also Exod 16:22–36) and deals with sacrifices, the remuneration of priests and Levites, and a ritual for purification after contact with a corpse.

The distinction between Priestly and non-Priestly material is generally straightforward, with longer sections of the former only occurring in Exodus 16 and Numbers 13–20. In addition to the legal material mentioned above it comprises most of the "manna" story in Exodus 16, sections of the spies' story (Num 13:1–17a, 21, 25–26, 32; 14:1–2, 5–7, 9–10, 26–38), the rebellion of the Korahites (16:1–11, 16–24; 17:1–15—Eng 16:36–50; 17:16–28—Eng 17:1–13, the "water" story in Num 20:1–13, and the story of Aaron's death in Num 20:22–29. Much of the itinerary-material is normally also attributed to P (Walsh 1977), but there are good reasons for ascribing most of it to an earlier redactor and only a few verses to P (Davies 1983).

Despite its relatively late incorporation into the main Pentateuchal narrative, the itinerary-material appears mainly to derive from a source, Num 33:1–49, whose origins lie in the monarchic period and whose form is closely comparable to that of official documents from the ANE (Davies 1974). The attempt (Noth 1940) to isolate an earlier form of this document, in which the names paralleled in Exodus and the rest of Numbers are regarded as secondary additions, must be regarded as misguided: the parallels are more likely to be due to the inclusion of extracts from this document in the main narrative.

The early wilderness narratives apparently consisted of a series of episodes loosely linked together, with notes of movement from place to place only sporadically included at major points of transition (Exod 13:17–18, 21–22; 15:22; 19:2b; Num 10:33–36; 21:12–20; 25:1). Although the attempt has been made to separate this material into two or even three sources (Eissfeldt 1922), it is in fact impossible to find clear evidence of more than one (Fritz 1970). The order in which the episodes were recounted was apparently variable, as can be seen from a comparison of the early narrative strand, the Priestly material and the Psalms (see also Deut 9:22). This is only to be expected where clear geographical indications were generally lacking and thematic connections might be given greater weight. The individual stories take their departure from well-known desert phenomena (manna, quails, water-resources, sickness, conflicts with tribes, attempts at sedentarization), and in a few cases from place-names that were

presumably still known in later Israel. In the latter instances an aetiological function is recognizable, but the remaining features evidently derive from acquaintance with conditions in the desert itself. Noth (1972: 127–34) perhaps too quickly discounted the possibility that this knowledge could be rooted in the actual experiences of Israel's ancestors in the pre-settlement period (see further below, D), but it remains likely that some features of the stories derive from later elaboration.

C. Geographical Aspects

The area to which these traditions refer is defined by their narrative framework as the Sinai peninsula and S Transjordan. The place-names in the early narratives and the phenomena described in them fit for the most part what is known of these regions, though some of the place-names (e.g., Taberah, Num 11:3) are otherwise unknown. The attempt had been made to restrict the range of the allusions to the N or the S of the peninsula, but this is impossible, and even narratives which are closely associated in the book of Exodus (e.g., those concerning Amalek [Exod 17:8–16] and Mount Sinai [Exodus 18ff.]) may refer to widely separated areas (confirming that the order of the narrative is not geographical). A possible problem is the reference to Midian (Exodus 2–3; 18:1; Num 10:29), because in later times at least this was located E of the Gulf of Aqaba in NW Arabia. However, the Israelites are never said to have entered Midian, and there are also reasons for thinking that in biblical times the Midianites occupied a wider area.

Later elements in the texts give a more precise indication of where the Israelites were thought to have traveled. Secondary passages in Deuteronomy (2:8, 26) and some related passages (Num 20:14–20; 21:4, 13, 18; Judg 11:17–18) take the Israelites around the areas in Transjordan later settled by Edom and Moab, through the wilderness to the E; although the basic Deuteronomic narrative, as well as Num 21:12–20, implies a journey through these territories. The more circuitous route is probably influenced by anti-Edomite polemic. Num 33:1–49 is a much more detailed account of the journey, and extracts from it inserted in the main narrative of Exodus and Numbers have imposed its conception of the route on the more loosely associated stories there. The end of the passage (vv 42–49) clearly describes a northerly journey through Moabite territory to a point just N of the Dead Sea. Its beginning can be related to place-names in NE Egypt, but there are two distinct theories about the route described: the "northern" route leads to Lake Bardawil on the Mediterranean coast, where Baal-Zephon and the Red Sea (or "Reed Sea") are said to be located, while the "southern" route passes by the Bitter Lakes in the S part of the Isthmus of Suez. The topographical evidence is complex and not entirely clear, but some important factors favor the "southern" route (see Davies 1979: 79–83 and fc., against Cazelles 1955 and Anati 1984: 139–151). Discussion of the central part of the passage has been influenced by Noth's theory that embedded in it is a list of pilgrimage stations which pointed the way to a location of Mount Sinai in NW Arabia (Noth 1940; cf. Koenig 1964, 1971; Gese 1967). In fact there are serious difficulties with the sequence of identifications proposed in the more southerly section of this route, and the routes indicated should be sought within the limits of the Sinai peninsula (Davies 1979: 84–89). Complete certainty is impossible, as most of the names have no parallel in the modern Arabic names of the region, but a framework is provided by the beginning and end of the passage and by those places whose location is more or less certain (e.g., Mount Sinai, Kadesh, Ezion-Geber). As it stands the passage seems to imply a route leading to the S massif of the Sinai peninsula, then N toward Wadi Arabah, which is then followed S to Ezion-Geber at the head of the Gulf of Aqaba. From there the route turns NW to Kadesh and then crosses E to Punon S of the Dead Sea. This is very similar to the view of the route implied by the Priestly sections of the main wilderness narrative. Ewald (1864–68: 2.283–5) suggested that a more plausible route would be obtained if Num 33:36b–41a were transposed so as to stand between the first and second halves of v 30 (cf. *BHS*); this produces an inland route to Kadesh, then a SE journey to Ezion-Geber, from where Wadi Arabah is followed N to Punon, which corresponds exactly to the route implied in Deuteronomy 2 (without the secondary additions). The present order of the list can be plausibly attributed to the Priestly editing which is evident elsewhere in the chapter. It is clear that this relatively late material does not present a unified picture of "the wilderness journey." Its origin can only be conjectured, but it may derive from the knowledge of traders and others who used these desert routes. The recent discoveries at Kuntillet ʿAjrud have confirmed that at least one section of the route reconstructed here was in use in the period of the Israelite monarchy.

D. Historical Questions

Noth's influential account of the history of Pentateuchal tradition left him with no basis for any historical discussion of the wilderness tradition (1972: 58–59). Most recent histories of early Israel, likewise, give it little if any space, whether because of the presumed unreliability of the biblical sources or because of a dominating interest in the "emergence" of Israel in Canaan (Gottwald 1979; Soggin 1984; Miller and Hayes 1986; Donner 1987). It must of course be recognized that many aspects of the tradition, particularly in the Priestly account, are greatly exaggerated or even entirely fictitious, and that a majority of the elements which made up later Israel probably never went near the Sinai peninsula. But if, as seems difficult to deny, a group whose later significance greatly exceeded its size had been in Egypt and adopted the worship of Yahweh of Sinai, it is highly likely that the Pentateuch preserves some relics of their existence in the desert. There is room therefore for the kind of constructive discussion of the evidence presented by de Vaux (1978: 419–425) and Herrmann (1975: 69–85). Egyptian references to Shasu in the desert and the archaeological finds at Timna, especially the so-called "Midianite shrine" of the 12th century B.C., provide some external points of comparison (Giveon 1971; Rothenberg 1972). In the biblical tradition the role of Moses as a leader with both social and religious power over the group, and perhaps of other individuals such as Aaron and Miriam, can be recognized, but it is clear that his authority was challenged, though not overthrown; the story of Dathan and Abiram in Numbers 16 probably gives

the most authentic account of such rebellion (cf. Coats 1968: 156–184). The oasis area of Kadesh is of some importance, both as the burial place of Miriam and as a natural gathering-point for an (at first unsuccessful) attempt to penetrate into Canaan (de Geus 1977). But theories which identify it as the focus of the wilderness period go well beyond the available evidence. It is likely that the "proto-Israelites" from whom the wilderness tradition chiefly derives lived, like the modern bedouin, in separate small encampments for a period (Meshel 1980) before moving into Transjordan and subsequently W Palestine, where they apparently joined (or rejoined) other groups who were in the process of establishing a society which was largely independent of the remaining Canaanite city-states. On this view the historical period referred to will lie in the 13th and 12th centuries B.C. The recent suggestion by Anati (1984) and Cohen (1981: 104) that the wilderness narratives derive from a population that lived in the N of the Sinai peninsula ca. 2000 B.C. is fanciful.

E. Theology

The theological development of the wilderness theme, both in Exodus-Numbers and elsewhere, is unusually rich. The simple distinction between a "positive" and a "negative" interpretation of the wilderness period is in danger of obscuring this richness, and "negative" motifs are already present in the earliest surviving narratives (Barth 1966: 14–23; Coats 1968). Yahweh is repeatedly portrayed as providing for Israel's needs in the desert in the most dramatic ways: these include guidance by the pillar of cloud and fire (Exod 13:21–22) and by the movement of the ark (Num 10:33), as well as the provision of food and drink. Even the hardships of the journey are seen positively as divine discipline (Deut 8:3–5). To this divine care, according to one tradition, Israel responded with exemplary devotion (Hos 2:15; Jer 2:2), which is contrasted with her later apostasy. According to a different view, the divine gifts were received by a complaining people, an attitude which reaches its climax in the rejection by the majority of the opportunity to enter Canaan itself (Numbers 13–14) and, in the Priestly narrative, in Moses' own rebellion against Yahweh which debarred him from entering the promised land (Num 20:2–13; 27:12–14). It has been suggested that, as in Psalm 78, the murmuring motif was developed as a Judean polemic against the N kingdom (Coats 1968: 251). This may be correct, but it should also be noted how it serves to confirm the authority of a number of individuals and groups over the common people, and particularly that of Yahweh. In the older material it is the authority of Moses, the seventy elders and prophecy that is chiefly involved (Numbers 11–12), but in the Priestly material it is naturally the conflict between Aaron and his sons and the rest of the Levites which is mainly in view (Numbers 16–17).

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G. I. DAVIES

WILL OF GOD IN THE OT. In every text where God is the speaking/acting subject one has to deal with

issues relating to the divine will. Every word God speaks and every deed God does would be understood by the author of the text to be in accord with the divine will; given convictions regarding divine integrity, God would not have spoken or acted in ways contrary to God's own will in the matter. The divine activities closely related to the decision-making process, such as choosing, judging, and appointing, would provide more focused perspectives. More general reflections on God's activity (e.g., Exod 34:6–7 and its parallels) would also give us clues to Israel's understanding of God's will. Thus, a wide range of texts become pertinent for the discussion.

A. Basic Principles
B. The Vocabulary of Will
C. Experiencing the Will of God
D. Knowing the Will of God
E. Doing the Will of God

A. Basic Principles

The focus for this article, however, will be on those words which are informed specifically by Israelite reflection on the will of God. (A full study would also need to consider certain purpose clauses and prepositional phrases; cf. Exod 9:16; 1 Chr 13:2; Job 10:13.) The fact that no single Hebrew word or phrase for the divine will predominates may mean that Israel's reflection on the matter was not as focused as more modern discussions have been. Yet, the diversity of language may mean a level of complexity not yet understood. This is reflected in the variety of English translations. In fact, English versions do not commonly use the word "will" in their translations. Other verbs and nouns which belong to the same semantic field are: determine, desire, want, choose, plan, swear, judge, decide, resolve, intend, command, take pleasure in, delight in, thought, purpose, way.

This language regarding the divine will is used in a wide range of genres, though it is especially prominent in the direct divine speech of prophetic oracles. The language is also used in a variety of traditions, from the Deuteronomistic history to wisdom to apocalyptic. It is most frequent in Isaiah and Jeremiah. It is least common in the pentateuchal traditions.

To speak of the will of God is to use an anthropomorphic metaphor; language pertaining to the human will is used to speak of God. Crucial to a proper understanding of a metaphor is the recognition of both similarity and difference between the human and divine spheres. Thus, with respect to the divine will, one must speak of both continuities and discontinuities with the human will. The latter may be said to focus on the decisiveness, steadfastness, responsibility, and integrity of the divine will when compared to the human.

Generally speaking, the will of God refers to the considered and deliberate divine purpose, intention, or determination; it mobilizes and focuses the power of the divine self toward others, both within and without the community of faith. It thus assumes reflection, judgment, and a directedness toward certain ends or objectives in the world. It is God's resolve to move toward a certain kind of future for others. Inasmuch as willing implies not-willing, it assumes that God is faced with choices and rejects or accepts alternative possibilities. God's will is always freely exercised at the divine initiative and motivated by love toward the other and by faithfulness to God's own promises (cf. Deut 7:8; 1 Kgs 10:9). God moves resolutely and decisively to action (or non-action) on behalf of that which is willed; God's will may not always be realized in individual instances, however, for it is resistible by the human will. Negatively, the divine will is not capricious, double-minded, blind, driven, drifting, compulsive, or oppressive (as the human will often is).

The divine will is the will of one who has willed to be in genuine relationship with the world. It is thus not a static will, but living and active. This is seen in the law as it is shaped ever anew by changes in Israelite society. God's will for the people moves with their times and places; new occasions teach new duties. This is also characteristic of the word of the prophet, which speaks to particular historical circumstances. The will of God expressed through the word of the prophet takes one form, e.g., in Amos, another in Second Isaiah. Yet, in every change of law or prophecy, the word of God is informed by a will which is faithful and constant, namely, God's will for life for those in relationship: "for our good always, that he might preserve us alive" (Deut 6:24), "that it may go well with you, and that you may live long" (22:7), "that you may live" (Amos 5:14).

One must thus speak of the will of God as both constant and changing. This necessitates a distinction such as that between the absolute and the circumstantial will of God (cf. Weatherhead 1944). The absolute will of God for his creatures remains always and everywhere the same: life, blessing, salvation. It is exercised on behalf of others. While unconditional and freely exercised, once having so willed God is eternally resolute and committed to that end. The circumstantial will of God is also freely exercised, but it is not set from eternity on every matter; it is open to the future and will often be shaped in interaction with a changing world. Alternative future possibilities will shape the divine directedness (cf. Jer 22:1–5). At the same time, while God might will judgment in a specific instance, it is for the sake of the absolute divine will for people and world. The circumstantial will of God is always in the service of the absolute will of God; they remain closely connected.

The will of God in relationship is not only expressed actively in word and deed. It is also expressed more passively in an appropriate receptivity; God lets things happen to himself. God's eyes and ears are open to the world (2 Kgs 19:16); God chooses to receive the world into the divine life. God's will is so much for others that suffering comes to be in God himself (cf. Isa 42:14).

B. The Vocabulary of Will

1. *lēb*, heart. Also *nepeš*, soul, mind. Understood as the seat of the human will, the heart is often mentioned as the "organ of God's distinct will" (Wolff 1974). David praises God "because of thy promise, and according to thy own heart, thou hast wrought all this greatness" (2 Sam 7:21). God commends Jehu for "carrying out what is right in my eyes . . . according to all that was in my heart" (2 Kgs 10:30; cf. 1 Kgs 9:3). In other words, God's will was done. What is (not) "right/good in [God's] eyes" is often used

alone elsewhere, especially in the Deuteronomistic traditions (cf. Deut 12:25, 28; 2 Sam 10:12; 15:26; 2 Sam 11:27; 1 Kgs 11:33, 38; Isa 65:12). God's resolve to be faithful to his people is similarly expressed: "with all my heart and all my soul" (Jer 32:41).

Other phrasings used are "after my/his own heart" (1 Sam 13:14; Jer 3:15) and "in my/his heart/mind" (Gen 8:21; 1 Sam 2:35; Isa 63:4; Jer 7:31; 19:5; 32:35; 44:21). On *nepeš* in Job 23:13, cf. below. It is important to see in a number of these texts how the people's actions are explicitly said not to have been willed by God (though God willed that such actions would be possible). God does not will all that happens, though God's will may be said to be active *in* all that happens. Especially striking is the statement that God does not "willingly [lit. from his heart] afflict or grieve people" (Lam 3:33). Suffering is not (at least) the absolute will of God for Israel either. God's will is thus explicitly excluded as the initiating factor in certain events (suffering; sinful activity) and included in others (raising up leaders; keeping promises; as obeyed by certain individuals).

One can see how some of these words function in relationship to one another in Ezek 38:10–11: words/thoughts arise in the *lēb* and (evil) plans are devised, issuing in the announcement of a decision.

2. *zāmam; mĕzimmâ,* to intend; purpose, intent. This word and the next *(ḥšb)* are particularly prominent in Jeremiah. The noun is used with *lēb* to express the purpose or intent of the divine will (Jer 23:20; 30:24). The prophet as a member of the divine council has been made privy to the divine will for judgment (cf. its application to Babylon in Jer 51:11–12). The will of God is here circumstantial, directed to a specific historical moment; it cannot be generalized or considered atemporal. When the judgment has been executed, the will of God has been accomplished. It is also to be noted that these texts make a clear distinction between the divine (preliminary) decision and the execution thereof. The use of the verb in Jer 4:28 and Zech 8:14 with *niḥām,* repent, implies that it is possible to consider God's will not moving through to its execution; but not in this instance (cf. Lam 2:17). God's not repenting with respect to God's own will for judgment on this occasion becomes the basis for assuring the post-exilic community that God's will for good will stand (Zech 8:15). The use of the noun in Job 42:2 suggests that the will of God cannot (finally?) be thwarted, but it is pertinent only to God's purpose in Job's situation and cannot be generalized.

3. *ḥāšab; maḥăšābâ,* to plan; purpose. The noun is used with *lēb* in Ps 33:11 to contrast the eternality of God's purposes for good with the ephemeral purposes of the nations. God's (good) purposes are also contrasted with the (evil) purposes of Joseph's brothers in Gen 50:20. It is not that the good end for Joseph and his brothers was predetermined by God, only that God's will for life was at work in the situation and came to prevail (cf. Jer 6:19, where the evil purposes of the people bring a judgmental end).

God's devising of a plan against Israel is met with Israel's own plans and plots rather than repentance (Jer 18:11–12, 18). The shaping of the divine purpose toward judgment is intended as preliminary, as is God's intention in Jer 26:3 and 36:3. Israel's response will affect whether those plans move to execution or God repents. In Lam 2:8 God no longer restrained God's hand and let the plans for destruction go forward (cf. Mic 2:3). Jer 51:29 states that the divine purposes against Babylon will stand (cf. 50:45; 49:20; Mic 4:12). On the far side of the destruction of Jerusalem, God's absolute purposes for Israel come into view; they are for peace rather than judgment, to give them a "future and a hope" (Jer 29:11). Such purposes are praised along with God's wondrous deeds in Ps 40:6—Eng v 5 (cf. 92:6—Eng v 5).

Generally speaking, God's purposes are not those of human beings, indeed they are of a different order (Isa 55:8–9). It is not that God's purposes are beyond human understanding, indeed they have just been articulated in 55:6–7 and elsewhere in Second Isaiah. Nor is there complete discontinuity between divine and human purposes, only that human purposes could not have made the gracious move God here makes. God's will for Israel's salvation is a matter of the divine initiative and will come to pass for those who "return to the Lord."

These words are common in Wisdom Literature, with primary reference to human plans. Divine plans stand in some tension with those of human beings. The plans of the righteous are considered just (Prov 12:5) and those of the diligent lead to abundance (21:5) and can succeed *(qûm)* with counsel (15:22; cf. 20:18). Yet, Prov 19:21 suggests that while human plans may be many, the purpose (*ʿēṣâ,* cf. below) of God shall be established *(qûm).* It is not that human and divine plans are inevitably at cross-purposes; human plans (*not* divine plans) will be established *(kûn)* if they are committed to the Lord (16:3). Prov 16:9 suggests this relationship: human plans are of no little importance, but are dependent finally on God's work to bring them to completion *(kûn).* This suggests not only that God works in and through human beings in the establishment of the divine purpose in the world, but also that human involvement is real and effective to that end (cf. 16:1). God wills that this be so. Hence, wicked human plans are an abomination to the Lord (6:18). It makes a difference to God what the human plans are.

4. *yāʿaṣ; ʿēṣa,* to counsel; plan, purpose. These words sometimes appear in parallel constructions with *ḥāšab* (cf. Ps 33:10–11; Prov 19:21; Jer 49:20, 30; 50:45; Mic 4:12). They are especially common in the prophets' oracles against the nations. In the oracle against Tyre, Isaiah speaks of God's purpose in its judgment, "to defile the pride of all glory" (Isa 23:8–9). These words are piled up in the oracles against Assyria (Isa 14:24–27), where special attention is given to God's not reversing the decision for judgment. Against Egypt (Isa 19:1–17), the Lord will confound its plans (v 3) while fulfilling God's own (vv 12, 17), which cannot be discerned by Egyptian planners (v 11). Jeremiah speaks of comparable divine purposes against Babylon (50:45) and Edom (49:20), prompted not least by the "pride of your heart" (49:16) and the "proud defiance" of the Holy One of Israel (50:29). The same language is used for Nebuchadrezzar against Hazor (Jer 49:30), suggesting that he is the instrument for God's plans. Mic 4:12 speaks of God's plans for judgment against the nations in general; such a world-wide divine purpose is also voiced in the Psalms (33:10–11) and by Isaiah (14:26) and Jeremiah (50:46).

These passages demonstrate that the will of God has to do not simply with the people of Israel; it has a scope which is universal. God is at work among all peoples effecting God's purposes. God uses the nations as the instruments of the divine purpose, even though they may not know it (cf. Isa 10:7; 46:11). Whatever plans they may have, they are nothing compared to the purposes of God; the divine will endures while theirs will fail (Ps 33:10–11; cf. Prov 19:21).

Israel itself often neglected or spurned God's purpose, carrying out their own plans, thinking that they could be the beneficiaries of God's will regardless of their evil ways (Pss 106:13; 107:11; Isa 5:19; 29:15; 30:1). Because of this, God could purpose judgment (2 Chr 25:16). Even then, on the far side of judgment, God's will is to act on behalf of Israel's salvation, and this God will do through "the man of my purpose" (i.e., Cyrus; Isa 46:10–11; cf. 44:26). These long-standing purposes effected in wondrous deeds are faithful and sure, deserving of praise (Isa 25:1; 28:29) and confession (Jer 32:19).

The verb *dāmah (Pi^{c}el)* is used twice in this sense (Num 33:56; Isa 14:24).

5. *rāṣâh; rāṣôn,* to be pleased with, accept; favor, will. The noun may be as close a word as any to what is often called the will of God. In Ps 40:9—Eng v 8, the will of God in which the psalmist delights is in parallel with the torah of God; in Ps 103:21, doing the will of God is parallel to doing God's word. In Ps 143:10 the psalmist asks God: "Teach me to do thy will" (cf. the phrases "the way I should go" and "a level path" in the context). In Ezra 10:11, doing the will of God appears to be synonymous with obedience. The will of God is here understood as something more objective, available to the community of faith; it can be learned and indeed done, the doing of which is considered a delight and not a burden. While obedience to the law may be in view in some texts, the will of God is more broadly conceived than embodied in an external code.

The verb (and some uses of the noun) relates to the above in that God is pleased with that which is in accord with the divine will. Thus, God is (not) pleased with certain persons, occasions, or matters because they do (not) conform to the will of God. For example, God is pleased with the servant (Isa 42:1), with David (1 Chr 28:4), with those who trust God rather than other sources of power (Ps 147:10–11), with uprightness (1 Chr 29:17; Prov 11:20; 12:22), with justice (Prov 11:1), with a joyful life (Eccl 9:7), with the prayer of the upright (Prov 15:8), and with the rebuilding of the temple (Hag 1:8). God finds unacceptable those who do not worship well (Mal 1:10–13; cf. Lev 22:17–29) or who do, but ignore kindness and justice (Isa 58:5–6; Jer 14:10–12; Amos 5:22; Mic 6:7), contrition (Ps 51:18–19—Eng vv 16–17; Hos 8:13), or faithfulness in human relationships (Mal 2:13–14). It is apparent from such a list that God's will for Israel encompasses the full range of their daily lives, from specific matters to general behavior. The will of God thus often has a quite particular focus. There is a special concern for the practice of worship and its relationship to personal conduct.

To speak of God's taking pleasure is a striking anthropopathism. It makes clear that God is not conceived in unfeeling terms. God's good pleasure is the interior, dynamic side of the divine will. God's will and the world's response to it are a matter of deep, living concern. The will of God is thus not an external, objective matter of volition unrelated to more subjective dimensions of the divine life.

6. *ḥāpēṣ; ḥēpeṣ,* to be pleased with; delight. These words are sometimes used in parallel constructions to those just noted (cf. Pss 51:18–21—Eng vv 16–19; 147:10–11; cf. also *^{c}ēṣâ* in Isa 46:10).

The words play a central role in Second Isaiah. The absolute will of God is focused on the future salvation God has in store for Israel and the means by which that will is to be accomplished. God says regarding that future: "I will accomplish all my will" (Isa 46:10); Cyrus is the one chosen to "fulfill all my will" (44:28), specifically with respect to Babylon (48:14). The servant is also a means for the accomplishment of God's will for Israel. It was God's purpose to work through his suffering; in his hand the will of God would prosper (53:10; cf. 42:21). God's word regarding this future will not fail; "it shall [finally] accomplish that which I purpose" (55:11). Hence, God uses human beings, both within and without the community of faith, to carry out the divine will in the world. Moreover, that will is accomplished through means as disparate as victory over the forces of evil and individual suffering at the hands of those who oppose the purposes of God. Suffering as related to God's will is here understood in specifically vocational terms and cannot be utilized to speak of suffering in general.

To speak of the Lord delighting in someone is to speak of the will of God in relationship to that person (the verb often has the sense of "desire" or "wish" when human beings are the subject). Thus, to say, "If the Lord delights in us" (Num 14:8) is to say, in effect: if it is the will of God (or God's good pleasure) for us. For God to delight in the welfare of his servant (Ps 35:27) is to will his vindication. David was delivered and Solomon enthroned because God delighted in them, that is, it was God's good pleasure so to do (2 Sam 22:20; 1 Kgs 10:9). God acts favorably toward others when it is his good pleasure so to do, for example, David (2 Sam 15:25–26). On the other hand, God has no pleasure in the death of anyone, even the wicked (Ezek 18:23, 32; 33:11, where the oath formula is used); such is not the will of God. These passages would seem to stand in contradiction to 1 Sam 2:25 (cf. Judg 13:23), which states that it is God's will to slay the sons of Eli because of their wickedness. It may be suggested that the Samuel passage belongs with those which speak of God's purpose in judgment in specific circumstances, while Ezekiel articulates God's absolute will with respect to death.

God himself practices steadfast love, justice, and righteousness in the earth, and God's will in his own actions conform to the divine will for all (Jer 9:23–24; Mic 7:18; cf. Gen 18:25; Ps 5:5—Eng v 4; Eccl 5:4). God desires these qualities of life rather than sacrifice (Hos 6:6; Ps 51:8—Eng v 6; Isa 1:11; Ps 40:7—Eng v 6; cf. 51:18, 21—Eng vv 16, 19). It is this line of thought that may help explain those passages where it says that God does what pleases him (Pss 115:3; 135:6; cf. Prov 21:1; Jonah 1:14; Eccl 8:3, used of human kings). These texts may mean nothing more than whatever God does conforms to God's own will. However true that is, they likely claim more, namely, that God does whatever it pleases God to do.

Compared to idols, God does what God wills to do. The concern is with God's freedom of action. It goes beyond the text to suggest either that God chooses to do everything that gets done in the world or that God's will prevails over every resistance in everything that God undertakes.

God is (not) pleased with those who make certain choices in life (Isa 56:4; 65:12; 66:4; Pss 16:3; 37:23) because it does (not) accord with the divine will (though Mal 2:1 indicates that there were doubters of this in Israel). God is pleased with the newly redeemed Israel, so in accord with the divine will is this new bride (Isa 62:4). In this passage, *ḥāpēṣ* is parallel with *śûś* (62:5). The latter verb is used to speak of God's delight in doing good to Israel, multiplying and prospering them (Deut 29:63; 30:9; Jer 32:41, where *lēb* is used), but also bringing ruin upon them in judgment (Deut 29:63).

7. *yā'al (Hip'il)*, to be pleased. 1 Sam 12:22 is an especially pointed statement of the divine will: "The Lord will not cast away his people, for his great name's sake, because it has pleased the Lord to make you a people for himself." God puts the divine reputation behind this commitment. God's will is to have this people in relationship with himself forever. God will not cast them off. In the context of the divine promise to David (2 Sam 7:29), God's good pleasure on behalf of the Davidic dynasty is appealed to.

8. *yāṣar*, to frame, devise in the mind, purpose. This verb is used in parallel with both *ḥēpeṣ* and *'ēṣâ* in Isa 46:10–11, stressing that through Cyrus God will bring God's long-standing redemptive purpose for Israel to pass. God's will for Israel is sure and it will be fulfilled. The verb is also parallel with *ḥāšab* in Jer 18:11, indicating God's plan for judgment against an Israel following its own plans. The use of this verb for both salvation and judgment should be related to the distinction between the absolute and circumstantial will of God. The expression of God's will for judgment is conditional, is tied to very specific circumstances, and is in the service of God's will for salvation. God's will for the salvation of God's people has been declared from the beginning, is unconditional in character, and will prevail.

In Isa 37:21–29 Sennacherib is indicted for his prideful arrogance in presuming that his victories were entirely his own doing. He failed to recognize that he was an instrument in a long-standing divine plan to bring judgment (37:26) and hence would himself be the object of judgment. This divine plan, however, does not imply that the course of these events has been predetermined by God. The planning and bringing to pass are distinguished here as elsewhere (cf. above), so that the judgment remains conditional upon the nature of historical developments. The situation of Isa 22:11 is comparable, with Israel's trust in military means rather than God being the focus for the indictment.

The translation of Jer 33:2 is uncertain but may speak of the will of God to create the world. Ps 139:16 in the RSV, "the days that were formed for me," would appear to be pertinent to this issue, but NEB is the preferred translation.

9. *'āwāh, 'awwâ*, to desire; desire. This highly anthropopathic term expresses God's desire for Zion as the divine dwelling place (Ps 132:13–14). The depth of commitment in God's will for the divine presence in Zion is strongly indicated in its repetition. Job states that whatever God desires, that God does (23:13); come what may, God will complete what God has in store for Job. It is difficult to draw general theological conclusions from this passage, however, given the futility felt by Job in his struggle with God's seemingly oppressive presence.

10. *'ābāh*, to be willing. This verb is used to indicate God's unwillingness to destroy Israel in the wilderness (Deut 10:10; 23:5; Josh 24:10) and during the monarchy (2 Kgs 8:19; 13:23; 2 Chr 21:7), or to pardon stubbornly disloyal individuals (Deut 29:20) or Israel before the fall of Jerusalem (2 Kgs 24:4).

11. Two Aramaic words also speak of the will of God. The word *rĕ'û* occurs in a general way in Ezra 7:18. The word *ṣĕbā'*, in Dan 4:14, 22, 29—Eng vv 17, 25, 32 (cf. 5:21), refers to God as one who gives the kingdom to whomever he pleases. Nebuchadnezzar also refers to the will of God in his prayer (Dan 4:32—Eng v 35), that God "does according to his will" in heaven and on earth. This apocalyptic view appears to state that God's will is accomplished in the world come what may, and is perhaps best understood in terms of God's absolute will.

C. Experiencing the Will of God

God's work and God's word are expressions of God's will, and all God's creatures experience the effects of this divine will. God wills to be involved in all the world in creation and redemption.

1. Creation and Providence. Creation is not simply a thought or a deed, it is an act of will. The concrete word bringing the creation into being (Genesis 1) is the outward expression of the will of God. Creation thus is not accidental or arbitrary, it is a deliberately formed purpose of God. In its order and structure, the creation bodies forth the will of God. The language of divine command, *ṣāwāh (Pi'el)*, also has an important place in both creation (Isa 45:12; Pss 33:9; 148:5) and continuing creation (Isa 34:16; Ps 8:23; Job 37:12). All creation and its life is continually grounded in and permeated by the providential will of God; it remains within the scope of the ongoing divine will of blessing for the world. As such, the creative order witnesses to God's will for the world; it is a source of Israel's knowledge of that will. Moreover, because God does not confine God's willing activity to the people of Israel, God's will is experienced and known, at least in part, in places where God's name is not explicitly confessed.

2. Promise and Salvation. Promise is most closely associated with the divine will in the use of the verb, *šāba'*, swear (cf. its association with verbs of planning in Isa 14:24). This refers to a solemn divine oath; God in effect lays his own life on the line for the sake of the promise. God swears by himself that the will articulated in the promise is sure. God's oath to the ancestors is fulfilled in the covenant relationship, in the Exodus deliverance, and the establishing of Israel in their own land (Gen 22:16; Deut 4:31; 7:8; Josh 21:43; Ps 105:9; Jer 32:22; Ezek 16:8; Mic 7:20). God swears that the promise to David is God's sure will; God will not lie (Ps 89:4, 36, 50—Eng vv 3, 35, 49) or repent concerning this matter (110:4; cf. 2 Sam 7:21). God's will for David and God's will for presence among the people are combined in Ps 132:11–14. The

them of divine election *(bāḥar)* is also pertinent to the divine will in these contexts (cf. Pss 89:4—Eng v 3; 132:13; Deut 7:6). God swears concerning the certainty of that will for the salvation of Israel (Isa 62:8; cf. 54:9), indeed of all people (Isa 45:23; cf. 49:6). The universality of the divine will for salvation is also evident in other traditions (cf. Exod 9:16; 1 Kgs 8:43; Ps 67:3—Eng v 2; Isa 12:4–5). God also swears an oath with respect to matters of judgment (cf. Amos 4:2; Jer 22:5; 49:13).

D. Knowing the Will of God

God wills to be known. God's will is to reveal God's will (cf. Isa 65:1–2). The OT testifies that God has in fact made God's will known. While the word of God in theophany is the primary and most articulate way in which God discloses that will at the divine initiative, every divine act is disclosive of that will and hence a potential source of the knowledge of God. See THEOPHANY IN THE OT. The prophets are also understood to be participants in the divine council *(sôd)* in which they hear the divine will (cf. Jer 23:18, 22; Amos 3:7; cf. Job 15:8).

In addition, God has provided for means by which God's will can be sought *(dāraš)* by the community of faith. Various leaders are given specific responsibilities in this matter. Moses is one to whom the people come to inquire of God; he in turn conveys the will of God to them (Exod 18:15–20), or Eleazar the priest so functions for Joshua (Num 27:21), or the prophets for kings (e.g., 2 Kgs 3:11; Jer 21:1–2; cf. Hag 2:11–13), or David himself (1 Sam 23:2; 2 Sam 2:1; 5:19–25). Such a wide range of texts shows that the will of God was understood not to have been made known to Israel in all of its particulars; it needed to be sought out in ever new life situations, at which times it was thought to be available from God.

Generally, divination is condemned in Israel, though it is practiced at times and becomes the object of prophetic indictment (cf. Deut 18:10–14; Ezek 13:9, 23). In early Israel, however, some instruments are used to inquire of God: Urim and Thummim (lots), kept in the pocket of the Ephod, a liturgical vestment. However, no description or theological interpretation of the procedure is given (cf. 1 Sam 14:41–42; 23:9–12). At times a direct word of God is heard, which seems redundant (1 Sam 23:9–12; 30:7–8); at other times an answer is not forthcoming (1 Sam 14:37; 28:6).

It is uncertain whether Israel understood the casting of lots (a commonplace in the ancient world) in a deterministic sense, with God controlling the outcome. Prov 16:33 suggests this (but cf. above on *ḥašab* in Proverbs for another way of viewing related texts), as does 1 Sam 10:16–26 (though there are doubters, v 27). In many passages it seems to be more like the toss of a coin, a randomizing device for eliminating human will and bias that might obscure the divine will in the situation (cf. Lev 16:9; Num 33:54; Josh 18:6, 10; Judg 20:9; Neh 11:1; Ps 22:19—Eng v 18; cf. Prov 18:18). That such procedures were fair would be based on cumulative experience that no systematic biases took place (on early theories of probability, cf. Rabinovitch 1973). It is a way in which God could work in and through a situation of neutrality, without the contrariness so common to the human will. In other words, genuine randomness or chance for the sake of fairness was the will of God in the situation, which would in turn provide greater opportunity for God to be at work according to God's own will. Eccl 9:11, "time and chance happen to them all" (on chance see 1 Sam 6:9; cf. Ruth 2:3; 1 Sam 20:26; 2 Sam 1:6), testifies to a neutral natural order. The lots were an expression of that neutrality and fairness which is characteristic of random phenomena, such as the weather (see Matt 5:45), in and through which God could work.

E. Doing the Will of God

The people of God are called upon to obey the will of God and to be the agents of God's will in the world. In some traditions this is referred to as God's way *(derek; ʾōraḥ;* cf. the parallels with *rāṣôn* in Ps 143:8–10 and *ḥāšab* in Isa 55:8–9). God's people are to "walk in all his ways" (cf. Deut 10:12; Josh 22:5) and are taught that way (Gen 18:19; Exod 33:13; Pss 5:9—Eng v 8; 25:4, 9–10; 27:11; 86:11; Isa 2:3; cf. Pss 18:31—Eng v 30; 44:19—Eng v 18; Jer 5:4–5). Even non-Israelites are called upon to be such divine instruments (cf. Cyrus), though they may not realize the source of their calling.

The law for Israel is grounded in a relationship to a personal and gracious will. God's will as expressed in the law is not arbitrary, unrelated to worldly reality. It is always intersecting with life as it is. It moves with the times, taking human experience and insight into account, while remaining constant in its objective: the best interests of people. The law, therefore, is not considered right simply because it embodies God's will. It is right because it can be seen to serve life and well-being. It is right because it contributes to wisdom and understanding and can be recognized as such by those who are not a part of the community of faith (cf. Deut 4:6).

In the law God's will for people's lives is both personalized and particularized. It is personalized by the way in which it is conveyed to Israel within the context of an already established personal relationship. Hence, Israel is to understand the law in comparably personal terms. It is particularized because God's will for human life does not remain at the level of general principle. Because God has Israel's best interests at heart, God has a will for the ordering of life in its particulars, while recognizing that they may change because of the historical character of human life. Israel's obedience to that will does not come from the pressure of the law but in the knowledge that that will is instruction for life in all of its fullness, that it is motivated by love, and that in having experienced salvation in the Exodus event Israel has already experienced firsthand the divine will for them. The divine will in the law thus has a gracious objective: it is for the purpose of extending into all aspects of one's own life, and the lives of others, the already experienced salvific intention of that will: life and well-being (cf. Deut 4:40).

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WILLOW. See FLORA.

WILLOWS, BROOK OF THE (PLACE) [Heb *naḥal hāʿărābîm*]. A stream mentioned in an oracle against Moab (Isa 15:7). Though the precise location of this watercourse remains uncertain the flight pattern in the oracle of the fugitives who cross the brook appears to be in a S direction. A S location would argue against identifications of this watercourse with the *Wâdī Gharbeh,* the southernmost tributary of the Jordan (e.g., Odelain and Séguineau 1981: 383) or with one of the tributaries of the river Arnon (van Zyl 1960: 56). The predominant view is that the Brook of the Willows [or "of the Arabim" or "of the Poplars"] should be identified with the *Wâdī el-Ḥesā* (see ZERED, BROOK OF) which flows from the SE into the S end of the Dead Sea and formed the ancient boundary between Moab and Edom (Kaiser *Isaiah 13–39* OTL, 69; Wildberger *Jesaja* BKAT, 616).

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WIND. See PALESTINE, CLIMATE OF.

WINNOWING. See AGRICULTURE.

WISDOM IN THE OT [Heb *ḥokma;* Gk *sophia*]. "Wisdom" is a term that can be used to indicate certain books which deal particularly with (biblical) wisdom, or it can refer to a movement in the ancient world associated with "teachers" or sages, and it can also suggest a particular understanding of reality which presents some contrasts with other biblical books.

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1. Terminology
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A. Introduction

1. Terminology. The Hebrew term for wisdom *(ḥkm)* occurs in one form or another 318 times in the OT, and over half of these (183) are found in Proverbs, Job, and Ecclesiastes (*TWAT* 2: 558). Hence these three books, along with Sirach and the Wisdom of Solomon (in these two apocryphal books forms of *sophos/sophia* occur over 100 times), have come to represent Israel's "Wisdom Literature."

In itself the root has a fairly wide range of meaning (*TDNT* 7: 476–92). "Wise men" are associated with the diviners and magicians of Egypt (Gen 41:8; Exod 7:11), and in the book of Daniel with the interpretation of dreams (Dan 2:27). The basic meaning of "skill, ability" appears in the designation of Bezalel and the workers on the desert sanctuary as "wise" (Exod 36:2, 8). The term is applied artisan skills such as metalwork (1 Chr 22:15–16) and carpentry and weaving (Exod 35:35). More often wisdom is used in the sense of cleverness or cunning. The actions of even the smallest animals betray their "wisdom" in surviving (Prov 30:24–28). Cunning can be employed wickedly, as by the "very wise" Jonadab (2 Sam 13:3), or benevolently as in the case of the wise woman of Tekoa (2 Sam 14:2).

The "wisdom" or skill of sailors (Ps 107:27) is matched by the "steering" (*taḥbulôt,* Prov 1:5) which the wise are able to provide for the voyage through life. The goal of their teaching is to enable one to cope with life, and to impose a kind of order on the myriad experiences which surround a person. The wise know when to speak and when to be silent (esp. the latter; cf. Prov 17:27–28). This orientation to proper action is fundamental, for wisdom is practical, not theoretical. Even when the sage describes some aspect of reality as "the way it is," the purpose remains practical. The commands and the prohibitions make this explicit, and even most of the sayings are filled with value judgments that urge a given course of action. Truthfulness, fidelity, kindness, honesty, control of the appetites—these are staple topics in the instructions in Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus. There is in fact a striking parallelism between *ḥkm* and *ṣdq* ("righteous") in both works.

Further understanding of wisdom can be supplemented by the broad semantic range of terms associated with *ḥkm: byn* (understand), *yʿṣ* (advise), *ykḥ* (reprove), etc., as well as by the opposites, *ʾwyl* (fool), *ksyl* (fool), etc. (Scott 1971: 121–122; Whybray 1974: 121–150).

2. Date and Setting. Solomonic authorship is explicitly claimed for three wisdom books: Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Wisdom of Solomon. This "authorship" might be better understood as patronage, as in the case of Davidic "authorship" of Psalms. Solomon came down in the tradition as the wise man par excellence, and that is the reason for the attribution of these later works to him. The passage in 1 Kgs 5:9–14 (—Eng 4:29–34) ascribes to Solomon a wisdom that surpassed the wisdom of all the people of the East and all the wisdom of Egypt. The fact of the matter is

that only portions of Proverbs (especially in chaps. 10–31) can be considered as coming from the preexilic period, and it is not possible to date these, although Prov 25:1 mentions the "men of (King) Hezekiah," as being engaged in some kind of scribal activity. Ecclesiastes was certainly written in the postexilic period, probably in the 3d century. Ben Sira can be securely dated to the first part of the 2d century, probably 200–180. Although a majority opinion considers Job as postexilic in date, a preexilic origin cannot be excluded (Pope *Job* AB, xxxii–xl). The Wisdom of Solomon is generally assigned to the last half of the 1st century B.C. (Larcher 1983–85: 141–161). Thus, the Wisdom Literature, as literature, is largely a postexilic phenomenon, even if its origins are in the preexilic period.

Its origins are not easy to determine (Murphy 1981a: 26). At one time Israelite wisdom was widely considered to be the work of the court school in Jerusalem, because of the similarities that it presented with Egyptian wisdom, which was the work of a royal or scribal class. But origins in family and tribal wisdom must also be considered (Gerstenberger 1965). Probably both school and tribe contributed to the wisdom movement. The existence of the institution of a "school" in Israel remains only a reasonable inference (Hermisson 1968: 113–136; Golka 1983: 257–270; Lemaire 1981; 1984; Crenshaw 1985b). The precise setting *(Sitz im Leben)* of the Israelite sages cannot be determined. Qoheleth is described as a "wise man" who taught the people knowledge (Eccl 12:9), but we know nothing of his situation. Ben Sira refers to his "school" (Sir 51:23), but concrete details are lacking. Because it is difficult to get a clear picture of the "wise men" in Israel, Whybray (1974: 54, 69) has denied that a class of sages existed, and has tried to explain the movement as the product of "the activity of men of superior intelligence." However, such texts as Isa 29:14, Jer 8:8, and the activity of the *yôʿēṣ*, or counsellor (de Boer 1955: 42–81), would suggest that they constituted a recognizable group. Further research on the various roles of sages in Israel and the ANE will sharpen their sociological profile (Gammie and Perdue 1990).

3. Wisdom Genres. The definition of "proverb" is notoriously difficult. The Hebrew term *māšāl,* commonly translated as "proverb," has a wide range of meanings (indicating even the taunt song in Isa 14:4ff.). Etymologically it seems to be connected with comparison and with rule or power. Another term for the sayings in the Wisdom Literature is "aphorism." J. Williams (1980: 38–40) enumerates several features of aphoristic speech exhibited by the biblical proverbs: the speech is assertive, apparently self-explanatory, and says something as though it is *a priori;* it is frequently paradoxical; it is brief and concise; there are frequent plays on words; the comparison is a basic feature. It appears that the word "proverb" should be used for sayings that have come into popular *use,* whatever their origins (Hermission 1968: 33; J. Williams 1981: 78–80).

The basic wisdom saying is usually composed of two lines in parallelism, a common feature of Proverbs 10–31. Very often there is simply a juxtaposition, without a verb, as the following illustrates: "A gatherer in summer—a wise son; a sleeper during harvest—a disgraceful son" (Prov 10:5). The juxtapositional style, which is not evident in the usual translations, enables the author to put things together (synonymous parallelism), and also to contrast them (antithetic parallelism). But even the "identity" of two subjects is more or less an implicit comparison. Sometimes the comparison is made explicit: "Like a bird straying from its nest—a man straying from his home" (Prov 27:8). The style of the sayings varies considerably. One can have "not good" sayings (Prov 19:2), or "abomination" sayings (Prov 11:1), or "better" sayings (Prov 22:1), or "numerical" sayings (x-number, plus 1; cf. Prov 30:18–19), or "impossible questions" (Job 8:11; Crenshaw 1979). In English, or in any other vernacular translation, it is practically impossible to convey the striking alliterations, assonance, and wordplay which generally characterize the collections of Hebrew proverbs (McCreesh 1982). Two examples must suffice: *bāʾ zādôn wayyābōʾ qālôn* (Prov 11:2a, "comes pride, then comes disgrace"); *ṭôb šēm miššemen ṭôb* (Eccl 7:1a, "a good name is better than good ointment"). Such sayings deal with a vast array of topics. Sometimes they register a paradox (Prov 20:17), or convey an observation: "a rich man's wealth—his strong city; destruction of poor—their poverty" (Prov 10:15). The latter saying merely registers a fact: money makes a difference. It does not of itself draw a moral (contrast 15:16). However, most proverbs are value-laden and hence explicitly didactic, attempting to influence action.

An admonition is clearly such an attempt, and it can be expressed positively (16:3; contrast 16:20), or negatively. Negative admonitions are common in Proverbs 1–9 and 22–24, and throughout Sirach. Very often a motive clause is appended in order to persuade the audience: "Injure not the poor . . . For the Lord will defend their cause" (Prov 22:22–23).

The obvious contrast between the disparate sayings in Proverbs 10ff., and the consecutive poetry in Proverbs 1–9 and in Job and in many parts of Sirach suggests that one may speak of "wisdom poems." These may be structured along alphabetic lines, such as the 22 lines in Proverbs 2, with its *alep* and *lamed* stanzas (Murphy 1981b: 52), or as the deliberate acrostic in Psalm 34 (Ceresko 1985), or the acrostic poem on the valorous woman in Prov 31:10–31. P. Skehan detected several alphabetic factors entering into the speeches of Job (1971: 96–123). Although the speeches in Job have been called "disputation speech" (Crenshaw 1974: 253–255), it must be admitted that they have also incorporated other genres from law and wisdom.

As the structure of Ecclesiastes is highly disputed (Wright 1968; 1980), so also the literary forms are difficult to capture. The several sayings in the book (e.g., chaps. 7, 10) are obvious. For the rest, the author seems to utilize reflections on various turns in life (Ellermeier 1967: 66–79; Braun 1973: 155–158). Ben Sira ranges over the whole gamut of literary genres including hymns and prayers in his 51 chapters (Baumgartner 1914). Various genres have been suggested for parts of the Wisdom of Solomon: apocalyptic, the Hellenistic syncrisis, midrash, epideictic, and encomium (Larcher 1983–85: 109–114; Bizzeti 1984). At least the structure seems to have been adequately established by the recognition of inclusions (Wright 1967a).

4. The Thought World of Wisdom. Gerhard von Rad (1972: 6) was the first to raise the question of the "understanding of reality" reflected in Israelite wisdom. The

answer depends partly upon the understanding of straightforward wisdom doctrine, and partly upon inferences and reconstruction of the world of thought in which the sages moved. Several of these deserve explicit treatment.

The most striking characteristic is the absence of elements generally considered to be typically Israelite: the promises to the patriarchs, the Exodus experience, the Sinai covenant, etc. It is true that Sirach identifies wisdom with Torah (Sirach 24) and provides a catalogue of Israel's heroes (Sirach 44–50), and Wisdom of Solomon presents a midrashic consideration of the plagues (chaps. 11–19). But these exceptions prove the rule: salvation history is absent from the realm of wisdom. Another way of putting this is to say that wisdom is an international heritage in which Israel had a share (see the treatment of extra-biblical Wisdom Literature below).

One result of this characteristic has been a tendency to push wisdom to the perimeter of OT theology, or even to exclude it as a legitimate topic for biblical theology (Preuss 1974; 1987). Hence there has been much discussion of "Yahwism" as opposed to "Wisdom" (Murphy 1975; Collins 1980). But the opposition between these two entities is more conceptual than real. One can indeed distinguish between saving history (Exodus, covenant, etc.) and an experiential attitude toward life's daily events. But this distinction existed in the one Israelite individual who worshipped *yhwh* and denominated *yhwh* as God. Those same Israelites ultimately canonized the Wisdom Literature as a genuine expression of their traditions. There was no conflict for them. Even when Sirach eventually identifies wisdom with Torah (Sir 24:23), this is achieved not with a sigh of relief, or as if by some sleight of hand a major division in Israelite religion had been healed. The fact of the matter is that there is no incompatibility between the saving God of history and the God of human experience. The Psalms show this perhaps most clearly. The psalmists usually ask for salvation in the concrete order of things, not for an intervention in national history. They seek *šālôm* from the hostile agents they recognized in daily life. It is this same *šālôm* which the sages held out to their readers: the good life. Indifference to Israel's historical experience does not indicate that wisdom is any the less "Israelite" or "religious."

One of the distinctions made by von Rad has contributed to the unnecessary dichotomy between Yahwism and wisdom. Using the terminology of Martin Buber, he distinguished between the "pan-sacral faith" implicit in the early narratives about divine intervention into human affairs (from patriarchs to Philistines), and a "worldly sphere" in which humans have a more independent role, as the so-called Succession Narrative (2 Samuel 6–1 Kings 2) illustrates. But one must be fair to von Rad. He is not talking about faith and the lack of it. He is reconstructing "an understanding of reality, a conception of the environment, which has fundamentally altered *vis-à-vis* that of 'pan-sacralism' " (von Rad 1972: 59). It is true that the mentality behind the Samuel narrative recognizes the distinctiveness and independence of human motivation and action. Such a recognition is blurred in other narratives (the stories of Joshua or Gideon, for instance), where divine intervention is highlighted. Perhaps the transition from one mentality to the other is not the way to put the question. The issue is the relationship between divine intervention and human independence. These two factors are *always* operative in the biblical story. Sometimes one, sometimes the other, is emphasized; but both are at work. Moreover, there is no discernible point in time where Israel passed from one mentality to the other. Neither denies the other; they complement each other. We shall see a similar balance in the consideration of the problem of retribution (divine intervention *vis-à-vis* "destiny-producing" deed).

Biblical wisdom is basically religious, not secular. The fateful distinction between religious and secular, sacred and profane, so widely accepted in modern culture, has been applied in much too wholesale a fashion to the Bible. In particular, the classification of the sayings according to the absence or presence of "God-language" (McKane *Proverbs* OTL, 451) or by the appearance of the sacred name *yhwh* (Whybray 1979) is too facile. The categories of religious and secular are not to be defined merely by content. It is only too easy to contrast the advice about table manners (Prov 23:1–3; Sir 31:12–31) with statements about fear of the Lord (Prov 1:7; Sir 1:11–30). This differentiation does not get to the heart of the matter. The rules of wisdom cover all areas of life from a perspective that is ultimately religious; the fear of the Lord is the *beginning* of wisdom (Prov 9:10). For some scholars the basic goal of wisdom is to live by the order of the world posited and guaranteed by the Lord, and in the circumstances of everyday life (Skladny 1962: 93). Even if one demurs at the notion of "order," there can be no denial that the wisdom perspective is governed by an understanding of creation and activity as reflected in Israel's tradition. Here attitude tells us more than content. G. von Rad has expressed this aspect very well: "Thus here, in proverbial wisdom, there is faith in the stability of the elementary relationships between man and man, faith in the similarity of men and of their reactions, faith in the reliability of the orders which support human life and thus, implicitly or explicitly, faith in God who put these orders into operation" (von Rad 1972: 62–63).

There seems to be a general consensus that biblical wisdom connotes a search for "order" (Murphy 1978: 35–36; Gese 1958: 198–199). That is to say, the sages held that there was a fundamental order in the world, discernible by experience, and the teachings were designed to bring about conformity with this order that had been determined by God. No one would deny that his is a modern reconstruction of Israelite mentality. Nor can one deny that the ancient recognized a certain order in creation. This understanding is reflected in such passages as Amos 6:12 ("does one plow the sea with oxen") or Jer 31:35. There is an order to natural events, and to the day by day activities of human beings. But does "search for (objective) order" adequately describe the wisdom enterprise? At most the sages perhaps impose an order on experience; they present conclusions drawn from observation. Despite the dogmatic form of their statements they were also aware of mystery and uncertainty (see below on the limitations of wisdom).

The emphasis on "order" in scholarly research is at least partially due to the existence of such a view among the Egyptians (the concept of *maʾat* discussed below). Although

Egyptian influence upon Israelite Wisdom Literature is undeniable, more caution should be exercised in reconstructing the mentality of each people.

In this connection the famous study of Koch (1955) is to be noted. On the basis of several biblical passages (Prov 26:27–28 can provide an example) he reconstructed a specific mentality behind biblical reward/punishment. For him there is no retribution or intervention by God; rather, deed and result are mechanically related. An evil deed produces an evil result; a good deed produces a good result. Hence Koch speaks of a "destiny-producing" deed; the Lord does not intervene. In Koch's metaphor, God is a kind of "mid-wife" watching over events and their results, good and bad. This is the nature of the "retribution" that God has established. Again, we are faced with an inherent "order" of things. In fact, some scholars (Gese 1958: 45) have argued that the books of Job and Qohelet demonstrate that the influence of Yahwism broke through this ANE idea of the fate-producing action. That seems to be too easy a victory for Yahwism. Instead, one should recognize that the OT sources present retribution from two points of view: *both* divine intervention and destiny-producing action. There is no evidence that one view is earlier than the other or, for that matter, more religious than the other. Certainly a cardinal affirmation in the Bible is the primary activity of the Lord in all that happens.

The doctrine of the sages, especially as expressed in Proverbs and in the speeches of Job's three friends, easily give the impression of a rigid dogmatism. This is misleading. The sages believed in their teachings, and like all teachers expressed themselves in such ways as to gain adherents. Exaggeration is one mode of convincing students. When one turns to the books of Job and Ecclesiastes, there is no escape from the hard questions that are put to the reigning wisdom orthodoxy. But even here one has to acknowledge that these hard questions arise from within the wisdom movement. If it is undergoing a crisis, at the same time it remains true to its aims. A fair understanding of the traditional doctrines of the sages has to be achieved for a correct assessment of the development that takes place.

C. Fontaine (1982: 54) quotes the saying of a modern paroemiologist that "the proverb in a collection is dead." Any attentive reader of OT wisdom soon realizes the cost of the mental struggle to revivify the sayings as they appear in collections. Modern literary studies insist on illuminating the "proverb performance" (Fontaine 1982: 57–63), an attempt to capture the context of the saying and the interaction which accompanies it. This is very difficult to do for proverbs that have been transmitted in collections. N. Lohfink (1980: 50–51) has thrown new light upon Eccl 7:1ff. by his attempt to establish a dialectic between traditional wisdom and Qohelet. If 7:1a is a traditional praise of good reputation, then 7:1b–4 cuts in to say that one cannot lay claim to it before death. Here is interaction within sayings that have in the past been merely viewed as collections of disparate proverbs. For the most part, however, the biblical proverbs do not manifest such a dialectic. The juxtaposition of "answer not a fool according to his folly" with "answer a fool . . ." (Prov 26:4–5) is a striking reminder that the sayings are more subtle than they appear to be at first sight. Even the seemingly most banal proverbs have a certain evocative power if they are approached perceptively.

In view of the imposing array of confident sayings in the collections, from Proverbs down to Sirach, one may ask if the sages were aware of their own limitations. Many sayings reveal such an awareness (von Rad 1972: 97–110). Perhaps the most telling is Prov 21:30, "There is no wisdom, no understanding, no counsel, against the Lord." This radical statement points to the mystery over which the sages had no control: the activity of God. All their careful thoughts about success and the good life deserved to be expressed, but there were certain "limit situations" which they recognized. They recognized the importance of advice and planning for any venture, especially for war (20:18), but no matter the number of horses, "victory belongs to the Lord" (21:31). The realm of experience to which the sages constantly resorted, also indicated to them that certainty was not always to be had.

> One may make plans in the heart
> but what the tongue utters is from the Lord.
> All the ways of a person may be pure in his own eyes,
> but it is the Lord who proves the spirit.
> In his mind one plans a course,
> but the Lord directs the steps (Prov 16:1–2, 9).

The sages allowed a large margin of error because they had experienced mystery as well as certainty.

The most striking expression of this awareness comes in sayings which even warn about the possession of wisdom. Because wisdom can blind a person to reality:

> You see a person wise in his own eyes?
> There is more hope for a fool than for him (Prov 26:12).
> Be not wise in your own eyes,
> fear the Lord and turn away from evil (Prov 3:5).

In the same direction is the admonition of Jeremiah against glorying in one's wisdom (Jer 9:23–24). So great were the possibilities of self-deception, that even the possession of wisdom turns out to be tenuous.

It can be said that the Israelite sages expressed the mystery of God and life even more effectively than the rest of the biblical writers. Zophar (Job 11:7–8) reads a lesson to Job (however insensitively and ultimately unjustifiably):

> Can you penetrate the designs of God?
> Dare you vie with the perfection of the Almighty?
> It is higher than the heavens; what can you do?
> It is deeper than the nether world; what can you know?

And despite the bombastic introduction to his speech, Elihu (Job 36:22–26) is also aware of the limit situation:

> Behold, God is sublime in his power.
> What teacher is there like him? . . .
> Lo, God is great beyond our knowledge;
> the number of his years is past searching out.

Israel experienced the mystery of God more radically in the area of wisdom than in the traditions of its own history!

B. Wisdom and OT Theology

"The integration of wisdom into Old Testament Theology is an unsolved task that remains for the future" (Reventlow 1982: 201). One might reply to this statement by asking if this is more of a problem for OT theology than for wisdom. Wisdom presents a theology of its own kind, although with certain resonances in the rest of biblical theology. The statement of Reventlow points up the difficulty which current scholarship is having with the notion of biblical theology itself. It would appear that a conceptual unity has not yet been achieved for biblical theology. The recent discussion on the center or *Mitte* of OT theology has yielded no clear result (Hasel 1972: 49–63; Reventlow 1982: 138–147), and to say that God is the center is to return to square one. There are in fact several theologies within the OT, and there seems to be no line of thought that can bind them together into a neat package (Murphy 1984: 65–71).

1. Wisdom and Creation. The situation is best illustrated by showing the problem that the standard OT theology has had with the notion of creation. G. von Rad entitled this the "Theological Problem of the Old Testament Doctrine of Creation" (*PHOE,* 131–143), and he underlined the opposition between the doctrines of election/redemption and creation. A literary analysis of texts dealing with creation supposedly shows that they are not central to Israelite faith as this is expressed, for example, in Deut 26:1–11. They are absent from most of the prophets (the creation doxologies in Amos 4:13; 5:8–9; 10:5–6 are "theological accretions, arising from the reflections of a later writer" [*PHOE,* 135]). There are many powerful passages concerning the Lord's victory over chaos in Deutero-Isaiah (e.g., 44:24–28; 51:9–10), but here creation is clearly subordinate to the redemption which the prophet is proclaiming to the exiles: "Your husband is your Creator . . . your Redeemer is the Holy One of Israel" (54:5). Psalms 8, 19, 54, 104, in which creation is treated rather independently, are considered to be secondary and derivative, dependent upon outside influence, especially Egyptian. Even the Priestly portrayal of creation (Genesis 1) is interpreted as motivated by the theology of salvation history. In short, "the doctrine of creation was never able to attain to independent existence in its own right" (*PHOE,* 142).

The approach of C. Westermann (1978: 58–117) is similar but different. In his view, the first article of the Apostles Creed which affirms a belief in God the Creator is not genuinely biblical. Westermann thinks that faith must allow for alternatives, to believe or not to believe, and Israel supposedly had no other alternative to the fact of creation. Hence there can be no conflict between a scientific explanation of creation and biblical faith. As with von Rad, Israel's fundamental experience focuses on God as savior. This is then expanded to include creation and other areas of life. Creation is seen as fitting into God's *blessing* upon all the divine handiwork. Blessing is the continuous, unobtrusive, working of God which is different from the once-for-all saving actions. Westermann's view of creation dictates his understanding of wisdom: "The theological position of *wisdom* is thus to be determined from the perspective of creation and primeval history" (1978: 100). The blessing of humanity in Gen 1:28 is correlated with wisdom: "When Adam and Eve are commanded during creation to cultivate and maintain the garden, wisdom as a coming to terms with life is implied in this commission" (1978: 99).

W. Zimmerli (1963) had already anticipated the thought of Westermann. He approached it from a slightly different point of view: how does wisdom fit into OT theology? His solution was also found in Gen 1:28. The command to be fruitful and have dominion is the divine authorization for the wisdom enterprise of going out to master the world. Thus the position of wisdom within the OT is again justified from the point of view of a text in the Torah, as though wisdom cannot speak for itself. It is in this essay that Zimmerli also stated that wisdom theology is creation theology. That conclusion is something all can and do agree with. Wisdom does work within this sphere, rather than in the area of the covenant tradition.

The studies of von Rad, Westermann, and Zimmerli show that wisdom and creation are mirror images of each other (Murphy 1985). Where creation doctrine is not valued in and for itself, there also wisdom is treated as marginal. The way out of the impasse demands a broader view which holds salvation and wisdom together. Such a view can be illustrated in the psalter. The cult is not a frequent topic in the Wisdom Literature, but neither is it foreign (Perdue 1977). The prayers of the psalter (laments of the individual, especially) are highly focused on the present life, the experience of the individual. The hymns rehearse the events of salvation history, but quite frequently also the creative activity of the Lord. No conflict exists between these themes in the psalms. Psalm 93 moves easily from creation (v 1ff.) to the divine decrees and temple (v 5). So also Psalm 95. In Psalm 96 the movement is from the Lord's salvation to an invitation to nature to rejoice in his work. In the laments and thanksgiving psalms the Israelite prays for *life:* to be delivered from Sheol (the state of non-being or death which is the prime metaphor for the distress afflicting the psalmist). Here appears the personal experience, the existential struggle, which is characteristic of wisdom. The same Lord who saved the people is now invoked to deliver the psalmist.

Thus it is the experience of Israel that suggests the inadequacy of the theological conclusions based on literary analysis on the style of von Rad. Inferences from literary texts relative to the centrality of wisdom/creation remain highly subjective. The God of immediate experience, i.e., the wisdom experience, is the creator who is also the *gôʾēl* or redeemer of Israel. He is the "personal god" of patriarchal religion. Theologians have come to understand the "god of the fathers," who is continuous with *yhwh* (*CMHE,* 3–75). There is a reflection of this in the book of Job. He and three friends are all identified as non-Israelites, although they argue from the point of view of Israelite wisdom. Moreover, there is a certain air of the patriarchal period about their life-style as well as their religion. Job does not appeal to the God of Sinai, *yhwh,* but to "El Shaddai," although the framework (chaps. 1–2, 42) of the book provides a yahwistic context. The flavor of the patriarchal religion, the "god of the fathers," is seen in his

frequent recourse to God, over and beyond his words to the friends: "I will say to God: Do not put me in the wrong! Let me know why you oppose me. Is it a pleasure for you to oppress, to spurn the work of your hands, and smile on the plan of the wicked. . . . Your hands have formed me and fashioned me; will you then turn and destroy me? Oh, remember that you fashioned me from clay! Will you then bring me down to dust again?" (Job 10:2–9). Janzen (1985: 5–14) has shown how Job's relationship to God is "covenantal."

2. The Wisdom Experience. One cannot describe the biblical Wisdom Literature without trying to understand the experience that lies behind it. The sayings, or the "wisdom teaching," are the encoding of a lived experience, and only facets of this encounter with reality can be captured in words. It is the encounter which generated the insights into the world and human beings. As Aristotle (*Metaphysics,* I.ii.19) remarked about philosophy, wisdom also can be rooted in wonder. The sage called attention to the mysterious wonder of sexual attraction by comparing it to "ways" like the "way" of an eagle in the air (Prov 30:18–20). God and king can be compared: the glory of God in what he conceals, the glory of the king in what he understands (Prov 25:2). On the other hand, wisdom goes with smallness, as in the case of the ants who store up their food in the summer (Prov 30:24) and whose "ways" are a model for wisdom (Prov 6:5). Job can taunt his friends to learn lessons from beasts and from the birds of the air (Job 12:7). Qoheleth can compare even a little folly to the fly that spoils the perfumer's ointment (Eccl 9:18). This openness to nature, and to the experiences involved with human beings as well, is characterized by the insistence upon "hearing" (Prov 1:8, 33; 4:10; 12:15, etc.). In 1 Kgs 3:9 Solomon asks for a "listening heart" so that he might govern his people. The ideal of listening had already been underlined by Egyptian sages. Ptahhotep even speaks of the "master-hearer" in the epilogue to his work (*AEL* 1: 73–76). In contrast is the fool who fails to listen, who is not docile: "The way of the fool seems right in his own eyes, but he who listens to advice is wise" (Prov 12:15).

The experience is guided by the extraordinary claim that fear of God/Lord is indispensable:

> The fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge;
> wisdom and instruction fools despise (Prov 1:7).
> The beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord,
> and knowledge of the Holy One is understanding
> (Prov 9:10).

"Fear of God" is not lacking in the literature of the ANE (Barré 1981); reverence before the numinous is practically a given in the ancient world. But in Israel it describes the basic orientation toward wisdom, "in a nutshell the whole Israelite theory of knowledge" (von Rad 1972: 67). The issue here is not the presence or the frequency of the notion; "fear of God/Lord" is common in the Bible and indeed it has acquired various nuances (Becker 1965). But it is a key concept for wisdom (Murphy 1987: 451–56). Only in this fundamental attitude is progress in wisdom possible. It is glossed with "discipline" (*mûsār,* Prov 15:33), which is itself a "path to life" (Prov 10:17). The concept is briefly mentioned in Job (avoidance of evil, 1:1; 28:28; cf. Prov 3:7), but it is central to the book of Ecclesiasticus (Haspecker 1967). It is also important in Ecclesiastes, but without the soft and consoling aspect that Ben Sira gives it. Qoheleth uses the verbal form, not the nominal. Human beings are to "fear" God because of the inscrutable and mysterious divine ways (Eccl 3:14; 5:6).

The doctrine of "fear of God/Lord" indicates that the wisdom experience has an unmistakable religious quality which G. von Rad (1972: 62) expressed thus: "Israel knew nothing of the aporia which we read into these proverbs. It was perhaps her greatness that she did not keep faith and knowledge apart. The experiences of the world were for her always divine experiences as well, and the experiences of God were for her experiences of the world." In effect, the wisdom experience provides a model for living; the literature prescribes the way one should live. The wisdom experience is found in the "mysticism of everyday things" (K. Rahner), where the Israelite found God (not without also bewailing the divine absence). To know God, in the Wisdom Literature, is to be in, and to do, the truth. This is as much a faith experience as any of the cultic acts in the Jerusalem temple.

3. Wisdom and Moral Action. Akin to the wisdom experience is the "way" which wisdom urges the Israelite to walk in. The most common word is *derek* (about 75 times in Proverbs), but it is often interchangeable with *ʾōraḥ,* as in the phrase, "way of life" (Prov 2:19; 5:6; 6:23; 15:24). This is the way that leads to, or secures, life in the full sense, prosperity and a relationship to the Lord. The way itself is the conduct which incarnates the teachings of the sage: honesty, diligence (Prov 10:4; 26:14), self-control (14:17; 15:1), a sense of responsibility (10:26; 27:23–27), etc. While there is often a certain overlap with the Decalogue (e.g., the frequent warnings against adultery), most of the sayings deal with the grey area of forming character and integrity of action. The approach of wisdom to morality is much broader than that of the Decalogue in that it aims at character formation. It is also deeper in terms of the motivation it supplies. Whereas the Decalogue simply invoked divine authority (thou shalt not!), the sages develop specific motivations, and anticipate temptations. Thus the famous description of seduction in Proverbs 7 is a strong motivation. It aims to anticipate a stressful situation, and to strengthen resolve. If one may designate the codes in the OT as "law," the wisdom rules are better described as "catechesis," or moral formation. It seems likely that both the wisdom lessons and the legal commands ultimately go back to a family or tribal setting, before "law" separated from wisdom counsels (Audet 1960; Couturier 1980).

The sages use specific motivations, often those of enlightened self-interest, to achieve their end. Here the charge of eudaemonism or pragmatism has been made: moral action is determined by what is good for the individual person. This charge has been softened somewhat by the claim that the purpose of wisdom teaching is to bring the individual into harmony with the underlying "order" established by the Lord. In a similar way, the Egyptian understanding of action in accordance with *maʾat,* has been defended against pragmatism (Frankfort 1961: 62–72). However, it is difficult to escape the appearance of self-interest. Indeed all human action is prompted by

complicated motives; eudaemonism is not absent, but neither is it the only motive. Moreover, the sages recognized the danger of self-interest, as the question of Satan in Job 1:9 shows: "Is it for nothing that Job is God-fearing?"

A characteristic and striking move within the Wisdom Literature is the identification of the righteous *(ṣaddîq)* with the wise person *(ḥākām)*. The frequent division of humanity into the wise and the fools is matched by a division into just and unjust. This is particularly conspicuous in Proverbs 10–15, but it is not lacking in Job and Sirach. "The fear of the Lord prolongs life, but the years of the wicked will be short" (Prov 10:27); wisdom is identified with virtue and its rewards, and folly with wickedness *(rš')* and its deserts. "Treasures gained by wickedness do not profit, but righteousness delivers from death" (Prov 10:2). Morality and wisdom cannot be separated, although biblical wisdom is not to be reduced to a moral code.

4. Wisdom and Scepticism. The confident tone of the sage has been adverted to above. It was the confidence of one who plunged into the events of life with verve (a spirit that was not lacking even in Qoheleth! Eccl 9:10). And even if, as has been seen, the sages were aware of the limitations of their teaching, they did not dwell upon these overmuch. Obviously the mystery that was God was not a defeat for the sage, nor embarrassing. That the Lord was beyond wisdom (Prov 21:30) was an easy admission to make.

The rub came when things did not turn out as expected. There is always the (apparent?) triumph of the fool and the knave. It was against this that the author of Psalm 37 spoke: "Be not vexed over evildoers, nor jealous of those who do wrong" (37:1). It was such a problem that nearly brought the downfall of the author of Psalm 73. A temporizing kind of answer to this difficulty is to be found in Prov 3:11–12.

> The discipline of the Lord, my son, disdain not;
> spurn not his rebuke;
> For whom the Lord loves he reproves,
> as a father the son he favors.

Adversity, or the failure of things to work out the way they were supposed to, is seen here as the disciplining of a father. This perspective is to be found elsewhere. The medicinal aspect of adversity is held out by Eliphaz and by Elihu (Job 5:17–21; 32:19–30), where, however, it never becomes independent of a presumed guilt, as supposedly to be found in Job. Suffering thus could be viewed as a step taken by the Lord in the conversion of a sinner (hence there could be no understanding, but only astonishment, at the suffering of the servant in Isaiah 53). In other words, it had to be fitted into the overall view of retribution as taught by the sages.

It is remarkable that the problem of divine justice (or retribution, or whatever term one might choose) becomes *the* problem for the sages. One need not be surprised by the admission of Agur (Prov 30:1–6) that he is stupid and ignorant. That is the human condition. But it is hard to deal with adversity that can find no reasonable explanation. A human standard of justice is applied to God, and it does not work. This situation is often termed the "crisis" of wisdom (Crenshaw 1985a: 381), and the books of Job and Ecclesiastes are the prime evidence. But it can be just as well argued that these works prove the resilience of the wisdom movement, which did not skirt problems, even if it could not solve them. The "scepticism" of these books is in conflict with the retribution theory of Proverbs (and of Deuteronomy and other books, one may add). But the real thrust is to purify an overconfident wisdom, to make the sages more aware of the limitations which they acknowledged only too theoretically.

The book of Job does not cancel out the book of Proverbs. It is in a dialectical movement with it, surely. And it obviously corrects any rigid interpretation of the sapiential message of life as something humans can simply achieve. Proverbs 2:6 finally acknowledges that wisdom is a gift of God. This was not a conclusion that was easily come by. The sages had to travel the path of Job and Qoheleth. Wisdom does not become futile because it is challenged and modified. The witness of Job and Qoheleth is treasured by the community which also retained the book of Proverbs (Wilson 1984: 189–192).

If the author of Job broke through a simplistic understanding of divine justice, Qoheleth succeeds in safeguarding the inscrutability and freedom of God (Zimmerli 1963: 155–158). Time after time he affirms that one cannot know what God is doing (3:11; 8:17; 11:5). Here too wisdom has the boldness to confront the divine mystery, and the confrontation is made possible on the basis of the honesty and integrity of the wisdom movement: "even if the wise man says that he knows, he is unable to discover it [all God's work]" (Eccl 8:17).

5. The Personification of Wisdom. Participating in the divine mystery is the figure of Lady Wisdom which appears in Job 28; Proverbs 1, 8, 9; Baruch 3:9–4:4; Sirach 24; Wis 7:7–9:18. It is better to speak of personification than hypostasis (Marcus 1950–51). Personification is no stranger to the Hebrew Bible. Justice leads Israel out of Babylon (Isa 58:4); in Ps 84:11 kindness and truth meet, justice and peace kiss. Wine is arrogant (Prov 20:1). But the personification of wisdom is simply unique in the Bible, both for its quantity and quality.

The personification of wisdom in Job 28 is sudden and unexpected. The message is simple: humans can find hidden treasures in the earth, but they cannot find wisdom (28:12, 20). It is inaccessible, known only to God. The description of God's relationship to wisdom is obscure. Apparently he knows wisdom's place because he sees everything (v 24). It was in the creation of the wind and the rain (vv 25–26) that he became actively involved with wisdom: seeing, appraising, establishing and searching her out (v 27). This is all very tantalizing. What did God do with wisdom? The author has not answered that question clearly, but wisdom is certainly involved with the divine creative activity. The precise manner of this is difficult to state. Is it merely in the divine mind, a master plan (cf. Prov 3:18), or is it somewhere in the universe? For N. Habel (*Job* OTL, 400) it is "the fundamental principle which governs the design of the world." For J. G. Janzen (1985: 197–198), wisdom is "in" the creative act. G. von Rad (1972: 146–148) thought that it must be in the world, while being separate from created things—"something like the 'meaning' implanted by God in creation" (p. 148). It seems as though wisdom remains inaccessible in this very

text of Job! While many scholars regard 28:28, associating fear of the Lord with wisdom, as a spurious addition, it can make sense in context. It affirms that piety is the (only) way to wisdom available to humans. On the lips of Job it must be ironic, or perhaps it serves as a kind of inclusion with 1:1. The personification does not emphasize the female characteristics of wisdom (*ḥokmâ* is a feminine noun), in contrast to the picture that emerges in Proverbs.

In Prov 1:20–33 Lady Wisdom is portrayed in the style of an OT prophet, threatening her audience (out in the public streets) with ridicule and doom. Only at the end of her public speech does she offer peace and security to those who obey her. In Prov 9:1–6 she changes her tone, and invites the "simple" to the banquet of bread and wine. This description is in deliberate contrast to that of Dame Folly in 9:13–18, who issues another invitation to the "simple" to partake of bread and water (stolen, v 17!)—an invitation that the author characterizes as a trip to Sheol.

Once more, and with great flourish, Lady Wisdom appears in Prov 8:3–36. Again, she addresses the "simple" in public places. Her proclamation is encouraging: truth, more precious than silver or gold (8:10–11, 19); love, for those who love her (8:17). Then she begins the famous description (vv 22–31) of her relationship to God and to creation:

> The Lord begot me, the firstborn of his ways . . .
> From of old I was poured forth . . .
> When there were no depths I was brought forth . . .
> Then was I beside him as his craftsman,
> and I was his delight day by day.
> Playing before him all the while,
> playing on the surface of his earth;
> and I found delight in the sons of men.

She emphasizes (six times!) her existence before creation, and describes herself as *ʾāmôn* (v 30) at the side of God. The meaning of that term is uncertain, either crafts(wo)man or nursling (Rüger 1977). Perhaps she was actively engaged in the creative activity (cf. Prov 3:19). But she clearly has a role with God and human beings. She describes herself as "delight" (v 30; "his delight" in the LXX), and speaks of "playing" before God, much like David "played" before the Lord when he brought the ark into Jerusalem (2 Sam 6:14–16, 21; Keel 1974). Moreover, her delight is to be with human beings (8:31); presumably this engagement involves her speeches in the previous chapters, and especially the promise of life with which she concludes her present speech (8:32, "the one who finds me finds life").

Who is Lady Wisdom? Many identifications have been offered (Lang 1975: 147–176). She seems to be something of God, born of God, in God. Usually she is said to be a divine attribute, a personification of the wisdom with which God created the world (Prov 3:19; Whybray 1968). This identification is explicitly denied by von Rad (1972: 156–157), who sees wisdom as an attribute of the world, "by virtue of which she turns towards men to give order to their lives." God did not merely found the earth by wisdom (Prov 3:19); he built it into wisdom. Wisdom is the mysterious order of the world which beckons to human beings. However, one may ask if this identification with order does justice to the divine origins, and to the role Lady Wisdom occupies relative to human beings. Is Wisdom not the Lord, who turns toward creatures and summons them through creation, through the wisdom experience? (Murphy 1985). She certainly seems to be a communication of God. Ben Sira recognized this aspect, and identified Wisdom more clearly for his generation.

Ben Sira begins his long work on a note of wisdom: "All wisdom comes from the Lord . . ." (1:1). The poem on Lady Wisdom in chap. 24 is clearly modeled on Proverbs 8 (Skehan 1979). She is now presented as speaking "in the assembly of the Most High," i.e., in the heavenly court, and not merely to "simple" earthlings. Yet she has the same old concern for humans, and invites them to her banquet (again! 24:19–22 and Prov 9:1–6). She describes her journey throughout the cosmos (v 5, "the vault of heaven," "the depths of the abyss"). Like God, she seems to possess the whole world (v 6). Yet she has no fixed residence, until the Creator bids her to take up her dwelling in Jacob (v 8). So she settles in Jerusalem where she performs liturgical service (v 10, *eleitourgēsa*). In an elaborate comparison she describes her life there: like a tall cedar, fruitful olive tree, balm and myrrh (vv 13–17), and she issues an invitation to her meal (v 21), where paradoxically eating will only increase the appetite for more.

At this point Ben Sira makes the identification:

> All this is the book of the covenant of the most High God,
> the law which Moses commanded us (24:23).

Lady Wisdom is the Torah, an identification prepared for by the postexilic vision of the Torah (Psalms 19 and 119; Deut 4:6–8), and reflected in the apocryphal work of Baruch (Bar 3:9–4:3).

It is clear from the above that Lady Wisdom is a complex figure, whose traits accumulate as one goes on through the Wisdom Literature. And this enables individuals to make concrete identifications, as Sirach did for his generation. As a general comment, which respects the mystery in which Lady Wisdom is cloaked, the words of von Rad (*ROTT* 1: 444) are worth quoting: "None the less it is correct to say that wisdom is the form in which Jahweh's will and his accompanying of man (i.e. his salvation) approaches men. . . . the most important thing is that wisdom does not turn towards man in the shape of an 'It,' teaching, guidance salvation or the like, but of a person, a summoning 'I.' So wisdom is truly the form in which Jahweh makes himself present and in which he wishes to be sought by man."

6. Wisdom and Immortality. It has been observed often enough that the goal of wisdom is *life* (Murphy 1966). That is to say, life in this world, marked by prosperity and blessing, a fullness of days until one was finally buried with the fathers. The Hebrew world displayed a remarkable resignation to the inevitability of death (e.g., Psalm 49). Nonetheless it gradually became a problem with the sages. The thought of Job is constantly hovering between life and death, light and darkness (3:2–23; 10:18–22; 14:10–20). The most poignant lament of Qoheleth is his cry, "How is it that the wise man dies as well as the fool!" (2:16). The issue was exacerbated by the problem of injustice and

suffering in this life. It was not an adequate answer to point out that the unjust person dies a premature or painful death (Psalm 37). Qoheleth is crushed by the fact that there is the same lot (death—the "evil time") for the just and the wicked (9:2). But there is an eventual breakthrough, and in typically wisdom style.

It seems that the period of the martyrs (Maccabean era) gave rise to a firm belief in the resurrection of the body (Dan 12:2–3; 2 Maccabees 7). Hence it is often said that the doctrine of bodily resurrection is the "typical" Hebrew response to the issue of immortality. While this is obviously the view indicated in the book of Daniel, another approach is expressed in the Wisdom of Solomon and perhaps in the literature of the Essenes. In Wis 1:15 righteousness *(dikaiosunē)* is said to be undying *(athanatos)* and many times eternal blessedness is mentioned for the just (Wis 2:23–3:4; 5:5). What is interesting here is that the author who clearly is aware of the Greek doctrine of soul and body (Wis 1:1–4; 9:15) does not conclude to personal immortality on the basis of the nature of the human composite. That would have been a Greek solution. He may have shared such an idea, but he does not reason about immortality in that fashion. Instead, blessed immortality flows from righteousness (1:15), from the wisdom that is the gift of God (Wis 7:7; 9:4). It lies in the nature of the relationship between God and those who follow him. Immortality consists in a relationship that death cannot sever. The old doctrine of Sheol (Eccl 9:10), where a loving contact with God was missing (Pss 6:6; 30:10), now yields to an enduring presence (Ps 73:23–28). The presence is not limited to God and the individual; the blessed one is accounted among "the sons of God" or "holy ones" (Wis 5:15), i.e., the members of the heavenly court. The association of the just with the angels is also made in the Qumran literature (1QS 11:8–9; 1QHod 3:20–22; 11:10–14), and this seems to suggest a kind of immortality. The description of a blessed immortality in terms of association with the heavenly court is a logical development. The old lament was that no one could praise God in Sheol. Now one will praise him with the other members of the heavenly court.

C. Wisdom Influence in OT Literature

Paradoxically, recent studies have underscored the presence of wisdom throughout the rest of the Bible, even if wisdom and creation have been given a perilous perch within biblical theology. Modern scholarship has become aware of what has been called "wisdom influence" on specific books. Among these are Psalms (Mowinckel 1955; Murphy 1963; Kuntz 1974); Amos (Wolff 1973); Isaiah (Whedbee 1971); Esther (Talmon 1963); the Joseph story in Genesis 37–50 (*PHOE,* 292–300); the Succession Narrative in 2 Samuel–1 Kings 1 (Whybray 1968); and Deuteronomy (Weinfeld 1972). These works are not to be considered Wisdom Literature (Crenshaw 1969), but it is reasonable to speak of wisdom influence in one or another instance (Morgan 1981).

The problem lies in the manner in which "wisdom influence" is conceived, and the means by which such influence was exerted on particular writers. The following observations should be borne in mind:

(1) The distinction between a specific literary genre and wisdom influence must be maintained. A lawyer may write a short story that reflects legal background, but the work remains a short story, not a legal document. It is an exaggeration to affirm that the "Joseph narrative is a didactic wisdom-story" (*PHOE,* 300), or that the Succession document is a deliberate attempt "to illustrate specific proverbial teaching for the benefit of the pupils and ex-pupils of the schools" (Whybray 1968: 95). In both instances one is dealing with a genre of history, not wisdom.

(2) The notion of wisdom influence should be narrowly conceived. A common culture and world of ideas was shared by all classes in Israelite society. The sapiential understanding of reality (described above in "thought world") was not a mode of thinking cultivated exclusively by a small group. Hence it is to be expected that it can appear as it were unconsciously in various types of expression. One cannot speak meaningfully of "wisdom influence" because a prophetic judgment speech contains a saying or a comparison (Isa 1:2–3). Such expressions belong to educated speech in general and are not confined to Wisdom Literature. Although a certain type of vocabulary may suggest wisdom influence (Whybray 1974: 121–154; Hurwitz 1988), a mere linguistic criterion is weak. It was not only the sages who used this vocabulary. Similarly, wisdom motifs could have circulated and would not be the exclusive possession of a given class. The wisdom heritage must have constituted a common fund of knowledge experience for each Israelite.

(3) The appearance of a didactic purpose or a wisdom theme does not suffice to categorize a work as "wisdom." Thus the book of Hosea remains prophecy, even if the editors may be responsible for the wisdom tag ("let one who is wise understand these things") in 14:10. Similarly, the problem of the suffering of the just person is the concern of all people (e.g. Jer 12:1–5), not simply the sages.

Finally, the Song of Songs has been recently associated with wisdom (*IOTS,* 573–575; Würthwein 1969: 31). This is rather a unique case. All scholars would admit that the Song is love poetry with its own genres (Murphy 1981b: 98–124). The only wisdom element in it may be the lines which speak of love as strong as death (8:6; Tromp 1979). However, this does not change the genre. Nevertheless, it may be that the sages were responsible for the transmission and editing of the Song (and its attribution to the wise Solomon), because it was in line with the societal values (fidelity, etc., of Prov 5:15ff.) which the sages treasured.

D. Extra-biblical Wisdom

During the last century and a half the discoveries of the literatures of Israel's neighbors have had a great impact on the understanding of the Bible. This has been particularly the case for the Wisdom Literature, which has been illumined by the wisdom of ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt (Buccellati 1981; R. Williams 1981). "Wisdom" may be a misnomer as applied to these ancient literatures (*BWL,* 1), since the designation derives from biblical studies. But there is enough similarity in the works of international wisdom to justify this convenient term.

1. Egypt. Many "teachings" or "instructions" *(sebayit)* have been handed down over a period of about 2500 years, from that of Prince Hardjedef (or Djedefhor, of the Fifth

Dynasty) down to the Insinger Papyrus which dates from the Ptolemaic period. The style of the *sebayit* is standard: a teacher, often a high official if not a king, hands down rules of conduct: "the beginning of the instruction which X made for his son Y." The rules cover such areas as truth and integrity, generosity and moderation, proper and timely speech, the need to "hear" (and obey), a correct relationship with officials, women, one's household and friends. By and large a certain upper class morality, eventually democratized, is evident. Warnings are given against pride and any lack of discipline. The model person is the "silent" one. Silence is a sign of self-control and thoughtfulness, a characteristic of one who is master of the situation, in contrast to the rash, impetuous person. All these ideals are held together by the Egyptian concept *ma'at*. The word cannot be easily translated; it designates order, truth, justice (Frankfort 1961: 54). It is the divine order in the world into which a human being is to be integrated by his conduct. Success in this process of integration means prosperity; failure means chaos. This harmonious integration into *ma'at* underlies the teachings.

"Wisdom" is not an important term in the teachings, but biblical scholarship (Schmid 1966: 159) has made a correlation between Egyptian *ma'at* and Hebrew *ṣĕdāqâ* (justice) and *ḥokmâ*. To a certain extent this is justified, insofar as the description of wisdom in Proverbs 1–9 reflects some of the attributes of *ma'at*. But it is not to be exaggerated. For one thing, *ma'at* is deified as a goddess in Egypt. Moreover, Hebrew wisdom has its own characteristic orientation to tradition and experience. It is not to be interpreted simply out of the Egyptian mentality concerning order.

The Egyptian instructions are fairly integrated and consecutive pieces (thus comparable to Proverbs 1–9), abounding in if-clauses, imperatives, negative admonitions, and motive clauses. Gnomic sayings are mixed in, but they become conspicuous only in the later Demotic writings. Here the single sentence or monostich (as in Onkhsheshonqy 11:10, "he who sends up spittle to the sky, upon his face it falls"; *AEL* 3: 76) prevails as the stylistic medium. As in Hebrew, parallelism is a common feature in the *sebayit*.

The more important instructions are those associated with Phahhotep, Merikare, Amenemhet, Ani, Amenemope, and the Demotic writings of Onkhsheshonqy and the Papyrus Insinger. The explicit similarities between Prov 22:17ff., and the teaching of Amenemope are indubitable (Bryce). This is not the place to attempt a summary of the contents of the various instructions; they are best appreciated by examining the English translations (*ANET;* Simpson 1973; *AEL*).

Several other Egyptian works of a more "speculative" nature have been compared to biblical wisdom, but there seems to be no evidence of an "Egyptian connection." The "Harper's Songs" and the "Dispute of a Man with his Soul" present passages that reflect universal human experiences that are naturally enough found in Ecclesiastes and other biblical works. In a similar way, the love poetry of ancient Egypt provides broad parallels to the biblical Song of Songs (White 1978; Fox 1985).

2. Mesopotamia. Here, as in Egypt, writing and schools flourished already in the 3d millennium B.C. In the Sumerian *e-dubba* ("house of tablets") or school, the scribes copied out in cuneiform signs many types of literature, some of which may be compared with Hebrew wisdom. Several collections of proverbs (many bilingual, in both Sumerian and Akkadian) have been published (Gordon 1959; *BWL*, 222–275), along with various literary types such as fables (Lambert *BWL*, 150–212). Comparable to the Egyptian instructions are the Instructions of Šuruppak (Alster 1974), which contain the advice of a king to his son Ziusudra, the hero of the flood as remembered in the Sumerian tradition. Similar in style is the Akkadian *Counsels of Wisdom* which treats of proper speech, avoidance of bad companions, etc. (*BWL*, 97–107).

As was the case with Egypt, there is a reflective literature in ancient Mesopotamia that has suggested comparison with Job and Ecclesiastes. Discussed in this literature, the issue is a perennial one, namely that of suffering, and especially the suffering of the righteous. A Sumerian text, "Man and His God" (*ANET*, 589–591) and the Akkadian *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi* ("I will praise the Lord of Wisdom," *ANET*, 596–600) provide two examples. H. Gese (1958: 63–78) argued that the Akkadian work exemplified the literary form of Job: a paradigm of an answered complaint. But the book of Job provides no "answer" in the way that the *Ludlul* does. Both works describe the situation and complaint of a suffering devotee. In the end the Babylonian sufferer is restored by the intervention of Marduk. There is no exploration of the raw and poignant depths of suffering as in the Hebrew work.

With more justice the "Dialogue of Pessimism," an Akkadian work dated around the 12th century B.C., has been compared with Ecclesiastes (*ANET*, 600–601). A slave and his master hold a conversation about several areas of life. The master expresses an opinion and the slave at once agrees, even adding further reasons to justify the master's declaration. Then the master states the opposite, and the slave again falls in line and gives reasons for this decision. It is this ability to look at extreme positions, to search out contradictions, that reminds one of Ecclesiastes. Assyriologists have debated whether this is a farce or a serious work (*BWL*, 139–141). The work ends on the topic of death, and perhaps by suicide. This grim note is of course not present in Qoheleth, for whom death is unwelcome but simply inevitable (Eccl 11:7–12:7); it is never envisioned as a salvation to life's problems.

Another poem, "The dialogue about Human Misery" (also called "The Babylonian Theodicy," *ANET*, 601–604) is an acrostic work in 27 stanzas of 11 lines each. The characters in this dialogue are the sufferer and a sympathetic (unlike Job's "friends") listener. They range over many topics that reflect upon the justice of the gods. Although the friend never finds fault with the main speaker, his consolation is anemic. He thinks that the common belief in the reward of piety still holds. But there is a rather surprising ending, for he admits that the gods have made humans evil. They "gave twisted speech to the human race. With lies, and not truth, they endowed them forever" (*ANET*, 604). W. Lambert (*BWL*, 65) has justly remarked that this conclusion removes the problem; if the gods are responsible for evil in humans, there can be no dialogue.

One of the most famous compositions of the ancient world is the story of Ahiqar, which traveled across many

cultures and has been transmitted in about a dozen languages (Lindenberger 1983: 4–7; Küchler 1979: 319–41). The most ancient version extant is the Aramaic, which appeared among the 5th century B.C. papyri that were discovered on the Elephantine island in the Nile and published in 1911. The work was perhaps written a few centuries before the date of the papyri, either in Aramaic or in Akkadian, and it tells the story of the betrayal and restoration of a certain Ahiqar, a court official during the reign of Sennacherib of Assyria. The pertinence of the work lies in the proverbs which Ahiqar transmits in the story. In general these resemble the proverb collections of the ANE, but J. Lindenberger has pointed out that "genuinely close parallels between the Aramaic proverbs and the Bible are few" (1983: 25); he indicates lines 81–82 concerning corporal punishment (Prov 23:13–14) and line 207 about pride (Jer 9:22). There is a tantalizing statement about wisdom in lines 94–95 which has been interpreted as referring to its divine origin and eternal reign. But the text is too fragmentary to support definite conclusions (*ANET,* 428; Lindenberger 1983: 68–70). See also AHIQAR, BOOK OF.

3. Hellenistic Literature. *Sophia,* or wisdom, is of course a well-known concept in Greek philosophy and literature. Alexander's conquest of the Fertile Crescent in the 4th century B.C. ensured the flourishing of Hellenistic culture which had already begun in the area (Hengel 1974). Without the Greek cultural background that blanketed the Mediterranean world a book like the Wisdom of Solomon would never have been written. Although it remains an intensely Jewish book, it is to be read in the light of Hellenistic culture (Larcher 1969: 179–236; Reese 1970), and especially of Philo (Larcher 1969: 151–178; Mack 1973: 108–184).

Considerable debate has raged over the relationship of Qoheleth to Hellenistic culture. O. Loretz found Mesopotamian influence in the book (1964: 90–134), but R. Braun has argued just as vigorously for parallels between Ecclesiastes and Hellenistic philosophy (1973). Different points of view have also been expressed about Ben Sira. Hengel (1974: 131–175) recognizes some dialogue with Greek thought, but not as much as T. Middendorp (1973: 13–24) who argues for strong dependence upon Theognis. But this is another intensely Jewish work, written in Hebrew probably in Jerusalem before the Maccabean outbreak; its dependence on earlier biblical works is undeniable, whatever it may owe to the Hellenistic period.

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WISDOM OF BEN-SIRA. One of the earliest and certainly the longest of the deuterocanonical/apocryphal books of the OT. The Wisdom of Ben Sira provides the most comprehensive example of wisdom literature preserved in the Bible. The book is also known as Sirach (the name found in the Greek mss) or Ecclesiasticus (the Latin title, which probably means "the ecclesiastical [or church] book," since it was used extensively in the liturgy). It is consciously modelled on the book of Proverbs; but unlike the latter, which is a compilation of materials by different authors spanning several centuries, it is clearly the work of a single author, Ben Sira, who wrote in Jerusalem during the early 2d century B.C. The book contains moral, cultic, and ethical maxims, folk proverbs, psalms of praise and lament, theological and philosophical reflections, homiletic exhortations, and pointed observations about life and customs of the day. For that reason it has been popular with both Jews and Christians; and it has left its impact on the proverbial literature of the West. All citations from the

Wisdom of Ben Sira are taken from the AB translation (Skehan and Di Lella *The Wisdom of Ben Sira* AB 39), which uses the chapter and verse numbers found in the critical edition of the Greek (Ziegler 1965) in order to avoid the confusion that still prevails with these numbers in most modern translations of the book.

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A. The Book

1. Title. In English Bibles the Wisdom of Ben Sira (or "Sirach" for short) is known by several other titles. In the NAB the title is "The Book of Sirach"; in the NJB, "Ecclesiasticus," a word taken directly from many Latin Vulgate mss; in the NEB, "Ecclesiasticus or the Wisdom of Jesus son of Sirach," a title similar to that in the NRSV. The Wisdom of Ben Sira is one of the rare books of the OT that was actually composed by the author to whom the book is ascribed. Since the extant Hebrew mss begin at 3:6b, we do not know the original superscription or title of the book. In the corrected text of 50:27 (Cairo MS B), however, the author identifies himself as "Yeshua [or Jesus] ben [son of] Eleazar ben Sira." The name appears in the same form in the subscription of MS B (Skehan and Di Lella *Sira* AB, 579–80). The subscription reads: *ḥokmat yēšûaʿ ben ʾelʿāzār ben sîrāʾ*, "The Wisdom of Yeshua son of Eleazar son of Sira," apparently the original Hebrew title of the work. The Greek title is similar: "The Wisdom of Jesus son of Sirach." Among the Jews the work was called "The Book of Ben Sira," "The Instruction of Ben Sira," and "The Proverbs of Ben Sira."

2. Author. Though the author's proper name was *Yēšûaʿ* or Jesus, as the grandson states in the foreword to his Greek translation of the book, he is generally called Ben Sira. Using the name of one's grandfather (as our author did) or earlier male ancestor as a patronymic with "Ben" prefixed was not unusual, especially when the name of one's father was not sufficiently distinctive (Box and Oesterley *APOT* 1: 271, 292).

3. Date. The date of the book can be calculated on the basis of information provided by the grandson in the foreword to his translation. He states that he arrived in Egypt in the 38th year of the reign of King Euergetes, and that he spent many sleepless hours of hard work in preparing his Greek translation for publication. The epithet "Euergetes," which means "Benefactor," was given to only two of the Lagid kings, Ptolemy III Euergetes I (246–221 B.C.) and Ptolemy VII Physkon Euergetes II (170–164 and 146–117). Since the former reigned only 25 years, the latter must be the Euergetes in question, for he began his rule in 170 conjointly with his brother Ptolemy VI (181–146), and he died fifty-three years later, in 117. Calculating from 170, Ptolemy VII's official accession year, the 38th year (when the grandson migrated to Egypt) would be 132.

The grandson made the Greek translation in the following years, publishing the work after Ptolemy VII's death in 117 B.C. (Skehan and Di Lella *Sira* AB, 8–9). Allowing sufficient time between grandfather and grandson (who presumably was an adult when he migrated in 132), we come to a date in ca. 180 for the composition of the book. This date is confirmed by the book itself. In 50:1–21, Ben Sira has a panegyric on the high priest Simeon II (219–196 B.C.). From the detailed and graphic descriptions of the vestments and liturgical actions, we may conclude that Ben Sira personally witnessed Simeon celebrating the elaborate rituals of the Daily Whole-Offering in the Temple (Ó Fearghail 1978: 301–16). Ben Sira gives the clear impression, however, that Simeon was already dead. Moreover, Ben Sira does not even allude to the disastrous events that occurred in Palestine during the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–164 B.C.), the archvillain in Daniel 7–12. We may rightly assume that if Ben Sira had composed his book during those troublous years, he would have made some reference or allusion to the atrocities pious Jews suffered. Thus it is reasonable to conclude that Ben Sira had died before 175, or at least had published his book by that date.

B. Ben Sira and His Times

1. Occupation. Ben Sira was a professional scribe (Heb *sôpēr*, Gk *grammateus;* cf. 38:24), which at that time meant wise man or sage (Heb *ḥākām*). He has in fact been called the last of the wise men of Israel and the first of the scribes (Hadot 1970: 76). The grandson writes in the foreword that Ben Sira devoted himself to the diligent study of the Law, the Prophets, and the other Writings—all of which we now call Sacred Scripture. Hence the book sediments and articulates Ben Sira's lifelong reflection on the traditions and inspired literature of Israel that form the core of his teaching.

Doubtless Ben Sira was describing his own life when he writes of the life and work of the Jewish scribe:

> How different the person who devotes himself to the fear of God
> and to the study of the Law of the Most High!
> He studies the wisdom of all the ancients
> and occupies himself with the prophecies;
> He treasures the discourses of the famous,
> and goes to the heart of involved sayings;
> He studies the hidden meaning of proverbs,
> and is busied with the enigmas found in parables (38:34c–39:3).

Though Ben Sira held a position of honor in his society, he was also keenly aware of his responsibilities to the community:

> Take notice that not for myself only have I toiled,
> but for every seeker after guidance (33:18).

He utilized the talents, which he acknowledged he received from the Lord, not for personal gain or glory (cf. 51:25) but for the common good. He lived in Jerusalem (50:27 Gk), where he had a school or academy. His students were young Jewish males; hence he often introduces a proverb or section of discourse with the expression "My son." He traveled widely in order to gain experience, often at great risk to his personal safety (34:12–13; cf. 8:15–16 and Luke 10:29–37).

2. Hellenization of the Near East. The world in which Ben Sira lived had been thoroughly Hellenized. It was a society dominated by Greek ideas and ideals, customs and values, art and excellence. The Jews in Palestine were not politically free but subject to Egyptian (Lagid) or Syrian (Seleucid) kings who fought repeatedly against each other for control of that strategically significant territory. Ben Sira's prayer expresses the intense feelings many other pious Jews must have felt toward their gentile overlords:

> Come to our aid, God of the universe,
> and put all the nations in dread of you!
> Raise your hand against the foreign folk,
> that they may see your mighty deeds (36:1–3).

Palestine had been under Persian domination from 539 to 332 B.C. at which time Alexander the Great gained control. After his death in 323, his enormous empire was split up among his generals, called the Diadochoi. Only two of these men are of interest here: Ptolemy I Lagi of Egypt and Seleucus I of Syria. Palestine became a bone of contention between the Hellenistic dynasties founded by these two monarchs. In 301 Ptolemy I (323–285) finally gained control, and for a century afterward his successors maintained sovereignty over the Holy Land. The Ptolemies apparently adopted the enlightened Persian administrative system under which the Jewish high priest was not only the spiritual leader of his people but also a kind of secular prince, for he had the duty of collecting the tribute owed to Egypt. Because for the most part the Jews remained submissive and paid the taxes due to the Egyptian crown they lived in relative peace and enjoyed many of the advantages of improved agricultural methods and trade with Egypt (Bright *BHI*, 414).

Meanwhile the Seleucid kings strove to gain control of Palestine but with little success until Antiochus III the Great (223–187 B.C.) smashed the army of Ptolemy V (203–181) at Panium (Caesarea Philippi of the NT), near the headwaters of the Jordan. The Holy Land now came under Seleucid sovereignty. Josephus (*Ant* 12.3.3) writes that the Jews, presumably under the leadership of the high priest Simeon II, welcomed the Syrians, even giving them supplies, including elephants (the battle tanks of antiquity). Antiochus rewarded the Jews for their help. Timber for the repair of the Jerusalem temple, apparently damaged in the war, was exempt from toll charges. In 50:1–4, Ben Sira praises Simeon II for renovating and fortifying the temple precincts. Temple personnel were exempt from the poll tax, crown tax, and salt tax. As a group the Jews were exempt from taxes for three years and from a third of their tribute. Antiochus III was done in by his ambition. Foolishly, he crossed swords with Rome by advancing into Greece. The mighty Roman armies quickly defeated him at Thermopylae in 192 B.C. Finally, in 190 at the decisive battle of Magnesia, between Sardis and Smyrna, the Romans overwhelmed Antiochus (cf. Dan 11:18), forcing on him humiliating peace terms and a huge indemnity. He was assassinated in 187 while sacking the treasury of Bel (one of his own gods) in order to pay his tribute to Rome. He was succeeded by his son Seleucus IV (187–175), a weak and ineffective monarch (cf. Dan 11:20), who was also murdered. His successor was his younger brother Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–164), of whom we spoke earlier.

These were the times in which Ben Sira lived. If, as we may rightly assume, he was an old man when he published his book in ca. 180, then we can safely conclude that he was born ca. 250. Palestine was under Ptolemaic rule for most of his life, from his birth to 198, and under Seleucid control for the remainder, from 198 till his death, probably some time after 175.

3. Purpose of the Book. Both Ptolemies and Seleucids vigorously promoted the policies of Hellenization instigated by Alexander the Great. Hence it mattered little whether a Seleucid or a Ptolemy held sway over Palestine. At home as well as in his travels abroad, Ben Sira must have witnessed the baneful effects of Hellenization on the faith and practices of the Jews. He must have encountered many Jews whose faith was rocked by the questions and doubts that arose from Greek philosophy, religion, and lifestyle. To strengthen the faith and confidence of his fellow Jews Ben Sira published his book. His purpose was not to condemn Hellenism as such, but rather to demonstrate to Jews and even gentiles of good will that true wisdom is to be found primarily in Jerusalem and not in Athens, more in the inspired literature of Israel than in the clever writings of Hellenistic humanism (Di Lella 1966a: 140–42). Yet Ben Sira himself often read pagan literature and incorporated many of its insights and values in his own book. Totally secure in the faith of his ancestors, Ben Sira had nothing to fear from exposure to gentile influences and writings. He did not even hesitate to borrow gentile thoughts and expressions as long as these could be

reconciled with the faith and traditions of Israel (see F.3 below).

C. Canonicity

The Wisdom of Ben Sira is listed among those books which Jews and Protestants call apocryphal, but which Roman Catholics call deuterocanonical, for they believe it to be part of the canon of the OT.

1. Jewish Attitudes to the Book. Several facts are to be taken into account when one examines Jewish attitudes to the book. First, in pre-Christian times Greek-speaking Jews in Palestine and in the Diaspora considered the Wisdom of Ben Sira as one of their sacred writings, for it was included in the LXX, a Jewish work. Second, the 1st-century B.C. Jewish group at Masada had a Hebrew copy of the book that had been written stichometrically, i.e., each bicolon (or poetic line) is written on one line, the first colon (half-line) appearing on the right-hand side of the column, and the second on the left-hand side (Yadin 1965: pls. 2–4, 6–8). The same style of writing was used in 2Q18, two small 1st-century B.C. Hebrew fragments of the book from Qumran (Baillet, Milik, and de Vaux 1962: pl. 15). This procedure, which was usually reserved for books that were later received into the Jewish canon, is another indication of the reverence the Essenes and others who were Palestinian Jews accorded the book. (The medieval Cairo Geniza mss B, E, and F of the book were also written stichometrically.) Third, at least some Jews apparently accepted the book as sacred and inspired, for from early in the 1st century B.C., the book underwent successive Hebrew and Greek recensions in Palestine (see D below).

Ancient rabbinical tradition itself is inconsistent. Rabbi Akiba (d. ca. A.D. 132), e.g., placed the book among the "outside" or noncanonical books (*y. Sanh.* 28a). In like manner the Tosefta (*Yad.* ii 13, ca. A.D. 250) states that "the books of Ben Sira and all other books written after the prophetic period do not defile the hands," i.e., they are not canonical (Box and Oesterley *APOT* 1: 271). Nonetheless the book remained popular among the Jews despite its official exclusion from their canon. Even the Talmud, the Midrashim, the *Derek Ereṣ*, and similar tractates show traces of Ben Sira's influence. Some 82 times the book is quoted approvingly in the Talmud and other rabbinical writings. Sometimes passages are even introduced by the words "it is written" (e.g., *Nid.* 16b; *y. Ber.* 11c), a formula reserved only for quotations from the canonical scriptures (Smend 1906b: xlvi–lxi). Yet near the end of the 1st century A.D. the Pharisaic rabbis officially excluded the Wisdom of Ben Sira from the Jewish canon. The probable reason is that the Pharisees disliked some of Ben Sira's teaching (e.g., his denial of retribution in the hereafter), which resembled the theology of their adversaries, the Sadducees.

2. Christian Acceptance of the Book. Till about 1960, the commonly held view was that there were two Jewish canons of the OT in antiquity: the so-called Alexandrian (or Septuagint) canon that included all the deuterocanonical books and the shorter Palestinian (or Hebrew) canon that excluded the deuterocanonical books. It was the Alexandrian canon, in this theory, that the Christian church eventually adopted as its own official list of OT books. Jerome (d. 420) distinguished between "canonical books" and "ecclesiastical books," but only after he had come under the influence of Jewish teachers in the Holy Land. He did not accept as Sacred Scripture the "ecclesiastical books" that later were called deuterocanonical. St. Augustine (d. 430), disagreeing with Jerome's distinction, insisted on the ancient tradition of the church that all books in the LXX collection are equally authoritative. In the 16th century, however, Martin Luther broke with the church's tradition by accepting Jerome's view of the so-called Palestinian canon as alone being the list of Scriptures used by Jesus and the early Christians. In his German translation of 1534, Luther was the first to remove the deuterocanonical books from their logical and traditional places in the canon (e.g., the Wisdom of Solomon and the Wisdom of Ben Sira from the Wisdom books) and to locate these books, to which he gave the inaccurate label "Apocrypha" (= "hidden away"[!]), in a separate section between the OT and NT. Most Protestant translations of the Bible, if they include the "Apocrypha" at all, follow Luther's lead in segregating these books.

The hypothesis of the Alexandrian or LXX canon has been successfully challenged by A. C. Sundberg (1964; 1966; 1975). He has shown that in Jesus's day there never was a shorter Hebrew canon in Palestine and a longer LXX canon in Alexandria. At least by the turn of the era, there were many Greek-speaking Jews in Palestine who used the LXX as a collection of undifferentiated religious writings long enough even to make a revision thereof. Thus there never was an actual Alexandrian (LXX) canon or a Palestinian (Hebrew) canon before ca. A.D. 90, at which time the rabbis drew up their list of sacred books. Obviously, the rabbis could not decide the limits of the Christian canon. But the church did receive "scriptures" from Judaism, if not a canon. The determination of the Christian OT canon took place in the West at the Council of Hippo (A.D. 393) and two Councils of Carthage (A.D. 397 and 419). That ancient canon includes all the books of the Jewish canon as well as the Wisdom of Ben Sira and the other deuterocanonical books, but not 1–2 Esdras and Prayer of Manasseh (Sundberg 1975: 356–57).

3. Place in the Canon. In Roman Catholic editions of the Bible, the book is located among the Wisdom books of the OT; the order is the following: Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Qoheleth, Song of Songs, the Wisdom of Solomon, and the Wisdom of Ben Sira. The Latin Vulgate has the same order as does also the 4th-century Codex Vaticanus, one of the oldest copies of the LXX, with the exception of Job, which is found after the Song of Songs. In Protestant editions of the Bible, the "Apocrypha," if included at all, are located either between the OT and NT (as in Luther's German translation and the NEB) or at the end of the NT (as in the NRSV). The Wisdom of Ben Sira is found in these editions after the Wisdom of Solomon and before Baruch.

D. Text and Versions

Ben Sira wrote his book in Hebrew, as the grandson states explicitly in the foreword to the Greek translation. The original Hebrew text began to disappear, however, after the rabbis excluded the book from the Jewish canon (see C.1 above). For centuries the Hebrew text was known from only a few quotations found in the Talmudic and rabbinical literature. The Greek and Syriac versions, from

which all other translations (ancient and modern) had been made, became the principal witnesses to the book.

1. Original Hebrew Text. Between 1896 and 1900, many fragments of the book were identified from the vast collection of materials recovered from the Geniza (storage room for worn-out or discarded mss) of the Qaraite Synagogue in Old Cairo. These were parts of four distinct mss (A B C D); a fifth ms (E) was discovered by J. Marcus (1931). These mss were dated from the 10th to the 12th centuries. In 1958 and 1960, a few more leaves of mss B and C were identified (Di Lella 1964). Qumran Cave 2 yielded two small pieces of the book, 2Q18 (Baillet, Milik, and de Vaux 1962: pl. 15) from the second half of the 1st century B.C. Qumran Cave 11 produced 11QPs^{a} (Sanders 1965), dating from the first half of the 1st century A.D.; it contains 51:13–20, 30b. Y. Yadin (1965) published the important Masada fragments (39:27–44:17) that date to the first half of the 1st century B.C. Finally, A. Scheiber (1982) found, among the Geniza materials of the Taylor-Schechter Additional Series collection at Cambridge University Library, a new leaf of Ben Sira and the corner fragment of a damaged leaf of ms C (first published in 1900). Scheiber (1982: 179–80) states that the new leaf (containing 31:24–32:7 and 32:12–33:8) is from ms D. This identification, however, is wrong for two reasons: (1) the new leaf is written stichometrically (like mss B and E and the Masada ms) whereas ms D is not so written; and (2) the handwriting is different from ms D. The leaf cannot be from ms E either, for ms E (a single leaf containing 32:16–34:1) has some of the same bicola found in the new leaf, and the hands are not the same. Hence I conclude that what Scheiber has found is a portion of a sixth manuscript, hitherto unknown. I give the name ms F to this new leaf (Di Lella 1988). About 68 percent of the book is now extant in Hebrew: some 2,200 cola of the 3,221 that are found in Codex B of the Greek (Swete 1907: 754).

Not long after the discovery of the original Hebrew of the book at the turn of the century, a few scholars began to doubt the authenticity of the Cairo Geniza mss. Some argued that the Geniza text was retroverted from the Syriac. Others proposed that it was translated from Greek or from Greek and Syriac. I. Lévi (1904), after several changes of heart, maintained that the Geniza text is substantially authentic although it contains some retroversions from the Syriac. Today the controversy has abated, thanks primarily to the discovery of the Masada scroll (Yadin 1965: 7, 10), which supports the authenticity of Cairo ms B and indirectly the other mss as well. The scholarly consensus is that the Geniza mss are essentially authentic (Di Lella 1966b: 20–105).

Kearns (*NCCHS*, 547–50) has shown that there are two basic forms of the Hebrew text: HT I, the Hebrew original of Ben Sira, and HT II, the expanded Hebrew text of one or more recensions. G I, the grandson's Greek translation, was made from HT I; G II, the expanded Greek translation, from HT II. The Geniza mss seem to bear witness to both HT I and HT II. G II corroborates this conclusion as do the Talmudic and rabbinic quotations. H II differs from HT I primarily by additions, some of which are simply alternative readings of HT I while others are doctrinal, comparable to the additions in G II (see 11:15, 16; 15:14b, 15c; 16:15, 16; 31:6d; 51:1).

Though Kearns is generally convincing in his analysis of the confusing textual witnesses, he fails to account for the existence of retroversions from Greek and Syriac that Ziegler, Lévi, Skehan, and Di Lella have proposed (Skehan and Di Lella *Sira* AB, 57–59). The hypothesis that the Cairo mss contain some medieval retroversions is compatible with the theory that these mss (especially ms B) witness to more than one recension of the Hebrew text, viz., HT I and HT II. In fact, some of the passages that have been analyzed as retroversions do not have the same kind of Hebrew as HT II (or "the secondary Hebrew text-form," as Rüger [1970: 1–11] calls it), which supposedly dates to the 1st century B.C. The diction and grammar of these retroversions are often demonstrably mishnaic (Di Lella 1966b: 115–19, 134–42) and quite different from what one would expect in HT II.

2. Greek and Other Versions. G I is found, for the most part, in the uncials A B C S and their dependent cursives. In his splendid critical edition, Ziegler (1965: 74–75) notes that G II is not preserved in any single ms, not even 248. The witnesses to G II, generally the Origenistic or hexaplaric mss (*O:* 253 Syrohexaplar V S^{c}) and the Lucianic mss (*L:* 248–493–637; and *l:* 106–130–545–705), transmit the text of G I, which was then expanded under the influence of one or more other mss. The translator of G II did not produce an independent translation but used mss of G I and translated from HT II only in those cases where he thought it to be necessary. Many readings of G II mss go back to a Hebrew *Vorlage,* a recension of HT II, which differed from HT I. The additions found in the mss do not give the complete contents of G II but only a selection. Over the centuries, the transmission of the Greek text has suffered a great deal and often is mutilated in the mss. Hence the textual critic must take great pains to remedy these corruptions with more or less success. G II has about 300 cola not found in G I; Ziegler prints these extra cola in the text itself, but in smaller letters.

The Old Latin (OL) is an important witness to G II, either directly or indirectly. OL, however, preserves the correct order of chapters after 30:24, whereas in all the extant Greek mss two sections, 30:25–33:13a and 33:13b–36:16a, have exchanged places. OL supports many of the G II additions, but it also contains 75 bicola peculiar to itself (Smend 1906b: ic–cxiii). OL, which was eventually incorporated into the Vulgate because Jerome did not make a fresh translation of the book, was made from a G II text type probably in the 2d century. Because of a complicated textual history, OL of Sirach has more doublets, variants, and interpolations than any other book of the Latin Bible. Nonetheless it is of great importance for the textual criticism of the expanded text of the book.

The Syriac was translated no later than the 4th century, probably by Ebionite Christians, and was revised in the late 4th century by orthodox Christians who gave it its present form (Winter 1977). It was translated directly from a Hebrew *Vorlage* that had combined HT I and HT II. In choosing between doublets in his *Vorlage,* the Syriac translator was often guided by what he saw in his copy of the Greek text, which was not identical with G II but which had many of its readings. Syriac has 70 of the approximately 300 extra cola found in G II, as well as several shorter additions in common with G II. It also contains 74

cola and other shorter variants proper to itself. Many of these are probably of Christian origin, but several others show the doctrinal trends of GII and OL (Kearns *NCCHS*, 548).

The textual criticism of the book is, as should be obvious from the above, enormously complicated, especially when the critic attempts to understand the relationships that exist between and among the various witnesses. No other book of the OT is as textually complex and difficult to work with. Though the theory of two recensions of the Hebrew text (HT I and HT II) seems most probable, it is not always clear when an addition to the text should be seen as evidence of HT II or as a gloss or as a retroversion from the Syriac or Greek. Though GI remains the most reliable form of the book as a whole, it too has many scribal errors and other corruptions as well as mistranslations due to the grandson's failure to understand the Hebrew *Vorlage*. Hence, there are no iron rules or golden rules for the textual criticism of the book. The careful critic must take into account all these bewildering features and then make a judgment that seems most reasonable for the passage under consideration.

E. Contents

The Wisdom of Ben Sira belongs to the Wisdom Literature of Israel, together with Job, Proverbs, Qoheleth, the Wisdom of Solomon, and several wisdom Psalms. Except for chaps. 44–50, which in ms B are entitled "Praise of the Ancestors of Old," the book, like Proverbs, manifests no particular order of subject matter or obvious coherence. This is not surprising since the book seems to be a compilation of lecture notes that Ben Sira used with his young Jewish male students. But unlike Proverbs, which consists of mainly one-line aphorisms, the book has larger units, usually from 10 lines to the classic 22- and 23-line lengths. Ben Sira learned the 22- and 23-line convention from such pieces as Proverbs 2; 6:20–7:6; 7:7–27; 31:10–31; Psalms 9–10, 25, 33, 34, 94, 145. The book contains several poems in praise of Wisdom and its Author as well as exhortations and advice for the young. It is a kind of handbook of moral behavior for the early 2d-century B.C. Jew.

1. The Grandson's Foreword. The foreword or prologue resembles the classical historical prefaces by Herodotus, Thucydides, and Polybius, and may be compared also to the Prologue to Luke (1:1–4). Found in most mss, including GII, the foreword to the Greek translation has three paragraphs: (1) the grandson explains why Ben Sira composed the book; (2) he invites readers to study the book with indulgence for any failure on his part to render the Hebrew faithfully; and (3) he gives autobiographical information about his arrival in Egypt and his hours of hard labor to produce the translation (see A.3 above). He refers to "the Law, the Prophets, and the other books of our ancestors;" this is the first mention of the threefold partition of the OT (cf. Luke 24:44). He also speaks of the third part as "the rest of the books," which later came to be known in Hebrew as *kĕtûbîm*, "the Writings."

2. First Major Division (1:1–23:28). All wisdom (personified as a woman) comes from the Lord who imparts her as a gift to those who love him (1:1–10; cf. Marböck 1971: 17–34). Cf. Prov 8:22–31; Wis 7:27–29; 9:4, 6. The first major poem is in praise of wisdom as fear of the Lord (1:11–30); it has 22 bicola, the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet. The book closes (51:13–30) with an alphabetic acrostic of 23 bicola, thus forming a literary *inclusio*, which supports the unity of authorship. (The reason for 23 bicola, as a variation, instead of the usual 22 is this: the opening bicolon has *ʾalep*, the middle bicolon *lamed*, and the last bicolon *pe*, the three letters thus forming the verb *ʾalep*, "to learn.")

2:1–4:10: Fidelity to fear of the Lord and steadfastness in the face of trials as well as hope and trust in God (2:1–11) are hallmarks of the true believer. Compromise with Hellenism (2:12–14) leads to disaster. Children must honor and respect their parents, especially when they are old and feeble (3:1–16). Humility (3:17–29) keeps you from delving into matters that are too sublime (i.e., the pretensions of Greek philosophy and science). Almsgiving, like filial piety (3:3), atones for sin (3:30). The poor, the oppressed, the orphan, and the widow are to be treated with courtesy and compassion (4:1–10).

4:11–6:17: Those who love Wisdom love life and are loved by the Lord (4:12, 14). Avoid false shame and favoritism (4:20–22, 27; cf. Jas 2:1–4); never tell lies. Do not rely on deceitful wealth or presume on the Lord's mercy (5:1–8; cf. Isa 1:18–20). "Be swift to hear, but slow to answer" (5:11, a proverb quoted in Jas 1:19). Unruly passion has been the downfall of many (6:2–4). Test your friends lest they take advantage of you (6:5–17).

6:18–8:19: The search for Wisdom begins in youth and continues till old age (6:18–37, a 22-line poem). Avoid political ambition, for it brings many moral dangers (7:1–7)—a warning to Jews who served in the royal courts (cf. 2 Macc 3:4–13). Beware of empty formalism in prayer (7:14; cf. Matt 6:7). Be kind to a sensible wife and members of your household (7:18–21), but be firm in disciplining your children (7:23–24). In all areas of your life, "remember your last days, and you will never sin" (7:36). Be prudent in dealing with others, and take advantage of "the tradition of the elders" (8:9).

9:1–11:6: Be on your guard in associating with women, especially those of questionable virtue (9:1–9). Hold on to your old friends. "A new friend is like new wine" (9:10); it needs to be aged (cf. Luke 5:39). Cf. also 6:5–17; 7:18; 37:1–6. The wise make the best friends and the best rulers (9:17–10:5, a tract on government [Prato 1975: 369–72]). Pride and arrogance are detestable and cause utter ruin (10:6–18). Fear of the Lord is the glory of people in every social class (10:19–11:6; cf. Di Lella 1982b).

11:7–14:19: Avoid rash judgment and useless arguments (11:7–9). The pursuit of wealth can lead to sin; and the miserly rich will leave their wealth to others (11:10–19; cf. Luke 12:16–21). Use caution in choosing your friends and watch out for your enemies even when they seem friendly (11:29–12:18). Do not associate with those who are wealthier or more influential than you, lest you suffer grief; associate with your own kind (13:1–14:2). "Wealth is good where there is no guilt" (13:24). But it should be used wisely on oneself and shared generously with others, for "death does not tarry" (14:3–19).

14:20–19:17: Happy indeed are those who through fear of the Lord seek Wisdom and ponder her ways; "like a young bride" she will embrace them (14:20–15:10). Since God made humans free to choose between good and evil,

he is in no way responsible for sin (15:11–20; cf. Wis 11:24; Jas 1:13). It is better to "die childless than have impious children" (16:3). The wicked are punished, for they alone bear responsibility for their sins (16:5–14). No one can hide from God's all-seeing eye (16:17–23). God's wisdom can be seen in the order and providence of creation; every creature exists in harmony with the rest of creation (16:24–30; cf. Wis 11:20). Humans, made in God's image, have received the largest share of divine bounty; fear of the Lord enables them to marvel at his works and to "praise his holy name" (17:1–24). But humans must repent by turning again to the Most High (17:25–31), for he is a kind and merciful judge (18:1–14). Do not spoil the gift, you give, with harsh words (18:15–18; cf. Jas 1:5). Watch your tongue, honor your responsibilities in all matters, and do not indulge your desires (18:15–19:17).

19:18–23:27: Wisdom consists in fear of the Lord and keeping the commandments (19:20). Not all knowledge is wisdom, as the Greeks thought. It is better to be thought a fool, free from sin, than a savant, detested by God (19:22–30). Learn when to speak and when to keep silent (20:1–8). Appearances can be deceptive: misfortune can bring success and vice versa (20:9–17). "Favors and gifts blind the eyes" (20:29). Flee from sin, a two-edged sword (21:1–10). Personal behavior distinguishes the wise from the foolish (21:11–22:5). Weep for the fool: he is worse off than the dead (22:11–12). Act responsibly and kindly toward your friends; make amends if you have hurt them (22:19–26). Beware of destructive sins, especially of the tongue and the flesh (22:27–23:26). "Nothing is better than the fear of the Lord, nothing sweeter than obeying his commandments" (23:27).

3. Second Major Division (24:1–43:33). This division, like the first, begins with a lengthy poem on Wisdom. Chap. 24 has 35 lines, exactly the number in Proverbs 8 that served as model (Skehan 1979). After a brief introduction, personified Wisdom delivers a 22-line speech (24:3–22), in which she describes her origin from God and her heavenly and earthly activity. Though she holds sway over all peoples, she dwells in Jerusalem, having Israel, "the portion of the Lord," as her inheritance. Ben Sira, now the speaker, identifies Wisdom with the Law or Torah of Moses. He then speaks of himself as being a channel of divine inspiration (24:23–33).

25:1–26:27: Harmony among kindred and neighbors and mutual love of husband and wife are pleasing to the Lord and humans. But the proud, the rich, and the old lecher are loathsome. Whoever finds wisdom is great but not greater than the one who fears the Lord (25:10). Do not choose a wife on looks alone or marry for her money (25:21). Blessed is the husband who dwells with a sensible wife and has joy in his children. Nothing is worse than an evil wife, "a chafing yoke." Rival wives who cannot get along cause heartache and grief. But a good wife, "choicest of blessings," brings happiness to her husband.

26:28–29:20: Beware of hazards to your integrity. Many have sinned for the sake of profit, "and the struggle for wealth blinds the eyes" (27:1). Your faults appear when you speak. "Birds nest with their own kind" (27:9); so associate with the wise and not with fools, i.e., evildoers. Keep faith with your friends, for betraying a secret destroys confidence and friendship (27:16–21). Whoever digs a pit falls into it. Wrath and anger are loathsome; the vengeful will suffer the Lord's vengeance. So forgive your neighbor and hold no grudges; "then when you pray, your own sins will be forgiven" (28:2–7; cf. Matt 6:14; Jas 2:13). Avoid strife; the quarrelsome kindle disputes leading to bloodshed. Cursed is the gossip, the meddler, and the double-tongued; they destroy the peace of many. "A blow from the tongue smashes bones" (28:17). So keep a seal on your mouth, for the tongue can be a raging fire (28:8–26; cf. Jas 3:5–6). Be quick to lend to those in need and go surety for others if you can, but also be cautious to avoid loss (29:1–7, 14–20). Do not keep the poor waiting for your alms; almsgiving is spiritual treasure that will save you from every evil (29:8–13; cf. Tob 4:7–11; Matt 6:20).

29:21–33:18: A simple meal at home is better than a sumptuous banquet with strangers (29:21–28). Be strict in disciplining your son; whip him if necessary. Otherwise he will bring you to heartache (30:1–13). Good health is better than wealth. Envy, anger, and anxiety shorten life (30:14–24). The lover of gold is a fool with no peace. But the rich who are blameless are praiseworthy (31:1–11). Watch your manners at a banquet and curb your appetite lest you suffer distress and lose sleep. Wine in moderation is joy of heart and good cheer (cf. Ps 104:15); when abused, it leads to disgrace (31:12–31). If you preside at a banquet, be considerate and sensitive to others; and when it is time to leave, do not linger (32:1–13). If you fear the Lord and keep the Law, you will never be put to shame; but the sinner (= the fool) suffers loss (32:14–33:6). God planned the polarities or opposites in creation (Prato 1975: 13–61): he exalts certain days and lists others as ordinary; he blesses some people and others he brings low (33:7–15; cf. 15:11–20). Ben Sira reminds the reader that he has toiled not for himself alone "but for every seeker after guidance" (33:16–18).

33:19–38:23: Keep control of your property as long as you live, lest you become subject to others (33:19–24). Treat a lazy slave harshly and give him plenty of work; but never be unjust or unkind (33:25–33). Put no trust in dreams; they have led many astray (34:1–8). Travel, though dangerous, helps the wise gain wide experience (34:9–13). The tainted sacrifices of the wicked are an abomination. "He sheds blood who denies the worker his wages" (34:27; cf. Lev 19:13). Prayer and fasting are futile if one does not turn away from sin (34:28–31). Keeping the Law, giving alms, refraining from evil are meaningful offerings (35:1–5). Be generous and cheerful when you make an offering to the Lord (35:6–13). You cannot bribe the Lord for your sins of injustice against the poor (35:14–26). Ben Sira begs God to rescue his people from domination by the gentiles and to bring back to Palestine all the scattered Jews (36:1–22). Foods vary in quality as do women. A good wife is a husband's richest treasure (36:23–31; cf. Prov 31:10–31). Not all friends are true. Seek counsel with care, but in the end follow your own conscience (37:1–15). Gluttony makes you sick (37:27–31). The physician has his calling from God. So if you are sick, first pray to God who heals and then go to the physician and take the medicine he gives you (38:1–15). Mourn for the dead but not to excess (38:16–23).

38:24–41:13: Though manual laborers make essential

contributions to society (cf. *ANET*, pp. 432–34), it is the scribe who has the leisure to devote himself to the study of the Law, the wisdom of the ancients, and the prophecies. He is in attendance on the great; he travels to foreign lands. The congregation speaks of his wisdom and declares his praises (38:24–39:11). Ben Sira now extols the goodness and purposefulness of creation and of God's providence. Everything ultimately fulfills God's will and plan (39:12–35). But life can be miserable and painful for rich and poor alike (40:1–10). Each person will receive his due, in this life: disaster for the wicked; long life and prosperity for the virtuous. A series of "better than" proverbs culminates in fear of the Lord, "a paradise of blessings" (40:18–27). The life of the beggar is no life. Death is bitter for one who prospers, but sweet for one who is old and feeble. The reprobate and their children are cursed; but a good name will never be annihilated (41:1–13).

41:14–43:33: Be ashamed of immorality, lying, disloyalty, theft, refusing an alms, lusting after another's wife, and other sins. But never be ashamed of the Law of the Most High, justice, honesty in business, training your children strictly, bargaining with merchants, sharing expenses, and other good activities (41:14–42:8). You have reason to worry about your daughter; so keep watch over her lest she go astray. "Better a man's wickedness than a woman's goodness" (42:14)—the meanest of Ben Sira's harsh comments about women (see G.6 below). The glory of the Lord shines through all the marvelous and stupendous works of creation. God is revealed as the one who knows all things and is almighty. He made all things in twos, "one corresponding to the other"—light and darkness, hot and cold, etc. The heavens, the sun, moon, and stars, the rainbow, hail, rain, thunder, lightning, stormwind, snow, ice, frost, and every sea creature—all do God's bidding. In this splendid lyric poem, similar to Job 38–41 and Prov 30:15–31, Ben Sira admits that not even the holy ones (= angels) are capable of praising God as he is (42:15–43:33).

4. Third Major Division (44:1–50:24). This is the only unified section of the book. In Cairo ms B, it has the title "Praise of the Ancestors of Old"; in most Greek, Latin, and Syriac mss, "Praise of the Ancestors" (cf. Mack 1985 and Lee 1986).

44:1–49:16: "I will now praise those godly people, our ancestors, each in his own time": rulers of royal rank, counselors, seers, governors, lawgivers, sages, framers of proverbs, composers of psalms, and lyric poets; their "virtues will not be forgotten. . . . their glory will never be blotted out." Even those who have left no obvious memorial are remembered for their fidelity, and their names and their families live on and on. Enoch heads the list of ancient worthies (44:16) and appears again by way of *inclusio* in the conclusion of this section (49:14). Ben Sira extols the early patriarchs Noah, Abraham, Isaac, and Israel; Moses, "dear to God and humans," Aaron, who receives the lion's share of attention because Ben Sira loved the cult and levitical priesthood, and Phinehas; Joshua, Caleb, the judges as a group, and Samuel, the last and greatest of the judges; Nathan the prophet, David, and Solomon, who is acclaimed for his wisdom and for building the temple but is blamed for his sins with foreign women; the prophets Elijah and Elisha; pious King Hezekiah and Isaiah, the prophet of his reign; good King Josiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Job, and the Twelve (minor) Prophets, Zerubbabel, Jeshua, Nehemiah; and finally Enoch, Joseph, Shem, Seth, Enosh, and Adam, the first human.

50:1–24: This lengthy panegyric serves as an appendix to the preceding section. Simeon II, son of Johanan, was high priest from 219 to 196 (cf. Josephus, *Ant* 12.3.3). He renovated the temple, fortifying its precincts, built a large reservoir, and strengthened Jerusalem. Ben Sira gives a lyrical description of the ceremonies of the daily whole-offering, and not of the Day of Atonement, as often thought (Ó Fearghail 1978).

5. Conclusion and Appendixes (50:25–51:30). Ben Sira detests the Edomites (cf. Ezek 25:12–14), Philistines (proverbial enemies of Israel), and Samaritans (who were despised by Jews; cf. Ezra 4:1–24). Then in a postscript he declares happy those who take to heart what he has written in his book (50:25–29).

51:1–12: The first appendix is a skillfully crafted prayer, classified as a declarative psalm of praise for deliverance from a major peril (Di Lella 1986).

51:12 i–xvi: Found only in Cairo ms B and in none of the versions, this hymn is probably inauthentic but old, prior to 152 B.C. (Di Lella 1966b: 101–5). Modelled on Psalm 136, it is completely biblical in orientation.

51:13–30: The second appendix is autobiographical; it is an elegant alphabetic acrostic, like the conclusion of Proverbs (31:10–31), in 23 lines (Skehan 1971). Ben Sira tells how he kept seeking Wisdom from his youth, resolving to tread her paths without relenting. He prayed with purified hands outstretched and thus attained to her. He invites the untutored to come aside with him and to lodge "in the house of instruction (or discipline)" (so Greek and Syriac; ms B: "in my house of instruction," an inferior reading), so that they also may gain wisdom, without money.

F. Composition

In composing his book, Ben Sira utilized the forms of expression and literary styles he found in the older books of the OT, especially the Wisdom Literature, of which Proverbs was by far his favorite book.

1. Literary Genres. The principal literary genres in the book are these: *māšāl*, hymn of praise, prayer of petition, autobiographical narrative, lists or onomastica, and didactic narrative (Baumgartner 1914).

a. *Māšāl.* The noun *māšāl* may have one or more of the following meanings: "proverb, aphorism, maxim; comparison, similitude; paradigm, model, exemplar; byword; word play; taunt song; allegory; didactic poem" (Duesberg and Fransen 1966: 65–68; von Rad 1972: 25–34).

A well-crafted proverb has shortness, sense, and salt. Written in memorable language, often with alliteration, assonance, and rhyme, it also heightens one's awareness. "Wealth makes wit waver." The proverb rings true to the listener. "The greatest wealth is contentment with a little." The proverb stretches the mind and captivates the imagination. "Better wit than wealth." The proverb may be amusing or satirical. "He has great need of a fool that plays the fool himself." A good proverb exemplifies Lord John

Russell's classic definition: "A proverb is one man's wit and all men's wisdom."

Ben Sira composed many memorable proverbs: "Like an arrow lodged in a person's thigh is gossip in the breast of a fool" (19:12). "A blow from a whip raises a welt, but a blow from the tongue smashes bones" (28:17). "Whoever touches pitch blackens his hand; whoever accompanies a scoundrel learns his ways" (13:1). "Tainted his gift who offers in sacrifice ill-gotten goods" (34:21). "A person may purchase much for little, but pay for it seven times over" (20:12). Often Ben Sira uses a single *māšāl* to introduce a series of other proverbs that develop a theme from several points of view. See, e.g., 2:1–6; 16:1–4; 18:30–19:3; 26:1–4; 28:12–16.

The numerical *māšāl* of the type *x*/*x*-plus-one (as in Job 5:19–22; 33:14–15; Ps 62:12; Prov 6:16–19; 30:15b–16, 18–19, 21–23, 29–31) is also found in Ben Sira: 23:16–18; 25:7–11; 26:5–6, 28; 50:25–26. Proverbs of this kind apparently served as pedagogical devices to aid in learning (von Rad 1972: 35–37). The increasing numbers in such proverbs go from one-two (e.g., Job 33:14–15) to nine-ten (e.g., Sir 25:7–11). Similar in form and function is another type of numerical proverb in which certain things are said to total up to a single number given at the beginning of the text (cf. Prov 30:7–9, 24–28). Ben Sira gives two examples (25:1–2).

The *māšāl* may also be an exhortation or warning, in brief or extended compass, stated in positive or in negative terms. The purpose was to urge readers to practice appropriate behavior and right thinking. See, e.g., Sir 28:1–7 and 51:25–27.

b. Hymn of Praise. Basically there are two modes of calling on God: praise and lament/petition. The Psalms, with few exceptions, may each be reduced to one or both of these modes. Hymns of praise occur with some frequency in Ben Sira: 1:1–10; 18:1–7; 39:12–35; 42:15–43:33; 50:22–24; 51:1–12.

c. Prayer of Petition/Lament. This kind of prayer is not common in Ben Sira. But it is found in at least two places: 22:27–23:6 and 36:1–22. These prayers have the same features as petitions in the Psalms.

d. Autobiographical Narrative. This type of narrative or confessional statement occurs in the Wisdom Literature when the sage appeals to his own authority and experience in order to emphasize a point for his students or readers (von Rad 1972: 37–38). This literary genre originated in Egypt; cf. the "Instruction of King Merikare" (*ANET*, pp. 414–18) and the "Instruction of King Amen-em-het" (*ANET*, pp. 418–19). It is found often in the OT; cf., e.g., Prov. 4:3–9; 24:30–34; Ps 37:25, 35–36; Qoh 1:12–2:26; 4:7–8; Wis 7:1–9:18. Ben Sira uses this genre to make the point that his search for wisdom was not for himself alone but for all who seek her (33:16–18). The long autobiographical poem (51:13–30) that concludes the book is primarily didactic, as is clear from its alphabetic acrostic form.

e. Lists or Onomastica. Lists of geographical, mineralogical, cosmic, meterological, and other natural phenomena became a literary genre in ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia and were later utilized in the Wisdom Literature of Israel. See, e.g., Job 28; 36:27–37:13; 38:4–39:30; 40:15–41:26; Psalm 148; Dan 3:52–90 (NAB), Wis 7:17–20, 22–23; 14:25–26. Ben Sira uses onomastica in his hymns in praise of God the Creator (39:16–35; 42:15–43:33). In the latter poem, he lists the splendors of God's creation in the heights (sky, sun, moon, stars, rainbow, hail, lightning, thunder, winds, snow, frost, rain) and on the earth (the sea and its amazing creatures, islands in the midst of the sea, monsters of the deep). The purpose of this long list is stated at the end of the poem:

> Let us praise him the more, since we cannot fathom him,
> for greater is he than all his works (43:28).
> It is the LORD who has made all things,
> and to those who fear him he gives wisdom (43:33).

f. Didactic Narrative. An excellent example of didactic narrative is the long poem (44:1–50:24), entitled in Cairo ms B "Praise of the Ancestors of Old." The didactic purpose of this composition is made clear in the opening and closing lines of the introduction:

> I will now praise those godly people,
> our ancestors, each in his own time (44:1).
> At gatherings their wisdom is retold,
> and the assembly declares their praises (44:15).

2. Ben Sira's Poetry. As regards metrics, Ben Sira wrote most often in 3 + 3 accents per bicolon (or poetic line). There are, however, many cola that have two as well as four accents. On occasion he also wrote in the *qînâ* meter (3 + 2); see 12:14 and 36:18–19. Most of Ben Sira's longer poems have a reasonably clear strophic structure (see the NAB and the AB translation [Skehan and Di Lella *Sira* AB]). Ben Sira made extensive use of such poetic and rhetorical devices as assonance, alliteration, rhyme, chiasm, rhythm, and *inclusio* in order to enhance the quality and power of his poetry (Di Lella 1982a). Like the great Hebrew poets before him, he often composed units of twenty-two and twenty-three lines and used these to signal the opening or closing of a major portion of the book, to show the unity of a section of text, or simply to add elegance to his work. See 1:11–30 (the opening poem of the book); 5:1–6:4; 6:18–37 (the opening poem of a part of the book); 12:1–18; 13:24–14:19 (the closing poem of that same part); 21:1–21; 29:1–20; 29:21–30:13; 38:24–34; 49:1–16 (the closing unit on Israel's great ancestors); 51:13–30 (an alphabetic acrostic poem that closes the book). Ben Sira learned this technique of composition from such OT texts as Deut 32:1–14, 15–29, 30–43; Prov 2; 6:20–7:6; 7:7–27; 31:10–31 (the final poem of the book); Pss 9–10; 25; 33; 34; 37; 94; 111; 112; 119; 145; and Lamentations 1–5 (Skehan and Di Lella *Sira* AB, 74).

3. Jewish Sources. In his prologue, the grandson writes that Ben Sira spent a lifetime studying the Scriptures of Israel. Before becoming a wisdom teacher, Ben Sira immersed himself in the Torah (Law), Prophets, and Writings that had already become the nation's literary and religious heritage. Not surprisingly, Ben Sira adapted the older Scriptures in order to make them relevant to the new Hellenistic age in which he and his people lived. Though he often quotes or alludes to a sacred text, he usually alters it or changes its wording so that there is a new emphasis or a different meaning. Compare, e.g., Deut 6:5 and Sir

7:29–30; Job 29:21 and Sir 13:23; Isa 51:3 and Sir 15:6. Ben Sira cites or alludes to the Pentateuch, Joshua, 1–2 Samuel, 1–2 Kings, 1–2 Chronicles, Nehemiah, Psalms, Job, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Haggai, and Malachi. He also mentions the Judges (46:11–12), the Twelve Minor Prophets (49:10), the Psalms as compositions of David (47:7), and Proverbs as the work of Solomon (47:14–17).

Ben Sira often bases his didactic discourse on a single text from the Torah. See, e.g., 3:1–16 on the honor due to parents, a section that explains Exod 20:12 (or Deut 5:16), the commandment to honor one's father and mother. But the work that Ben Sira comments on most frequently is Proverbs, the book most like his own. He did not merely quote or paraphrase a maxim from Proverbs but explained and developed its implications for his own day and world. His dependence on Proverbs can be seen in almost every part of the book. Compare, e.g., Prov 8:22 and Sir 1:4; Prov 1:7 and Sir 1:14; Prov 8:18–19 and Sir 1:16–17; Prov 17:3 and Sir 2:5; Prov 3:5–6 and Sir 2:6–9; Prov 3:34 and Sir 3:18. There are of course differences in subject matter and emphasis between Proverbs and Ben Sira, for the social matrix and political situation had changed considerably. Nonetheless both books reflect the same type of wisdom traditions and the same religious heritage. By commenting and reflecting on Proverbs and other parts of the OT, Ben Sira created a new synthesis that served the needs and preoccupations of the Jewish community of his day. Herein lie Ben Sira's genius, significance, and lasting contribution to the thought of Israel's sages.

4. Gentile Sources. Though Ben Sira opposed vigorously any compromise of Jewish values and pronounced a curse on those who forsook the Law (41:8), he himself learned a great deal from the world in which he lived, a world that included non-Jews. He traveled extensively abroad (cf. 34:9–13) and doubtless met many gentile sages; we may assume that he read their literature (cf. 39:2–4). It is not unreasonable to believe that he would incorporate some of what he read into his own book. Proverbs itself, Ben Sira's favorite source, provided a legitimate precedent for borrowing from gentile literature. Prov 22:17–24:22, a section that may be called "The Thirty Precepts of the Sages," is modelled in part on an Egyptian work entitled "Instruction of Amen-em-ope" (*ANET*, 421–24).

There can be little doubt that Ben Sira also derived material from gentile sources. Compare, e.g., Sir 14:18 and *The Iliad*, vi 146–49. T. Middendorp (1973: 8–24) provides a good overview of evidence adduced by scholars who have seen parallels between Ben Sira and various Greek authors. He claims there are about a hundred texts in Ben Sira that have clear parallels in Greek literature. J. T. Sanders (1983: 29) rightly criticizes Middendorp for exaggerating Ben Sira's dependence on Greek sources. Then Sanders (1983: 33–38) shows that there are many convincing parallels between Ben Sira and Theognis. He explains (1983: 55–59) that Ben Sira used Hellenic materials only when it suited his Jewish purpose, in which case he claimed it for Judaism. Thus despite the use of Greek ideas, what Ben Sira wrote was an essentially Jewish book. Apparently, Ben Sira knew Egyptian Wisdom literature as well, for "The Satire on the Trades," also called "The Instruction of Duauf" (*ANET*, 432–34), seems to be the source, directly or indirectly, of many ideas found in Sir 38:24–39:11 (Skehan and Di Lella *Sira* AB, 449–53). The most important source, however, is *Phibis*, of which over 15 per cent, according to Sanders's calculation (1983: 98–99), is reflected in Ben Sira. But Sanders (1983: 102) rightly insists that Ben Sira never quotes exactly from *Phibis* material; rather, "Ben Sira derived *gnomic insight* from *Phibis*."

Ben Sira's dependence on several gentile sources seems beyond question. But it must be observed that Ben Sira utilized certain gentile expressions and aphorisms only because he judged these to be true and hence, in his mind, conformable to Jewish doctrine. What he does, in effect, is to make his gentile sources as Jewish as possible; and this procedure is far more important and significant for our understanding of his book than the fact that he borrowed or adapted such material in the first place. Though he employed foreign authors, what he writes comes out as something completely his own; and accordingly can be described only as something thoroughly Jewish and compatible with earlier biblical tradition. That is why his maxims, even when they parallel material from Theognis or *Phibis*, have more the tenor and theology of Proverbs than of either pagan source. Ben Sira made use of gentile materials, not because he gave in to the spirit of compromise and syncretism that was rampant at the time, but because he felt he had to show his fellow Jews that the best of foreign thought is no danger at all to the true faith but could even be incorporated into an authentically Jewish book, the purpose of which was to encourage fidelity to the ancestral religion (Skehan and Di Lella *Sira* AB, 49–50).

G. Theology

Like other biblical authors, Ben Sira had no intention of offering a systematic theology. As noted above (E), there is little discernible order or obvious coherence in the topics he chose to discuss. What is offered here is not exhaustive or strictly systematic, but rather selective in an attempt to show the dimensions and grandeur of Ben Sira's theology. But I shall also point out his considerable limitations. For similar surveys, cf. Burkill (*IDB* 2: 19-21), Duesberg and Fransen (1966: 53–64), Kearns (*NCCHS*, 543–46), and Skehan and Di Lella (*Sira* AB, 75–92).

1. Wisdom as Fear of the Lord. There is dispute about the primary theme of The Wisdom of Ben Sira. J. Haspecker (1967: 87–105) argues that fear of the Lord is the total theme *(Gesamtthema)* of the book whereas G. von Rad (1972: 242) and J. Marböck (1971) insist that wisdom is the fundamental theme. R. Smend (1906b: xxiii), however, suggests the best approach when he writes: "Subjectively, wisdom is fear of God; objectively, it is the law book of Moses (chap. 24)." Hence I would contend that Ben Sira's primary theme is wisdom *as* fear of the Lord, and that his fundamental thesis is this: wisdom, which is identified with the Law, can be acquired only by one who fears God and keeps the commandments. Ben Sira puts it this way:

> The whole of wisdom is fear of the Lord;
> complete wisdom is the fulfillment of the Law (19:20).

The expression "fear of God," or its equivalent, occurs fifty-five to sixty times in Ben Sira. In the rest of the OT, only the Psalter, where the expression is found 79 times, has a larger number of occurrences (Haspecker 1967: 82). Clearly, fear of the God is a paramount concern of Ben Sira. But so is wisdom (Gk *sophia*), a noun that occurs 55 times in the Greek translation. The opening chapters (1:1–2:18) contain the thematic introduction to the book; these give a detailed treatise on wisdom as fear of God, an expression found 17 times. But the word "wisdom" occurs 11 times in chap. 1 alone.

At the outset Ben Sira states his argument:

> All wisdom is from the Lord,
> and with him it remains forever (1:1).

He restates the same idea at the beginning of the second half of the book where he has personified Wisdom say:

> From the mouth of the Most High I came forth,
> and mistlike covered the earth.
> In the heights of heaven I dwelt,
> my throne on a pillar of cloud (24:3–4).

Wisdom, says Ben Sira, existed before all other creatures and will be everlasting:

> Before the ages, from the first, [God] created me [Wisdom],
> and through the ages I shall not cease to be (24:9).

Ben Sira derived many of his ideas about wisdom in 24:1–22 from Prov 8:22–31. Wisdom is something God alone possesses fully (1:8); only he can pour "her forth upon all his works" (1:9).

God confers the gift of wisdom solely "upon his friends" (1:10b), i.e., those who "keep the commandments" (1:26) of the Law and fear him (15:1; 43:33). Ben Sira calls fear of the Lord "the beginning of wisdom" (1:14a; cf. Prov 9:10a), the "fullness of wisdom" (1:16a), "wisdom's garland" (1:18a), and "the root of wisdom" (1:20a). Hence fear of God is the essence of wisdom. It is also "glory and exultation, gladness and a festive crown. . . . [It] rejoices the heart, giving gladness and joy and length of days" (1:11–12). Fear of the Lord and wisdom make life meaningful and satisfying and full of days (1:20b; 34:14–20; cf. Deut 6:24; 30:15–20).

> Nothing is better than the fear of the Lord,
> nothing sweeter than obeying his commandments (23:27cd).
> Whoever finds wisdom is great indeed,
> but not greater than the one who fears the Lord.
> Fear of the Lord surpasses all else,
> its possessor is beyond all compare (25:10–11).

Although Wisdom holds sway over every land, people, and nation (24:6), she received the divine command to strike root in Jacob, her inheritance in Israel (24:8), the glorious people (24:12a). Hence true wisdom is to be found "in Jerusalem" (24:11b), and not in Athens or Alexandria. All of which is to say that Israelite wisdom is incomparably superior to Hellenistic wisdom and culture. Ben Sira makes his most emphatic statement that wisdom is the Law of Israel in 24:23a: "All this [what Wisdom says about herself in chap. 24] is true of the book of the Most High's covenant."

Though wisdom is a free gift from God, the faithful must do their part in order to receive it. They are to fear the Lord and keep the Law, but they must also expect affliction as a test of their fidelity (2:1–10; 4:17–19). In time of trial, the faithful will be saved by the Lord (2:10–11). They must also strive for discipline if they hope to attain wisdom (6:18):

> Put your feet into her [Wisdom's] net
> and your neck into her noose.
> Stoop your shoulders and carry her
> and be not irked at her bonds (6:24–25).

The struggle to obtain wisdom is great, but her rewards are many (6:29–31). Despite the varied and marvelous benefits wisdom confers (4:11–16), many do not strive for her because of the prerequisite discipline (6:22).

After coming to wisdom by loyalty to God and the Law, the believer must be careful not to sin, for sin drives away wisdom (4:19). That is why sinners or fools—the terms are synonyms in Ben Sira's dictionary—never attain wisdom (15:7–8). But the virtuous or the wise person—these terms in Ben Sira are also synonyms—pursues wisdom "like a scout" (14:22a) and then "pitches his tent beside her and lives as her welcome neighbor" (14:25). The result is that "motherlike she will meet him, and like a young bride she will embrace him" (15:2). It is to be observed that Ben Sira, despite his many negative comments about women (see G.6 below), personifies wisdom as a woman: Wisdom is teacher (4:11–19), mistress (6:18–31), welcome neighbor, mother, and wife (14:20–15:8), and lover to be wooed (51:13–21). These are daring images for an inveterate misogynist.

Fear of the Lord, in Ben Sira's theology, is synonymous with love of the Lord (2:15–16). In general, Ben Sira subscribes to the great Deuteronomic equation: to fear God = to love him = to keep his commandments = to walk in his ways (cf. Deut 10:12–13; 30:16). Thus wisdom as fear of the Lord puts one in a right relationship of trust and love with God and with one's neighbor.

2. Doctrine of God. Ben Sira, like his predecessors, has much to say about God. God is one and not many—the basic tenet of Israel's theology; and Ben Sira prays that all nations may come to recognize him as true God (36:1–2, 4–5). God "is from eternity one and the same" (42:21b). "He is the all" (43:27b), or as the Old Latin puts it, "He is in all," i.e., God reveals himself in all his creatures. Thus God is not only transcendent but also immanent in creation.

God is the Creator of all things, including wisdom, as noted above (G.1). He created by uttering his all-powerful word (39:17–18; 42:15; cf. Gen 1:3–24). He knows everything, for he calls into being the deepest mysteries of the cosmos; and he sees all things, even before they come to be (15:18–19; 23:19–20; 39:19–20a; 42:18–20). The amazing order and astounding beauty of the heavens as well as all the ordinary and awesome elements of nature

are due to God's wisdom and might (43:1–26). Each creature exists, in God's plan, in harmony and equilibrium with the rest of creation (16:26–30). It is such splendor that prompts Ben Sira to exult in creation and to exclaim:

How beautiful are all his works,
delightful to gaze upon and a joy to behold! (42:22)

God is merciful not only to the people of Israel but to every people as well (18:13; cf. also 17:29). But God is, above all, righteous; accordingly he punishes the evil of Jews and gentiles alike. The unrepentant sinner can expect only divine wrath (5:5–6; 11:26; 16:6–13; 35:15bc). The faithful, however, because they have a filial relationship with the Lord, may address him confidently as Father and savior (23:1a; 51:10).

3. Sin and Free Will. Texts like Exod 11:10, "Yahweh made Pharaoh obstinate, and he would not let the Israelites leave his land," seem to imply that God was responsible for Pharaoh's sin (cf. also 2 Sam 24:1–10), whereas other texts state clearly that humans have free choice to obey or disobey the Law (e.g., Deut 11:26–28; 30:15–20). As regards the question of free will, however, Ben Sira has made significant advances over the earlier biblical books. He states explicitly that God is in no way involved in human sin:

Say not, "It was God's doing that I fell away";
for what he hates, he does not do.
Say not, "It was he who set me astray";
for he has no need of the wicked (15:11–12).
It was he, from the first, when he created humankind,
who made them subject to their own free choice (15:14).
Before each person are life and death;
whatever he chooses shall be given him (15:17).

See also 15:15–16, 20. Since all humans have freedom of choice in moral decisions, they are responsible both for their good deeds and their sins (cf. Hadot 1970: 91–103).

Elsewhere, however, Ben Sira seems to suggest that God predestines some people for blessing and others for cursing (33:11–13). But Ben Sira stops far short of saying that human sin was caused by God and that predestination negates freedom of choice. The most probable meaning of 33:12cd—"Others [God] curses and brings low, and expels them from their place"—is that God curses some humans because they have already chosen to do evil; they are not wicked because God has cursed them.

With respect to the "historical" origin of sin, Ben Sira follows the traditional teaching:

In a woman was sin's beginning;
on her account we all die (25:24).

This text was derived from Gen 3:1–6 and 2:16–17 (cf. 2 Cor 11:3; 1 Tim 2:14). In the Genesis story the woman in the Garden of Eden sinned before the man. Later Jewish theology, however, generally taught that Adam was the real cause of sin and death (Box and Oesterly *APOT* 1: 402). Paul says the same thing in Rom 5:12, 14–19; 1 Cor 15:22; cf. Wis 2:23–24.

Though Ben Sira does not present a systematic discussion of sin and free will, we may conclude from the texts given above and others such as 4:26; 7:1–3, 8, 12–13; 8:5; 21:1–2; 23:18–20; and 27:8 that he held to the reality of sin, on the one hand, and on the other, that humans have the freedom of choice to be good or bad.

4. Retribution. Ben Sira subscribed to the traditional doctrine of retribution (as spelled out, e.g., in Deuteronomy 28) according to which reward for fidelity to the Law and punishment for infidelity were meted out in this life to each individual. There was thought to be no retribution in the afterlife. Adversity and suffering could serve, however, also as a test of fidelity (cf. Judg 2:22–3:6). After death, saint and sinner alike went to Sheol (the netherworld) from which the dead would not rise again (cf. Job 14:12). Hence Sheol cannot be considered a place of retribution. Its inhabitants were said to share alike a dark, dismal, and dull survival separated from God (Di Lella 1966a: 143–46).

Ben Sira states repeatedly that reward for virtue and punishment for vice take place only in the here and now:

Opt not for the success of pride;
remember it will not reach death unpunished (9:12).
Give, take, and treat yourself well,
for in the netherworld there are no joys to seek (14:16).

Humans must, therefore, seek their complete meaning and fulfillment only in the present life; there is nothing else to hope for. Survival in Sheol is gloomy and pointless:

Who in the netherworld can glorify the Most High
in place of the living who offer their praise?
No more can the dead give praise than those who have never lived;
they glorify the Lord who are alive and well (17:27–28).

For the Jew, there was no life worth living without the worship and praise of the Lord.

Suffering may come to the faithful as a test of their loyalty or as a means of purification:

My son, when you come to serve the Lord,
prepare yourself for testing (2:1).
For in fire gold is tested,
and those God favors, in the crucible of humiliation (2:5).

In the long run, however, the upright will enjoy long life (1:12), good health (1:18), a good marriage (26:3), happiness (26:4), joy in their children (25:7c), and a good and lasting name (37:26; 39:11). Being a keen observer of real life, Ben Sira was, however, painfully aware of the anomalies involved in this theory of retribution: often enough good people did die young and in agony, and bad people did prosper till the end of their lives. But, writes Ben Sira, disaster awaits the sinner though it be delayed till the last hours of life:

It is easy for the Lord on the day of death
to repay a person according to his conduct.
Brief affliction brings forgetfulness of past delights;
the last of a person tells his tale (11:26, 27).

After death, a person lives on in his children and in his good, or bad, name. A virtuous parent can approach death with calm assurance:

At the father's death, he will not seem dead,
since he leaves after him one like himself (30:4).

But the wicked parent faces a grim future, for he will receive only reviling from his children:

Children curse their wicked father,
for they are in disgrace because of him.
When you stumble, there is lasting joy;
and when you die, you become a curse (41:7, 9cd).

A good reputation or name also insures one a form of survival after death:

Have respect for your name, for it will stand by you
more than thousands of precious treasures;
The good things of life last a number of days,
but a good name, for days without number (41:12–13).

The original Hebrew text of Ben Sira does not even mention the possibility of rewards or punishments after death. But the grandson's Greek translation does make definite allusions to retribution in the afterlife; see, e.g., Gk 7:17b and 48:11b. This fact is not unexpected, for the grandson made his translation of GI (see D.2 above) in Alexandria after the publication of the book of Daniel, in which a blissful resurrection is promised to the faithful (Dan 12:1–2a), whereas apostate Jews "will become everlasting objects of contempt and abhorrence" (Dan 12:2b, AB). GII has even more references to retribution in the hereafter; see, e.g., 2:9c; 16:22c; 19:19. The Syriac also has explicit references to life beyond the grave (cf. 1:12b, 20; 3:11b) as does OL, a Christian translation (cf., e.g., the glosses after 18:22b and 24:22b). Cf. Skehan and Di Lella (*Sira* AB, 86–87).

5. Ritual, Social Justice, and Morality. Ben Sira has a high regard for the priesthood and temple worship (cf. 7:29–31). He delights in describing Aaron decked out in his liturgical vestments performing his priestly functions (45:6–22). The glowing panegyric of the High Priest Simeon II (50:1–21) officiating at the ceremonies of the Daily Whole-Offerings suggests that Ben Sira attended the temple rituals with some regularity. He praises David for his constant prayer (47:8a) and for making music a major part of the temple ritual (47:9–10).

But prayer, temple sacrifice, and liturgy are utterly worthless if one's personal morals are not what they should be, especially in the area of social justice:

Tainted his gift who offers in sacrifice ill-gotten goods!
Presents from the lawless do not win God's favor.
The Most High approves not the gifts of the godless,
nor for their many sacrifices does he forgive their sins (34:21–23).

The Law is essentially a moral law, for which there are no substitutes. Like the great prophets (Amos 5:21–25; Isa 1:10–20), Ben Sira states categorically that sacrifice itself is an abomination when offered by one who has trampled on the rights of the poor:

Like one slaying a son in his father's presence
is whoever offers sacrifice from the holdings of the poor.
The bread of charity is life itself for the needy;
whoever withholds it is a person of blood.
He slays his neighbor who deprives him of his living;
he sheds blood who denies the workingman his wages (34:24–27).

In contrast, observance of the moral law is the highest form of sacrifice and worship of God:

To keep the Law is a great oblation,
and whoever observes the commandments sacrifices a peace offering.
In works of charity one offers fine flour,
and when he gives alms he presents his sacrifice of praise.
To refrain from evil pleases the Lord,
and to avoid injustice is an atonement (35:1–5).

Although the offering of sacrifice is enjoined by the Law, only "the just person's sacrifice is welcomed" (35:9a). The Lord refuses the oblations and contributions of those who are guilty of injustice (35:14–15). Ben Sira teaches that concern for social justice is the absolutely indispensable precondition for one who wishes to please the Lord in the temple cult. In Ben Sira's theology, concern for social justice is far more significant and central to authentic religion than any prescribed ritual, no matter how colorful, inspiring, and emotionally satisfying it may be (Snaith *Ecclesiaticus* CBC).

Thus personal morality must take precedence over all else; without it religious practices, even the most sublime, become exercises in hypocrisy. Ben Sira's principal moral concerns are social justice and almsgiving.

Give a hearing to the poor,
and return his greeting with deference.
Deliver the oppressed from his oppressors;
let not right judgment be repugnant to you.
To the fatherless be as a father,
help the widows in their husbands' stead;
Then God will call you a son of his,
and he will be more tender to you than a mother (4:8–10).

Teaching of this kind Ben Sira learned from biblical tradition: e.g., Exod 22:22; Deut 24:17–22; Lev 19:9–10; Job 29:11–16; Prov 14:13; Amos 5:10–15. Ben Sira insists that the poor must be treated kindly and generously for this very good reason:

As water quenches flaming fire,
so alms atones for sins (3:30; cf. Prov 10:12; 1 Pet 4:8).

In caring for the needy and the oppressed, you must never delay or behave in a patronizing way, for such conduct is insulting and may anger them, and they may hurl at you a curse that their Maker will hear (4:2–6; cf. also 7:10b; 29:8–13; 35:3–4).

6. Attitude toward Women. Contemporary Western readers will be repelled by much of what Ben Sira has to say about women. See these texts that deal with woman as wife, mother, daughter, adulteress, or prostitute: 3:2–6; 7:19, 24–26; 9:1–9; 19:2–4; 22:3–5; 23:22–26; 25:1, 8, 13–26:18; 28:15; 33:20; 36:26–31; 40:19, 23; 42:6, 9–14. At the outset, it must be noted that Ben Sira was a typical oriental Jewish male who wrote his book in a patriarchal society and culture in which a woman had few rights as a free and sovereign human being and was subject in almost every aspect of her life to either her father or her husband. In most of the OT, woman was regarded as man's chattel, whom he could dispose of for his personal advantage (cf. Gen 12:12–20; 19:8; Judg 19:24–30). In Exod 20:17, one form of the conclusion of the Decalogue, the wife is listed with a man's property. It was legal, hence moral, for a man to sell his daughter as a slave, and she could not be freed (Exod 21:7), as could a male slave, at the end of six years' service (Exod 21:1–2). This was the religiously validated social order Ben Sira lived in. Thus we could hardly expect that he would write about women in a way that would appeal to us in a Western social order in which, for the most part, women are socially and politically equal with men, at least in law if not in fact.

Ben Sira was not motivated by a personal, negative bias against women, as W. C. Trenchard (1982) attempts to prove. Rather he simply reflects the typical male-oriented mind-set and outlook of his time and culture. This fact, however, does not mitigate his intemperate comments that are often chauvinistic (e.g., 25:13–26) or even downright gross (e.g., 42:14a); such remarks are to be deplored. But it must be remembered that in the patriarchal society in which Ben Sira lived and taught, such remarks would not have occasioned any serious criticism or rebuttal, for women were viewed only in their sociologically legitimated roles, i.e., in their various relationships to the significant men in their lives, and never as autonomous human beings or the equals of men. Moreover, Ben Sira wrote his book only for the instruction of young men in a male-dominated society; hence his vocabulary and grammar are masculine-oriented. Like the other biblical wisdom writers before him, he simply had no intention of instructing young women. When we take such factors into account, we can see why Ben Sira wrote about women the way he did. But that does not make his distressing and often cynical, even caustic, comments about women any more acceptable for us today. See Bailey (1972) and McKeating (1973–74).

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WISDOM, BOOK OF. See SOLOMON, WISDOM OF.

WISE MEN. See INFANCY NARRATIVES IN THE NT GOSPELS.

WITCHCRAFT. See MAGIC (OT).

WITHERED HAND. See SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

WITNESS, ALTAR OF (PLACE) [Heb *lammizbēaḥ kî ʿēd hû'*]. An altar the Transjordan tribes erected to show that they also worshiped the Lord and were part of his people (Josh 22:34). The KJV simply transliterates the name of the altar calling it "Ed." The best Hebrew mss do not give the name of the altar. Many reasons have been advanced for this: the name may have been considered too holy to mention, too scandalous, or it could have been dropped through a copyist's error. Most later mss and versions supply "witness" as the name of the altar, compare the LXX *(martyrion)*, Syriac, and Targums. The name was probably inferred from the context (Josh 22:27–34) or perhaps influenced by Isa 19:19–20. Rashi also said to supply "witness" as the name of the altar.

Soggin (*Joshua* OTL, 213) suggested that the altar may have been more than an altar; it could have been a defensive structure to help control access to Gilgal. He further suggested that the name "witness" may conceal an original "pact or alliance" between the tribes on either side of the Jordan.

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WIZARD. See MAGIC (OT).

WOE. An interjection denoting pain, discomfort, and unhappiness. It is a distinctive form of prophetic speech, and is found both in the OT and in the NT.

A. OT "Woe" Oracles

1. Forms and Usage. This distinctive form of prophetic speech is often found accompanying an accusation or threat which immediately preceded an announcement of judgment. The particle *hôy* occurs approximately 50 times in the OT. It is closely related to the less frequently occurring *ʾôy*, as well as the particle *hāh*. All three particles are onomatopoeic in origin, expressing a sharp outburst of feeling, sometimes of anger, sometimes of grief, and sometimes of alarm. In its most striking occurrences in proph-

ecy *hôy* is followed by a descriptive definition, frequently couched in participial form, of the persons and activities against which this feeling is directed. It is characteristic, therefore, that the woe cry should be used in an impersonal formulation expressing intense anger and directed against certain types of activity which are strongly disapproved of: "Woe to those who do. . . ." We may cite Isa 5:8 as a typical example of the prophetic use of the formula:

> Woe to those who join house to house,
> who combine field with field,
> until no more room is left,
> and you are left, dwelling alone in the midst of the land.

The judgment that is merited by such anger, which is expressed prophetically as conveyed by the mouth of God, is then set out in the pronouncement which follows (v 9, see also Mic 2:1–3).

Accepting this to be the fullest and most typical form of the prophetic woe oracle, we can note the following features. It is an intense outburst of invective directed against wrongdoers, conveying a note of threat, which is then more fully spelled out in the pronouncement that follows.

Problems have arisen in connection with the woe oracles because this full form is not adhered to in any uniform way. Attempts to draw all the main occurrences under a single heading have proved difficult to maintain. Similarly most modern English translations have found it impossible to establish any uniform English equivalent; the use of "Woe to . . ." has sometimes appeared archaic, with a consequent concern to avoid using it as far as possible (so NEB), and there is disagreement whether *hôy* and *ʾôy* should be regarded as identical in significance (Wanke 1966). Most of all, however, uncertainty has arisen over whether the prophetic usage is to be connected with the use of the *hôy* cry in a funerary lamentation (Janzen 1972: 3–39).

The prophetic usage of the *hôy* cry as a threat appears in three major clusters: Isa 5:8, 11, 18, 20, 21, 22; 10:1; Amos 5:18; 6:1, 4; and Hab 2:9, 12, 15, 19. In the book of Isaiah there are other instances of the *hôy* cry evidencing a somewhat different usage and significance (Isa 1:4; 10:5; 17:12; 18:1). The LXX usually translates with *ouai,* but occasionally varies this by using *ō*. Janzen (1972: 18) comments that "Biblical *ouai* does not occur outside of the LXX and the New Testament." Ugaritic includes the interjection *y* and *ya* which appear to be closely related to the Hebrew *hôy* (cf. also Akkadian *uᶜa*). Both in Ugaritic and Akkadian the cry is followed by a vocative, as it is in the biblical funerary lament (e.g., Jer 22:13–15).

2. Origin and Development of the Woe Oracle. Initial attempts to understand the form and significance of the prophetic woe oracles proceeded on the assumption that they were adaptations from the cultic curse formula (Westermann 1960: 137; Deut 27:15). This would carry the conclusion that the woe oracle was simply a by-form of the curse, or had been consciously modified by prophets from the more commonly occurring curse formula.

Such curse-formulae, however, show some points of contact with didactic conventions, indicating that "Cursed is the man who . . ." could have been used in a weakened fashion as a means of expressing disapproval of certain types of conduct. From this it is then possible to explain the widespread use in didactic contexts of the benediction formula (*ʾašrê* . . .), which in several respects represents a close formal parallel to usage of the woe cry. Although the sense is opposite there would then be a simple contrast: "Woe is he who . . ./Blessed is he who . . ." If this were the case, it would strengthen the claim that the woe-cry originated as an educational device delineating reprehensible forms of conduct (Gerstenberger 1962: 249–263; Wolff 1964: 12–23).

A very different line of explanation for the origin and development of the prophetic woe oracle has also been proposed and has received a considerable measure of support and attention. In this theory the prophetic *hôy* formula is regarded as a development and adaptation from the use of the identical cry *(hôy)* in funerary lamentation, such as Jer 22:18 (Clifford 1962: 458–64; Janzen 1972: 40–80). The use of the woe oracle would then contain an indirect allusion to funerary usage, clearly intended by the prophet, suggesting the fatal consequences of the actions condemned (Vermeylen 1978). There are, however, two major problems. The first of these concerns the syntactical point that, in the funerary usage, the cry is followed by the vocative, whereas in the prophetic invective it is followed by an impersonal third-person formulation. This feature is regarded as a major objection by Kraus (1973: 15–46), but is much alleviated by several observations concerning usage in cognate languages by Hillers (1983: 185–88). The second, and potentially more fundamental, problem is that in the funerary lament the *hôy* cry expresses grief, whereas in the prophetic invective it clearly expresses intense anger. How has one emotion been transformed into the other? A solution to this question is put forward by Janzen in suggesting that the emotion of grief passed over into a desire for vengeance against the cause, whether human or supernatural, which had occasioned death. Consequently, from this desire for vengeance there arose an expression of intense anger (Janzen 1972: 27–39). It has to be noted that this requires a rather speculative and difficult emotional transition in order to connect the prophetic use of *hôy* with that of funerary lamentation. It is possible, however, that nothing more was intended by the prophetic usage than to suggest, even perhaps vaguely, a funerary situation. On the other hand, it may be noted that the use of *hôy* in prophetic contexts to convey grief and commiseration (Isa 1:4; 17:12 etc.) would serve to strengthen the belief that the cry of lamentation and the cry of anger were originally separate. The use of a very simple onomatopoeic particle to express both emotions has given rise to the notion that the one originated from the other. In reality the two originally separate cries have come to be associated with each other.

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B. "Woe" in the NT

At the start of an oral statement, the Gk *ouai,* "woe," denotes pain, discomfort, or unhappiness. It is then followed by an indication of the person/thing (in the dative, nominative, or accusative case) to whom the unpleasant reality relates. Woes are found in biblical and extra-biblical literature, including intertestamental and rabbinic texts.

Thirty-seven woes are found in the NT, especially in the gospels of Matthew (13 woes) and Luke (15 woes).

With the exception of Matt 18:7 (the world), Luke 10:13 (Chorazin and Bethsaida = Matt 11:21), and Rev 18:10, 16, 19 (Babylon), the NT woes are directed to persons or groups of persons. Paul's hapax use of a woe (1 Cor 9:16) is the only NT woe that is directed to the speaker/writer himself.

1. Revelation. The use of "woe" in the book of Revelation—none are found in the other books of the Johannine corpus—is also unique. Revelation contains the only NT woes where the initial interjection is doubled for emphasis' sake (Rev 18:10, 16, 19; and 8:13, where *ouai* is trebled), a rhetorical device also attested outside the bible.

Ouai is used as a noun only in Revelation (four times, twice each in Rev 9:12 and 11:14). In each instance the noun *ouai* is qualified by an ordinal. The first woe is described in Rev 8:12–9:12, a series of plagues on the inhabitants of the earth, introduced by a blast of the fifth angel's trumpet. The second woe is described in Rev 9:13–21 where, at the sound of the sixth angel's trumpet, three additional plagues are let loose upon humankind. The third woe is yet to come, but, according to the apocalyptic vision of the seer, it is to come soon (Rev 11:14). These enumerated woes are introduced by an announcement from a screeching eagle, "woe, woe, woe to those who dwell on the earth" (Rev 8:13). The triple *ouai* may not only be a case of repetition for emphasis' sake; it may also serve as an announcement that three woes are to follow.

2. Synoptics. The majority of the woes found in the Synoptics derive from the Q source (Luke 10:13; 11:42, 43, 44, 46, 47, 52; 17:1 [with their parallels in Matthew]; Matt 18:25 [= Luke 11:39]; and possibly Luke 6:24–26). They are found principally in three major collections: the seven woes of Matt 23:13–33, the four woes of Luke 6:24–26, and the six woes of Luke 1:42–52.

The presence of isolated woes such as Luke 10:13 and 17:1 (from Q) and 21:23 and 22:22 (from the triple tradition) indicate that the woes were originally uttered as independent sayings. As is the case with the beatitudes, their collection is a literary phenomenon. It is quite likely that Jesus made use of woes in his speech—as a kind of negative prophetic oracle—but the actual formulation of the woes in the Synoptic Gospels as well as their literary context generally reflects the editorial hand of the respective evangelists.

The two Markan woes (Mark 13:17; 14:21; par.) are eschatological sayings. The seven woes of Matt 23:13–33 are derived from Q (cf. Luke 11:42–52), but the designation of those to whom the woes are addressed, "scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites," in all seven woes is clearly an element of Matthean redaction and reflects the situation of his community, trying to define its existence with respect to Pharisaic Judaism. In the Textus Receptus there is an eighth woe in the collection (Matt 23:14), but this is not found in the older majuscules and seems to have been a scribal formulation under the influence of Luke 20:47.

Except for the four woes appended to the beatitudes (Luke 6:21–26), all of the woes in Luke have a parallel in Matthew. The woes of Luke 6:24–26 accentuate Luke's social interpretation of the beatitudes. They appear to have been formulated by Luke on the basis of extant Q material (not, however, in the form of woes). The presence of these four woes in Luke's Sermon on the Plain is consistent with some antithetical formulations in the tradition of the sermon. Ecclesiastes 10:16–17 provides a biblical precedent for the juxtaposition of a beatitude and a woe. In terms of content, these woes are consistent with some prophetic elements in the Jesus tradition (cf. Luke 11:37–44). Their Lukan formulation is congenial with Luke's own views on the poor and the marginalized.

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WOLF. See ZOOLOGY.

WOMEN. This entry consists of three articles that survey aspects of women's lives and social status in the world of the Bible. The first focuses on women in Mesopotamia, the second on women in the OT, and the third on women in the NT.

MESOPOTAMIA

Information on the lives of Mesopotamian women is available in a rich, though uneven, assortment of sources: excavated artifacts, works of art (reliefs, sculptures, seals), literary texts (love poetry, epics, wisdom literature), and

contemporary documents (administrative, legal, and epistolary texts). The last have been the focus of most Assyriological study regarding women, especially the many law codes which devote much space to marriage and divorce (Driver and Miles 1955).

Despite the views of some to the contrary (e.g. Kramer 1976), Mesopotamian civilization, consisting of Sumerian, Babylonian, and Assyrian traditions, was throughout its long history patriarchal in structure orientation. The greater prominence of female and mother goddesses in the very early period, the proliferation of female figurines, and even the possible existence of female polyandry do not constitute evidence of matriarchal rule. Socioeconomic and political changes, so characteristic of Mesopotamian history, were the significant factors that must have impinged upon and affected the status of women. But study of these in relation to women's lives is still in its infancy. Furthermore, the accidental nature of textual and archaeological finds should not be overlooked as it so frequently skews the evidence.

The Mesopotamian woman was, with few exceptions, defined either as the daughter of her father or as the wife of her husband. Women rarely acted as individuals outside the context of their families; those who did were members of royal and elite families. The quality of the lives of ordinary women can be guessed at with some accuracy. Especially revealing for this are the administrative texts found throughout Mesopotamian history.

A. Marriage, Divorce, Widowhood
B. Economic Role
C. Cultic Roles
D. Royal Women
E. Images of Women

A. Marriage, Divorce, Widowhood

The laws of Mesopotamia, which may or may not represent the actual legal realities, nevertheless mirror ideal rules to govern spheres of prime concern to women (and men): marriage, divorce, and inheritance. Because these have been the subject of much writing by generations of Assyriologists, they are here treated summarily.

From a Sumerian proverb it would appear that child marriages were frowned upon ("I will not marry a wife who is only three years [old] as an ass [does]"). Girls, and possibly boys too, were expected to marry not long after reaching puberty. Elopement was not regarded favorably. The permission of parents was necessary for marriage to be recognized. Betrothal arrangements were made by fathers (at times along with the mother). If the father was dead, the mother alone or the oldest brother would initiate the proceedings. It can be assumed that the girl's consent was not unsolicited. Except in dynastic marriages arranged to cement political alliances (see D below), love may often have played a role in the match. For although there was a double standard in Mesopotamia it was assumed and expected that love and sexuality would be confined to the conjugal relationship, that the husband would not seek out slave girls and prostitutes for sexual gratification.

Marriage, with some differences depending on time and place, was formalized by the exchange of gifts between the two families. The bride was usually given a dowry (described variously as *šeriktu, širku, nudunnu*) by her father. This was of supreme importance to the girl for should her husband divorce her, she took this back with her. Otherwise, at her death it belonged to her heirs. The father of the bride in return received a bridal gift from the groom or the groom's father *(terḫatu, zubullu, biblu)*. On occasion a husband might, if he wished, provide his wife with a gift *(nudunnû)* to insure her support after his death. Rites of passage, such as anointing, making the transition of the bride from unmarried to married status, are attested mainly in early Sumer and late Assyria. Bathing and libations might also have such significance in Babylonia (Greengus 1966). Veiling the bride is mentioned in Assyrian laws.

By and large, except among royalty, monogamy was the rule. However, in certain cases, such as sterility or disease, a man might take a concubine as a secondary wife to bear children. The primary wife's superordinate position might then be spelled out in a contract. Exceptional are the examples in the Old Assyrian period of traders who have a native wife in Assyria and a foreign wife abroad.

Marriage and divorce contracts, relatively common in the earlier period, become rarer in time. It is difficult to say whether this is accidental or reflects a deterioration in women's position. Virginity, which may well have been an expectation at all times, is explicitly referred to in later marriage contracts.

Mothers, like fathers, were to be treated respectfully, the son accused of filial impiety to mother or father was to be punished. Children, daughters included, were expected to make funerary offerings to deceased parents. Childbirth and menstruation made for impurity which was removed by bathing.

Divorce was probably never a common occurrence. If a man divorced a woman without a legitimate reason once she had had children, he would have to forfeit all his property, at least in certain periods. Prior to the birth of offspring, he might have to pay her a limited sum in compensation. Only in the Old Babylonian period does it seem that a woman might have the right to divorce her husband if he ill-treated her, a situation which she would have to prove before witnesses.

Adultery was of course a most serious charge and grounds for divorcing one's wife. It should be noted that adultery was always defined in terms of extramarital relations on the part of the wife, never of the man. In Assyria punishment of the adulteress lay with the husband. He, and not a legal body, meted out punishment to his wife and her lover, or to her lover only if he had been aware of the woman's marital status.

The love poetry of Mesopotamia speaks only of the love between men and women and the sexual pleasure of both sexes. Women shared with men similar symptoms when they were "lovesick" *(muruṣ râmi)*. There was no body/soul dichotomy and no formula as there was for the Greeks, that body/nature/woman ranked below soul/culture/man. Sexuality was enjoyed by both sexes. Male sexual dysfunctions of impotency and premature ejaculation were recognized, as evidenced by the ŠA.ZI.GA incantations recited to cure these problems.

The powerlessness of solitary women was taken into consideration by the laws. A woman deserted by her hus-

band might usually after five years legally remarry. Under certain conditions, cohabitation with a widow was considered a common-law marriage. Sons were responsible for maintaining widowed mothers, for arranging marriages for sisters when parents were dead, and for providing dowries for sisters who were not provided for in their father's will. Women without living male family members or possessions had few avenues for survival: slavery or prostitution. However, perhaps at most times, the two great economic centers of Mesopotamia, the temple and the palace, served as welfare institutions providing food and shelter to homeless women (and children), who thereby became part of their huge work forces.

The vulnerability and plight of widows (and orphans) are proverbial in the literature of the ANE. Nevertheless, widowhood for the well-to-do might offer the only opportunity for true independence. Even in Assyria, notorious, perhaps fallaciously so, for its mistreatment of women, the widow *(almattu)*, without a male guardian, without father-in-law or sons, was given the right to "go wherever she pleases" (Saporetti 1979). There is even the rare occurrence of a widow having the primary right of inheritance of her husband's estate, even to the exclusion of her children.

B. Economic Role

Ordinarily the wife was expected to take care of her family and home. Most women, unless there were household slaves, spent their time at the traditional feminine tasks: grinding grain and baking bread (various millstones might be part of the dowry), spinning and weaving clothes for the family, cleaning, etc.

Women of independent means, though always few in number, are found at all times purchasing and selling real estate and slaves, hiring and renting out slaves and houses. In certain periods women owned general stores and taverns. In the Old Babylonian period the woman tavern-keeper *(sabītu)* was an important moneylender to her clientele. Special mention should be made of the wives of the Old Assyrian traders, some of whom managed a kind of textile cottage industry, hiring transporters to deliver their goods. The remarkable instance of a Nuzi mother, apparently head of her family, who was involved in more than thirty land purchases should be noted (Grosz 1983: 203). But these are special and limited examples of women's high economic position.

Large numbers of women of the lower social classes were employed in temple and palace workshops. Some were free, many slaves. Here too they worked in traditional feminine occupations, in the kitchen as cooks, pastry makers, and menials; in the textile industry as spinners and weavers. Usually all were under the supervision of men. Free women might have brought their children with them. Women of the poorer classes must have helped their husbands in whatever occupation they were in, for there was no sequestering of women. Women might also have worked in various agricultural jobs in palace and temple fields and with animals.

Women are well attested as midwives *(šabsūtu)* and wet-nurses *(mušēniqtu)*. For the well-to-do and royal households there were nurses *(tārītu)* to feed and care for children once they were weaned (traditionally at the age of three).

Rarely do women appear who belong to professions outside those related to cultic functions (see D below). But there were women sufficiently educated to serve as scribes in the Sumerian and Old Babylonian periods and even, rarely, as physicians. Here mention should be made of the literary works of Enheduanna and of the LUKUR women of the Ur III period. Women trained as musicians, singers, and dancers were part of the palace staff as well as that of the temples.

C. Cultic Roles

From the very earliest periods women appear in visual and written sources as participants in the cult. The priestess of the highest rank was the NIN.DINGIR; below her the LUKUR and NU.GIG. The last two may have been involved with sacred prostitution (Renger 1964). Priestesses are shown in reliefs and seals participating in rituals connected with the building of temples and attending banquets associated with religious fesitivals (Asher-Greve 1985). One of the major functions of the NIN.DINGIR priestess was to represent the goddess Inanna in the sacred marriage ceremonies.

From earliest times, women, presumably of high rank, dedicated votive offerings to the gods and left statues of themselves in prayerful stance in the temples as signs of their piety.

Especially in the Sumerian period, the wives and daughters of rulers represented the ruling families in temple ceremonies. In Lagash the queen traveled to temples and shrines in different cities of the kingdom to participate in festivals and give offerings.

A high point in the institution of NIN.DINGIR (Akk *entu*) is reached under Sargon, the founder of the Semitic Old Akkadian dynasty, with his appointment of his daughter, Enheduanna, as the high priestess of the Moon God at Ur. Hallo (1976) has suggested that he did this so as not to offend Sumerian sensibilities, as would have happened had he "arrogated both the political and cultic titles of the great Southern cities." Enheduanna, unquestionably one of the outstanding women in Mesopotamian history, authored several original works which served as models for later writings. For the next 500 years a succession of thirteen princesses was appointed to this position, holding office for an average of 35 to 40 years, a lifespan which probably points to their celibacy. These women, apart from cultic and literary functions, probably also specialized in dream interpretation.

The Old Babylonian period was characterized by a variety of special classes of women. Most prominent and richly documented is the institution of the *nadītus*, who were unmarried virgins. The *nadītu* of Marduk of Babylon might marry but was prohibited from bearing children, and so might provide her husband with a second wife. According to Stone (1982), the *nadītu* of Nippur, "daughter of tribal leaders, constrained by endogamy and rank, often had difficulties finding a suitable spouse." Harris (1964) stresses the concern of well-to-do families "to maintain the integrity of the paternal estate."

In Sippar, the *nadītu* of the god Samaš participated in a ceremony of the god's festival at which time "the rope of Shamash" was placed on her arm, thus marking her change in status to daughter-in-law or bride of the god. At

times a *nadītu* might assume a religious name, signifying special devotion to the god or his consort Aja. The letters of *nadītus* abound in pious phrases, and they and other texts allude to their participation in religious ceremonies and the efficacy of their prayers on behalf of family members. Once a year, the living *nadītus* remembered the childless dead, thus assuming the filial obligation of living progeny. Most striking are the hundreds of legal and epistolary texts from Sippar which attest to the central importance of the *nadītu* to the economic life of the city for a major part of this period. In Nippur their business activities were not of such significance.

Also remarkable was the full share of the inheritance, equivalent to that of a male, assigned to the *nadītu* in the Laws of Hammurapi. The "ring money" usually given to them by their fathers was theirs to dispose of as they wished. And since many had to provide for themselves when they grew old, they adopted younger *nadītus*, sometimes relatives, to support them.

There are far fewer references to women characterized as *ugbabtu, kulmašītu, ištarītu,* and *qadištu*. The *ugbabtu* apparently was also not to marry and had to be sequestered in the cloister. The others were not confined and might marry and bear children. The religious functions of these women are unclear, although they were devoted to various gods and goddesses. The *qadištu* is known to have functioned as a wet nurse, and from Sumerian texts seems to have played a role in childbirth. The question as to whether any of them were involved in sacred prostitution cannot be answered at this time. See PROSTITUTION. Interestingly, in the late incantation series *Maqlu,* these women of special status are associated with witchcraft and elsewhere with prostitution. In the patriarchal society of Mesopotamia, groups of women living outside the conventional norms were anomalies and therefore suspect.

Note should be made of those women who at various times functioned as dream interpreters *(šāiltu)*. They are attested throughout Mesopotamian history, but they functioned outside and below the arena of official temple religious life. Marginal too are the prophetesses, ecstatics who appear sporadically in the texts. Best known are the professional and lay prophetesses of Mari, the former attached to specific deities and temples, the latter coming from all walks of life. They are described by various terms: *āpiltu, muhhūtu, qabbātu* (Batto 1974). There are even occasional references to female diviners *(bārītu)*. But only in Mari may they have enjoyed equal status with their male counterparts. See also PROPHECY (ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN PROPHECY).

D. Royal Women

Queens and princesses deserve special mention, for some of them because of their high position, and others perhaps because of exceptional personal qualities, acted more independently than other women of Mesopotamia. Here again the name of Enheduanna should be noted, and the institution of *entu* priestesses.

The names of queens and princesses, especially from Lagash, are known, and their active participation in temple administration and festivals is specified. They are represented on reliefs and inlays. Queens sat beside husbands in banquet scenes, equal in status, it would seem. The well known tomb of Queen Pu-abi of Ur of Early Dynastic times with her luxurious personal possessions and accompanying staff of 74 people give evidence of her rank and wealth. With the growth of city states, women formed "an important link in legitimating the succession" (Hallo 1976). Princesses continued to be used as instruments to cement political alliances throughout Mesopotamian history. And as is so apparent from the Mari archives, royal women had little to say about these arrangements.

Ku-bau, the one woman who became queen of Kish in her own right in Early Dynastic times, was viewed as an anomaly. A late omen text associated her rule with a hermaphroditic birth.

The archives of Karana and Mari are exceptional in giving information not only about the activities of their queens but in providing rare glimpses into the individuality and personal lives of these women (Dalley 1984). Shibtu, queen of Mari and wife of Zimri-Lim, may have given birth to eleven daughters (some perhaps were born to concubines). She was an unusual woman, well informed about various matters of state and cult. When her husband was away she managed palace personnel and distribution of food supplies. She wrote to male officials and spoke with them directly. Shibtu's concern for her husband's health and welfare is revealed over and over again in her letters.

The correspondence of Iltani, queen of Karana, also shows her to have been a person of high administrative skills. She managed the palace enterprises, especially of textile and food production, and even received appeals against injustice, taking the usual role of the king. Hers was a far less pleasant and assured personality than was Shibtu's.

Less direct, though probably no less influential, were the positions of certain queen mothers. The inscription of the Babylonian Sammuramat, wife of the Assyrian Shamshi-Adad V and mother of Adad-Nirari III, appears on a stela, a rare occurrence for a woman. She may have been responsible for the increase in the popularity of the Babylonian god Nabu in Assyrian royal circles.

Another Babylonian married to an Assyrian king, Zakutu (Aram "Naqia"), wife of Sennacherib, may have played a crucial role in the harem plot that led to her husband's death and the ascent to the throne of her son Esarhaddon.

Finally there was the incredibly long lived (104 years) mother of Nabonidus, a devotee of the god Sin, of Harran in Syria, who was probably an important religious influence on her son, an influence that led to his exceptional devotion to Sin and to his attempt to reinstitute the long dead institution of *entu* priestesses of the Moon God. His special devotion to Sin resulted in the bitter hostility of the Marduk priesthood, who welcomed his downfall at the hands of Cyrus. See also QUEEN.

E. Images of Women

The literary texts of Mesopotamia are a still underutilized source for learning about male attitudes toward women. Here one finds evidence of the high value placed on the nuclear family and on the hoped-for reciprocity between husband and wife, as well as the expected ambivalence of male toward female (the last especially in the Wisdom Literature).

The Gilgamesh Epic, for example, displays images of women, even of such an outsider as the prostitute, as nurturing, caring, and encouraging. Women were regarded positively when they gave advice and supported men in achieving their goals. Only Ištar, who acts like a man by proposing marriage, wanting to bestow gifts, and making threats, is rejected. Her behavior was unacceptable for a female.

A popular Sumerian text, translated by the ancients into Akkadian and Hittite and purporting to be a message sent by a loving son to his mother, portrays the ideal Mesopotamian woman as "beautiful, radiant, productive, gracious, joyous, sweet-smelling" (Kramer 1976), and, it might be added, as one always concerned with husband and children.

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RIVKAH HARRIS

OLD TESTAMENT

The common Hebrew term for "woman" is *ʾiššâ* (constr. *ʾēšet*), which may also be translated "wife" (the corresponding masculine term, *ʾîš* "man," is used analogously for "husband," along with *baʿal* "master," "lord"). Women characterized by particular attributes are designated by descriptive nouns, adjectives or participles, used either alone or as a qualifier to *ʾiššâ:* e.g., *(ʾiššâ) zônâ* "prostitute," *hôrâ* "pregnant woman," *ʾiššâ ḥākāmâ* "wise woman," *(ʾiššâ) zārâ* "strange/foreign woman," *zĕqēnôt* "old women," *mĕyallĕdôt* "midwives" (lit. "birthing women"). Other nouns describing women of particular age, state or position, include *bat* "daughter"; *kallâ* "daughter-in-law," "bride": *ʾāḥôt* "sister"; *ʾēm* "mother"; *bĕtûlâ* "young woman," "virgin"; *ʿalmâ* "young woman"; *naʿarâ* "young woman," "girl"; *ʾāmâ* and *šipḥâ* "female servant or slave"; *malkâ* "queen"; *gĕbîrâ* "lady," "queen mother." The term for the female of human as well as animal species is *nĕqēbâ* (typically paired with *zākār* "male," as in Gen 1:27).

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A. Introduction: Methodological Considerations

In the Hebrew Bible women appear for the most part as minor or subordinate figures; yet they play an essential role in the record of Israel's faith and include some of the best remembered actors in the biblical story. The names of Sarah, Rebekah, Rachel, Miriam, Deborah, and Ruth are indispensible to the rehearsal of that story, as are Jezebel, Esther, and Eve. Behind these, however, stand thousands of unnamed, and unnoted, women who have engaged the attention of recent biblical scholarship. Through new literary and sociological analyses attempts are being made to reconstruct Israel's history and reinterpret its literature with an aim to restoring a glimpse of the missing women and reassessing the surviving portraits.

Key to understanding the roles, images, and limited appearances of women in the OT literature is the patrilineal and patriarchal organization of Israelite society and its family-centered economy. Although the patriarchal character of the society has long been recognized, recent scholarship (summarized in Meyers 1988: 3–46) has given new insight into the economic, social and psychological dimensions of gender relations in patriarchal societies and, more specifically, into women's lives in premodern agrarian and pastoral societies, bringing a new comparative perspective to the biblical data.

The OT is the product of a patriarchal world, and more specifically, of a literate, urban elite of male religious specialists. Whatever the ultimate origin of its traditions in family worship, clan wisdom, popular tales, or the songs of women, the present form of the Hebrew Bible is the work of male authors and editors, whose views created or reflect the dominant theological perspectives. Women in the biblical texts are presented through male eyes, for purposes determined by male authors. This does not mean

that women are necessarily suppressed in the account or portrayed unsympathetically. It does mean, however, that women are not heard directly in the biblical text, in their own voices; the OT gives no unmediated access to the lives and thought of Israelite women. (For implications and strategies in interpreting androcentric texts see Russell 1985; Tolbert 1983; Collins 1985; Sakenfeld 1988; 1989; Trible 1989; and Day 1989.)

Women in the biblical text provide the primary clues to women behind the text. But interpretation of these clues requires knowledge of women's lives in comparable societies, ancient and modern, where fuller documentation of the private and economic spheres offers a broader view of women's roles and activities within the context of the larger society. New archaeological investigation focusing on family and village life (size and arrangement of dwellings, density of settlement, diet, mortality rates, etc. [Stager 1985; Meyers 1988: 47–71]) together with documents from surrounding cultures relating to the domestic realm (e.g., personal letters, marriage and adoption contracts, inheritance stipulations, and other economic and legal documents [Lesko 1989; Durand 1987]) enable construction of a more adequate picture of women's roles, activities, and authority within ANE patriarchal society and, more particularly, within the family, which is the primary sphere of women's activity.

To these data from the social world of ancient Israel comparative anthropology brings a cross-cultural perspective of gender roles and relationships that correlates patterns of gender interactions with technoeconomic and sociopolitical variables, such as differences between pastoral and agrarian societies, between intensive irrigation agriculture in lowland plains and cultivation of new or marginal upland areas, and between tribal federations and centralized monarchic states. Such differences within the broad category of patriarchal societies are reflected in differing demands for women's productive and reproductive labor and differences in the value of women's services, range of activity outside the home, and authority within the family (Whyte 1978; Meyers 1988: 24–46, 189–94). Anthropological study of gender reveals complex patterns of male-female relationships within patriarchal societies, involving distinctions of formal and informal power and recognition of spheres of influence and authority, which require qualification of many commonly held views of women's lives in ancient Israel.

The OT does not yield a single portrait of women in ancient Israel. Its millennium-spanning traditions and the differing purposes and perspectives of its authors have produced a kaleidoscopic image, whose distinct components require note. A common status or life style cannot be assumed for the woman of an Early Iron Age pioneer settlement, the wife of a wealthy merchant or large landowner in Samaria or Jerusalem, the daughter of an indebted 8th-century peasant, the foreign wife of a returned exile, a priest's daughter, queen mother, palace servant, childless widow, or prostitute. Nor can one expect a common portrait from narrative compositions, proverbial sentences, prophetic oracles, and legal stipulations.

Behind the disparate images and distinct life histories, however, lies a common set of expectations and values that govern the life of every Israelite woman of every period and circumstance. These are rooted in the need for women's labor in the domestic sphere, and more specifically in childbearing and nurture, broadly described as "reproductive" work. To this primary work, which was the expectation of every woman, are joined the major tasks of household management and provision. The importance of this work in a society in which the family, rather than the individual, was the basic social, economic, and religious unit (at least during significant periods of Israelite history), is evidenced in the honor and authority given to women in their role as mother. Fulfillment of that socially demanded, and rewarded, role also meant self-fulfillment for most women, for whom barrenness was a bitter deprivation.

It is the woman's primary and essential role within the family, with its multiple demands of time and skill, that accounts for her highest personal and social reward—but also for her restriction in roles and activities outside the family and her hiddenness in documents from the public sphere. It also accounts for changes in women's status and roles over the course of Israel's history as the size, autonomy and economic status of the family changed. And it provides clues to the interpretation of women's roles and activities outside the family, which may be understood in large measure as extensions or adaptations of women's primary roles within the family.

B. The Israelite Family

The Israelite family was in all periods a male headed household (called *bêt ʾāb* "house of the father"), in which descent and transmission of property (in particular, the patrimonial land, *naḥālâ* "inheritance") were reckoned through males. In early Israel, family associations (lineages, or "clans") and tribes based on patrilineal descent exercised primary political as well as social functions. Although the monarchy deprived the lineage system of most of its political power, the Israelite family continued to function as the basic social and economic unit and to bear a patrilineal and patriarchal stamp, exhibited in patterns of organization and authority, marriage, place of residence, and inheritance.

One consequence of patrilineal organization is that women are to some extent either aliens or transients within their family of residence. Married women are outsiders in the household of their husband and sons, while daughters are prepared from birth to leave their father's household and transfer loyalty to a husband's house and lineage. Preference for endogamy seems to have operated in certain periods as a means of reducing the strains associated with the "alien" wife (Gen 24:4; 28:1–2). When the woman was a foreigner, the strain might be perceived as a threat, as seen in the repeated condemnations of foreign marriages (Deut 7:3; Ezra 9:12; 10:2). Underlying this attack is the assumption that the foreign wife will maintain her alien ways, and more particularly her religion, undermining the religious ethos and solidarity of the family and the nation (Exod 34:16; Num 25:1–2; Deut 7:4; Judg 3:5–6; Neh 13:23–27; Meyers 1988: 185).

The OT attack on foreign wives is indirect testimony to the independence and power of women within the family sphere despite the formal structures and symbols of patriarchal power. It reflects the power of influence that wives

may exert over husbands (Judg 14:17; 1 Kgs 1:15–21) as well as the important educational role of the mother in transmitting basic religious values and wisdom essential for life (Prov 1:8; 31:1). It also reflects fear of foreigners, and more particularly the foreign woman (*ʾiššâ zārâ, nokrîyâ*), who in Proverbs becomes a symbol for the immoral, seductive, and predatory woman, an embodiment of evil (Yee 1989: 54). Admonitions against intermarriage with foreigners may include reference to sons as well as daughters, but only the foreign daughter is described as a threat (Deut 7:3–4; cf. Ezra 9:2).

Another consequence of patrilineal family organization is that women do not normally inherit land. Exceptions treat daughters as placeholders in the absence of sons (Num 27:1–11), bridging the gap between the generations until their sons can resume the paternal line and legacy (insured, according to Num 36:6–9, by requiring the daughter to marry within her father's tribe). Similar concern for the preservation of the patrimony appears to underlie the institution of levirate marriage, which obligated a man to marry the wife of a deceased brother (Deut 25:5–10; Gen 38:8) or close kinsman (Ruth 2:20; 4:5–6) in order to continue the brother's "name."

The importance of patrilineal organization in ancient Israel may be seen in the prominence of genealogies and genealogical narratives in the OT. The genealogies, which serve a variety of social, political, and literary functions, account for the majority of personal names recorded in the OT and for the great preponderance of male over female names (1212:108, approx. 12:1). As lists of those who "counted" in the society, these normally all-male lists provide dramatic testimony to the androcentrism that characterizes the formal structures of patriarchal societies. A different picture is obtained, however, by comparing the common nouns for "man" (*ʾîš*) and "woman" (*ʾiššâ*), whose ratio of occurrences is 2160 : 775 (KB), or roughly 3:1. Excluding the many generic uses of *ʾîš* (as, e.g., in Ps 1:1, "Blessed is the one [*ʾîš*] who walks . . .") increases the relative weight of references to women, suggesting the importance of women as a social category, if not as named individuals.

A characteristic feature of patriarchal societies, illustrated by the disparity of ratios between named and unnamed men and women, is asymmetry of gender roles and symbols, including language. Male genealogies, male oriented legal codes and cultic stipulations, masculine forms for generic speech, and the predominance of males in historical records and recollections all reflect the male dominance of Israel's public life and formal structures. The primary social and economic unit, however, which provided the basis for life in the public sphere, was the family, in which women exercised significant formal and informal power, at times equaling or even exceeding that of men, according to some scholars (Meyers 1988: 181, 187). Even in its reduced economic role under the monarchy, the family continued to play a dominant role in socialization.

Asymmetry between male and female-centered spheres of life may be seen in the fact that the family was represented in the public sphere by its male head or adult male members—and it is this male-dominated sphere that is the locus of the major overarching and integrating institutions of the society. Here women are to some degree always outsiders, characterized by temporary appearances (e.g., marketing, legal process, payment of vows) or marginal roles (e.g., prostitutes and cult attendants). At the same time, men are given legal authority over women, even in the sphere of women's primary activity, the family. Moreover, since the legal and religious institutions that give expression to the society's values and attempt to regulate behavior belong to the public sphere and are designed and governed by men, the values they articulate and seek to enforce are essentially male values, though formulated in general or universal terms. Thus asymmetry between the primary spheres of male and female activity has the character of encapsulation and penetration of the domestic sphere by the public sphere.

C. Primary Roles and Images

1. Wife and Mother. The life and work of the Israelite woman centered in the home and duties to family. The ideal portrait of the adult female depicts her as the mother of many children (or sons; Heb *bānîm* [pl. of *bēn* "son"] may have either meaning) and the wise and industrious manager of the household, providing for the welfare of husband and children (Prov 31:10–29). This latter image, which gives rare attention to the role of wife, is the product of Wisdom reflection designed to counsel men concerning the path of success in life, in which knowledge of women and their ways plays a critical role. Thus the book of Proverbs warns against the loose or foreign woman and especially the adulteress, who can cost a man his life (Prov 5:3–5; 6:24–35; 9:13–19), while counseling fidelity (5:15–19) and extolling the "woman of worth" (*ʾēšet ḥayil*) in detailed and extended commendation (Prov 31:10–29). Such a wife will "do him good, and not harm" (v 12). Emphasis in this portrait is on skill, resourcefulness, industry, wisdom, and charity, rather than fertility or beauty (the latter characterized in v 30 as "deceitful" and "vain").

The role of wife is rarely separated from the dominant role of mother, appearing outside the Wisdom Literature primarily in tales of courtship, conflict, and conquest (Judges 14; 1 Sam 18:20–27; Genesis 34). Here sexual attraction plays a role, but also wit and will (1 Samuel 25)—and often family or ethnic ties. Behind many scenes of courtship lies a genealogical theme, which points to an ultimate role of mother. The woman as wife also describes a fundamental biosocial category, designating the one who provides the essential sexual and social complement to the man, creating the pair that represents the species (Gen 1:27; 2:18–23) and assures its continuity (thus Noah and his sons [named] enter the ark together with his wife and sons' wives [unnamed], Gen 7:13). Here, too, the wife is usually a mother.

The role of mother dominates OT references to women. Motherhood was expected and honored, reflecting social need (Judg 21:16–17) and divine sanction (Gen 1:28). Desire for many children, and especially sons, is a prominent OT theme (1 Sam 2:7; Gen 30:1; Pss 127:3–5; 128:3–4), attributed to women as well as to men, despite the pain and dangers of childbirth. Rooted in the economic needs of subsistence agriculture and social need for perpetuation of the lineage, the demand for childbearing was rewarded with security and prestige (Deut 5:16; 27:16). As a conse-

quence, women identified children with status (Gen 30:20; 1 Sam 1:2–8) and sometimes vied with one another in childbearing (Gen 30:1–24).

Barrenness was viewed as the ultimate disgrace, understood as a sign of divine disfavor (Gen 30:23; 2 Sam 6:20–23). (The literary theme of the barren wife—who subsequently bears—assumes this negative expectation in order to reverse it.) The barren, or childless, woman suffered not only lack of esteem, but also threat of divorce or expulsion from her husband's household at his death. Unable to continue his line, she cannot claim his inheritance, and she has no sons to support her in old age.

The role of mother included primary care of children of both sexes at least until the time of weaning (ca. age three), the education and disciplining of older children, and provision of food and clothing for the entire household. The latter required arduous and time consuming labor: sorting, cleaning, parching, and grinding grain, as well as kneading and baking bread; drawing water and collecting fuel (a task of both sexes); cleaning and butchering small animals; milking, churning butter and making cheese and yogurt; tending vegetable gardens and fruit trees; and preserving fruits and meat for storage. Women may also have produced at least some of the common ceramic ware, as suggested by cross-cultural study of ceramic production (Meyers 1988: 148). If so, OT references to male potters (Jer 18:2–4; 1 Chr 4:23) may be seen as an example of a widely attested pattern of male professional specialization of crafts originally practiced exclusively by women. Such crafts may continue as female occupations within the domestic context while men dominate commercial production (e.g., weaving, sewing/tailoring, cooking and baking).

Clothing the family involved not only spinning, weaving, tailoring and sewing, but also preparation of raw wool or flax fibers (Prov 31:13). Spinning and weaving are identified throughout the ancient Mediterranean world as symbolic of female domestic activity and skill, so that even queens and wealthy women are depicted holding a spindle (*ANEP,* 43 [pl. 144]; Prov 31:13, 19; Judg 16:14; cf. English "spinster" and "distaff side"). The mother, together with other females of the household, also bore the burden of washing and cleaning.

The mother's role in the socialization and moral instruction of small children was critical for both sexes, but her instruction seems also to have had a more formal and extended character, even in the education of sons, as attested in the Wisdom Literature (Prov 1:8; 31:1; Meyers 1988: 151–2). An extension of the mother's role as teacher and counselor may be seen in the "wise woman," whose skill (in negotiation and persuasion) commands public recognition (2 Sam 14:1–20; 20:16–22). The mother also had a special role in educating daughters in the traits and competencies expected of the adult woman (wife), as well as in specialized female skills.

Among the features that make up the OT's portrait of women there appears to be a primary cluster of attributes and images that derive ultimately from association with birthing and nurture, or womb and breasts (cf. *ANEP,* 162, pl. 469; Luke 11:27; 23:27). The pain and danger of childbirth has stamped itself on the consciousness of the OT's male narrators and poets, who employ images of women in labor as symbols of anguish and helplessness (Isa 13:8; 21:3; Jer 48:41; Mic 4:9–10). A different type of maternal pain is associated with the death of a child, formalized in the ritual wailing of women at funerals and in the specialized female profession of keener, performer and composer of dirges (Jer 9:16, 19—Eng 9:17, 20). The mother's bond with the fruit of her womb is understood as deep and persisting (Isa 49:15), overriding self-interest (1 Kgs 3:16–27) and extending even beyond death, as exemplified in Rizpah's vigil over her slain sons (2 Sam 21:8–14), protecting them in death (a female role) as she could not do in life (a male role). It is also evidenced in the customary roles of women in preparing the dead for burial and in visits to tombs (Mark 16:1; cf. Luke 23:55–24:1).

Care for the dead may be seen as an extension of the mother's primary role in care for the living, initiated in the nursing of infants (1 Sam 1:22; cf. Num 11:12; Isa 45:15) and continued in nursing of the sick and infirm (2 Sam 13:5; 1 Kgs 1:2; 2 Kgs 4:18–30). If the feeling of tenderness toward the weak expressed as "compassion" or "pity" is attributed to fathers (e.g., Ps 103:13) as well as mothers, the Hebrew etymology of the term identifies it as "womb-feeling" (*raḥămîm;* verb *rāḥam* < *reḥem* "womb").

As the female head of a household or family unit within an extended household, the mother supervised the work of dependent females, including daughters, daughters-in-law, and servants. Although there is no direct evidence for the way in which multiple wives shared responsibilities of household management (narrative and legal texts focus on rivalry and favoritism: Deut 21:15–17; Gen 29:30–31; 1 Sam 1:6; cf. Exod 21:10), some form of seniority system may be assumed, especially where a second wife had the status of a concubine. Each woman, however, would have control over her own children. Normally a woman gained authority with age, together with a measure of freedom and leisure, although there is no recognized role for women comparable to that of the male "elders." It is likely that many of the specialized roles and activities of women outside the home or involving public recognition and action (prophets, mediums, wise women, keeners, midwives) were performed by older women no longer burdened by the care of small children (e.g., the wise woman of Tekoa plausibly presents herself as a widow with grown children [2 Sam 14:4–7]). Cross-cultural studies attest increased religious activity and authority, including new religious roles, on the part of post-menopausal women or women with grown children.

2. Virgin Daughter or Bride. Alongside the image of the mother is another image that represents both a prior state and an alternative or complementary ideal of the feminine, viz. the virgin daughter or bride. In this portrait female sexuality is described in erotic rather than maternal terms. The subject is the young woman who is sexually ripe and ready for love, who may be designated *bĕtûlâ* "virgin," *ʿalmâ* "young woman," "maiden," *kallâ* "bride" or, in the conventions of ANE love poetry, *ʾāḥôt* "sister" (Cant 4:9). She may be a young wife or an unmarried woman. She is described as the object of male desire (Canticles 4), but also as one who seeks a man's embrace (Cant 3:1–4). The ultimate tragedy of the death of Jephthah's daughter is expressed in the notice that "she had never known a man" (Judg 11:39). The bride is praised for her beauty

(Gen 12:11, 15; 24:16; 1 Sam 25:3; Cant 4:1–5), fragrance and adornment (Cant 4:10–11; Isa 61:10; cf. 3:16, 18–24), in which she also takes delight (Cant 2:1–2; Jer 2:32). Although little of the rich erotic metaphor of the love songs is found in the restrained language of the courtship narratives, both share the ideal of the virgin bride as ripe and unblemished fruit, or fair and chaste (Cant 4:10–13, 16; Gen 24:16). The same ideal viewed from the perspective of male control underlies the legal stipulations regarding women's sexuality.

In the love poetry of the Song of Songs sex is free and freely given; but in Israelite society, as every society, it was not free. Patrilineal and patriarchal interests demanded exclusive right for men to their wives' sexuality. A woman's sexuality was consequently guarded before marriage by her father (Deut 22:13–21, 28–29; cf. Gen 34:5–7) and after marriage by her husband (Num 5:11–31). Adultery was the most serious of women's crimes, though both partners received the same sentence—death (Lev 20:10; Deut 22:22). Proverbs identifies the adulteress with the evil/dangerous woman (Prov 5:24; 7:10–23; Yee 1989: 61)—while the adulterer is portrayed as a weak and foolish victim, succumbing to her advances (Prov 6:32; 7:7–13, 21–27; 9:13–18). In prophetic metaphor the promiscuous bride, likened at times to a professional prostitute, becomes a symbol of apostate Israel (Hosea 1–3; 4:10, 12, 17–18; Jer 3:1–3; Ezekiel 16; 23).

Prostitution in ancient Israel (Gen 38:13–26; 1 Kgs 3:16–27; Amos 7:17; Prov 23:27) is characterized by the same ambivalence attested in other cultures (Bird 1989: 121–2, 131–3). It exemplifies the asymmetry of sexual relations in patriarchal societies, also exhibited in the "double standard" respecting premarital sex (Deut 23:28–29) and the male prerogative of divorce (Deut 24:1). Prostitution allows men to maintain exclusive control of their wives' sexuality while providing opportunity for sexual relations with other women without violating another man's rights. The prostitute, who supplies this service for her livelihood, is a social outcast, who is generally forced into the profession by destitution or loss of parents or spouse (Bird 1989: 120–22, 129–33).

D. Roles and Activities Outside the Family

Women's roles and activities outside their household-centered work were of two types, assistance in the basic tasks of production (agriculture and animal husbandry), and specialized professions and services. Women's contribution to the primary work of production is difficult to determine; it fluctuated not only in relation to seasonal need, but also to geographic, demographic, technological, and political factors (e.g., drought, war, and disease). Meyers (1988: 50–63) argues that the peculiar ecological conditions of a frontier society demanded intensification of female labor in both productive and reproductive tasks during the early settlement period—with corresponding heightening of female status. Radically altered circumstances in later periods will have produced different patterns of participation and reward. Scanty data for all periods, however, make inferences hazardous. There is textual evidence for women's involvement in harvesting (Ruth 2, where male and female workers form distinct groups) and in tending flocks (Gen 29:9; Exod 2:16).

Women's work in clothing their households or in other types of domestic production may lead to limited commercial development in manufacture for sale (Prov 31:24); women's cottage industry may be associated with urban growth. Specialized female labor was also employed by the palace, whose workforce of female slaves or impressed servants included perfumers, cooks and bakers (1 Sam 8:13). One well attested type of professional specialization is service to other women, best exemplified by the midwife (Exod 1:15–21), who in other ANE cultures was a religious specialist as well as a medical technician.

E. Religious Life

Little is known of women's religious life in ancient Israel, except what is depicted in conjunction with men's activities (1 Sam 1:13–18) or highlighted by explicit mention of women in collective references (Neh 8:2; cf. Deut 16:11, 13, where the wife is assumed in the masculine singular address to the male household). Inferred participation of women in activities ascribed to the "people" or "congregation" or formulated in "generic" masculine terms expands the picture, but may not represent women's actual participation, which may be limited or peripheral. Women's religious activity may also take other forms hidden from the communal record (Bird 1987: 408–10). One area of women's lives given explicit ritual attention is that related to procreation, with prescriptions for purification following menstruation and childbirth (Lev 15:25–30; 12:1–8).

Evidence of women's magic, or devotion, is seen by many scholars in the small clay plaques or figurines of a naked female found throughout Iron Age excavations. Interpreted either as amulets to aid in conception or birth (especially those depicting a pregnant woman) or as representations of a "mother goddess," these mass-produced images appear in both domestic and (peripheral) cultic sites. Although generally identified with women's practice, their precise meaning and use remains uncertain, due to the variety of forms, changing styles, and lack of clear correspondence to objects mentioned in the biblical text (Pritchard 1943; Fowler 1985: 334–5; Holladay 1987: 275–80; Winter 1983: 96–134).

Within the sphere of public religious practice women specialists are attested in several roles, especially in sources for the premonarchic period. They include women who ministered at the entrance to the tent of meeting (Exod 38:8; 1 Sam 2:22); prophets, of whom three are named: Deborah (Judg 4:4–16), Huldah (2 Kgs 22:14–20), and Noadiah (Neh 6:14); and "consecrated women" *(qĕdēšôt)*, usually described as "cultic prostitutes" and associated with Canaanite type cultic practices (Hos 4:14; Deut 23:19–20). See PROSTITUTION (CULTIC). Miriam, though identified as a prophet in Exod 15:20, appears to have exercised some form of cultic leadership (Burns 1987: 39–79).

F. Legal Status

Women's legal status is a function of the larger system of social values and needs, and it cannot be isolated or absolutized. As it can be inferred from the OT's disparate and partial sources, it may be characterized as generally subordinate to that of males. This is evidenced in women's "hiddenness" as legal persons behind the male citizen or husband addressed by the law (Exod 20:3–17; Deut 16:4);

in indirect (3d person) reference to women within masculine formulated direct address (Exod 20:17), or in literary subordination to a male subject (Exod 21:3; Jer 44:25); in limitation of women's rights in conflicts of interest (Num 30:3–8), and in generally circumscribed rights and duties in the public sphere. Apart from the treatment of vows and suspected adultery (both cases involving extrafamilial interests), OT laws do not generally treat intrafamilial relationships. Parental authority over unruly children was invested in both parents (Deut 21:18–20) and also, apparently, responsibility for a daughter's chastity (Deut 22:15)—though the father alone represents his daughter "in court." As a general rule, women within the family were subject to male authority, either as daughters or wives. Only widows, divorced women (Num 30:9), and prostitutes (Josh 6:22) had legal status unmediated and unqualified by males. Although wives, together with children, slaves, and livestock, were counted among a man's possessions (Exod 20:17; cf. Deut 5:21), neither wives nor children were understood as property.

G. Literary and Symbolic Representation

While legal subordination reflects the formal structures of power, it is an inadequate measure of women's actual power or even recognized authority. Hints of the wider influence and power exercised by women in Israelite life may be seen in the OT's literary presentation of women, which depicts them as more complex and forceful than their legal status suggests and gives them leading roles in some of the critical biblical dramas (e.g., Sarah and Hagar, Rahab, Deborah, Jezebel, Huldah, Esther). The expanded role of women in literature, however, especially in family sagas and novellas, reflects artistic need as well as lived reality. Behind this need is a more general pattern of gender symbolization, exhibited in linguistic as well as literary forms.

Woman as symbol plays an important role in the OT literature and must be distinguished, at least conceptually, from woman in history or society. Important examples of female symbolization in the OT include the female as goddess or symbol of divinity (most prominently exhibited in Asherah and the *ʾašerîm*), representation of the capital city or nation as virgin, mother, or bride (Amos 5:2; Isa 40:2; Jer 31:21; Hosea 1–2), and the hypostatization of Wisdom in Proverbs 8. The negative symbolization of woman is represented in Dame Folly (Prov 9:13–18), apostate Israel (Hosea 1–2; Jer 2:20; 3:2; 4:30; Ezekiel 16; 23), and fallen Tyre (Isa 23:15–18; cf. Rev 17:4–5), all portrayed as a harlot or adulteress.

H. Conclusion: Hermeneutical Considerations

Within the OT, viewed either as canonical text or historical testimony, the women who emerge as actors testify to the essential and active role of women in the formation and transmission of Israel's faith. Despite its overwhelmingly androcentric and patriarchal orientation, Israelite faith was a woman's faith—cherished, defended and exemplified by women. But the text also exhibits a tension between the statement made by the leading female figures and that made by the nameless and voiceless women "offstage." Acknowledging their presence and incorporating their voices into the message of the OT is part of the new hermeneutical task, requiring new interpretive strategies and techniques.

Various forms of literary criticism (including rhetorical and structuralist approaches) have provided feminist interpreters with a tool for re-presenting the women of the OT in relation to contemporary concerns. As a counter or complement to historical exegesis, such interpretation focuses on the received form of the text, tracing the sexual dynamics of its narrative portraits and inviting identification with its female subjects. Depicted according to contemporary norms as victims (Jephthah's daughter)—and challengers (the Hebrew midwives; Ruth and Naomi)—of patriarchal ideology and power, or simply as survivors in a man's world, the women of the ancient text reflect and prefigure modern struggles and ideals. While interpreters such as Trible (1978; 1984), Bal (1987; 1988), Exum (1983), and Fuchs (1985) represent differing aims and approaches to the patriarchal text, they share a common reader orientation that invokes response to their retold tales: celebration for unsung triumphs, mourning and rage for unlamented victims and unnamed crimes. These literary-constructive readings present the mothers and daughters of ancient Israel as sisters "heard into speech" by modern feminist interpretation. See FEMINIST HERMENEUTICS.

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PHYLLIS A. BIRD

NEW TESTAMENT

In order to understand the position and roles of women in the NT era, it is necessary first to examine the historical and social context in which 1st century women lived. The primary matrix for assessing women's roles in the Jesus movement and in early Jewish Christianity is the status and roles women had in early Judaism, especially in Israel. The position and roles of women elsewhere in the Roman Empire is also of relevance in assessing the place of women in the Pauline communities and in the communities of the gospel writers.

A. The Historical Setting
1. Women in Early Judaism
2. Women in Other Mediterranean Cultures
B. Women in the Ministry of Jesus
C. Women in the Pauline Communities
D. Women and the Third and Fourth Evangelists
E. Conclusions

A. The Historical Setting

1. Women in Early Judaism. The Palestinian Jewish culture was one of the most patriarchal in the Mediterranean crescent. The home and family were basically the only spheres where women could play significant roles in early Judaism. This was true not only because of the extensive power that a father had over both his wife and daughters in determining their activities and their relationships, but also because various levitical laws were interpreted in such a way that women were prohibited from taking significant roles in the synagogue due to their monthly period of levitical uncleanness.

Women could not make up the quorum that constituted a synagogue, could not be counted on to recite the daily *Shema* or make the pilgrimages to Jerusalem for the major feasts, nor are there any known examples of women reading the Torah in the synagogue in Jesus' era (cf. *m. Hag.* 1.1, *m. Ber.* 3.3). Mishnah *Qidd.* 1.7 teaches: "The observance of all the positive ordinances that depend on the time of year is incumbent on men but not on women . . ." Women did receive and pass along some basic religious education in the home. There were, however, various teachers in early Judaism that frowned on women being given anything more than a rudimentary religious education, especially in regard to the oral *halakah* (Witherington 1984: 6–7). Furthermore, there is no evidence that prior to Jesus' ministry Jewish women were ever allowed to be disciples of a great teacher, much less travel with such a teacher, or to instruct anyone other than children. In such a restrictive context, Jesus' relationship to women must have seemed radical indeed, though on the wider scale of 1st century Mediterranean culture it seems not to have been unprecedented. In fact, seen from the broader cultural context, Jesus can be described as a reformer of patriarchal society, but not as one who outright rejected a patriarchal orientation.

In regard to the legal position of a woman in early Judaism, her testimony was considered valid by some early Jewish teachers, but suspect by others (cf. *m. Ned.* 11.10). In practice, women were entrusted with much responsibility and their word was normally accepted, especially in the home. The legal position of a woman even in a family, however, was seriously restricted in regard to the right of inheritance (she was basically entitled only to maintenance not inheritance) and the right of divorce (strictly speaking only the male could divorce, though a woman could precipitate a divorce). Furthermore, a woman was often passed from the control of her father to that of her husband with little or no say in the matter, not least because Jewish women in this era married at or soon after the time they came of age. The laws which were later codified in the Mishnah say that a woman, like a gentile slave, could be obtained by intercourse, money, or writ (*m. Qidd.* 1.1), though normally marriage was transacted by the heads of the households who would make an agreement and settle on a bride price.

These facts should not cause us to overlook the positive

statements made by early Jews about honoring and respecting women, nor should we ignore the extensive responsibilities placed on a Jewish husband in regard to his wife and daughters, nor forget that much of what we have discussed resulted from the attempt by an occupied people to preserve their culture and religious way of life. Nevertheless, the dominant impression left by our early Jewish sources is of a very patriarchal society that limited women's roles and functions to the home, and severely restricted: (1) their rights of inheritance, (2) their choice of relationships, (3) their ability to pursue a religious education or fully participate in the synagogue, and (4) their freedom of movement.

2. Women in Other Mediterranean Cultures. Within the patriarchal framework that existed throughout the Roman Empire, there was a surprising degree of variety in the roles and positions women could and did assume from culture to culture. For example, in Rome women could at most be the power behind the throne, whereas in Egypt women could openly rule. Or again, in Athens married citizen-women seem to have been confined to domestic activities, whereas women in Asia Minor, Macedonia, and Egypt engaged in their own private businesses, served in public offices, and had prominent roles in various religious cults.

Note that with the rise in popularity of the Isis cult came also the rise to prominence of all sorts of women in various significant religious roles, besides the traditional ones of being a Vestal Virgin (in Rome), or an oracle (e.g., at Delphi) roles open only to a few women who led atypical lives. Since Corinth in Paul's day was a Roman city, and Rome was generally suspicious of imported oriental religions, allowing only an indigenous religion to receive official sanction, it is difficult to assess whether the oriental cults (e.g., Isis) played any significant role in Corinthian life. More certainly, in various places in Greece and elsewhere in the Mediterranean world in the 1st century women were allowed: (1) to be the organs of revelation; (2) to have prominent roles in the Dionysian cult; (3) to take the lead in the mystery plays, and the agricultural and fertility rites (Farnell 1907, 3: 106–16).

The degree that the father/husband controlled the family varied somewhat from culture to culture in the Mediterranean world. In Asia Minor women could dispose of their own property, and their dowry remained their own. This was also true in Egypt, but in Athens women's property rights were more restricted.

In Rome, the *patria potestas* had been attenuated by laws that allowed marriage without the traditional patriarchal *in manu* procedure. Women as well as men could also end a marriage even on very flimsy grounds in Roman society. In general, a Roman woman's property rights and freedom in marriage were greater than that of women elsewhere in the Empire, with the exception of Egypt and perhaps Asia Minor and Macedonia.

It is notable that in Roman society, unlike some parts of Greece, the education of women was considered important and desirable. Even among poorer families both daughters and sons received at least a rudimentary education, while in wealthier families all children regularly had tutors (Balsdon 1962: 252). Yet this did not lead Romans, even during the age of the Empire, to allow women to vote or hold public office, unlike the case in Asia Minor.

In summary, in terms of personal, property, and educational rights the women of Rome, Egypt, Asia Minor, and Macedonia faired better than the women of Greece or Judea, but in terms of political rights Roman women were at a disadvantage when compared to Egyptian or Macedonian women (and those women in Asia Minor, Egypt, and elsewhere who inherited the benefits of Hellenism). In terms of roles and status in religious settings, women in Egypt, Asia Minor and Macedonia had more possibilities than Greek or Roman women in general, until the coming of various Oriental cults and Hellenistic ideals into Rome and the Roman colony cities in the Empire.

B. Women in the Ministry of Jesus

On a cursory examination of the gospels it might be possible to see Jesus as just another advocate of a patriarchal society, since he chose twelve men to be his personal followers, and since he probably exhorted his listeners to follow the OT commandment about honoring parents (Mark 7:10; 10:19 and parallels). In fact, it appears that he taught that for two people joined together by God divorce is not a legitimate option (Witherington 1984: 18–28). This is only one side of the story, however, for the gospels also portray Jesus as one who accepted women both as followers and as traveling companions (Luke 8:1–3). This same Jesus is said to have preferred for a woman to listen and learn from him as a disciple would, rather than to serve him in a woman's traditional capacity (Luke 10:38–42). It seems that Jesus rejected many levitical laws about clean and unclean since he apparently fellowshipped with the unclean, allowed unclean women to touch him, and was willing to touch a corpse and stop a funeral procession to help a woman (Mark 5:25–34 and parallels; Luke 7:11–17, 36–50). Nowhere is it recorded that after such occasions Jesus went through the regular levitical procedures to make himself clean again.

Further light is shed on Jesus' attitude toward women by the radical sayings which suggest that among his followers the family of faith supercedes the physical family as the primary group of identification (Mark 3:34–35 and parallels; Matt 10:34–39= Luke 14:26). One must also bear in mind a saying like Matt 19:3–12, which may have been Jesus' vindication of his own celibate lifestyle, but which also allowed for both women and men to remain single for the sake of the Dominion of God. Such a teaching was foreign not only to the Jewish ethos where marriage and procreation were considered obligations (Gen 1:28), but also to the larger context of the Roman Empire where writers from Greek and Roman cultures were known to expound on the duty of marriage and procreation (Daube 1977). This teaching about being given the ability to be single for the sake of the Kingdom opened the door for women to assume roles in the Jesus movement other than the traditional domestic ones. It is not accidental that the gospel tradition records that women were among the witnesses of Jesus' crucifixion, burial, empty tomb, and resurrection. Herein we see the liberating effect the teaching and life of Jesus had on women, and the loyalty with which they responded to that life.

Taking all the probably authentic material in the gospels

together, it would appear that Jesus was a reformer of patriarchal society, sometimes making suggestions that would have been considered radical in a Jewish context. This applies both to what he said and to what he allowed in regard to women's religious roles in his movement. Also his teaching about marriage, divorce, and singleness would have been seen as radical not only by Jews but also by various people outside a Jewish context in the Roman Empire (Witherington 1984: 49–52, 77–79, 123–31).

C. Women in the Pauline Communities

When one investigates the letters of Paul, one finds concepts already in evidence in the Jesus tradition. On the one hand, there is an affirmation of marriage and family (1 Cor 7; Eph 5:22–31; Col 3:18–25; 1 Cor 11), and a modified, Christianized patriarchal structure seems to be advocated. On the other hand, the family of faith is seen as the primary unit of identity and there is a clear advocacy of women assuming important roles in the Christian community including proclamation roles (1 Cor 11:5; 16:19; Rom 16:1, 3, 7; Phil 4:2–3).

The "occasional" nature of Paul's letters must be taken into consideration when evaluating such difficult texts as 1 Cor 14: 34–35, or its parallel in 1 Tim 2:8–15. In both cases, Paul and/or the Paulinist who wrote these verses is dealing with problems in the Pauline communities. The rulings given apply to specific problems of women disrupting the worship service, or usurping authority over others. In both cases, the abuses are being ruled out, but this does not foreclose the issue of whether or not women who did not abuse their privileges might speak or exercise authority if it was done in a proper and orderly manner (Witherington 1988: 90–104, 117–24). In fact, in view of the evidence that various women were Paul's co-workers in the Gospel ministry it is unlikely that these texts were ever intended to do more than rule out certain abuses.

Many recent interpreters have seen in Gal 3:28 the Magna Carta of human equality (Stendahl 1966). However, closer attention to both the baptismal context of this saying (which suggests that it is about entrance requirements for being "in Christ"), and the specific wording of the text (which reads "no male *and* female" *not* "no male or female"), suggests a different interpretation (Witherington 1981: 593–604.). Paul says that neither one's racial nor social nor marital status should determine whether or not one can be in Christ. In Christ such distinctions as Jew and gentile, or married and unmarried, still exist (Romans 9–11; 1 Corinthians 7), but they have no inherent salvific value, nor do they determine whether or not one can be in Christ.

It is striking how Paul, in his assessment of marriage, divorce and singleness, seems to be drawing directly on the Jesus tradition in several ways. First, Paul agrees that there is a creation order that God used to set the pattern for proper marital relationships that supercedes Mosaic legislation (1 Cor 11:3–15; Matt 19:3–12 and parallels) (Witherington 1985: 571–76.). Second, Paul prohibits divorce for marital partners who are both believers (1 Cor 7:10–11; Mark 10:11). Third, he prefers the single status and states that the ability to lead a celibate life is a gift from God not given to all (1 Cor 7:7 and Matt 19:11–12). Furthermore, Paul seems to have had a healthy respect for marriage and human sexuality, as did Jesus, for he believes marriage is not merely a *remedium concupiscentiae* (1 Corinthians 7). This becomes especially clear if Ephesians 5 was written by Paul as seems probable. Finally, we may note that Paul's constant use of family language to refer to his fellow believers indicates that he, like Jesus, saw the family of faith as the central and controlling social reality. Paul certainly does not warrant the title of chauvinist, but he was also no radical feminist. Rather, as was the case with our investigation of Jesus, what we see in Paul is: (1) an affirmation of new religious roles for women, and (2) a reaffirmation—with some Christian modifications—of the traditional roles women had been assuming in the family. In some contexts, particularly among Jews and Jewish Christians, both (1) and (2) would have made Paul appear to be radical. In other contexts, among some gentiles, Paul's moral conservatism and reaffirmation of traditional roles for women would have appeared too confining (this appears to have been the case in Corinth). 1 Corinthians 11 and 14 seem to be Paul's reaction to those whom he perceived to be overly "liberated" women. For Paul, the family of faith was central (as it was for Jesus), and this meant that the structure and roles of the physical family would be affected, and in some ways transformed, by the transcending practices of the family of faith. Paul walked a difficult line between reaffirmation and reformation of the good that was part of the creation order on the one hand, and the affirmation of new possibilities in Christ on the other (Witherington 1988: 125–26).

D. Women and the Third and Fourth Evangelists

Apparently, various 1st century churches struggled with the teaching of Jesus, Paul, and others about the new roles women could assume in the Christian community. This can be inferred from the fact that when the Third and Fourth Evangelists set down their gospels in the last quarter of the 1st century they felt it important to stress the new roles of women and the equality of women with men as objects of God's grace and gracious endowments.

This stress is especially apparent in Luke–Acts where we find as part of Luke's redactional agenda a tendency to pair parables and stories about men and women to show their equal place in God's new activities through Jesus. Thus, for instance, we may point to such parables as Luke 13:18–21, or 18:1–14, or the pairing of the story of Aeneas and Tabitha in Acts 9:32–42 (Witherington 1988: 129). One may also note how the paradigmatic sermon of Jesus in Luke 4:18–19 seems to structure how Luke presents the liberation of various women from diseases or infirmities in Luke 4:38–44 or 8:1–3. H. Flender (1967: 10) rightly concludes: "Luke expresses by this arrangement that man and woman stand together and side by side before God. They are equal in honor and grace; they are endowed with the same gifts and have the same responsibilities. . . ." Luke is also not reluctant to portray a woman as a prophetess (Acts 21:9), a religious teacher of a notable male Christian leader (Acts 18:1-3, 24–26), a hostess for a house churches (Acts 12:12–17), the first convert in a new region (Acts 16:12–40), and as assuming the roles deaconnesses were later to have (Acts 9:32–42). It is not accidental that Luke clearly mentions church meetings in the homes of women (Acts 12:12; 16:40). Luke has carefully chosen five

vignettes to show the different roles women were assuming in the early Christian communities. In fact, these five stories show how the Gospel progressed through the female population across the Empire from Jerusalem (1:14; 12:12–17), to Joppa (9:36–42), to Philippi (16:11–15), to Corinth (18:1–3), to Ephesus (18:19–26), to Thessalonica (17:4), to Beroea (17:12), and to Athens (17:34). In this way, Luke not merely chronicles the effect of the Gospel on women in the early churches, but also provides a written precedent for women to continue in such roles.

In the Fourth Gospel there are at least five episodes which feature women and their roles: (1) Mary, Jesus' mother (John 2, 19); (2) the Samaritan woman (John 4); (3) Mary and Martha (John 11–12); (4) the mention of the women at the cross (John 19); and (5) the appearance of Jesus to Mary Magdalene. Taken together, these tales reveal women on their way to becoming Jesus' disciples, progressing in understanding and faith in Jesus. Thus, for instance, while Jesus clearly disengages from his mother's parental authority in John 2, nonetheless they are reunited at the cross where Mary is accepted into the family of faith. Or again, in the story of Mary and Martha we find women who believe in Jesus, but inadequately, and who learn to fully confess who Jesus is. The same can be said of the detailed account of the Samaritan woman in John 4 where the immoral woman is portrayed as one who better understands and shares Jesus' real "food" than the disciples who are still operating on a more material level. This woman bears witness about Jesus in the community in a way the disciples are not portrayed as doing.

John 20 is very important for here we find not only that a woman received the first appearance of the risen Lord, but also that she was commissioned to be an evangelist to the Eleven, proclaiming the Good News to them. The witness list mentioned in John 19 also indicates that the testimony of women was critical in regard to another crucial element in the Christian creed—Jesus' death. Since it is improbable that early Christians would have invented the idea of women being the key witnesses to the concluding events in Jesus' earthly career, it is more likely that the Fourth Evangelist is basing at least some of these narratives on historical data.

One may wish to ask why the Fourth Evangelist felt a need to stress a positive portrayal of how women responded to Jesus. At the end of the 1st century A.D. the role of women in the Christian community was probably still being debated, and in order to further the teaching of Jesus and other early Christians on these matters the Fourth Evangelist has presented various women as models of the process of coming to faith, and bearing witness to that faith in various ways.

E. Conclusions

There seems to be a consistent trajectory from the life and teachings of Jesus to the life and teachings of various of the earliest Christians including Paul. The authors addressing the earliest churches argue for the new freedom and roles women can assume in Christ. However, evidence shows an attempt at *reformation*, not *repudiation*, of the patriarchal structure of family and society evident in the 1st century. This reformation must take place "in Christ." Therefore, we find no call to social revolution or to the overthrow of a patriarchal society outside of the Body of Christ. This reformation, however, led to greater stability and equality in the marriage structure, and to greater roles in the church both for married and unmarried women. Understanding the tension between the family of faith and the physical family was key to understanding the new roles women could play in the Church. Men, too, found that greater freedom meant more responsibility, not more privilege.

This affirmation of women was not quickly or universally accepted in the fledgling Christian Church. The writers of the New Testament documents had to argue for these new ideas even as late as the end of the 1st century. In fact, a review of post-NT and pre-Nicene material suggests that the resistance to both the reformation of the roles of women, and the affirmation of women in general, intensified. The modern debate on the role of women continues, but the starting point for each discussion should continue to be the biblical material.

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BEN WITHERINGTON, III

WOOD. See FLORA.

WOOL. See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION; ZOOLOGY.

WORD OF GOD. The word of God in the OT is both a word about God and a word from God. It is a word about God, however, only because it is a word from God, that is, it is a word in and through which God discloses himself. While the word of God does have a content which deserves careful attention, the primary subject of this article has to do with the word as the medium of such a content.

The most important Hebrew term for the word of God is *dābār*. No conclusions can be drawn regarding its meaning on the basis of etymology, concerning which there is no fundamental agreement. Moreover, efforts to connect its basic meanings of "word" and "thing" do not sufficiently take polysemy into account. The term is used in all periods of Israel's history and in every type of literature. It is used of both human beings and God, with the latter usage predominating in the prophets. There are nearly 400 references to the word of God in the OT, with the phrase, "word of the Lord," appearing over 240 times. Other words used, *ʾēmer*, *ʾimrâ* and *millâ*, are much less frequent. The verbs, *ʾāmar* and *dibber (Piʿel)*, "to say, speak," with God as the subject, are also an important resource for this discussion, as are verbs which imply speaking (e.g., to call, command).

The meaning of the Hebrew terms is basically an articulate and intelligible utterance. When used of God it refers to a medium of divine communication, a verbal encounter between God and individual(s) whereby the divine will becomes operative in the lives of those concerned. Common formulations are: "The word of the Lord came to . . . ;" "Thus says the Lord;" "Hear the word of the Lord."

English translations of the terms vary somewhat. In certain contexts it is thought possible to translate with somewhat greater precision than "speak" or "word." For example, the NAB translates *dābār* with "promise" and "command" in a number of texts (e.g., Josh 23:14–15; Deut 1:18).

While consideration will be given to some specific traditions, the focus of attention will be on more general OT perspectives.

A. Word of God as Metaphor
B. Word of God as Speech-Act
C. Word and God
D. Word and Will of God
E. Word and Situation
F. Word and World
G. Word of God as a Relational Category
H. The Creative Word of God
I. Word of God as Personal Encounter
J. Word and Fulfillment

A. Word of God as Metaphor

To speak of the word of God is to use the language of metaphor. Such language is drawn from human experience, specifically the experience of speaking and hearing. As with all metaphors, both the differences and similarities with respect to the human analogue need to be kept in mind. On the one hand, God's speaking cannot be reduced to the limits of human speaking; on the other hand, there are genuine similarities between human and divine speech. The former can be seen in the testimony of the biblical authors to the manifold vehicles for the speech of God. God's word is conveyed in and through dreams, visions, voices out of clouds, and encounters with strangers, as well as directly to the human mind. At the same time, human beings apprehend and understand the word of God in a way not dissimilar from human speech; the word of God is an intelligible word to human minds.

There is no word of God to human beings apart from the words and other symbols by which human beings communicate. There is thus no pure, unmediated word of God. But the finite is capable of the infinite; human words can bear the divine word. One cannot finally sort out the divine word from the human, however; they are bound up together in every reported word of God in the OT. But the word, nevertheless, is called the word of God.

There is no speculation as to how this communication is possible, nor any apparent concern to distinguish between internal and external hearing. God's speaking is sufficiently common so that normally it is not understood to be an extraordinary event, though it may occasion surprise or fear in some instances, especially in communal contexts (cf. Exod 20:19 with Deut 5:24). Yet, divine speech is never understood to be unambiguously divine, so that, for example, Samuel can mistake it for a human voice (1 Samuel 3) and false prophets can make claims to have heard it (Jer 28:2). The word of God is believed to be from God and sufficiently clear and effective to shape faith and life, but no criteria are available to demonstrate beyond a reasonable doubt that such speech had a divine origin. The claim to have heard a word of God is not a self-authenticating claim.

B. Word of God as Speech-Act

A magical understanding has been a prominent feature in the study of the word of God in the OT. That is, the spoken word in and of itself was believed to possess an autonomous power, even a quasi-material identity, which ineluctably worked to bring about what had been articulated. But contrary to popular understanding, this is not a theological consideration; it has its roots in a particular view of language in general.

The recently developed field of speech-act theory, building on the work of J. Austin (1962) and others, has shifted this discussion to a new level and demonstrated the inadequacy of the above-noted understanding. This is the study of language-use which is understood to be, or to be a part of, the doing of an action, hence the designation "performative speech." Such words not only express ideas or

convey content, they do something. It is the performance of an act *in* saying something as opposed to an act *of* saying something. In many such instances the utterance of the word itself coincides with the act (has an illocutionary force), while in other cases the word seeks to have an effect on reality (perlocutionary force); in many cases words have both forces. Examples would be: promises, vows, wagers, verdicts, namings, warnings, blessings and curses.

Unlike magical understandings, however, these words are not effective because of some inherent, independent power in the words themselves. Nor can all words be so described. Rather, these words produce effects because of certain societal understandings regarding the function of such speech-acts. These words must be spoken in a particular situation by the appropriate person in the proper form to be so effective; in fact, if these factors are not present the words may have the opposite effect intended (e.g., Prov 27:14).

This is certainly the case with blessings and curses. Thus, for example, the blessing of Jacob in Genesis 27 is not a magical transfer by word power, but reflective of cultural understandings of the effectiveness and legally non-rescindable character of such testaments. The fact that modern legally attested oaths would be comparably understood is illustrative of the fact that Israel's understanding of word was not particularly unique. Both in ancient and modern societies certain words immediately produce effects because they are spoken by individuals exercising authority in certain conventional or institutional situations. No magical understanding of word is implied.

The importance of the one who speaks these words deserves special mention when the speaker is God or God's representative. The power of the words spoken by God directly or through a prophet is to be related not to some mysterious power which the spoken word itself possesses, but to the power of the speaker. It is God, who has an ongoing relationship to a word spoken, who brings about the fulfillment of the word, not the word in itself in some autonomous way. Fulfillment is a testimony to God's work, not to a word's power.

This is evidenced negatively by the phenomenon of false prophecy and the reality of divine repentance. While the words of the false prophets may well have an effect—they could be believed by those who heard them—the words are not fulfilled (cf. Deut 18:22; Jer 28:9; cf. Isa 44:26). Moreover, the fact that God occasionally is said to have repented of a word spoken (cf. Jer 26:19; Jonah 3:10) means that God's ongoing relationship to that word is such that it may or may not be fulfilled. It is also to be noted that God can change intended curses to blessings (Deut 23:6; Josh 24:10; Neh 13:2; cf. Mal 2:2).

In view of these perspectives, certain passages commonly cited to illustrate the autonomous power of the word are to be explained in other terms. When it is stated that the "word of the Lord came to" a prophet (e.g., Joel 1:1), it probably means nothing more than that the word became an active reality in the life of the prophet from a source other than the prophet's own mind. 1 Kgs 13:9, 17 are certainly instances of poetic personification. Jer 1:9–10 has reference to the word of God as embodied (cf. below). Isa 55:10–11, "my word shall not return empty," would say little about God that is remarkable or informative if this were true about words in themselves. The same may be said with respect to the creative word of God (cf. Ps 33:6, 9).

Only because the word is the word of God can it be spoken of in such powerful terms. The word of God will endure forever because its speaker is God himself (Isa 40:6–8). Metaphors for the word of God such as weapon (Hos 6:5; Isa 9:7—Eng v 8 cf. Zech 9:1), fire (Jer 5:14; 20:9), hammer (Jer 23:29), messenger (Pss 107:20; 147:15, 18), and rain and snow (Isa 55:10–11) are simply striking ways in which the swift and powerful effect of the word of God can be made more vivid. Later tendencies to view word as an hypostasis (Wis 18:15–16?) can be viewed as an extension of this use of language. In general terms, this objectifying language serves to show that the word of God is not a product of human minds; it is a reality which comes from outside the self.

Generally, the lack of an independent power for words is shown by the fact that words may be ineffective, and cannot in and of themselves compel response (Prov 2:3–4; 17:10; 29:19; cf. Judg 17:2). Moreover, words are no substitute for deeds (Prov 14:23). The common magical understanding of the use of words in the OT is thus rooted in a mistaken view of language. Such words are rather to be seen in a double light, in terms of the dynamics of performative speech and the identity of the speaker.

This understanding of the word finds parallels among Israel's neighbors in the ANE. The creative word of the gods is a common theme in both Mesopotamia and Egypt. The Enuma Elish (e.g., 4.22–26; see *ANET,* 66) speaks of the power of the word of Marduk. Also it is said of Sin in "Hymn to the Moon-God": "Thy word goes out from above like a wind, it makes pasture and watering place luxuriant . . . Thy word causes justice and righteousness to arise" (*TDOT* 3:93; cf. *ANET,* 386). Egyptian literature speaks often of creation through the word and of "the word of God." For example, it mentions Amon, "who spoke with his mouth and there came into existence all men, gods . . . cattle" (*ANET,* 371). On the other hand, accounts of a god speaking directly to human beings is rare.

These commonalities between Israel and the surrounding societies, most common in later OT literature, are probably not due to explicit borrowing. Rather, it is more likely that Israel's understanding of the word was reflective of a general cultural understanding in that part of the world. In any case, these connections should be positively viewed; at least some of the truth about God's relationship to the world is not unknown outside Israel.

C. Word and God

Central to the OT understanding of the word of God is a certain view of God. Israel's God is a God who speaks. It is not only that God can speak, but that God has spoken. Indeed, Israel testifies to a God who is in ongoing conversation with the world. This God has not only spoken in the past, with that word now on deposit, as it were. This God continues to speak in every new present. Moreover, the new creation will be characterized by intimate divine-human conversation (Isa 58:9; 65:24). Israel's God is not a silent God, in past, present, or future.

Israel's God, therefore, differs from idols "who have mouths but do not speak" (Pss 115:5; 135:16; Jer 10:5). 1

Kgs 19:26–29 is an especially sharp statement of this point: "Answer us, Baal! But there was no sound, and no one answering." Speaking and responding is one of the distinctive characteristics of the God of Israel compared to the idols of other peoples.

D. Word and Will of God

The word of God is always an intentional, never an idle word. The word of God is the vehicle for the will of God; the word expresses what God intends. The intention of the word of God is to serve the purposes of God in the world, to move the world along toward the objectives God has for it. The word activates the will of God; it represents a decision by God to accomplish what God wants to accomplish in a specific situation. It does not simply add something to the situation, it renders a divine decision concerning it. Having been addressed by the word of God, that situation is decisively altered. The word does not make God present in that situation, but seeks to clarify and direct the shape of God's will within that already pervasive presence. The word makes available to the world what would not otherwise be available—an experience (including knowledge) of the will of God. The result is that the will of God can be discerned in the world; the will of God can be known to the extent that God has let it be known through the word.

The word as reflective of the will of God tells the truth about God and the world (2 Sam 7:28; Ps 119:43). God is not deceptive in his speaking; the word is reliable (Ps 119:140; 2 Sam 22:31). God's word is characterized as good and upright (Josh 21:45; 23:14–15; 1 Kgs 8:56; Ps 33:4; Isa 39:8), correspondent to the will of God.

It is important to note that the will of God is not defined in a singular way in the OT. See also WILL OF GOD IN THE OT. One must distinguish between the circumstantial and the absolute will of God. God's absolute will as expressed in the word has to do with God's will for the salvation of the community. While the word of God brings light and understanding (Ps 119:130), its goal and effect are more wide-ranging: it is a life-giving word upon which people depend for their very existence (Deut 8:3; 30:11–20; 32:46–47; Ps 119:25, 50, 116, 154). If the word is not heard, it is as if there were a famine in the land (Amos 8:11–12). God's circumstantial will is also expressed in the word; for example, God can speak of judgment (cf. Ps 50:7; Zeph 1:1–18). But this word of God is in the service of God's absolute will for the salvation of as many as possible (Ezek 18:23, 32; 33:11).

The will of God is also reflected in the commanding word of God. As such, the word of God can refer to the Decalogue (Exod 20:1; 34:28), individual ordinances (Deut 15:15; 24:18, 22), and the entire Torah (Deut 30:14). Israel is called upon to obey this word because it is the will of God. But God's will as expressed in this commanding word is not arbitrary, nor is it unchanging; its intent is to serve life and well-being in ever-changing circumstances (cf. Deut 28:11–14; 30:11–20). This word is for the purpose of extending into all aspects of one's life, and the lives of others, the intention of that will already experienced in the Exodus. Hence, this commanding word is in tune with the absolute will of God for Israel.

The word of God, therefore, is a word in which the people place their trust and hope (Pss 56:5, 11—Eng vv 4, 10; 106:12; 119:42, 74, 81, 114, 147; 130:5). The word is a basic means by which the people can be comforted and assured because it expresses God's will for their salvation. Hence, it is something in which they rejoice (Ps 119:161–162; Isa 66:2, 5).

E. Word and Situation

God's speaking is always a temporal event. Every word of God has its time, and God knows the proper time for a given word. The word expresses the will of God with respect to a particular moment in the life of the world. The word of God always arises in a specific situation, is spoken into that moment, and is designed to make a difference in that situation. The word of God thus always fits the situation is some particular way; it consists of words of judgment, promise, instruction, command, and blessing as they are pertinent to the moment and in consonance with the will of God for that moment. Therefore, if a word no longer seems applicable in view of changes in the situation, God can repent of that word (see below).

At the same time, the words of God are commonly believed to be applicable across situations. For example, existing commands of God in older law codes such as Exodus 21–24 are picked up and reinterpreted in Deuteronomy. Certain promises are also repeated (cf. Isa 2:1–5 with Mic 4:1–5; Isa 11:6–9 with 65:25). The word of God is a living word that has enduring meaning across centuries (Isa 40:8; 59:21; Ps 119:89, 160).

Yet, the use to which Deuteronomy puts the law indicates that the word of God was not necessarily considered an enduring reality in a literal sense. The word is not only handed down within the community of faith, it is reused, elaborated, and creatively applied in ever new situations in life. This adaptation of the word no doubt often occurred in Israel's worship life (cf. Exod 33:7–11; Psalms 50; 81). Within this context, the continuing proclamation of the word of God played an integral, ongoing life-giving function for Israel.

Eventually this leads to the word of God being written down and enduring in that form. The beginnings of this process are occasionally visible in pre-exilic texts (cf. 1 Kgs 23:1–3; Isa 8:17; Jeremiah 36); the written form of the Decalogue and other laws may also be noted (Exod 20:1; 34:27–28; cf. Josh 8:34–35). Some concern arises for a fixed form of the word to which the community can repair and which can function as an authoritative word (cf. Deut 4:2; 31:24–26; Prov 30:6; 2 Chr 34:21; 35:6). The word thus assumes a form which the community can study and meditate upon (Ps 119:148). For the postexilic community the Law of Moses most commonly functions in this way (cf. Ezra 7:11; 9:4; Neh 8:9, 13; cf. Job 23:12; Ps 119:9, 17, 105).

F. Word and World

God's word is directed primarily, but not solely to Israel. God's speaking to the world is centered in Israel, and is most articulate there (Deut 4:33; Ps 147:19–20; Isa 51:16). Israel, however, is not unique in being the recipient of that word. God's word to Israel is a special instance of God's more wide-ranging word to the world. Gen 1:28 (cf. 9:1) testifies to a speaking of God to the wider human creation.

The word of God spoken through the prophets is at times directed to other peoples (cf. Jeremiah 46–51; Jonah); Jeremiah is in fact called to be a prophet to the nations (Jer 1:5). Indeed, God's word to Israel is for the sake of that word being more fully declared to the entire world (e.g., Exod 9:16; Ps 96:3, 10; cf. Ps 138:4).

Even more, God's speaking is said to include an audience among the nonhuman creatures. God addresses the earth (Ps 50:4; Isa 1:2; Hag 1:11), speaks to/with natural entities (Gen 1:22; 3:14; Isa 45:8; Job 37:6; 38:35), and calls them by name (Isa 40:26; Ps 147:4). God's call to the waters and the earth to participate in the creative activity (Gen 1:11, 24) suggests that the relationship is such that there can be a responsiveness to the word of God on the part of that which is nonhuman. This nonhuman order can in turn become the medium for God's word to the world (Ps 19:1).

God's speaking is also said to be characteristic of relationships within the heavenly realm (cf. 1 Kgs 22:20–22; Job 1:7–12; Psalm 82; 103:20–21; Isa 6:8). It is the word of God spoken in the heavenly council which the prophet "overhears" and conveys to Israel (Jer 23:18–22).

G. Word of God as a Relational Category

Generally, word is a verbal event which, like love, involves at least two parties. The basic structure of the word, therefore, is not a bare statement but involves a relationship, communication by one and reception by another. In any talk about God's word, therefore, a certain understanding of the relationship God has established with the created order is assumed. This relationship is of such a nature that God and the creatures can communicate with one another. Words are integral to such communication, at least to divine-human interaction (cf. above on God's word to the nonhuman creation). While other forms of communication might be cited, speaking and hearing, listening and responding, are central to the divine-human conversation. God can speak and the creatures can hear and understand; human beings can speak to God (e.g., in prayer) and God can hear and respond.

Even more, certain texts suggest that God is eager to be in communication with the people (Isa 65:1–2); indeed, God expresses a sense of obligation to speak with those who are chosen (Gen 18:17; Amos 3:7). The knowledge of God and his ways on the part of the human party is deemed essential if the relationship is to be real and genuine. God's speaking, however, is here seen not simply as a matter of the conveyance of a certain content, but important in itself as integral to God's faithfulness within a relationship. The word of God is therefore fundamentally a relational category by means of which the relationship between God and people can be realized more fully.

The word of God is spoken most directly to leaders within Israel, who in turn convey that word to the larger community. Occasionally, in a theophanic encounter (cf. below) God will speak to other individuals (cf. Hagar in Gen 16:11–14; Manoah in Judg 13:9–23). But, most commonly, it is leaders like Moses who mediate the word of God to the community (Deut 5:5).

The content of the word of God also is to be understood in relational terms. God does not simply speak about more objective realities, as if it were simply a matter of data or information that constitutes the word of God. The various texts reveal a divine concern about a considerable range of matters that bear on the relationship (cf. Num 12:1–8; Zech 7:9–10; Gen 35:10). The word also includes the conveyance of divine emotions or feelings (cf. Num 14:10–11; Jer 31:20; Hos 11:8). Indeed, God's word will include the revelation of inner-divine reflections (cf. Gen 2:18; 8:21; Ps 95:10–11; Jer 3:7, 19–20). God's own self is thus not removed from the word. The word is truly revealing of the God who speaks it, and this for the sake of a fullness of relationship.

This relationship has a fundamental integrity to it. It is not only what God says that affects the relationship; how the creatures respond affects the relationship as well. God's word is not spoken into a void (even in Genesis 1 the word is addressed to existing material) or to unthinking creatures; it assumes that there is an audience for that word, those who can hear and interact with that word. God's word is not a monological reality. While God's word is always freely spoken, it calls for response on the part of those to whom it is directed. As a result, God's word may not always be the initiating word; it may be respondent to, indeed in dialogue with, the creaturely party to the relationship (cf. Num 14:11–25). God's word may bring into being, but it is not thereby done with that which is created. Interaction with those addressed is essential for the creation to be what it is called into being to be: in genuine relationship with its Creator.

Human response can thus affect what is heard when God speaks. Finitude and sin may lead to the misunderstanding of the word of God; faithfulness to the relationship and alertness may lead to insight. Indeed, even when it is understood, human response to the word may range widely. The relationship is such that, however powerful God's word may be (like fire and a hammer crushing rocks, Jer 23:29), believing is not the only response available to those who hear. God's word does not overwhelm those to whom it comes; it is resistable (Ezek 2:7). The word of God can be challenged (Exod 32:9–13) or questioned (Jer 1:6–7) or rejected (Zech 7:11–12) or ridiculed (Gen 18:12–13) or scorned (Jer 6:10) or despised (Jer 23:17) or disbelieved (Ps 106:24) or doubted (Judg 6:13–17) or freely obeyed (Exod 24:7; cf. Jer 35:17). The word of God is therefore not only powerful, it is vulnerable. Such a seeming contradiction can only be made coherent if the word of God is understood fundamentally in relational terms.

While a few prophetic passages suggest a certain compulsion to speak the word of God which has been received (Jer 20:7–9; Amos 3:8), prophetic freedom is not finally compromised (Jer 15:16, 18–19; 23:28). A certain freedom in the transmission of the word of God can also be noted in the Deuteronomistic history. One of Elisha's disciples assumes much freedom in conveying the word of God (cf. 2 Kgs 9:3 with 9:7–10). Joshua exhibits comparable freedom in transmitting the word of God he received (Josh 6:2–5) to others (Josh 6:6, 7, 10, 16–19).

H. The Creative Word of God

It might be suggested that the word of God in creation constitutes an exception to this relational understanding, with magical understandings of word near to hand. The spoken word goes forth and brings into being what has been commanded. The command seems to be without an

addressee; there is no receptor of the word, let alone any response on the part of that which is created. But, this would be the case only if the creation account were understood in terms of creation out of nothing.

Most scholars now understand Genesis 1 in terms of the ordering of already existing material. There is thus a receptor of the word. It is true, that which is commanded is that which is done, not only at the beginning (Genesis 1; Pss 33:6, 9; 148:5) but also more generally in the natural (Pss 105; 31,34; 104:7; 147:18) and historical (Ps 107:20; cf. Wis 16:12) realms. It is important to note, however, that God's saying and doing are distinguished in the creation account (as also in Isa 45:12; 48:13); God's creative activity is not solely comprehended in terms of what is said (cf. also Ezek 37:4–6; Isa 48:3). The work of the Spirit of God in Gen 1:2 must also be considered in combination with the word of God (cf. Isa 34:16; Job 37:12).

The fundamental purpose of the word in these contexts is to indicate that creation was not accidental or arbitrary, but a deliberate act of the divine will. The word alters the situation of chaos decisively, but it is not suggested that there was no divine activity apart from speaking. God's spirit and power follow in the train of the word and produce certain effects.

In addition, the divine word is not unrelated to creaturely responsiveness, as the earth is called to bring forth vegetation and living creatures (Gen 1:11, 24), the beasts and human beings are commanded to be fruitful and multiply (Gen 1:22, 28), and human beings are commanded to subdue the earth and have dominion over it (Gen 1:28). Elsewhere, various aspects of the created order are responsive to the divine command (Pss 148:8; cf. 78:23; 107:25; 147:15; Isa 5:6). Moreover, the common use of *ʿāśāh* in Genesis makes it clear that God's creative work is not without analogy in the human sphere.

The use of the word of God in Ps 147:15–19 may provide a clue to the interpretation of these texts. This passage speaks of word both in terms of the law and of God's work in nature and history, suggesting that word is a way of speaking of God's providential governance. To so speak of the word of God is a way of personalizing the active will of God at work in the world. Generally, because the will of God is evident in the effects produced by the word in the creative and historical orders, one can read something of the will of God off those realities. To speak of word emphasizes this point.

I. Word of God as Personal Encounter

It has been most common in recent generations to claim that God reveals himself in history. See THEOLOGY (OT). This view tends to stand over against an understanding of revelation which stresses God's speaking directly to individuals. By history is usually meant key events such as the Exodus in which God has decisively acted on behalf of his people. By the way in which God so acted, it is thought, Israel was able to infer certain things about God and God's ways with the world. In such formulations, the word of God is fundamentally an external event, though the event in and of itself is inarticulate and its significance highly ambiguous.

Whatever continuing values such a "revelation in history" perspective may have, there are severe inadequacies in its usual formulation: the neglect of the nonhistorical material (e.g., wisdom); the emphasis on historical event to the virtual exclusion of both natural and liturgical event; the ignoring of God's more unobtrusive activity in Israel and among the nations; the emphasis on God's interventionist, intrusive work highlighting images of God of a more virile sort; the emphasis upon story to the exclusion of generalization; the failure to recognize the variety of modes God uses to reveal himself.

The most important critique for these purposes is that the word of God as verbal event, particularly associated with the theophany, has been neglected. Theophanies are in fact the vehicle for the most common and most articulate revelations from God. See THEOPHANY IN THE OT. Usually this entails the speaking of words by God, appearing often if not always in human form (cf. Genesis 18; Judg 6:11–18; Isaiah 6; Jeremiah 1), even in those contexts where the divine presence is veiled by fire or cloud (cf. Exod 3:2; 24:9–11; see Fretheim 1984 for details). The word of God is thereby delivered through personal encounter in a quite direct way through a verbal communication, often "face to face" (cf. Exod 12:6–8).

However important an event such as the Exodus was, the texts make very clear that it was the prior appearance of God to Moses (Exodus 3) that provided the proper interpretation of what was to happen. Discerning the appropriate meaning in the event, inarticulate and ambiguous in and of itself, was dependent upon the prior word received in the theophany. Only in such verbal communications were the divine purposes made clear. This is also true for the prophets; their call narratives indicate that it is the word of God received in more direct, verbal ways that provides the hermeneutic for the proper interpretation of history.

The reception of the word of God in vision and dream is only a variation of the theophanic mode of revelation (cf. Gen 28:12–13; 1 Kgs 3:5; 9:2; cf. Gen 31:11–13; 15:1). These appearances are referred to later in the respective narratives without reference to dream or vision (cf. Gen 35:1, 9; 48:3; 1 Kgs 11:9). Apparently they are recognized as no different in kind from appearances which occur during wakefulness. Num 12:6–8 suggests some differences, but in clarity not in kind; this may be the case because of the fuller functioning of the person in wakefulness. At the least, there is no diminishing of the form which God assumes in these appearances (cf. Gen 28:13, 15:5). The negative assessment of dreams in Jer 23:25–29 is not typical, no doubt reflecting a particular conflict with false prophets. References to prophets seeing the word (cf. Amos 1:1; Mic 1:1; Hab 1:1) seem best understood as a word received in vision (cf. NAB). The word of God in dream and vision thus retains its character as personal encounter.

A common element in the theophanies is the promise of presence (e.g., Gen 26:24; 28:15; Exod 3:12; Jer 1:8). This continuing divine presence in the world is necessary not simply for the people involved, but also for the sake of the word spoken. While some words of God are illocutionary and may be effected immediately (e.g., naming), others are more future oriented. In such instances, the God who gives the word does not, as it were, leave the word to do its own work, however forceful that may be. Word of God and

presence of God must always remain together. If the word is to accomplish God's intended aim, God must continually be at work in the world to see to its life (cf. Ps 105:42; Deut 9:5; Jer 29:10). And hence the word of God must not finally be separated from subsequent events, in which God is active. But this is not to be understood in the sense that the word takes on a quasi-material existence and in independent ways works itself out in the world. God continues to be active with that word, working in ways to make that word effective.

But, while God continues to work on behalf of the word, the word is now not only in God's hands. It has been received by those who can misuse the word, who can twist it toward ends not consonant with God's purposes, and prevent it from having its intended effect. For example, Exodus 32 witnesses to what happened to the word given at Sinai. Further divine appearances, beyond continuing presence, were deemed necessary to correct the course that the recipients of the word had taken with it, or even to propose more drastic measures (Exod 34:1–7; Num 14:10; 16:19).

In view of the importance of the theophany in any understanding of the word of God, one can say that the word of God so given is an embodied word. God assumes human form in order to speak a word in personal encounter. The word spoken is the focus for the appearance, but the fact that the word is commonly conveyed in personal encounter is of considerable significance. "Visible words" have a kind of import that merely spoken words do not. They render the personal element in the divine address more apparent and give greater directness and sharper focus to the word spoken. Words so spoken have the capacity of being more persuasive and effective. They also make clearer that the source of the word is not "of their own minds" (Jer 23:16) but outside of the human self; God *appears* in order to speak.

This understanding of word is also seen in the fact that it is conveyed to the larger community in and through a human figure such as a prophet, who not only embodies the word of God but also engages in certain symbolic acts which give flesh to the word (e.g., Isaiah 20). The prophets, however, move beyond the theophanies at one point in particular. God does not just appear, speak a word, and then leave. God leaves the word behind imbedded in the prophet.

The idea of the embodied word becomes particularly apparent in Jeremiah and Ezekiel. In Jer 1:9 (cf. 15:16; Deut 18:18) the word of God is placed by God's hand directly into Jeremiah's mouth; the word is conveyed into his very being without having been spoken. This is graphically portrayed in Ezek 3:1–3; the prophet ingests the word of God. The word of God is thereby enfleshed in the very person of the prophet. It is not only what the prophet speaks but who he is that now constitute the word of God. The prophet conveys the word in a way that no simple speaking or writing can. The people now not only hear the word of God from the prophet, they see the word enfleshed in their midst. The word of God is not a disembodied word; it is a personal word spoken in personal encounter.

For the times beyond the theophanies, therefore, God chooses human instruments as the primary means by which his word is to be faithfully conveyed to the people, whether they heed or resist (Jer 23:28; Ezek 2:7). The word of God spoken by the prophet has a fundamental continuity with both the content and the form of God's word in theophany, a word spoken in direct personal encounter with individuals. The word of God thus remains a highly personal matter throughout the revelatory process, from God through prophet to people. Historical events may indeed be a vehicle for divine revelation, and hence indirect words of God, but they are ambiguous with respect to meaning without the verbal/mental encounter both before and after the event.

This entire grouping of factors may be called a complex word-event. A typology of a typical word-event according to the testimony of the OT itself would thus consist of the following four components.

1. The religious heritage and tradition in which the receiver of the word of God stands. Presuppositional to all of this is the word of God to Abraham in Gen 12:1–3, canonically represented as the initial word of God to Israel. From that point on, the present text speaks of a gathering of traditions around that initial word—the building up of the heritage.

2. The reception of the word of God by the prophet or other spokesperson on one or more occasions through verbal encounter. Because the prophet's mind receives, processes, and contextualizes this word, it is thereafter no word of God in a pure sense. The word of God has been internally interpreted by the prophet; yet, it remains the word of God.

3. The occurrence of key events in the life of individuals or the community, in both history and nature.

4. The spokesperson's interpretation of the meaning of the event to the larger community in view of the prior interaction of the tradition and the personal encounter. In patriarchal and prophetic traditions, because the word of God is often about events in the future, (3) may also occur after (4); the interpretation of the event is announced before it occurs.

Thus the word of God finally has reference not simply to the word received on the part of the spokesperson, but to the conveyance of that word by the individual to the larger community with past, present, or future events in view. Because for the prophets the key event has often not yet occurred, the word which they speak does not need the actual occurrence of the future event in order to be designated the word of God. This makes it clear that the verbal communication is the primary matter in any definition of word of God. Moreover, because the event announced will sometimes not occur—God may repent—more than the word spoken is necessary for the fulfillment of that word. It is not the case, however, that the word takes on a quasi-material identity, going forth to inevitably accomplish that which has been articulated. The post-word interaction among God, word, and receptors of the word, will shape the effects of the word in the world.

J. Word and Fulfillment

There are a number of passages, however, which suggest that God's word once spoken will move to fulfillment irrespective of such human response or human resistance. But it seems clear that, while the interpretive issues are

difficult, a more qualified statement must be made. A closer look at a number of OT traditions should help clarify this.

1. The Deuteronomistic History. This historical corpus is often cited in terms of such an understanding of the fulfillment of the word (cf. von Rad 1953). It is commonly suggested that one of its most basic perspectives is that God's word shapes Israel's history. With respect to God's word of judgment, one can point out many instances of the word spoken through the prophets being fulfilled later in the history (cf. Josh 6:26 with 1 Kgs 16:34; 1 Sam 2:31 with 1 Kgs 2:27). In fact, fulfillment is specified as the standard by which one determines if the word is from God (Deut 18:21–22). It is certainly true that the word of God as judgment moves toward fulfillment throughout Israel's history, and that it has a powerful effect on the people's life. But that is not the only story to tell.

Now and again, the judgment word of God spoken through the prophets is not fulfilled or not literally fulfilled. Isaiah announces to Hezekiah: "You shall die; you shall not recover" (2 Kgs 20:1–6). The word of God does have some effect, but then, in response to Hezekiah's prayer, God responds and reverses the prophetic word (but even then not independent of human medical efforts, 20:7). Similarly, when Ahab responded in repentance to the word of the Lord spoken by Elijah, God delayed the fulfillment of the word (1 Kgs 21:27–29; cf. 2 Chr 12:1–12). God's word to Elijah in 1 Kgs 19:15–18 is only partially fulfilled in the ministry of Elijah; some of it remains for another to accomplish (2 Kings 9). In addition, God's merciful interaction with the people would affect the course of history, even in the face of contrary prophetic words (cf. 2 Kgs 13:23). The fact that some of the judgment words of God are not fulfilled or not literally fulfilled means that in every case the future is understood to remain open until the fulfillment actually occurs.

With respect to God's word of promise, the Deuteronomistic history specifies it as an unconditional word, either to David or to the people of Israel (Deut 4:31; Judg 2:1; 1 Sam 12:22; 2 Sam 7:16). The fulfillment of that promise in Israel's history is noted (1 Kgs 8:20, 56), though it is stressed that it is not simply the word which has gone forth to fulfillment; God has fulfilled it by his own hand (1 Kgs 8:15, 24; cf. 2 Sam 7:25). But even when fulfillment is said to have occurred, a literal fulfillment may not be in view. For example, the strong words of Josh 23:14 (cf. 11:23; 21:43–45; 1 Kgs 8:56) that every word of God regarding the land of promise had been fulfilled stands in some tension with other notices that territory remains to be taken (cf. 15:63; 23:4–13; Judges 1). These tensions may be reconciled by suggesting that all the words of God did come to pass, not with the kind of precision one might like, but a decisive fulfillment nonetheless.

A comparable perspective on fulfillment of words of promise may be present in the Davidic texts. While the promise would appear to be conditional in 1 Kgs 2:3–4 (cf. 9:5–7), this is limited in scope, and the promise is reiterated in these more limited terms (1 Kgs 11:11–13, 32–38). At the end of the Deuteronomistic History, however, the fulfillment of the promise is stated somewhat ambiguously (2 Kgs 25:27–30). While the word of judgment on Judah is stated in unequivocal terms (2 Kgs 23:26–27), the promise articulated in earlier texts is not denied. It is still there for the believing to cling to, but it is not suggested that all Israel would experience its fulfillment.

Generally, it can be said that God's word of promise will not fail; it will never be made null and void as far as God is concerned. The promise can be relied on; but a rebellious generation might not live to see the fulfillment because they have rejected God. The word of promise remains in force; the faithful can know that God will ever be at work to fulfill it. For such faithful ones, God's word will not return empty, but will prosper in the ways God has purposed (cf. Isa 55:10–11).

2. The Prophets. A comparable perspective can be discerned in the prophets. The primary perspective is certainly that God's words of both judgment and promise will move toward fulfillment (cf. Isa 46:11; Jer 1:12; 33:14; Ezek 33:33; Hab 2:3). In fact, at least with respect to announcements of salvation, the divine origin of such a word is certain only upon fulfillment (Jer 28:9). At the same time, many texts indicate that any talk about the inevitability of the fulfillment of the word must be qualified.

With respect to words of judgment, one must reckon with the possibility of divine repentance. God may repent, *niḥām,* in response to prayers from the people themselves (Jonah 3:10) or an intecessor (Amos 7:3–6), or for God's own sake, without human mediation (Jer 42:10). That is to say, God may reverse himself with respect to an announced judgment, whether or not that announcement was stated in conditional terms. The constant availability of divine repentance is made clear in Jer 18:7–10 and Jonah 4:2. In later Israel, this theme becomes such an important dimension of Israel's understanding of God that it is incorporated into credal and hymnic formulations (Joel 2:13; Ps 106:45). This becomes a confession of God's openness to change directions with respect to the future, even if it means that a prophetic word will not be fulfilled.

For example, in Jer 26:18–19, Mic 3:12 is quoted as an example of a prophecy that was not fulfilled in view of Hezekiah's response to the word. In Jonah 3:9–10 we learn that such divine repentance has been made available even for non-Israelites. In Jer 26:3, 13, the prophet is asked to proclaim God's decision for judgment. But the purpose for the prophetic word is clear: to elicit Israel's repentance. If the people repent, God will turn from the decision for judgment. The fundamental motivation for such talk about divine repentance is that God's desire is for life, not death. In fact, it may be said that God desires that the words of judgment *not* proceed to fulfillment, so that God's salvific will can be realized. God's will is done, it would seem, when words of announced judgment fail.

There does come a point in the history of Israel, however, where the divine judgment must fall. The situation has progressed to such a point that the fulfillment of the word can be delayed no more (Ezek 12:25, 28); the divine repentance is no longer available (Ezek 24:14; Jer 4:28). Yet, even after the judgment falls, divine repentance is available to stop it from proceeding to total destruction (Jer 42:10). In Joel 2:13–14, in the midst of a tragedy for Israel, the possibility of divine repentance is held out as a hope.

In certain other prophetic texts, the passage of time may affect the shape of the fulfillment of a word. Hence, Ezekiel's prophecy with respect to Tyre is adjusted in view of events (cf. 26:1–21 with 29:17–21). Adjustments are also made in Isaiah's oracles against Moab (Isa 16:13–14).

With respect to words of promise, the issue is comparably complex. Jer 18:9–10 is unique in the prophets in that it envisions the divine repentance of an announced good. Israel cannot rely on the divine declaration of a promise while neglecting its own response to that word of God. In fact, Israel's unfaithfulness makes this negative possibility a near reality. God's promise may be relied upon absolutely, but neither Israel nor any other community can be guaranteed participation in the reality of fulfillment irrespective of its response. God will remain true to God's promises, but not in some universalistic sense. Those who reject God's word will suffer the consequences of self-removal from the sphere of the promise, a move which God will honor.

It is just such a perspective that should inform the assessment of passages such as Isa 55:10–11, "my word shall not return empty." In the first instance, this text does not have a general reference to the word of God, only to the promise of return from exile (cf. 55:12–13; Isa 44:26). Secondly, it is a strong statement on the efficacy of the word, but not in some autonomous way. The reference is to the words of the prophets being confirmed by God (cf. Isa 44:26). Finally, the word of the Lord will be fulfilled for those who are spoken of in vv 6–7, those who "return to the Lord." Those who are forgiven and faithful will experience the fulfillment of this word. The salvific will of God will not fail for them; God's word will indeed prosper.

The history of Israel is thus shaped by more than the word of God; how individuals and community respond to that word also shapes that history. Even more, the word of God is open to change by God himself. The word of God is never a matter of fate once spoken. God can revoke a word, not carrying it into effect, or adjust a word in view of changing situations. In view of the interaction of divine word and human response, Israel's history is open to a variety of turns. God is not trapped within his own word, as if the word spoken had a life of its own and would move inexorably to its fulfillment. Yet, any divine movement away from this word would only be in the interests of God's absolute salvific will for Israel and the world. The issue for God, finally, is not the fulfillment of a word, but the salvation of as many as possible.

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TERENCE E. FRETHEIM

WORDPLAY, HEBREW. Use in proximity of words that display similarity of sound with dissimilarity of meaning. The Hebrew Bible in both its prose and verse abounds in various types and degrees of explicit and implicit wordplay, with the total number of instances far exceeding the 502 explicit examples enumerated in the fundamental study by Casanowicz (1894). It is rarely captured in translation.

A. Definition and Terminology
B. Forms
  1. Complete and Incomplete Sound Repetition
  2. Explicit and Implicit Wordplay
  3. Types of Wordplay
C. Functions
  1. General
    a. Euphony
    b. To Highlight an Idea or Association
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  2. Proper Names
    a. Etymology
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D. Bilingual Wordplay

A. Definition and Terminology

In classical rhetoric, "paronomasia" generally refers to words whose form is similar but whose meaning is different. In biblical studies, it is the term most often applied to perceived wordplay. The Bible itself has no term for this phenomenon, but extended plays on series of place-names (e.g., Amos 5:5; Mic 1:10–16) and personal names (e.g., Gen 49:3, 8, 16, 19), as well as multiple plays in such passages as Isa 27:7, convince readers that paronomasia was an important convention of ancient Hebrew composition. The evidence of plays on personal names is particularly compelling. In Ruth 1:20 Naomi interprets her own name etymologically: "Do not call me Naomi [Pleasant One], call me Mara [Bitter One], for the Almighty has dealt very bitterly [*hēmar*] with me." In 1 Sam 25:25 Abigail connects the name of her feckless husband with his character. His name, *Nābāl*, as a common noun means "rogue" or "fool." "As his name is," she explains, "so is he. Nabal is his name, and folly is with him." If biblical characters perform wordplay (between a proper noun and a common usage), it would seem likely that biblical authors did, too.

In the 6th century C.E. the rabbinic midrash Genesis Rabbah (18:4; 31:8) describes such biblical wordplay as the derivation of *ʾiššâ*, "woman," from *ʾîš*, "man" (Gen 2:23) and the juxtaposition of *nĕḥaš*, "serpent (of)," and *nĕḥōšet*, "bronze" (Num 21:9) as "language falling on top of language" *(lāšôn nôpēl ʿal lāšôn)*, i.e., two different locutions (at least partly) coinciding in sound. This understanding of biblical wordplay is similar to the classical definition of paronomasia and was adopted in such early expositions of biblical rhetoric as Moses ibn Ezra's "Poetry of Israel" (ca. 1135, in Arabic) and Judah Messer Leon's "Book of the Honeycomb's Flow" (1475, in Hebrew).

Casanowicz restricts his analysis of paronomasia to the

classical definition, excluding such common biblical phenomena as plain repetition (which is used for a variety of grammatical and rhetorical functions; see Eitan 1920), the figura etymologica (because the repetition is grammatically conditioned), and sheer coincidence (because it is presumably unintentional). That approach will be followed here.

B. Forms

Paronomasia may involve the entire sound-shape of words or only a part of them; it may be explicit or implicit; and there are different types of paronomasia.

1. Complete and Incomplete Sound Repetition. Paronomasia may entail the repetition of the same word, which is called "antanaclasis." In Judg 5:6, for example, the word *ʾōrāḥôt* occurs twice, once in the sense of "caravans," and once in the sense of "byways." The proverb in Qoh 7:6, "For as the crackling of thorns under a pot, so is the laughter of fools," has fun with the homonym *sîr*, which serves as the word for both "thorn" and "pot." Samson's boast that he slew a "mass" (lit., "pile") of 1,000 men with the jawbone of an ass plays on the homonymy of *ḥămôr*, "mass" and "ass" (Judg 15:16).

Much wordplay capitalizes on the polysemy (multiple meaning) of words, creating puns. In Gen 48:22, for example, Jacob blesses Joseph with a "shoulder" (mountain) over and above his brothers. The Heb term *šĕkem* denotes not only the common noun "shoulder" but the city of Shechem, which is located in Joseph's territorial inheritance. Polysemy poignantly enriches the poetry of Job 7:6: "My days are swifter than a weaver's shuttle, and come to their end without hope." The word for "hope," *tiqwâ*, has the root meaning of "cord," so that the metaphor and its reference coalesce: the course of life and the shuttle both run out for lack of *tiqwâ*. The meaning of an entire sentence can be doubled through polysemy. Such sentence-long polysemy, called "amphibology," though rare, seems to occur, e.g., in Gen 4:13. Cain's exclamation "My punishment is greater than I can bear" can also mean "My sin is too great to bear," by dint of the word *ʿawôn*'s polysemy. In fact, because the expression *nāśāʾ ʿawôn* means "to forgive" as well as "to bear sin," the statement can also mean, "My sin is too great to forgive."

Hebrew wordplay often exploits the nature of Semitic morphology by which inflection of a verb-stem alters sense. In addition to the example of Isa 27:7 cited above, note, e.g., Isa 1:19–20: "If you are willing and obedient, you shall eat the good of the land. But if you refuse and rebel, you shall be devoured by the sword." "You shall eat" and "you shall be devoured" are conjugated from the same verbal root, *ʾ-k-l*, producing an ironic choice, to eat or be eaten. Jeremiah plays a number of times on different forms of the verb *šûb*, "to turn (forward or back)" (cf. Carroll 1981: 75, 120, 211).

More often than not, biblical paronomasia operates with words that are not identical in root or sound but are strikingly close. Because Hebrew words comprise a consonantal root interspersed with changing vocalic schemes, we generally demand of wordplay that at least half the consonants, usually two of the common root's three, are identical or phonologically similar. A parade example is Isa 5:7b, where the antonymous terms ironically sound alike: "he looked for justice [*mišpāṭ*], but behold, bloodshed [*miś-pāḥ*]; for righteousness [*ṣĕdāqâ*], but behold, a cry [*ṣĕʿāqâ*]!" Typical are pairs of near-synonyms that alliterate or otherwise echo one another; e.g., *nāʿ wānād*, "a wanderer and meanderer" (Gen 4:14); *ʿāpār wāʾēper*, "dust and ashes" (Gen 18:27); *pālîṭ wĕśārîd*, "fugitive and survivor" (Jer 44:14). Note in the last example that the two nouns share a vowel scheme and that the second and third root consonants are close (*l* and *r* are liquids, *t* and *d* dentals) though distinct.

A special case of such pairs is "farrago," where two terms combine to give a joint meaning and at least one of the terms is contrived in order to rhyme (cf. in English: hocus pocus, helter skelter, etc.). Examples are *tōhû wābōhû*, "wild and waste" (Gen 1:2) and *šeṣep qeṣep*, "for a moment's wrath" (Isa 54:8).

Frequently the play on words involves a metathesis (cf. Tur-Sinai 1959). In Isa 61:3 a transposition of consonants reinforces a replacement of sense: "to give them a garland [*pĕʾēr*] instead of ashes [*ʾēper*]."

Incomplete paronomasia, in which the operative words differ in consonants or their sequence or in the vowel scheme (see above), often characterizes plays on personal names. The name Cain *(qayin)* is apparently etymologized in Gen 4:1 from the root *q-n-y*, "to make, acquire" (note metathesis). The biconsonantal name Noah *(nōaḥ)* is connected with the triconsonantal verb *nîḥēm (Piʿel)*, "to comfort" (Gen 5:29). In one of its two etymologies in Gen 30:20, the name Zebulon *(zĕbūlûn)* is derived from *zābad*, "to bestow (a gift)."

2. Explicit and Implicit Wordplay. Paronomasia is most explicit when a proper noun is overtly etymologized. This may occur through a naming formula; e.g., "And Leah said, 'Happy am I [*ʾŏšrî*]! For the women will call me happy [*ʾiššĕrûnî*];' so she called his name Asher [*ʾāšēr*]" (Gen 30:13). Or it may take the form of a blessing or doom prophecy; e.g., "Dan [*dān*] shall judge [*yādîn*] his people" (Gen 49:16); "for Gilgal [*gilgāl*] shall surely go into exile [*gālōh yigleh*]" (Amos 5:5).

Name derivations sometimes lack a formula, but their reference seems clear from context. Moab [*môʾāb*] is not only the eponymous "forefather of Moab [*ʾābi-môʾāb*]" (Gen 19:37) but a son whose mother conceived him "by (her) father" (*mēʾāb;* cf. *mēʾābîhen* in v 36). Similarly, Job *(ʾiyyôb)* would seem to be implicitly interpreting his name in the light of his experience when he accuses God of regarding him as an "enemy" (*ʾôyēb;* Job 13:25). When Noah condemns his grandson Canaan *(kĕnaʿan)* to be subservient to his brothers (Gen 9:25–27), we may find an implicit play on the verb *kānaʿ*, "to kneel, be subservient."

Names may also play on synonyms. The naming of Sitnah (*śiṭnâ*, "hostility") in Gen 26:21 follows from the "contention" *(rîb)* between Isaac's men and the men of Gerar. The "kings of peoples" that "shall come from" Sarah (Gen 17:16) may involve a play between "king" *(melek)* and the name Sarah, which derives from *śār*, a near-synonym of "king." Similarly, the epithet "blessed" *(bārûk)* in the blessing of Asher (Deut 33:24) may implicitly interpret the name Asher, from the root *ʾ-š-r*, "happy, blessed."

If so, we may identify plays on synonyms or "synonymous substitution" (Strus 1978: 62; cf. generally Garsiel 1987; Zakovitch 1980) in even subtler usages. In Deut 33:22 Dan is called "a lion's whelp"; the earlier name of

the northern town of Dan was Laish (cf. Judg 18:29), and *layiš* is a poetic word for "lion."

3. Types of Wordplay. We may classify forms of biblical wordplay in a variety of ways. Illustrations of the following types are cited above. One may distinguish between play on proper names and on common nouns (cf. Strus 1978, Garsiel 1987), or between explicit and implicit derivations (e.g., Zakovitch 1980). One may taxonomize according to the sound patterns involved (cf. Glück 1970). Alternatively, one may differentiate between polysemy in the strict sense and paronomasia, in which slightly dissimilar sounds or words are entailed. Such a distinction is not hard and fast, for a pun may work in either way.

The pun proper, a form of witticism, includes a "double entendre" in which the audience catches the second meaning by way of a delayed surprise or double-take. Naming formulas, since they rarely involve surprise, do not typically pun. When a very upset Esau exclaims, "Is he not rightly named Jacob? For he has tricked me *[wayyaʿqēbēnî]* these two times . . ." (Gen 27:36), he is punning on Jacob's name. At first the name was related to the noun *ʿēqeb*, "heel," when Jacob emerged from the womb grasping Esau's foot (Gen 25:26). Here, Esau discovers a second meaning by which he accounts for his brother's guile.

C. Functions

Wordplay would seem to serve diverse functions in biblical literature. For convenience of organization, we shall divide the functions between paronomasia in general and the case of the proper noun alone.

1. General. A number of functions involve both common words and proper names.

a. Euphony. On occasion paronomasia would seem to serve no function but an aesthetic one. The nuts-and-bolts passages describing the plans and construction of the tabernacle in the wilderness, for example, are enlivened by such rhyming wordplays as *lĕbātîm lĕbaddîm*, "as holders for the poles" (Exod 25:27), *ʾet-qĕrāsā(y)w wĕʾet-qĕrāšā(y)w*, "its hooks and its frames" (Exod 35:11), and *paʿămōn wĕrimmōn paʿămōn wĕrimmōn*, "a bell and a pomegranate, a bell and a pomegranate" (Exod 39:26).

b. To Highlight an Idea or Association. Repetition of sound between juxtaposed words within or even between clauses reinforces the sense they share (cf., e.g., Saydon 1955). A common image of destruction is evoked by *paḥad wāpaḥat wāpāḥ*, "terror, and the pit, and the snare," in Isa 24:17. In Judg 5:4 the verbs in the roughly synonymous parallel clauses sound alike: *bĕsēʾtĕkā*, "when you went forth," *bĕṣaʿdĕkā*, "when you marched." The line of development from Jonah's descent into the ship and on into an oblivious sleep is underscored by the play between *yārad*, "he went down," and *wayyērādam*, "he went to sleep" (Jonah 1:5; cf., e.g., Halpern and Friedman 1980: esp. 84).

c. The Leading Word. The last example illustrates the phenomenon Buber (1936) called the "Leitwort," or leading word. Its recurrence within a passage may underline a theme; its appearance within or between passages, if sufficiently striking, erects an exegetical trajectory. When Laban justifies his deception of Jacob by saying, "It is not so done in our country, to give the younger [daughter] before the firstborn [*bĕkîrâ*]" (Gen 29:26), the reader, according to Buber, should recall the birthright *(bĕkōrâ)* and blessing *(bĕrākâ)* that Jacob wrested from Esau (see Gen 27:36) and interpret Laban's act as indirect divine retribution to Jacob. Note, too, that the verbal stem *r-m-y*, "to deceive," appears prominently in both Gen 27:35 and 29:25.

d. Allusion. Wordplay may serve to allude to another passage, adding an association to the present one. Tur-Sinai (1959:113), for example, has suggested that the Golden Calf incident evokes the apostasy at Baal Peor [*pĕʿôr*] (Numbers 25) when it says "Moses saw that the people had broken loose [*pārūaʿ*], for Aaron had let them break loose [*pĕrāʿōh*]" (Exod 32:25).

e. Irony. Paronomasia is by its nature most efficient for producing or reinforcing irony. It is a favorite device of the prophets; e.g., "You said, 'No! We will speed upon horses [*ʿal-sûs nānûs*],' therefore you shall speed away [*tĕnûsûn*]" (Isa 30:16); "I will cut off [*wĕhikrattî*] the Cherethites [*kĕrētîm*]" (Ezek 25:16). The Garden of Eden's irony in that a clever serpent talks and a human couple goes naked is driven home by the homonymy between the word for "cunning," *ʿārûm* (Gen 3:1) and "naked," *ʿārūmmîm* (2:25). See also HUMOR AND WIT (OT).

f. Satire. A pun can target a person or place for abuse, as satire. A classic example is Isa 5:22, which plays on an ironic use of the regular terms for military heroes, *gibbôrîm* and *ʾanšê ḥayil*, respectively: "Woe to those who are heroes at drinking wine, and valiant men in mixing strong drink."

2. Proper Names. There was a belief in the ancient world that, on the one hand, names signify certain essential characteristics of their bearers and, on the other, names betoken a fate or destiny. This belief would seem to underlie plays on the names of persons and places in the Hebrew Bible. We shall organize our treatment of plays on names with reference to past (etymology), present (essence), and future (fate or destiny) associations.

a. Etymology. Explicit and implicit naming generally relates the denominated person or place to one's or its background or the circumstances in which he, she, or it came into being (etiology). The first human being was called *ʾādām* for having been formed from the earth *(ʾădāmâ;* Gen 2:7). Babylon *(bābel)* was named for the confusion (verb *bālal*) of language that effected its collapse (Gen 11:9). The twelve sons and daughter of Jacob were nearly all named by Leah and Rachel to reflect their personal struggles to bear children (Genesis 29–30, 35). Pharaoh's daughter named Moses *(mōšeh)* for her having drawn him out of the Nile: *mĕšîtîhû*, "I drew him out" (Exod 2:10). The morphology of Heb *mōšeh*, however, ironically signifies his role, or destiny, as the "one who draws out" Israel from Egypt through the Sea of Reeds.

b. Essence. As Abigail suggested of her husband Nabal (see A above), and as we now see with Moses, names may represent the character or role of the bearer. David, whose name means "beloved (of YHWH)," epitomizes divine chosenness; cf. the throne-name of Solomon, Jedidiah *(yĕdîdyâ)*, whose name is a synonymous substitution (see B.2 above) for "and the Lord loved him" (2 Sam 12:24–25). Isaiah would seem to have satirized the name of the Moabite city Dibon, transforming it to Dimon so that it would embody the "blood" *(dām)* with which its "waters" were "full" (Isa 15:9). In Isa 37:17–25 the name of the Assyrian king Sennacherib *(sanḥērîb)* is interpreted through paronomasia by Heb *ḥereb*, "sword," and the verb

ḥērēp, "to mock (God)," thereby defining his character. Ruth's noble helper is unsurprisingly Boaz, whose name evokes *bô ʿōz*, "in him is strength." The wordplays on places in Mic 1:10–16 relate names to the nature or conduct of the locations.

c. Fate or Destiny. Words, like visual symbols, often bear the seeds of future meaning in the biblical world. The branch of the almond tree *(šāqēd)* that YHWH shows Jeremiah mantically suggests the participle *šōqēd*, "watching," and betokens God's commitment to fulfill his prophecy: "for I am watching over my word to perform it" (Jer 1:10–11). Similarly, the "summer fruit" *(qayiṣ)* that YHWH shows Amos conjures up the "end" *(qēṣ)* that "has come upon my people Israel" (Amos 8:1–2). The polysemy of language, as in these symbolic visions, conceals revelation. Consider the writing on the wall in Dan 5:24–28, *mĕnē᾽ mĕnē᾽ tĕqēl ûparsîn*. It can be read coherently as a jingle: "a mina, a mina, a shekel, and (two) half(-shekels)." Daniel, the gifted interpreter, reads each item as the key to a different though related sentence.

When Jacob blesses his sons in Genesis 49, or a prophet condemns a nation, by interpreting their names through paronomasia, they may be more than merely playing with words. They may be releasing a hidden fate. For Jeremiah, the geographic name Madmen presages the silence or desolation *(tiddŏmmî)* that will befall it (Jer 48:2b). The Moabite sisters-in-law, Orpah and Ruth (Ruth 1), each fulfill the destiny implicated in her name. Orpah turns her back (*ʿōrep*, "back of the neck") on Naomi, and Ruth brings fertility (from the root *r-w-y*) to Naomi's household (see Ruth 4:15–16). The coincidence of similar names may convey a sense of destiny. The fact that Jacob *(yaʿăqōb)* is engaged in struggle *(wayyē᾽ābēq)* by a man at the Jabbok *(yabbōq)* ford (Gen 32:23–25), appears as though it was fated to be.

D. Bilingual Wordplay

There would seem to be some wordplay between Hebrew and neighboring languages in the Bible (cf., e.g., Rendsburg 1988). In Exod 10:10, the narrator may inject a satirical allusion to the Egyptian god Ra in Pharaoh's accusation: "Look, you have some evil purpose [*rāʿâ*] in mind." The name of the manna *(mān)* is (implicitly) explained in Exod 16:15 by Aramaic *mān hû᾽*, "What is it?"

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WORDS OF THE LUMINARIES (4QDibHam).

Three fragmentary manuscripts from Qumran Cave 4 (4Q504–6) contain prayers for the days of the week; the (probable) original title of the work (Hebrew *Dibrê Hammĕ᾽ôrôth*), also translated as "Words of the Heavenly Lights," was written on the reverse of one of the fragments. The composition probably contained prayers for each day of the week, and most of the preserved text (1:1–7:3) is apparently prescribed for Friday, since 7:4 reads "praises for the Sabbath day." The extant text is a penitential prayer, comprising confessions of past sins and appeals for divine grace, with extensive use of biblical quotation. In the OT this genre is also found in 1 Kgs 8:46–53, Nehemiah 9 and Daniel 9, as well as 1 Bar 1:15–3:8. The similarity of form, content, and language to the ancient *taḥanun* ("supplication"), still part of daily Jewish liturgy, has been demonstrated by Lehmann (1964). The 4QDibHam prayer recalls the election of Israel, its past sins culminating in the destruction of the First Temple, and the dispersion, and specifically asks for restoration from that dispersion, which is emphasized as Israel's present plight.

The editor of the fragments, M. Baillet, dates them paleographically to the mid-2d century B.C.E., though the origin of the various component prayers may be considerably earlier. An important question is whether this text is "sectarian." It contains no specific indications of Qumran ideology, and has been classified by Baillet as "pre-Essene" (by which he means strictly "pre-Qumranic"), and as a product of "Hasidean piety" in the Maccabean period. However, few scholars now identify the Qumran community precisely as a whole, and it is increasingly acknowledged that the ideological roots and probably the formation of the Essenes predate the Maccabean period. The ideology of 4QDibHam, with its stress on Israel's past sins and its exilic perspective, is strikingly similar to the *Admonition* of the *Damascus Document*, although 4QDibHam, unlike CD, carries no implication of a sectarian community as its setting. Hence the prayer may have been non-Essene in composition, but used by Essenes, including the Qumran community. It is thus one of a number of Dead Sea scrolls which raise the question of what criteria define a Qumran manuscript or its contents as "sectarian."

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PHILIP R. DAVIES

WORKS OF GOD. In this precise form the phrase appears only twice (John 6:28; 9:3), but the idea appears often in cognate forms. An author may use the noun "work" in the singular rather than the plural without a clear shift in meaning (John 6:28–29). In many cases, "work" is a verb in the present tense with God as the subject who is invisibly present in the activity of a human being (John 5:17). When a human person is the subject of this verb, God's role may be indicated in a prepositional phrase, the work being done by, through, or in God. Of course, many other verbs than work are used with God as subject: he calls, speaks, sends, reveals. Various antonyms appear: God's works are set over against the works of darkness, of the flesh, of the devil. Accordingly, the concept points to a hidden warfare between God and Satan in which an author believes the stakes are final judgment and salvation (John 3:19–21).

There is only limited reference to OT usage, although we find occasional mention of God's works in the six days of creation (Heb 1:10; 4:4) and to the rescue of Israel from Egypt and the gift of manna in the wilderness (Heb 3:9; Rev 15:3). Authors refer more frequently to the present vocation of individuals, whether of Christ (John 17:4), of the apostles (Acts 13:2), of Epaphroditus (Phil 2:29), or of members of the church in Thyatira (Rev 2:26).

The Johannine tradition makes major use of this idea. Here the works of God become visible in the work of Jesus who reveals Him. The will/words/works of the divine sender are synonymous with the will/words/works of the human messenger. The same linkage defines the paternal/filial image; whatever the Son does the Father does. A wide range of the Son's activity is placed within this context: giving sight to the blind (John 9:3–40), giving life to the dead (John 5:19–24), giving bread to the hungry (John 6; 28–33), or relaying the words of God (John 14:10). To believe in the one whom God sends is itself a work of God (John 6:29). The blind man who is healed becomes a work of God (John 9:3–4). The works of those whom Jesus sends become his works and in turn the works of God (John 14:12–14). These greater works are made possible through the gift of the Holy Spirit, whom God sends to the disciples at the request of Jesus (John 14:15–26). By completing the work that God gave him to do, Jesus glorifies God and is glorified by Him (John 17:4–5). This work is then continued in and through believers (John 17:20–26).

The pattern is less prominent in the Pauline tradition but the underlying perspective is similar. Paul assumes the identity of Jesus' mission with God's works but speaks more often of the works of Jesus Christ as Lord or of the work of the Holy Spirit. The existence of the church in Corinth is an example of work done *in* the Lord (1 Cor 9:1); as such the church itself has become a work *of* the Lord (1 Cor 16:10). Members of that congregation, by doing the work of the Lord, are assured that their work is not futile (1 Cor 15:58). Paul views the entire story of the Philippian congregation as bracketed between the beginning and the completion of God's work, and this view gave him both gratitude and confidence (Phil 1:6). Participation in God's work, of course, involves believers in a conflict with the works of darkness and the devil (Rom 13:12; Gal 5:19–21; Eph 5:11). When Paul uses the phrase "the work of God," it is sometimes difficult to be sure of the exact reference. In Rom 14:20, for instance, he may refer (1) to an individual believer whose faith is threatened, (2) to the cohesion of the community as a whole, (3) to the "righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Spirit," or (4) to all of the above.

Throughout the NT certain attitudes are constant. Apart from God, human works are evil and ephemeral; when done in God they are good and enduring (Acts 5: 38–39). To accomplish God's work is "to do the will of him who sent me" (John 4:34). This is to do everything in the name of God so that one name binds together the activity of the Father, the Son, and all who serve them. This activity points back toward an origin in a new creation (Gal 6:15) and forward toward a completion "at the day of Christ" (Phil 1:6). Such attitudes are expressed in language that is meaningful only to community members; it is a prophetic and liturgical language that conveys a strong sense of communal identity and of historical vocation (2 Cor 5:16–6:2).

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WORLD, ON THE ORIGIN OF (NHC II,5). The title given to the fifth tractate of Codex II from Nag Hammadi. It is written in Sahidic Coptic with some influences of Subachmimic. The treatise covers 30 pages of approximately 36 lines each. The text is generally well preserved, except at the bottom corners. The tractate is untitled and is sometimes referred to as the "Untitled Work." A variant of the opening lines survives from Codex XIII (NHC XIII, *2* 50, 22–31).

Orig. World opens with a polemical introduction which claims to refute the opinions of those who hold that nothing existed prior to chaos (97,24–98,10). This opinion may be traced back to Hesiod (*Theog.* 116). The Hesiod text was allegorized by Stoic philosophers and is discussed in Theophilus (*Ad Autol.* ii,6). Thus *Orig. World* claims that only gnostic cosmologies can provide the truth about the origins of the world. Other elements of cosmological speculation corrected by the author include the doctrine of providence and the fiery destruction of the world. On the former, the author insists on a distinction between a heavenly Providence and the rule of Fate over the lower world (111,32–112,10; 121,16; 123,12–16; 125,27–32); on the latter, that in the end-time the material world and its ruling Fate are completely destroyed (125,23–127,17).

The author is familiar with philosophical debates of the mid-2d century C.E. and has also made extensive use of other gnostic expositions of Genesis. The treatise appears dependent upon a version of that tradition that is very close to *Hypostasis of the Archons* (NHC II,*4*), the work which

immediately precedes it in Codex II (cf. *Orig. World* 98,11–23 with *Hyp. Arch.* 94,5–10; 99,2–22 with 94,10–14; 100,1–14 with 94,14–19; 100,19–26 with 87,11–14; 103,2–15 with 86,30–31 and 94,21ff.; 103,15–32 with 94,23–26 and 87,1–4; 103,32–107,17 with 95,13–96,15; 107,36 with 94,27f.; 112,32–113,2 with 87,23–26; 113,12–114,15 with 95,18–35; 114,8–15 with 89,15–17; 114,15–20 with 88,17–18; 114,24–115,3 with 87,23–35; 115,3–15 with 88,3–4; 115,15–30 with 87,35–36; 115,30–116,8 with 89,4–6, 14–15; 116,33–117,15 with 89,26–27; 118,6–119,19 with 89,31–90,19; 119,19–120,3 with 90,19–31; 120,3–12 with 90,30–91,3; 120,17–121,13 with 88,19–21 and 91,3–11). Further examples of the type of Genesis exegesis presupposed in these treatises are found in *Apocryphon of John* (NHC II,*1*). *Orig. World* has expanded its inherited mythic story with other myths, most notably an extensive account of the origins of Eros and the offspring of Eros and Psyche (108,14–111,29) and the origins of the Phoenix in Egypt (121,35–123,1). Thus, this work is a rich source for 2d century cosmological speculation, for gnostic traditions of Genesis exegesis and for other elements of popular mythology.

Orig. World holds that Fate, working with the demonic powers, has led the world astray into magic, bloodshed, idolatry, false sacrifices, and injustice (123,2–24). The appearance of the "True Man," the Savior, the Logos sent from the Immortal Father has taught the gnostics the truth about the rulers of Chaos. The gnostics "put to shame all wisdom of the gods and their Fate was shown to be condemnable, their power dried up, their rule destroyed and their foresight and glories became empty," (125,27–32). At the end of the age everything which belongs to the lower world will be destroyed and all will return to the primordial world of light (125,32–127,17).

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PHEME PERKINS

WORM. See ZOOLOGY.

WORMWOOD. The popular name for any of several plants which belong to the genus *Artemisia,* named after the Greek goddess Artemis. Several species of *Artemisia* grow in Palestine and Syria. The wormwood mentioned in the Bible is likely *Artemisia herba-alba* Asso (also called white wormwood), a small, heavily branched shrub with hairy, gray leaves. It is the most common variety of *Artemisia* in Israel and neighboring countries, found even in dry, desolate areas. Other possible species included in the biblical references to wormwood would be *Artemisia judaica* and *Artemisia absinthium.* The wormwood plant, known for its extremely bitter taste, is eaten by goats and camels, and its leaves are dried and steeped by Bedouins to make a strong aromatic tea. Wormwood has also been used widely in folk remedies, one of which is as a treatment for intestinal worms. This practice probably explains the popular name for the plant.

In the Bible, wormwood (the usual translation of the Heb *laʿănâ*) is always used figuratively for bitterness and sorrow. Though itself not poisonous, wormwood is often linked with the Hebrew word *rōʾš,* sometimes translated as "gall," which refers to a bitter and poisonous plant. Deut 29:18 warns against the fruit of idolatry which is gall and wormwood (RSV: poisonous and bitter fruit). The prophet Amos describes perverted justice and righteousness as wormwood (5:7; 6:12). Jeremiah declares the judgment of God against the people of Judah, saying, "Behold, I will feed this people with wormwood, and give them poisonous water to drink" (9:15; cf. 23:15). The author of Lamentations compares his distress over the destruction of Jerusalem to being filled with bitterness and wormwood (3:15, 19). In Proverbs the loose woman is portrayed as a deceiver whose lips drip honey, but who in reality "is bitter as wormwood" (5:3–4). The only NT usage of the term occurs in Revelation as a description of the effects of one of the trumpet judgments. When the third trumpet is sounded a great star named Wormwood falls into the waters on the earth and "a third of the waters became wormwood, and many men died of the water, because it was made bitter" (8:10–11).

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MITCHELL G. REDDISH

WORSHIP, EARLY CHRISTIAN. Early Christianity differed strikingly from other religions in the Roman world in that it had no cult statues, temples, or regular sacrifices (whether of animals or produce), or the customary musical accompaniment. Christian worship had a primarily verbal character, and in this respect it was similar to synagogue Judaism, with which it had strong historical ties. Yet Christians did have religious gatherings where various types of rituals were practiced. Christians gathered to eat together (i.e., to celebrate the Lord's Supper), to baptize new members, to read Scripture, to listen to God speak to them through other Christians, to experience healing, to pray and sing hymns of praise and thanksgiving to God. These activities were not tied to particular places but could be practiced virtually anywhere. The primary unifying feature was temporal rather than spatial (cf. Smith 1987: 94f.): Christian worship occurred primarily on Sunday, the day commemorating the resurrection. Narrowly viewed, not all of these activities can be characterized as the worship of God (Marshall 1985), though all are part of the distinctive Christian conception of divine service. Despite the fact that Christian baptism, prayer, and sacral

meals were rooted in Jewish traditions, the choice of new times and places for worship were means whereby Christians distanced themselves from Judaism (Ign. *Magn.* 9:1; cf. Perrot 1983). Christian worship can be understood as the reverent homage paid to God and Christ in the context of a Christian assembly. Christians assembled for various reasons, and each type of assembly was a complex of several kinds of ritual behaviors and celebrations all combined into a unified whole. Thus while particular features of religious services may not in themselves constitute a ritual of worship, the context in which they are set means that they are part of the constellation of activities which constitutes Christian worship. In this article the focus will be to describe what can be known about religious activities which characterized Christian assemblies.

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A. The Problem of Method

The sources for our knowledge of the various aspects of early Christian worship are exceedingly incomplete and fragmentary until the end of the 2d century A.D., and are difficult if not impossible to synthesize. The evidence which does exist has been manipulated by scholars on the basis of a variety of theological biases. The major methodological problems and issues involved in the study of early Christian worship and liturgy include the following. (1) There has been a marked tendency to read early, fragmentary evidence anachronistically in the light of later, more detailed accounts of Christian liturgical practices. (2) There has been a strong inclination to read a chronological and geographical uniformity of development into the history of early Christian worship practices, though the evidence strongly suggests that great variety existed at various places and times during the first two centuries of Christian history. (3) While the quest for origins (particularly in connection with the ritual of the eucharist or Lord's Supper) often assumes the validity of the single-origin theory, i.e., that various eucharistic rites are descendants of a single original archetype, developments in the study of Jewish liturgy suggests that such "original forms" cannot be shown to have existed (Heinemann 1977; Sarason 1978; Reif 1983; Bradshaw 1987). (4) The tendency toward "panliturgism," i.e., the discovery of supposedly liturgical texts or fragments of liturgical texts throughout the NT wherever parallels to later liturgical texts are found (Moule 1961: 7), must be restrained. (5) The first time that a particular phrase occurs in a liturgical text does not mean that that is the first occurrence of such a phrase. (6) The widespread views that Jesus was a radical critic of traditional Jewish worship (Hahn 1973: 14–31), that early Christianity did not have a cult in the proper sense of the term (*BTNT* 121f.; Conzelmann 1969: 46f.), and that Christianity eliminated the usual distinction between the sacred and the profane (Hahn 1973: 38–39), are exaggerated claims based on modern theological biases with tenuous historical support in early Christian literature. (7) It is no longer viable to treat the history of early Christian worship in terms of overlapping religious and sociocultural categories of Aramaic-speaking Palestinian Christianity, Greek-speaking Jewish Christianity, and gentile Christianity (the procedure of Hahn 1973: *TRE* 14: 28–39).

B. The Morphology of Christian Worship

While the basic function of religious ritual is to act on the other world for the purpose of influencing this world, the more specific functions of ritual depend on many variable factors including the relationship of the religious group to the social context within which its members live. For early Christianity, a minority group within an often hostile religious and cultural environment, group ceremonies and ritual functioned in a way which tended to dramatize and actualize the new, distinctively Christian norms and values. The use of such terms as "brother" and "household" suggest that Christians attempted to overcome social rejection by creating a surrogate family. Further, the isolated character of individual Christian communities was overcome by the maintenance of links with other similar communities which culminated in the development of the conception of the Church universal.

Religious rituals exhibit several general features throughout the religions of the world (Grimes 1982: 55f.): (1) they are repeated, (2) they are sacred, (3) they consist of formalized or stereotypical words, gestures, and actions, (4) they are traditional, and (5) they are intentional. All these elements mean that ritual activity is a way of ceasing regular activity and of focusing attention on matters of intense importance which are of common interest (Smith 1987: 103).

Worship, as distinguished from religious ritual, has several phenomenological characteristics (Smart 1972: 51): (1) worship is relational, (2) the ritual of worship expresses the superiority of the focus of worship to the worshipper, (3) worship performatively sustains or is part of the power of the focus of worship, (4) the experience worship expresses is that of the numinous, for the object of worship inspires awe, (5) the focus of worship is unseen and transcends particular manifestations, (6) the superiority of the focus give it greater power than the worshipper, and

(7) worship involves praise directed to the focus of worship. The core of Christian worship was ritual combined with the intention or beliefs of the worshippers (Smart 1972: 5). Christian worship functioned in two primary ways: (1) it was not only a model and celebration of the distinctive religious and moral ideals of Christians, but (2) it also had an anticipatory function in that it provided a vehicle for actualizing the perfect future realization of these religious ideals in the present.

The terms "ritual" and "worship" are largely synonymous with the term "cult," a designation no longer widely used in English (though *Kult* and *Kultus* continue to be used in German). Nineteenth-century Idealism, which negatively assessed the external characteristics of religion, has had a significant impact on the way in which NT scholars have used the term "cult." Bultmann, for example, suggests a restrictive and implicitly pejorative three-part definition of cult (*BTNT,* 121): (1) human action (particularly sacrifice) intended to influence the deity to act in the interests of the group; (2) the action occurs at fixed sacred times in sacred places and in accordance with sacred regulations; (3) the action is performed by religious specialists (primarily priests) who mediate between the community and the gods. Earlier, Adolf Deissmann (1957: 114–18) reacted to von Dobschütz' view that the external signs of cult were temple, priest, and sacrifice, and the purpose of cult was to influence the deity by distinguishing between "acting" cults (those which try to influence the deity) and "reacting" cults (those in which human action is in response to a prior action of the deity). According to this schema, early Christianity was a "reacting" cult. However, "cult" may be defined in a much more objective and useful manner, with Mowinckel (*RGG* 4: 120f.), as "the visible, socially arranged and ordered, efficacious forms through which the religious experience of communion between the deity and the 'community' is actualized and its effects expressed." The term "cult," then, is virtually synonymous with "ritual" and "worship" to the extent that all three terms simply refer to the corporate religious activities of Christians.

Early Christian worship focused on God, but particularly upon the salvific benefits of what God had done for humanity through Jesus Christ. The focus of Christianity, both theologically and ritually, was therefore salvation. While salvation had been inaugurated in the past through the first coming of Christ (focusing on his incarnation, death, and resurrection), it had yet to be fully consummated in the future through the second coming of Christ, the Parousia. Many features of Christian worship, such as the celebration of the eucharist (Wainwright 1981) and the singing of hymns, often combined historical features (aspects of the past mission and achievement of Jesus) with eschatological elements (centering on the future completion of eschatological salvation). For Christians God was present in worship in a variety of manifestations and degrees (Smart 1972: 11f.). Though Christians worshipped the same God as Jews, the role of Christ in defining God is an essential and distinctive feature of Christian worship.

C. Evidence for Liturgical Sequences

While many separate features of Christian worship, such as the celebration of the Lord's Supper, baptismal liturgies, hymns, doxologies, and creedal formulas, have been preserved in the NT and early Christian literature (particularly in letters), there is often little indication of the original liturgical setting within which such individual traditions were set. Thus while Paul preserves a short account of the Lord's Supper in 1 Cor 11:23–26, and later discusses many features of the Corinthian services of worship in 1 Corinthians 14, there is little indication of how these separate elements fit together as a whole. There have been a number of attempts to piece together the fragmentary evidence to reconstruct a liturgical setting for separate elements of worship services. Since Christian worship retained an elasticity and flexibility well into the 2d century A.D., the structures of Christian worship described below exhibit little uniformity nor are they variants of a single order of worship.

1. The Order of Worship in 1 Corinthians. In 1 Corinthians 8–14, Paul deals with a number of issues, including the problem of food and worship. One of the methodological issues in interpreting this section is the problem of distinguishing the actual practices of the Corinthians from Paul's notions of the ways in which they ought to behave. In 1 Cor 11:23–26, Paul provides the earliest extant account of the Lord's Supper, framed by discussions of the proper decorum for eating the Lord's Supper (vv 17–22) and the necessary attitude one must have when participating (vv 27–34). Paul does not suggest that the words of institution in vv 23–26 are or should be recited at the Lord's Supper, but he uses those words in order to convey the true meaning of the meal (cf. 1 Cor 10:16–17). Paul does not tell us the context in which the Lord's Supper is eaten, though it would appear from 1 Cor 11:20–21 that the communal meal occurred first. After a discussion of spiritual gifts in 1 Corinthians 12–13, Paul focuses on the role of tongues and other activities in Christian worship in 1 Corinthians 14. This description is important and has become the basis for describing the characteristics of the Service of the Word (Bauer 1930: 17–39). For Paul, glossolalia consisted of praying, singing, and blessing with the Spirit, to which the response "amen" is ordinarily expected (1 Cor 14:15f.), and is an activity which takes place in the context of a Christian assembly (v 23). Paul wants those present to be edified, and so emphasizes the value of the interpretation or explanation of glossolalia in ordinary human language (vv 13f.), and particularly stresses the value of prophecy (vv 24f.). Paul recommends that when Christians assemble, each one comes with a previously prepared hymn, lesson, revelation, tongue, or interpretation (v 26); the accent is thus on individual participation for mutual benefit. This suggests that the Corinthian practice is to make extemporaneous contributions to the service and to disregard the issue of comprehensibility and edification. Paul recommends that a maximum of three people be allowed to speak in tongues, accompanied by interpretation (v 28), and that a maximum of three prophets be allowed to prophesy (v 29). The other prophets present should evaluate what individual prophets say (v 29).

Several conclusions can be drawn from Paul's discussion. (1) The general sequence at Christian assemblies appears to begin with the Lord's Supper, and continue with a variety of activities involving hymns, lessons, revelations,

glossolalia, interpretation of glossolalia, and prophecy. This sequence roughly corresponds to the structure of Greek symposia. (2) The Corinthian worship service appears to have been relatively free and unstructured; Paul's recommendations have the force of introducing order, decorum, solemnity, comprehensibility, and male dominance (vv 33b–35) into the proceedings. (3) In Paul's brief description of a number of activities which took place in worship services at Corinth, the only element reflecting a Jewish origin is the mention of the responsory "amen" (1 Cor 14:16). (4) Paul does not mention readings from Scripture, homilies, the kiss of peace, or other rituals or activities of Christian worship, though a detailed description of the structure and activities of worship was not his main purpose.

2. Reconstructed Liturgical Sequences in NT Letters. Many scholars have speculated that the beginnings and endings of NT letters may reflect various aspects of early Christian services of worship. Some NT letters were expressly written to be read before Christian congregations (1 Thess 5:27; Col 4:16; Rev 1:3; Acts 15:30; cf. Polycarp *Phil.* 3:2), and may have been intentionally designed to fit into an order of service through incorporating a variety of liturgical forms and sequences. The salutation found at the beginning of many letters, for example, "Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ" (Rom 1:7; 1 Cor 1:3; 2 Cor 1:2; Gal 1:3; cf. Rev 1:4), may have been adapted from the introductory greeting used to open a Christian assembly for worship (Delling 1962: 48–49). Similarly, it is possible that the prayer of thanksgiving which usually follows the epistolary prescript may also have been modeled after prayers in the opening part of such worship services.

Many NT letters conclude with a sequence of features which have led scholars to suggest that they reflect a liturgical sequence linking one part of a service, the service of the word, with the celebration of the eucharist (Lietzmann 1979: 186f.; Robinson 1953; Bornkamm 1969: 169–76; Gibbs 1977–78). The following elements in this hypothetical liturgical sequence, present in a relatively complete form in 1 Cor 16:20–24 and *Did.* 10:6 (but also present more fragmentarily at the end of several other letters, e.g., Romans and Revelation), have been identified: (1) the holy kiss, (2) the invitation for believers to come, (3) the exclusion of the unworthy, (4) the *marana tha* ("our Lord come!"), and (5) the promise of grace. This sequence, the theory goes, led to the celebration of the eucharist. The strength of the proposal lies in the fact that *Did.* 10:6 is clearly part of a liturgical sequence which either introduces or concludes the eucharist (complete with the *marana tha* formula), and the kiss of peace found at the conclusion of five NT letters (Rom 16:16; 1 Cor 16:20; 2 Cor 13:12; 1 Thess 5:26; 1 Pet 5:14) concludes the prayers offered just prior to the eucharist in Justin (*1 Apol.* 65.2), ca. A.D. 155.

A simpler proposal, though just as speculative, is that there is a basic three-part pattern found at the conclusion of Romans which reflects the conclusion of a worship service at which the eucharist was not celebrated (Cuming 1975): (1) a peace wish, e.g., "The God of peace be with you all. Amen" (Rom 15:33), (2) the holy kiss, e.g., "Greet one another with a holy kiss" (Rom 16:16a), and (3) the grace benediction, e.g., "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you" (Rom 16:20b); cf. 1 Thess 5:23, 26, 28; 2 Cor 13:11, 12, 14; 1 Cor 16:20, 23; Phil 4:9, 21, 23).

3. The Evidence from the *Didache*. The *Didache*, or "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," is a pseudonymous treatise on "church order," of composite origin, containing an extensive section of ethical exhortation arranged in the pattern of the "Two Ways" of virtue and vice (*Did.* 1–6), and a manual of instructions relating to baptism, fasting, prayer, the agape and/or eucharist, and the roles of prophets, bishops, and deacons, with a concluding eschatological scenario (*Did.* 7–16). The date of the *Didache* is disputed, and is placed by scholars anywhere from A.D. 60 (Audet) to ca. A.D. 125, though a date ca. A.D. 100 is in many ways the most satisfactory. See also DIDACHE.

It is reasonable to suppose that the general sequence of topics in *Did.* 7–10 reflects the order of Christian services of worship at the place and time when this section of the *Didache* was formulated, a supposition confirmed in part by the order of worship found in Justin *1 Apol.* 61–67 (see below). Since the extensive ethical instruction in the Two Ways tradition in *Did.* 1–6 immediately precedes the instructions on how to administer baptism (*Did.* 7), the specific setting for such paraenesis appears to be the baptismal liturgy itself. Baptism is to be administered "in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit" (*Did.* 7:1), a formula derived from Matt 28:19, where it is already explicitly connected with baptism. Those who actively participate in the ritual of baptism should fast one to two days beforehand (*Did.* 7:4; cf. Hippolytus *Apost.* 20.7). The Lord's Prayer, in a version close to that found in Matt 6:2–4, is found in *Did.* 8:2, where it is required to be prayed three times each day. Though the plural pronouns and verb forms suggest a corporate setting for the Lord's Prayer, the frequency with which it is used also suggests a setting of private prayer in which it is a conscious substitute for Jewish prayers. Eucharistic prayers with no reference to the sacrifice of Jesus are then given (*Did.* 9:1–4), before a regular meal, followed by a prayer prescribed for the conclusion of the meal (*Did.* 10:1–5). The latter is similar in form and content to the standard Jewish grace following meals, the *birkat haz-zimmun* (Heinemann 1977: 115–22). Since only those who have been baptized may eat the eucharist together (*Did.* 9:5), those two rituals very probably occurred in that order when baptisms were held. The miscellaneous statements which conclude the final prayer (*Did.* 10:6) are problematic and have been thought by some to indicate that the meal just eaten was the agape, while the eucharist itself is being introduced but not actually mentioned:

> Let grace come and let this world pass away.
> Hosanna to the God of David!
> If anyone is holy let him come. If not, let him repent.
> Our Lord, come!
> Amen.

The prophets are given latitude to celebrate the eucharist in their own way (*Did.* 10:7), a statement which seems to confirm the impression that the prayers prescribed in *Did.* 9:1–4 were in fact intended as eucharistic prayers. In a section describing the inspired utterance of prophets (*Did.*

11:7–12), a congregational setting seems presupposed, a setting which is certainly true for the freely worded eucharistic prayers of prophets (*Did.* 10:6). In *Did.* 14 it is recommended that on the Day of the Lord, i.e., Sunday, the congregation assemble to break bread and give thanks, following the confession of sins. Using imagery from the OT (Mal 1:11, 14), the eucharist is considered a sacrifice *(thysia)* in *Did.* 14:2–3.

To briefly recapitulate, the order or worship enjoined by the *Didache* consists of the several features in the following possible, but hypothetical, order: (1) fasting in preparation for baptism (7:4), (2) baptism "in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit" (7:1–3), (3) recitation of the Lord's Prayer (8:2), (4) exclusion of those who have not been baptized (9:5), (5) confession of sin (14:1–2), (6) celebration of the Eucharist, consisting of prayers of thanksgiving over the cup and the bread (reversing the usual order) following by the meal proper, and concluded with a final thanksgiving (9:1–10:5), (7) inspired words and actions of prophets who are present (11:7–12; cf. 10:7). No mention is made of the holy kiss, the reading of Scripture, or the giving of a homily, though none of these features may have been a matter of concern for the author in the present context.

4. The Evidence from Pliny. One of the oldest descriptions of what Christians did when they gathered together is found in a letter of Pliny the Younger which he wrote to the emperor Trajan, ca. A.D. 108 (*Ep.* 10.96.7). This text is important because it provides the perspective of an outsider based on information derived from Christian informants, but which for that reason may be incomplete or distorted. Pliny provides the following details: (1) Christians met on a regular basis on a fixed day *(statio die)* before dawn (i.e., in the free time before beginning work, though *statio die* does not necessarily mean Sunday, nor indeed any particular day of the week); (2) they sang hymns honoring Christ as though to God (probably humns of praise); (3) they bound themselves by an oath *(seque sacramento . . . obstringere)* to abstain from immoral behavior (perhaps referring to baptismal vows or possibly even the eucharist, to which the term *sacramentum* may refer, though this is more likely a way of referring to the content of Christian prayers generally); (4) they assembled again after an interval (probably after a day's work) to share a communal meal together, probably the eucharist (if it was not included in the *sacramentum*). The dawn service is commonly understood to be a service of the word, while the evening service appears to consist primarily of the eucharist.

5. The Evidence from Justin Martyr. The evidence for the order of worship preserved in Justin *1 Apol.* 61–67 contains several points of agreement with the *Didache* and reflects the most complete order of worship before the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus (ca. A.D. 215). Justin (ca. A.D. 100–165) was born in Flavia Neapolis (ancient Shechem) in Palestine, taught at Ephesus, and later moved to Rome, where he taught as a Christian philosopher. In *1 Apol.* 61–67, in which he explains Christian worship practices to outsiders, we have the first relatively complete descriptions of Christian services which can be set in a specific geographical and chronological setting: Rome, ca. A.D. 155. Justin describes two services, the first a baptismal service followed by a eucharist (*1 Apol.* 61–66, with a lengthy apologetic excursus in 62–64), and the second a regular Sunday worship service (67.1–8). In describing the first service, Justin reports that the ritual of baptism (called *photismos*, "illumination," *1 Apol.* 61.12), is preceded by prayer and fasting by everyone in the relatively small group present, and the candidates are washed "in the name of God the Father and Master of all, and of our Savior Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit" (*1 Apol.* 61.3). The newly baptized are then brought to the assembly of those called "brothers," where prayers are offered centering on themes appropriate to baptism, i.e., that Christians who have been illuminated will obey the divine commands (65.1). After the conclusion of the prayers, those present greet each other with a ritual kiss (65.2). The president of the assembly then offers prayers of thanksgiving at some length over the bread and a cup of water mixed with wine, at the conclusion of which the congregation says "Amen" (65.3). The deacons (a title used for those who distributed sacrificial meat at pagan religious festivals, cf. Hatch 1881: 50) then distribute the bread and wine to those present and take bread and wine to those who are absent as well (65.4). Only practicing Christians are allowed to take part in this sacral meal called "eucharist" (66.1), which is based on the gospel traditions of the Last Supper, where it is reported that:

> Jesus, taking bread and having given thanks, said, "Do this for my memorial, this is my body." And similarly taking the cup and giving thanks he said, "This is my blood." And he gave it to them alone (66.3).

The second section describes the type of service regularly held on Sunday (67.3), a day which Justin claims commemorates both the creation of the world and the resurrection of Jesus (67.7). At this meeting the Gospels or the Prophets are read "as long as time allows" (67.3), followed by a homily based on the reading given by the president, which concludes when all present stand and pray. Then bread and a mixture of wine and water are brought and the president offers prayers of thanksgiving, to which the congregation responds, "Amen!" (67.5). The bread and wine are then distributed and taken by the deacons to those absent. A collection is then taken up for distribution for those in need, i.e., widows, orphans, the sick, prisoners, and visitors (cf. 1 Cor 16:2).

Several summary observations can be made about these two worship services which Justin has described with some care and attention to detail. (1) The eucharist is an essential element in both services. (2) Baptisms, which apparently can be held on days other than Sunday, are always linked to a celebration of the eucharist. (3) Scripture readings and homilies based on them occur only in the context of the Sunday service. (4) Prayers in the Christian assembly which follow the ceremony of baptism appear to be thematically linked to baptism by emphasizing the pursuit of virtue and the avoidance of vice (cf. *Did.* 1–6). (5) The holy kiss is mentioned only in connection with the baptism-eucharist service. (6) While the "president" of the assembly is not identified it would appear to be a role exercised by the bishop, since deacons are specifically linked with the distribution of the eucharist. (7) The eucharistic bread and wine are not part of an actual meal,

yet are understood as a symbolic reenactment of the Last Supper. (8) Though Justin knows the gospel tradition of the words of institution, he does not say that they are recited in connection with the eucharist itself, mentioning only the lengthy prayers of thanksgiving (similar in function to those prescribed *verbatim* in *Did.* 9:1–10:6).

D. The Origins of Christian Worship

Since Christianity arose within Judaism, quickly spread to the major urban areas of the Roman world and attracted increasingly large numbers of pagans which soon outnumbered Christians of Jewish origin, Christian worship must be understood against the background of both Jewish and Greco-Roman religious practices.

1. Judaism. Christianity originated within Judaism and was considered a "sect" *(hairesis)* of Judaism (Acts 24:14), and according to Acts the spread of Christianity throughout the Roman world tended to begin with the evangelization of diaspora synagogues (Acts 13:5, 14; 14:1; 17:2, 10, 17; 18:4, 19: 19:8). There was therefore both contact and continuity between Christianity and synagogue Judaism. The Aramaic term for synagogue is *by knyst'*, "place of assembly," while two widely used Greek terms are *synagōgē* (derived from the LXX), means "assembly," and *proseuchē*, "place of prayer," probably referring to a synagogue (Acts 16:13, 16). Synagogue worship was entirely verbal in character and was largely dependent on congregational participation. The essential features of synagogue worship were Scripture reading and prayer, neither of which was dominated by specialists. Synagogal prayers focused on praise and thanksgiving rather than on petition, and so were appropriate for a worship setting. While synagogue worship undoubtedly had a profound impact on early Christian worship, very little is known about the specific nature of Jewish worship and ritual before the codification of the Mishnah toward the end of the 2d century C.E. The recitations of the Shema, now consisting of three passages from the Torah (Deut 6:4–9; 11:13–21; Num 15:37–41), but probably much shorter originally (Dugmore 1964:18–20), and of the Eighteen Benedictions go back at least to the 1st century A.D., though no corresponding statutory prayers were characteristic of early Christian worship. There is clear evidence that the Torah was read regularly on the sabbath by the 1st century C.E. (Acts 13:15; 15:21; Josephus *AgAp* 2.175; *Ant* 16.43; Philo in Eusebius *p.e.* 8.7.359d), and also strong evidence that the Torah reading was often followed by a homily. Exegetical preaching was practiced in synagogue Judaism before A.D. 70 (cf. Luke 4:16–30; Acts 13:15; Philo *Vita Mos* 2.215f.; *Spec Leg* 2.62). In Judaism, two characteristic types of homiletic forms developed, the *Yelammedenu rabbenu* form, which began with the formula "May our Master teach us," and the proem homily, which began with a biblical text from the Writings (Kethubim) and related it to the Torah lection of the day (Heinemann 1977: 994–98). NT scholars have isolated a number of proem homilies in the NT (John 6:31–58; Acts 13:16–41; Rom 1:17–4:25; 1 Cor 1:18–3:20), but in every instance the structure of these passages, which focus on the exegesis of the OT, conforms to neither the *Yelammedenu rabbenu* or the proem form of homily.

2. Hellenism. Despite the admitted connections between Jewish synagogue organization and the organization of some Christian churches (the role of "elder" is certainly of Jewish origin), Hatch (1888: 26–55) has shown that the terms "bishop" and "deacon" were important designations in Greco-Roman associations.

While there were many types of sacred meals in the Greco-Roman world (analyzed by Klauck 1982), one often overlooked the type that took place within the context of a symposion. The symposion, or "drinking party," was a social and religious custom widespread in the Greco-Roman world, set in the context of the main meal of the day (Greek *deipnon;* Latin *cena*), which was framed with prayers, libations, and food offerings and thus had the character of a sacral meal. Symposia were also the main social activities of Greek clubs *(thiasoi, eranoi)*, pagan organizations which lend themselves to comparison with early Christian religious associations which held sacral meals as a central part of their activities. Pliny considered the Christians under his jurisdiction as members of a *hetaeria* (*Ep.* 10.96.7). The symposion was essentially a sacral meal which began with food offerings to the appropriate divinities (Athenaeus *Deipn.* 5.179), and concluded with the pouring of libations and singing of hymns to the appropriate deities (Athenaeus *Deipn.* 5.149). Meat from sacrificial animals was preferred (Athenaeus *Deipn.* 4.140, 173; 11.459; 12.534). After the meal itself was concluded, the tables were removed and the *potos*, or after-dinner drinks, the symposion proper, was begun with three libations to the Olympian deities generally (followed by a hymn to Dionysus), to the Greek heroes, and finally to Zeus Savior. As a drinking party, the symposion could often end in intoxication (Lucian *Symp.* 17; Athenaeus *Deipn.* 2.36). For many ancients the question of order and decorum at symposia was a matter of central concern (Plutarch *Quaest. conv.* 614F–615A; Athenaeus *Deipn.* 10.420). The activities at symposia ranged from intellectual conversations, storytelling, dancing, and recitations of various types; brawls and sexual promiscuity were not unknown.

Paul explicitly compared Christian and pagan sacred meals with regard to their mutual implications for the participant (1 Cor 10:14–22). The structure, customs, and decorum of Christian meals at Corinth exhibit a number of similarities with the corresponding aspects of the symposion, particularly as practiced in religious societies. Paul strongly disapproves of the lack of decorum at meetings where Christians eat together (1 Cor 11:17–22), just as Plutarch and other ancients were concerned about the problems of disorder at symposia. Just as at Greek symposia, the meal *(deipnon)* constitutes the initial stage of the festivities and involves the "sacrifice" of a portion of the food to be eaten and concludes (1 Cor 11:25) with a ceremony involving wine. The various features of Christian worship which Paul discusses in 1 Corinthians 14 have parallels with the kinds of activities engaged in at Greek symposia.

E. Christian Assemblies

One of the most pervasive practices of early Christians was their assembling at various times for various purposes. In fact, one of the primary terms used for such assemblies or congregations, *ekklesia*, by a remarkable extension of meaning came to refer to the totality of Christian assemblies or congregations, i.e., all Christians everywhere. In

Greek and Roman cults, in contrast, a temple was ordinarily intended not as a meetingplace for congregations of the faithful, but rather as a house for the god, where the cult statue of the god or goddess was placed (altars where sacrifices were made were not located within the temple but were situated in the open air outside). The notion that Christians chose the term *ekklēsia* in order to differentiate themselves from the Jewish *synagōgē* (Bauer 1930: 10), however, cannot be substantiated. Early Christians met in homes (1 Cor 16:19; Rom 16:5; Col 4:15; cf. Acts 2:13), and Acts presents Paul as using private homes to proclaim the Gospel (Acts 18:7–11; 20:20; 28:23). The earliest known church building at Dura-Europas is a private home adapted for Christian gatherings (before A.D. 256). Though some have claimed that all Christian assemblies centered on the celebration of the eucharist (Cullmann 1953: 29), such a claim clearly goes beyond the evidence. It is far more likely that Christians held religious meetings for a variety of purposes. Acts 2:46 reports that Christians in Jerusalem both attended the temple and gathered daily "to break bread" in their homes. Though the evidence is meager, it is likely that many Jewish Christians participated in the services of existing synagogues until they were forced out (cf. John 9:22; 12:42; 16:2), while others may have founded synagogues of their own (Js 2:2; Ign. *Polyc.* 4:2; Hermas *Man.* 11.9, 13, 14; Justin *Dial.* 63.5). The term "synagogue" continued to be used to refer to a congregation of Christians (Dugmore 1964: 5). There is evidence suggesting that some Jewish Christians observed the Jewish Sabbath as well as the Christian Sunday (Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* 3.27.5; cf. Rordorf 1968: 216–18).

Christians gathered together for a variety of religiously motivated purposes. There were three primary ways in which the religious gatherings of the earliest Palestinian Christians differed from the practices of synagogue Judaism (Bauer 1930: 10): (1) the "teaching of the apostles" was a matter of central concern (Acts 2:42), (2) the exercise of prophetic gifts characterized the early community from the very beginning (Acts 2:1–14; 11:27–30; 13:1–2; 15:32; 21:8–11), and (3) the earliest community ate a sacral meal at its gatherings called "the breaking of bread" (Acts 2:42).

One distinctive form of Christian assembly, an oracular consultation, is described in Hermas *Man.* 11, a section of the larger composition which originated ca. A.D. 125 or earlier. The author describes what he considers a deviant type of Christian service which could be designated as a séance, or prophetic service. The prophet is presented as seated before a group of Christians who ask him questions about the future (11.2), and, it is implied, pay him for answering them (11.12). The author insists that the spirit which is from God cannot be asked questions, but speaks spontaneously through the true prophet (11.5). The true prophet, or man "with the divine spirit," is one who, when he is present at a Christian assembly, speaks to the congregation whatever God wishes to communicate as a result of the prayers of those present. The false prophet, on the other hand, avoids such Christian assemblies (11.13). When he does attend such an assembly he is powerless to speak forth, since the earthly spirit which inspires him flees (11.14). There is little evidence to suggest that such Christian oracular consultations were widespread in the period before the middle of the 2d century A.D. The evidence provided by Hermas *Man.* 11 is important because it indicates that prophetic speech, often a subordinate activity in Christian services of worship, could be elevated to the focal activity. The language of Hermas *Man.* 11 suggests the influence of Hellenistic magical divination, which may account for the opposition to such oracular consultations expressed by the author.

F. The Days for Worship

It is widely perceived that early Christianity, which had emerged from Judaism, abandoned the Jewish special day of rest and worship by transferring those functions to Sunday in commemoration of the resurrection of Jesus (Beckwith and Stott 1978). That perception is both oversimplified and incorrect. Yet there is no unambiguous evidence in the NT that Christians abandoned the Sabbath (too much is often read into Gal 4:8–11 and Col 2:16–17). While the Sabbath was a day of worship and rest in Judaism, Sunday began as a Christian day of worship but became a day of rest only by a series of laws promulgated by the emperor Constantine beginning on March 3, 321 (Rordorf 1968: 154–73).

The Jewish term for "Sunday" was simply "the first day of the week," and this was also its Christian designation until comparatively late in the 1st century. The earliest references to the "first day of the week" as a day of worship in the NT are found in 1 Cor 16:2 (written ca. A.D. 54 or 55), and Acts 20:7 (written ca. A.D. 90). In the first passage, Paul suggests that Corinthian Christians put away a contribution on the first day of every week so that he will not need to take a special collection himself when he arrives. The passage refers not to the collection of money at public worship (a later development), but to the individual Christians who lay aside money to be collected when Paul himself arrived in Corinth. Acts 20:7f. contains a great deal of information regarding Christian worship on the first day of the week: "on the first day of the week when we had gathered together to break bread, Paul talked to them, intending to leave the next day. There were many lights in the upper room where they had gathered together." Here the phrase "to gather together" is a technical term referring to the assembly of Christians for worship, and is frequently combined with the phrase "to break bread" in Christian literature (1 Cor 11:20; *Did.* 14:1; Ign. *Eph.* 20:2). Although the "breaking of bread" spoken of here could be either a common meal or the eucharist, it is more probable that the latter is meant. The time of the gathering is certainly Sunday evening rather than Saturday evening, although this question is dependent on whether one uses the Jewish method of reckoning time (sundown to sundown) or the Roman method (sunrise to sunrise). The time of the gathering appears to have been Sunday evening until early in the 2d century, when for various reasons the major service of worship was moved from Sunday evening to Sunday morning, before dawn. Since Sunday was in no sense a day of rest, Christians, as all other inhabitants of the Roman Empire, had to work during the daylight hours of Sunday. Two other characteristics of this description of the Christian day of worship may be significant. First, there is the reference to Paul's lengthy sermon, and second, there is the observation that there were many lights in the upper chamber where there were meetings. Finally, the

resuscitation of Eutychus by Paul may reflect the practice of performing miracles of healing during the worship service.

We have yet to determine the reason why many Christians abandoned the seventh day, the Jewish sabbath, for their worship services and selected an entirely different day, "the first day of the week." Since there is no evidence for a pre-Christian use of this day for religious worship on a weekly basis among Greco-Romans or Jews, the only convincing reason seems to be that worship on the first day of the week was a celebration of the day on which Jesus had risen from the dead (Mark 16:2, 9; Matt 28:1; Luke 24:1; John 20:1, 19: Justin *1 Apol.* 67.7). Though the phrase "first day of the week" is a Semitic expression, it quickly became a quasi-technical term in early Christian communities.

The phrase "the Lord's day" is found just once in the NT in Rev 1:10: "I was in the Spirit on the Lord's Day." The Greek adjective modifying day, *kyriakē*, occurs only rarely in early Christian literature, where it means "belonging to the Lord," or "the Lord's." In Greco-Roman inscriptions and papyri, however, it means "imperial," and refers to the Roman emperor. While some contend that the expression "the Lord's Day" originally referred to Easter Sunday and only later was applied to the weekly service of worship, it seems more probable that the term always referred to the weekly day of worship observed by Christians, as it does in modern Greek. Indeed, in the *Gospel of Peter*, the adjective *kyriakē* is applied twice in the narrative to the day on which Jesus rose from the dead (9.35, 12.50).

That "the Lord's Day" refers to the weekly day of worship and not merely to Easter Sunday is suggested by other evidence. *Did.* 14:1 contains the exhortation "On the Lord's day of the Lord come together, break bread and hold eucharist, after confessing your transgressions that your offering may be pure." Here "the Lord's Day" is certainly the weekly day of worship, whatever the reason for the strangely redundant phrase "the Lord's day of the Lord." Again, in Ign. *Magn.* 9:1, the parallel between the phrases "keeping the sabbath" (which Ignatius opposes for Christians) and "the Lord's Day" indicates that the expression can only refer to the weekly Sunday.

The precise meaning of the phrase "the Lord's day," however, needs clarification. Some consider it equivalent to the Septuagint expression "the Day of the Lord," but this meaning is unlikely. More popular is the view that "the Lord's Day" refers to the day on which the Lord (i.e., Jesus) rose from the dead (Justin *1 Apol.* 67.7). A clue to its meaning may be provided by the only other occurrence of the adjective *kyriakos* in the NT, 1 Cor 11:20, where Paul refers to the Lord's Supper *(kyriakon deipnon)*. Since the breaking of bread, i.e., the Lord's Supper, was the central ritual of Christian worship, it is possible that this very early way of referring to the ritual as "the Lord's Supper" was later used to designate the day of worship itself.

G. The Language of Worship

The primarily verbal character of Christian worship was characteristically expressed in hymns and prayers which say things about God which are well known to the worshipper, but are nevertheless repeated because they are thought to have a performative significance, particularly if the words mimetically narrate a foundational sacred event. This ritual repetition of a sacred event of the past serves to reactualize the event in the imagination of those present.

1. Prayers. Prayer was a central group activity of the earliest Palestinian Christian community as described in Acts (1:14; 2:42; 4:23–31; 6:4), and it is natural to suppose that these prayers were derived from those used in daily private and synagogue prayer in early Judaism, although no traces of a Christian adaptation of such statutory prayers as the Eighteen Benedictions has been found (Bradshaw 1982: 28f.), though such Jewish prayers had not achieved fixed form by the 1st century A.D. (Dugmore 1964: 75–77). While many prayers have been preserved in early Christian literature, their present literary context often reveals little about their actual setting in services of worship. In the letters of the NT, prayers of petition and intercession occur frequently (Wiles 1974: 297f.). The Jewish *bĕrākâ* ("benediction") style of prayer, in which God was blessed for what he had accomplished for his people, occurs rarely in the NT and early Christian literature (Luke 1:68; 2 Cor 1:3; Eph 1:3; 1 Pet 1:3; Ignatius *Eph.* 1:3; *Ep. Barn.* 6:10), and in the case of the NT passages is followed not by petitions but by praise, suggesting a liturgical setting (Bradshaw 1982: 30). The Jewish *hodayah* ("thanksgiving") pattern of prayer, which characteristically began with the phrase "I/we thank you," is frequently found in the NT and early Christian literature (Luke 2:38; Heb 13:15; Rev 11:17–18). This type of prayer is also frequently used in Paul to introduce petitions and intercessions (Rom 1:8; cf. Phil 4:6; Col 4:2; 1 Thess 5:16–18). A third type of prayer which Christianity inherited from Judaism begins directly with an *anamnesis* ("recollection") of the mighty works of God and lacks an introductory formula (Acts 4:24–30; Bradshaw 1982: 15, 33f.).

The Lord's Prayer was certainly the most widely used of all ancient Christian prayers. It is preserved in a longer version (Matt 6:9–13 and *Did.* 8:2, with the addition of the doxology) and a shorter version (Luke 11:2–4). In addition, it appears likely that the prayer of Jesus in John 17 is a paraphrastic elaboration of the longer version of the Lord's Prayer (Walker 1982). The shorter Lukan version is generally considered the more original with regard to length, while the longer Matthean version is often considered as preserving the more original wording (Jeremias 1978: 89–94). In its original Jewish setting in the teaching of Jesus, the Lord's Prayer exemplified major features of Jewish private prayer (brevity, addressing God in the second person singular, opening with epithet for God, "our Father"; cf. Heinemann 1977: 179–92), and at least in its present context in Matthew (6:5–6) and the *Didache* (8:2–3) it functioned as a Christian substitute for the Eighteen Benedictions. The brevity of the Lord's Prayer in Matthew and Luke, together with the fact that both versions end abruptly without a doxology, suggest that in early Christianity they were incorporated into longer prayers. In its original setting, the Lord's Prayer appears to have functioned as a private supplement to the recitation of the Eighteen Benedictions (Sigal 1984: 73). The Lord's Prayer quickly became, at least in some circles, a statutory public Christian prayer; *Did.* 8:3 commands that it be prayed three times daily (cf. *Apostolic Constitutions* 7.24), doubtless

as a substitution for the Jewish practice of praying thrice daily (cf. Dan 6:10, 13; cf. Acts 3:1; 10:30). Though there is little doubt that the Lord's Prayer was part of the liturgical tradition of early Christianity from the mid-1st century A.D. on, there is no explicit evidence until the mid-4th century A.D., when Cyril of Jerusalem quoted it in a catechetical lecture as a prayer used immediately before the eucharist. The Lord's Prayer is essentially a petitionary prayer, with seven petitions in the longer version, rather than a prayer of praise or thanksgiving.

The brief Aramaic prayer *maranatha* occurs in an untranslated form in a liturgical setting in *Did.* 10:6 and probably 1 Cor 16:22 as well. This formula can be translated either "our Lord, come!" (preferred by most scholars) or "our Lord has come." A slight variation of this formula occurs in Rev 22:20, where it is translated "Come, Lord Jesus," and may also be reflected in the phrase "the Lord is at hand" (Phil 4:5). While *maranatha* can be translated in either of the two ways mentioned above, the first translation has two possible meanings. "Our Lord, come!" may be an eschatological prayer uttered in expectation of the imminent return of Jesus, as in Rev 22:20 and Phil 4:5 (Schulz 1962), or it may be a prayer which is intended to effect the cultic presence of the exalted Jesus. Yet it can also be argued that the formula can refer *both* to the cultic and eschatological coming of Jesus at one and the same time, i.e., an eschatological expectation can have dimensions which can be realized in present experience (Audet 1958: 411f.).

2. Creeds and Confessions. Creeds and confessions, if defined as brief formulas summarizing the essentials of the Christian faith and promulgated with ecclesiastical authority, are not found in early Christianity before the mid-2d century. Nevertheless, within the literature of the NT and the Apostolic Fathers there are creedlike statements and rudimentary confessional formulas which reflect the developing tradition of the early Christians with widely varying degrees of fixity.

Since creeds such as the Apostles' Creed (the earliest evidence for which appears in A.D. 390 in Ambrose *Ep.* 42.5) were believed to have originated with the twelve apostles, earlier scholars were bent on finding evidence for later creeds in the NT by identifying various creedal statements scattered throughout the writings and by assuming their basic unity. More recently, and particularly using form-critical methodology, this approach has been reversed. Rather than beginning with later creeds and tracing their ancestry back into earlier Christian literature, scholars have developed various criteria for identifying the existence of early creedlike statements and confessional formulas which have been embedded in the NT. One of the weaknesses of this more recent approach, however, is the tendency to consider one or another such isolatable confessional formulas as the "earliest" or the most "primitive" formula, and subsequently to arrange other formulas along a trajectory of evolutionary development from the most simple and primitive to the most complex and developed forms.

Some scholars have isolated numerous creedal formulas in the NT and other early Christian literature but have limited the possible original liturgical setting of these forms to the rite of baptism. The complexity of early Christian life and worship makes this simplistic approach improbable. Cullmann has isolated six types of contexts in which confessions and creeds were used and developed in the early Church: (1) baptism and catechetical instruction, (2) worship, (3) exorcism rituals, (4) persecution, (5) opposition to heretical teachers and teachings, and (6) preaching. Since very few of the confessional formulas discussed below can be firmly fixed in any of these settings, it is important to avoid rigid insistence on specific religious settings.

The shortest confessional formula in the NT contains the name of Jesus together with a title in the predicate. In 1 Cor 12:3, Paul wrote, "I therefore want you to know that no one who speaks by the Spirit of God ever says 'Jesus is accursed!' and no one can say 'Jesus is Lord!' except by the Holy Spirit." Since Paul is primarily concerned with the worship services of the Corinthian church in 1 Corinthians 12–14, the latter acclamation had its primary setting in communal worship. This tersely abbreviated confession means "Jesus [who was rejected and crucified] is [risen from the dead and exalted to the right hand of God, and therefore] Lord." The negative confession "Jesus is accursed!" may belong to other settings, such as one of persecution where Christians were encouraged to revile Christ (cf. *Mart. Pol.* 9:3; cf. Pliny *Ep.* 10.96) and to proclaim "Caesar is Lord!" (*Mart. Pol.* 8:2). Another possible setting is in controversies between Christians and Jews. Justin Martyr observed that some Jewish converts to Christianity had subsequently returned to Judaism and cursed Christ. However, in 1 Cor 12:3, it is more probable that some Corinthian Christians thought themselves inspired by the Spirit when they made that statement, perhaps making a sharp distinction between the heavenly Christ (the Christ party of 1 Cor 1:12?), and the earthly Jesus. The confession "Jesus is Lord!" is also found in Rom 10:9–10, where it means the confessor believes that God has raised Jesus from the dead. This is very likely pre-Pauline, perhaps belonging to a baptismal context. The combination of the terms "confess" *(homologein)*, "believe" *(pisteuein)*, and "be saved" *(sodzein)* suggests the setting of baptism.

Another important passage in which the primitive confession "Jesus is Lord!" occurs is at the end of the Christ hymn in Phil 2:5–11, where the phrases "every knee should bow" and "every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord" almost certainly indicate a liturgical setting. The hymnic setting of this confession is significant, for it suggests the eschatological context in which the confession could be used.

Another brief confession which links the name of Jesus with a significant religious title is "Jesus is the Messiah!" Some regard this as the oldest of the confessions, though "Jesus is Lord" may be equally early. The appropriateness of the confession is dependent on which ascription, messiahship or lordship, was the most religiously meaningful to the individual or congregation.

3. Doxologies. A doxology is a short liturgical formula which characteristically ascribes glory to God. Though rare in Judaism, doxologies are relatively common in early Christian texts (Deichgräber 1967: 40–43). They consist of four stereotypical elements: (1) the mention of God or Christ, usually in the dative, (2) the mention of specific

attributes ascribed to them, with "glory" *(doxa)* the most common, (3) a formula describing the eternal validity of the ascription, usually "forever," or "for ever and ever," and (4) a concluding "Amen." The fact that doxologies are used to conclude a religious text (*1 Clem.* 64:2; *2 Clem.* 20:5) or a unified section of a religious text (Rom 11:36; 1 Tim 1:17; *1 Clem.* 20:12) suggests that they were similarly used to conclude a liturgical sequence in Christian services of worship. This is confirmed by the use of doxologies to conclude a liturgy narrated in a text (Rev 4:9; 5:13f.; 7:12; Tob 14:15; *1 Enoch* 39:10; *Did.* 8:2; 10:2).

4. Hymns. Several NT texts suggest that the singing or chanting of hymns of praise was an important part of Christian worship (1 Cor 14:15, 26; Col 3:16; Eph 5:19; cf. Acts 16:25; Pliny *Ep* 10.96.7). Col 3:16 refers to singing "psalms, hymns, and songs, all inspired by the Spirit, with thankfulness in your hearts to God." Though we cannot distinguish the nuances of difference which may have existed among these three terms, the phrase "in your hearts" (cf. Eph 5:19) apparently means that such songs are not merely mechanical liturgical practices but are meant to express the inner devotion of the worshipper (Quasten 1983: 78). Specific examples of such hymns occur very rarely in early Christian literature. Important examples include (1) the three hymns in Luke 1–2, the Magnificat (Luke 1:46–55), the Benedictus (1:67–79), and the Nunc Dimittis (2:29–32), which appear to be psalms of Jewish Christian origin (Farris 1985: 86–98); (2) the sixteen hymns or hymnlike compositions in Revelation, presented as two single hymns (12:10–12; 15:3–4) and as seven antiphonal units (4:8–11; 5:9–14; 7:9–12; 11:15–18; 16:5–7; 19:1–4, 5–8); and (3) the *Odes of Solomon* (Aune 1982). The hymns in Revelation present special problems. While some scholars have proposed that they were drawn from contemporary Christian liturgy, it rather appears that the author composed them himself for insertion in their present context. While some of the hymns make use of Jewish liturgical elements, e.g., the hallelujah, the amen, the trishagion (Rev 4:8), the doxologies (5:13; 7:10, 12; 19:1), and the acclamations (4:11; 5:9, 12; cf. Hahn 1973: 47), many other parts of the hymns appear to have been modeled after Roman imperial court ceremonials which included the singing of hymns to the emperor and the shouting of acclamations in his honor (Dio Cass. 59.24.5; Suet. *Ner.* 20.3; Aune 1983).

The form-critical analysis of NT epistolary literature has revealed the presence of a number of hymns which have been quoted or adapted to their present literary contexts, though they are never explicitly identified as hymns. Some of the more important text-units which have been identified as hymns focus on the incarnation of Christ in the framework of his preexistence and exaltation: Phil 2:5–11; Col 1:15–20; John 1:1–18; 1 Tim 3:16; Heb 1:1–3; 1 Pet 3:18–19, 22; cf. Deichgräber 1967: 118–55). Two other hymns have been identified in Heb 5:7–10 and 7:1–3, 26, though there is less scholarly consensus on the validity of the identification (Zimmermann 1977: 60–100). More specific liturgical settings have been suggested for several of these hymns, although such hypotheses far exceed the evidence. Col 1:15–20, for example, has been connected with a baptismal liturgy (Käsemann 1964b). Other hymns and fragments of hymns have been preserved in the letters of Ignatius of Antioch, the most extensive of which is found in Eph 19:1–3 (Deichgräber 1967: 155–60).

There is little concrete evidence for the actual role which singing and musical accompaniment played in early Christian worship during the 1st and 2d centuries A.D. (Quasten 1983: 103–10). Rev 5:8 mentions that the 24 heavenly elders accompanied their song on harps, and Ignatius speaks of being attuned to the bishop as strings are to a harp (i.e., zither) and of singing harmoniously to God the Father through Jesus Christ (*Eph.* 4:1–2). Though these are metaphors, they may nevertheless reflect the use of instruments and choral singing in Christian worship during the time of Ignatius (Quasten 1983: 104).

5. Prophecy. One of the features of early Christian worship which clearly distinguished it from the forms of worship typical of synagogue Judaism was the inclusion of various forms of inspired speech uttered by Christians who were regarded by themselves and others as prophets. The term "prophet," from the Greek word *prophētēs*, literally means "spokesperson," and in a religious context refers to a spokesperson for a deity. In the LXX the Greek term *prophētēs* was the regular translation of the Hebrew word *nābî'*, customarily translated "prophet" in English. Though the term *prophētēs* was applied almost exclusively in Greek-speaking Judaism to biblical prophets or prophets expected to appear in the eschaton, the term was widely applied by early Christians as a designation for those inspired persons who were regarded as human channels for messages from the exalted Jesus or the Spirit of God.

In Paul's description of aspects of congregational worship at Corinth, various forms of prophecy (including speaking in tongues and the interpretation of tongues, since unintelligible utterances were often considered to be a type of prophetic speech in the ancient world) played an important role (1 Cor 14:1–5, 23–32, 39). Paul considers prophecy to be a gift of the Spirit bestowed on particular individuals (1 Cor 12:10; Rom 12:6), and indicates that prophets are, together with apostles and teachers, community leaders (1 Cor 12:28–29; cf. Eph 2:20; 3:5; 4:11). Some of the leaders of the Christian congregation at Antioch were prophets and teachers who exercised their gifts within the setting of public worship (Acts 2:1–21; 8:14–17; 10:44–46; 19:1–6). According to Acts 15:30–32:

> So when they were sent off, they went down to Antioch; and having gathered the congregation together, they delivered the letter. And when they read it, they rejoiced at the exhortation. And Judas and Silas, who were themselves prophets, exhorted the brethren with many words and strengthened them.

Apart from 1 Corinthians 12–14 and Acts, prophecy is only rarely mentioned in early Christian literature as an activity appropriate for Christian worship (*Did.* 10:7; 11:7–12; Herm. *Man.* 11.9). The author of Revelation implies that he is a prophet (Rev 1:3; 22:9f.), and he intends his revelatory book to be read before each of the seven congregations (Rev 1:3), perhaps as a substitute for his presence. Hermas (*Man.* 11) argues against prophets who hold private oracular consultations (i.e., séances), and in so doing

describes the appropriate role for a prophet in a congregational setting (*Man.* 11.9):

> When a person with the divine Spirit attends a meeting of righteous men who have the faith of the divine Spirit, and prayer is directed to God by the assembly of those men, then the angel of the prophetic Spirit who rests on him will fill the person, and the person so filled with the Holy Spirit speaks to the assembly whatever the Lord wishes.

Prophets who speak to Christian congregations were also subject to some kind of evaluation (1 Thess 5:19–22; 1 Cor 12:10; 14:29; *Did.* 11). Paul's language in 1 Cor 14:29–32 suggests that prophets constituted an identifiable group within the Corinthian congregation and that they evaluated the prophetic utterances of prophets in their group.

What was the substance of prophetic speech within a congregational setting? Paul indicates that they performed a diagnostic function by revealing the secrets of those present, thereby proving the presence of God (1 Cor 14:24f.). The seven proclamations of Revelation 2–3, which are prophetic messages to be read before the seven congregations, contain censure, demands for repentance, threats of judgment, and promises of salvation. *Did.* 10:7 indicates that prophets were permitted to offer extemporaneous prayers over the bread and wine of the eucharist.

6. Sermons or Homilies. When Justin speaks of the reading of the Gospels or the Prophets as one of the activities characteristic of regular Sunday worship (*1 Apol.* 67.3), he says that after the Scripture reading is concluded, "the president in a discourse urges and invites the imitation of these noble things" (67.4). In *2 Clem.* 19:1, often erroneously thought to refer to the public reading of the OT in worship, the author reveals that he is reading an exhortation to his congregation, i.e., a previously prepared homily. The practice of following the reading of Scripture with a homily which elaborates on some aspect of the biblical lection is clearly derived from Judaism. While it is highly likely that many sections of NT epistolary literature reflect the oral style of Christian preaching, no stereotypical patterns have yet been successfully identified which reflect types of early Christian sermons.

H. Scripture Reading

One important feature of Christian worship with close parallels in synagogue Judaism is the practice of reading aloud from sacred texts, usually accompanied by a homiletic explanation of the meaning and significance of the reading. Such reading is not in itself worship, though the context in which it is done is. However, if worship is regarded as communication between God and his people, then the reading of Scripture must be construed as one important mode whereby God's word is mediated to those assembled. The first mention of the liturgical reading of Scripture is found in 1 Tim 4:13, which can be dated ca. A.D. 100 or slightly later: "Give heed to the public reading of scripture, to preaching, to teaching." The earliest clear evidence for the reading of Scripture in a regular Sunday service is found in Justin *1 Apol.* 67.3, where Justin mentions a reading "from the memoirs of the apostles [i.e., the gospels] or the writings of the Prophets" (not both). There is no clear evidence that the OT was read in Christian worship before ca. A.D. 155 (Bauer 1930:39–47). Paul doubtless intended that at least some of his letters be read aloud in Christian assemblies (1 Thess 5:27), a practice followed by at least some communities (2 Pet 3:16). Further, Paul appears consciously to have designed them to fit in with a service of worship (see C.2 above). Col 4:15 reflects the practice of different churches exchanging the letters of Paul and reading them publicly. Yet the partial contents of some letters appears inappropriate for any but the leaders of the community, e.g., Galatians (cf. 3:1: "O foolish Galatians!") and 2 Corinthians (Bauer 1930: 62f.). Nevertheless, the regularity of reading apostolic letters before the community assembled for worship made it possible for the author of Revelation to frame his apocalyptic message as a letter intended for public reading in each of the seven churches (Rev 1:3; 21:18–19). By the middle of the 2d century, Justin attests the regular practice of reading from the Gospels and the Prophets (*1 Apol.* 67.3): "the memoirs of the apostles or the writings of the prophets are read as long as possible."

I. Sacred Rituals

Rituals usually involve physical action on the part of the worshipper, i.e., conventional, symbolic gestures, postures, or behaviors, often accompanied by stereotypical words. The two primary rituals of early Christianity are the eucharist and baptism, both of which exhibit great variety of form and significance during the first two centuries A.D. In addition, there are a number of less prominent rituals which are also characteristic behaviors of Christians worshipping together.

1. Eucharist. In early Christianity the central ritual is that of the sacred meal, often called the eucharist, a ritual which exhibits great variation of form and significance during the 1st and 2d centuries A.D. The term "eucharist" is a transliteration of the Greek word *eucharistia,* meaning "thanksgiving," and originally referred to the prayers that were offered before the distribution of the bread and wine in early Christian sacral meals. By the early 2d century A.D., *eucharistia* had become a technical term for the meal itself, i.e., the liturgical commemoration of the Lord's Supper (Ign. *Philad.* 4; *Smyrn.* 7:1; 8:1). Since the eucharist or Lord's Supper continues to be celebrated in most forms of Christianity, anachronistic theological conceptions of the significance of the eucharist are often unwittingly read back into the earliest evidence. Augustine defined a sacrament as a visible form of an invisible grace. By the early 3d century, the Church held that the sacraments were the material instruments and vehicles through which divine power was transmitted. There is no unambiguous evidence that the eucharist or baptism had this theological significance until well into the 2d century A.D. While the eucharist appears to have been held on Saturday evening during the 1st century A.D. (Rordorf 1968: 179f., 200–205, argues for Sunday evening), but on Sunday morning from the 2d century on (Rordorf 1968: 250–52).

a. Meals in Early Christianity. There is abundant evidence in the NT to suggest that early Christians often gathered to eat communal meals (Acts 2:46; 1 Cor 11:20–32; Jude 12). The sharing of common meals was one activity which characterized Jesus' followers before and

after his crucifixion. The gospels depict Jesus as an itinerant preacher who was accompanied on his travels by a band of followers. Since they were often away from home, they undoubtedly ate meals together, although on this point the gospels are strangely silent. The gospels therefore contain many references to Jesus eating meals with a variety of people, including social outcasts (Matt 9:11–16; Mark 2:15–17; Luke 15:2; 19:1–10), those who came to hear him preach (Mark 6:35–44; 8:1–10), and Pharisees (Luke 7:36–50; 11:37–54; 14:1–24). Meals eaten by Jesus and his disciples, however, are not found in gospel tradition, with the exception of the Last Supper and the legendary meals of the resurrected Jesus with his disciples. These meals had an inherently religious character since pious Jews began and ended all meals with table prayers (Petuchowski and Brocke 1978: 50). Though wine was drunk only on festive or solemn occasions, all Jewish meals began with a blessing said over the bread (Mark 6:41; 8:6; John 6:11; Acts 27:35) of the type "Blessed art thou who bringest forth bread from the earth" (*m. Ber.* 6.1). If wine is served after the meal, one should say the benediction for all of the type "Blessed art thou who createst the fruit of the vine" (*m. Ber.* 6.6). The frequent suggestion that the meals of Jesus and his followers were analogous to the meals of the Pharisaic *haburot* ("communities") is problematic, since the evidence for such meals is late. Though Jeremias argued that such meals never existed (1966: 29–31), Heinemann has shown that they were both important and ancient (1977: 116–21).

Food was a focal problem in early Christianity (Mark 7:1–30; Acts 15:12–29; Rom 14:1–23; 1 Cor 8:1–13; Gal 2:12; Col 2:16; Rev 2:20). The issue of table fellowship between (Christian) Jews and (Christian) gentiles is one prominent aspect of this problem (e.g., Gal 2:11–14), one which was particularly emphasized by the author of Luke–Acts (Acts 10:1–11:18; 16:31–34; cf. Esler 1987: 71–109). Just as the meals Jesus shared with those of various social classes who responded to his message symbolized his full acceptance of them, so in early Christianity, meals shared by Jewish Christians and Hellenistic Christians dramatized the fact that they "are one body, for we all partake of one bread" (1 Cor 10:17).

b. Accounts of the Last Supper. Paul preserves the earliest account of the institution of the Lord's Supper in 1 Cor 11:23–26 (ca. A.D. 54). Each of the Synoptic Gospels (ca. A.D. 70–90), contain parallel accounts of the words of institution (Mark 14:22–25; Matt 26:26–29; Luke 22:15–20). John omits the words of institution from his account of the Last Supper (John 13–16), but inserts them after the miraculous feeding of the 5,000 (6:25–40) in the guise of a discourse interpreting that event (6:41–59). The Last Supper may originally have been a Passover meal (Jeremias 1966: 41–88), as each of the Synoptic Gospels suggests (strongly emphasized in Luke 22:15, where the author has Jesus refer to eating the Passover lamb which is before him). According to John, however, Jesus' last meal was held on the day before Passover (cf. John 19:14), a view also reflected in the *Gospel of Peter* (2.5). Nevertheless the Synoptic Gospels do not describe the food and liturgy typical of Passover meals, but rather that characteristic of ordinary Jewish meals, the breaking of bread and the blessing over the cup. It is likely that each evangelist has superimposed a later liturgy of the Lord's Supper over the historical account of the Last Supper, thus blending the foundation event with particular forms of its ritual repetition.

(1) 1 Cor 11:23–26. The earliest evidence for the liturgy of the Lord's Supper is found in 1 Cor 11:23–26. Paul, however, reveals very little about the relation of this sacral meal to other features of Christian worship services. There are several distinctive features in Paul's recital of the words of Jesus at the Lord's Supper. (1) The prayer of thanksgiving over the bread and the cup frame an actual meal, as the phrase "after supper" in v 25 indicates, following the pattern of Jewish meals. Arguments that the phrase "after supper" is simply an old liturgical formula (Bornkamm 1969: 142) and that at Corinth a regular meal was eaten prior to the eucharist (Neuenzeit 1960: 71f.) are not convincing. (2) Paul interprets the cup as "the new covenant in [Jesus'] blood" (vv 24–25), i.e., as a covenant sacrifice rather than as an atoning sacrifice (as in Mark 14:24; Matt 26:28). (3) The phrase "do this in remembrance of me" (v 24) after the bread and the phrase "in remembrance of me" (v 25) after the cup have no parallel in the Synoptic Gospels. The fact that Paul transmits these sayings of Jesus to the Corinthians suggests that they were unfamiliar with them. Paul does not recommend that these words of institution be repeated whenever the Lord's Supper is celebrated. The primary reason for mentioning them at all is to underscore the gravity and solemnity of the occasion, an implicit criticism of the deportment of the scandalous behavior of the Corinthians when they dine together (1 Cor 11:17–22).

(2) Mark 14:22–25; Matt 26:26–29. The account of the Last Supper in Mark 14:22–25, followed closely by Matt 26:26–29, begins with Jesus taking bread and blessing it "as they were eating" (v 22a), i.e., the ritual over the bread and cup is presented as occurring at the conclusion of the meal rather than as framing the meal, as is the case in 1 Cor 11:23–26. Further, the close association of the words over the bread and the cup in Mark appear to have influenced the phraseology of the latter. Whereas Paul speaks of the cup as "the new covenant in my blood" (1 Cor 11:25), Mark has Jesus interpret the cup as "my blood of the covenant" (Mark 14:24), i.e., more parallel in form and content to the formula pronounced over the bread.

(3) Luke 22:15–20. Of the many types and contexts in which sacral meals were eaten in Greco-Roman religious cults, one type is reflected in the many papyrus invitations to attend a dinner with the god Sarapis (13 such invitations are known, the most recent of which is *P. Oxy.* 3693; cf. 1 Cor 8:10). *P. Köln* 57 is an example: "The god summons you to a banquet being held in the Thoereion tomorrow beginning with the ninth hour." These invitations imply that the god is understood as present at the dinner, which was probably attended by seven to ten people. A second type of sacral meal is the kind prepared by magicians either to summon a god or daimon to establish a permanent bond or for divination (*PGM* I.1–42, 42–95, 96–195; IV.1840–70; XIa.1–40; XII.14–95).

c. The Eucharist in the *Didache*. The liturgical prayers in *Didache* 9–10 and the procedure enjoined in *Did.* 14 (in a document written ca. A.D. 100) are both important and problematic for understanding the history of the eucharist. The term *eucharistia* (with the generic meaning

"thanksgiving") is explicitly used (*Did.* 9:1), and the verb *eucharistein* (with the generic meaning "to be thankful") occurs probably with the more specific meaning "to celebrate the eucharist" (*Did.* 9:7; 14:1). Yet scholars disagree on whether or not these terms are used in a technical sense, in part because of the possible early date of the *Didache* (Audet dates it to ca. A.D. 50–70, while most scholars place it ca. A.D. 100). Further, since the traditional form of the words of institution is absent, some have argued that the eucharist is not in view in *Did.* 9–10 (Jungmann 1959: 37). It is also unclear whether the prayers are used specifically in connection with the eucharist or simply in connection with the ordinary meals of the community. There are several views on the significance of *Did.* 9–10. (1) *Did.* 9–10 refer to the eucharistic prayers followed by a regular meal, the so-called *agape* (*Did.* 10:1); *Did.* 9–10 reflect no divorce of the agape from the eucharist. (2) *Did.* 9 refers to the eucharist, while *Did.* 10 refers to the agape. (3) *Did.* 9–10 refer to an agape meal, while *Did.* 14 refers to the eucharist (Dibelius 1938; Rordorf 1978); cf. *Did.* 14:1: "break bread and celebrate the eucharist." The view that *Did.* 9–10 refer to the eucharist is probably correct and has the strongest arguments (Lietzmann 1979: 188–94; Vööbus 1968: 63–171). Those who argue that these table prayers are not eucharistic prayers point to the fact that the thanksgiving over the cup precedes the thanksgiving over the bread, an order supposedly not used in any Christian celebration of the Lord's Supper (Jeremias 1966: 118, n. 5). Yet Paul discusses the significance of the "cup of blessing" before the significance of the bread in 1 Cor 10:16–22, and the shorter version of the Last Supper in Luke 22:17–19a reflects an ancient liturgical order in which the cup precedes the bread. For the same order from a Jewish sphere, cf. *Sib. Or.* 4.24–26: "Happy will be those of humankind on earth who will love the great God, blessing him before drinking and eating." Further, it is important to note that while the accounts of the Lord's Supper in the gospels and 1 Cor 11:23–26 mention the fact that Jesus gave thanks for the bread and the cup, the substance of those prayers of thanksgiving are never given. The words of institution themselves are not part of the prayers of thanksgiving. The prayers for the eucharist described by Justin (*1 Apol.* 65.3–4; 67.4; *Dial.* 41.1) also lack any allusion to the words of institution and are similar to those found in *Did.* 9–10, though Justin does allude to the words of institution in *Dial.* 41.4 and 70.4, while the sacrificial character of the eucharist is also mentioned in *Dial.* 41.3 and 117.1–3. Dibelius (1938) argued that *Did.* 9:1–10:5 contain the prayers used before and after the agape meal, while 10:6 introduced the eucharist itself. *Did.* 9–10 is widely understood in this way (Jeremias 1966: 117f.; Rordorf 1978: 1–23 = 1986: 187–208).

d. The Origin of the Eucharist. The problem of the origin of the eucharist has been a matter of some speculation. Cullmann (1958: 8–16) argued that the element of joy in the "breaking of bread" or the common meals in which the earliest Christian community in Jerusalem participated (Acts 2:42, 46) originated neither in the Lord's Supper nor in the fellowship meals which Jesus shared with his disciples during his lifetime, but in the meals which the risen Jesus ate with his disciples when he appeared to them (Luke 24:30, 41–43; John 21:9–13; Acts 1:3–4; 10:41). Similarly, Rordorf (1968: 215–37) argues that the breaking of bread in the earliest Christian communities was a continuation of the disciples' actual table fellowship with the risen Lord on Easter Sunday evening. He vainly attempts to prove that the breaking of bread took place only on Sunday evening, discounting clear evidence to the contrary (e.g., Acts 2:46). These proposals have generally been rejected (Bacchiocchi 1977: 85–89; Bauckham 1982: 234f.). First, it is doubtful that such comparatively late and legendary expressions of Easter faith, such as the meals reportedly shared by Jesus and his disciples, could have become the basis for the radical institution by the earliest Christians of a new ritual meal to be enacted on a new sacred day. Second, the meal motif is entirely missing from the resurrection narratives of Mark and Matthew. Third, meals are not a central focus of the resurrection narrative, and when they are mentioned they tend to function in a very different way (e.g., Luke 24:41–43 is not depicted as a meal; the disciples reportedly gave Jesus broiled fish, and no mention is made of bread, wine, or a blessing).

One of the more influential attempts to account for the origin and development of the eucharist was proposed by Hans Lietzmann. Lietzmann (1979: 204–208) distinguished two types of sacral meals in early Christianity, the "breaking of bread," and the Lord's Supper. The first, which Lietzmann called the "Jerusalem" type, originated in the table fellowship which Jesus enjoyed with his disciples, and it was continued after his death. It was a rite of communion consisting of a meal of eschatological joy with no reference to the death of Jesus. This type is reflected in the *Didache* (9–10), the shorter Lukan account of the Lord's Supper (which omits Luke 22:19b–20), perhaps reflecting 2d century liturgical practice (Schürmann 1951), and is in harmony with the supper ritual generally in Luke–Acts. The Egyptian liturgy is later exemplified by Serapion. It was characterized by the breaking of bread at the beginning of the meal; while water was drunk, and occasionally wine, no cup was passed around at the conclusion of the meal. The second type (the "Pauline" type, because it is first attested in 1 Cor 11:23–32, and so existed at least as early as A.D. 50), exemplified in the eucharistic liturgy of Hippolytus, arose only after the death of Jesus and was not a continuation of the daily table fellowship of the disciples of Jesus with their Lord, but rather was connected only with Jesus' final meal, the Lord's Supper. This meal is repeated as a rite of atonement by the community as a memorial to the death of Jesus. This meal was framed by the breaking of bread at the beginning and the passing of the cup of wine at the end, symbolizing respectively the body and the blood of Jesus.

e. Meaning and Function of the Eucharist. In the various fragmentary liturgies of the Lord's Supper found in the NT and in early Christian literature, despite the particular features of each which reflect developed Christian practice in a particular region, it was often thought essential that the worshipper perceive the basic unity between the celebration of the Lord's Supper and the original Last Supper at which Jesus officiated. The latter is a foundational event which authorizes the former. In earliest Christianity the eucharist was celebrated within the setting of a meal, though different patterns developed. The earliest

pattern was to frame the meal with the eucharistic elements of bread and wine (e.g., 1 Cor 11:23–32), the pattern typical of Jewish meals, though not of Sabbath meals, which began with a blessing over the wine. Later the eucharist was placed at the conclusion of the meal (e.g., Mark 14:22–25; Ethiopic text of *Epistula Apostolorum*), or separated from the meal on Sunday morning (Justin *1 Apol.* 67). The meal itself was called the *agape* (Jude 12; Ign. *Smyrn.* 8:2; *Ep. Apost.* 15; *Acts Paul* 25; Clem. *Paed.* 2.1.4; Tert. *Apol.* 39; cf. Pliny *Ep.* 10.96.7). The agape (from which the eucharist is not distinguished in the NT) originated in Jesus' practice of having fellowship meals with his disciples, the last and most dramatic of which was the Last Supper (Matt 8:11f.; Luke 13:29; Matt 11:16–19; cf. Perrin 1967: 102–108).

2. Baptism. "Baptism," transliterated from the Greek term *baptismos,* meaning "dipping, washing," and the term *baptisma,* meaning "[Christian ritual of] baptism," is a Christian designation for the ritual of washing or bathing in water which functioned as an initiation rite for entry into the Christian community. Water is widely used in religious rituals to symbolize death (i.e., dissolution), life (i.e., regeneration), and purification (Eliade 1958: 188–215). In early Christianity, baptism is a polyvalent ritual which is assigned not only all three meanings (though rarely in the same context), but also variations in each main category of meaning: (1) death (ritual imitation of the crucifixion of Jesus with a moral application; cf. Rom 6:1–3; Luke 12:50), (2) life (ritual imitation of the resurrection of Jesus with a moral application, regeneration or rebirth, bestowal of the Spirit), and (3) cleansing (moral purification, forgiveness of sins). Paul, following an earlier Christian theological conception, understands baptism as a ritual reenactment of the death and resurrection of Christ in which the believer experiences death to the old life of disobedience to God and resurrection to the new life of obedience (Rom 6:3–11; cf. Col 3:1–3). According to Hermas *Sim.* 9.16.4, "they go down into the water dead and come up alive." The cleansing properties of water are often extended to refer to the notions of purification (Heb 10:22) and the forgiveness of sins which repentance followed by baptism provides (Acts 22:16; 1 Cor 6:11; *Ep. Barn.* 11:1; *Acts Thom.* 132; *Clementine Homilies* 11.27.1). This is perhaps the view of John the Baptist (Mark 1:4) taken over by early Christianity. Baptism is also linked with the conception of regeneration or new birth (John 3:5; Titus 3:5; Justin *1 Apol.* 61.3; *Acts Thom.* 132; *Clementine Homilies* 11.26.1), and is also connected with the bestowal of the Spirit of God (Mark 1:8; John 1:33; Acts 10:44–48; 11:16; 1 Cor 12:13; 2 Cor 1:22; Eph 4:30). A new conception of the meaning of baptism is introduced by Ignatius of Antioch, who regards Christian baptism as based on the historical baptism of Jesus, who purified the water (*Eph.* 18:2). Historically, the ritual of baptism as a once-and-for-all initiation ritual was adapted from the practice of John the Baptist by Jesus (though the evidence is fragmentary; cf. John 3:22; 4:1–2; *Pistis Sophia* 122), and by the early Palestinian Christian community.

Acts contains several brief narratives of baptisms which function as a rite of acceptance into the Christian community after the proclamation of the gospel is responded to with repentance and baptism (Acts 2:38). Baptism is performed in two slightly different settings: (1) publicly, as part of a positive response to the proclamation of the Gospel (2:41; 8:12–13; 16:15; 18:7–8), and (2) semi-privately, in situations in which the baptizer and those who are baptized are present (8:36–38; 10:44–48; 19:1–5; 22:16). Though this pattern may appear to be a Lukan construct, it is also found in Hermas *Vis.* 3.7.3, as well as in Hermas *Sim.* 9.16.5, where baptism is referred to as "the seal of the preaching." Though very little of the character of the baptismal ceremony is revealed in these brief narratives, the interpolation found in the Western text of Acts 8:36–38 (quoted in italics) shows the influence of an early baptismal ritual:

> [36] And as they went along the road they [Philip and the Ethiopian eunuch] came to some water, and the eunuch said, "See, here is water! What is to prevent my being baptized?" [37] *And Philip said, "If you believe with all your heart, you may." And he replied, "I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God."* And he commanded the chariot to stop and they both went down into the water, Philip and the eunuch, and he baptized him.

Here the phrase "what prevents x from being baptized?" appears to have been a stereotypical ritual question used in some baptismal liturgies (cf. Acts 10:47; 11:17; cf. Matt 3:13f.). Similarly, the confession "I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God" (added in the Western text) appears to have had a fixed place in early baptismal liturgies (cf. Acts 22:16; Neufeld 1963: 62, 144f.), although it was also used in other settings (e.g., exorcism, healing, worship, persecution). In Rom 10:9f., the confession of Jesus Christ as Lord is accompanied by the confession that God raised him from the dead.

The most widespread liturgical formula used in connection with baptism is the phrase "to be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ" (Acts 2:38; 8:16; 10:48; 19:5; 1 Cor 1:13; Gal 3:27; *Did.* 9:5), or "to be baptized in the name of the Lord" (*Herm. Vis.* 3.7.3). This formula was later expanded to a three-part trinitarian formulation, "in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit" (Matt 28:19; *Did.* 7:1; Justin *1 Apol.* 61.3, 13; *Acts Pet.* 2.5; *Acts Thom.* 119; *Clementine Homilies* 11.26.3). Several later texts indicate that fasting was practiced, both by baptismal candidates and by others present (*Did.* 7:4; Justin *1 Apol.* 61.2; Hippolytus *Apostolic Tradition* 20.7). Several texts from the 2d and 3d centuries indicate that candidates removed their clothes before baptism and put them on again afterward (Hipp. *Apost.* 21.3, 20), and it is possible that the earlier "put off"/"put on" language of the vice and virtue lists in Col 3:5–17 and Eph 4:22–23 may reflect baptismal paraenesis.

The practice of following the rite of baptism with the eucharist is hinted at by the sequence in *Did.* 7–9 (cf. 9:5), and specifically described in several early sources (Justin *1 Apol.* 65 and *Acts Pet.* 2.5; *Acts Thom.* 119, 132f.). One of the reasons for linking baptism with the eucharist was precisely because participation in the latter was general forbidden to the unbaptized (*Did.* 9:5; Justin *1 Apol.* 66.1), and immediate participation on the part of the newly baptized would dramatically affirm their membership in the Christian community. By the time of Tertullian, in the

late 2d century A.D., baptism was a special service held at Easter and Pentecost (*De bapt.* 19).

The lack of evidence for the specific character of the ritual of baptism has not discouraged scholars from discovering baptismal liturgies embedded in early Christian literature. Several scholars have proposed that 1 Peter, which has a relatively large number of cultic terms, contains a baptismal liturgy in 1:3–4:11, though baptism is explicitly mentioned only in 3:21. Cross (1954) argued the presence of a baptismal liturgy in 1 Peter by comparing it with the Easter baptism and confirmation rite, followed by the eucharist, in Hippolytus *Apost.* 21–23. Boismard (1956–57) has discerned the following elements of baptismal liturgy in 1 Peter:

1:3–5	Baptismal hymn
1:13–21	Homily preparatory to baptism
1:22–2:10	Homily following baptism
2:11–3:7	Charge to newly baptized on Christian living
5:1–5	Charge to newly baptized on Christian living
5:5–9	Baptismal hymn.

3. Lesser Ritual Actions. a. Bowing or Prostration. One of the simplest and most basic actions connected with worship is that of "bowing down." Various forms of bowing, whether bending forward at the waist with eyes downcast, kneeling, or prostration, are all symbolic actions which indicate subjection or subservience, i.e., the inferior status of the one who bows in comparison with the one to whom one bows. The ritual expressions of superior/inferior status, such as bowing, are often identical with social expressions of such status. Further, bowing gives behavioral expression to the experience of religious awe. Frequently the term *proskunein* + dative has been thought to be used in the sense of "to worship" (i.e., God or the Dragon; Rev 4:10; 7:11; 11:16; 19:4, 10; 22:9), while *proskunein* + accusative is thought to mean "to bow, prostrate oneself," or "to do homage to," i.e., before the Animal and his image (Rev 13:4, 12; 14:9, 11; 20:4). The difference is between "worship" and physical "prostration." However, J. Horst has shown that this distinction is untenable (*Proskynein,* 33–43). Conclusion: in every instance but Rev 3:9, cultic worship is in view, and the supposed contrast between the attitude of worship and adoration and that of external physical bowing or prostration is untenable. The role of "bending the knee" in the Christian embedded in Phil 2:5–11 suggests that this ritual mode of acknowledging the Lordship of Christ was practiced in at least some of the Pauline churches. Early Christians accepted both standing and kneeling as acceptable postures for prayer (Acts 7:60; 9:40; 20:36; 21:5; Eph 3:14; the only reference to standing, however, is Mark 11:25).

b. The Kiss of Peace. At the conclusion of four letters, Paul urges the recipients to greet each other with a holy kiss (Rom 16:16; 1 Cor 16:20; 2 Cor 13:12; 1 Thess 5:26). This ritual appears to have dramatized the relationship of Christians to one another in terms of a surrogate family. This ritual expression of affection is called the "kiss of love" in 1 Pet 5:14. Later it was called the "kiss of peace" (Tert. *De orat.* 18: *osculum pacis;* Hipp. *Apost.* 4.1; 18.3; 22.6). By the middle of the 2d century it is clear that the kiss was used to mark the conclusion of the service which preceded the eucharist (Justin *1 Apol.* 65.2; Origen *comm. in Rom.* 16:16; *Apos. Con.* 8.11.9). Yet since a century separates Paul from Justin, it is not completely clear that Paul regarded the holy kiss as part of the ritual introduction to the eucharist. It may, for example, have functioned as a conclusion to a service of the word (Cuming 1975–76).

c. Anointing with Oil. This ritual is mentioned in Mark 6:13, where the disciples are said to have driven out many demons and healed many sick by anointing them with oil. James 5:14 recommends that the elders visit the sick, pray for them, and anoint them with oil "in the name of the Lord." It is also possible that what appears to be a secondary interpolation between *Did.* 10:7 and 11:1 may at first have been part of the original text (Wengst 1984: 57–59): "Concerning anointing oil, give thanks as follows: 'We thank you, Father, for the fragrance of the oil which you made known to us through Jesus your servant. Glory be to you for ever. Amen." By the end of the 2d century A.D., the practice of anointing a newly baptized person with oil begins to be attested widely. The bestowal of the Holy Spirit is associated with this postbaptismal ritual. In the NT, Paul associates the terms "anointing" and "sealing" with the gift of the Holy Spirit (2 Cor 1:21f.), though there is disagreement regarding whether or not baptism is in view. If it is, it would appear that Paul knew that the gift of the Holy Spirit was bestowed by the rite of a material anointing with oil (Ysebaert 1962: 262). The ritual of postbaptismal anointing follows the ancient secular practice of anointing the body with oil after bathing.

d. Laying on of Hands. This ritual gesture is a ceremonial act which functions to heal, consecrate, or anoint the individual who is touched. Jesus is frequently depicted as laying hands on, or touching, afflicted individuals as part of the healing process (Mark 1:41; 5:23; 6:5; 7:32), and this practice is continued by the early Church (Acts 3:7; 5:12; 28:8). The laying on of hands functions as an ordination ritual (Acts 6:6; 13:3; 1 Tim 4:14; cf. 5:22), and as a means of bestowing the Holy Spirit (Acts 8:17f.). The ritual of anointing with oil and that of the laying on of hands may be different ways of referring to the same rite, for after oil is poured on an individual's head, the ritual of anointing may simply involve touching the person at that place.

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D. E. AUNE

WRATH OF GOD. A combination of philosophical presuppositions originating in classical Greek thinking has left Jewish and Christian theologians having to wrestle with the frequent biblical references to God "becoming angry." Among such presuppositions is the notion that every emotion, especially anger, is aroused by "evil spirits" dwelling in the soul; to act upon emotion in general—or upon anger specifically—is therefore seen as a sign of either weakness or sickness. Other presuppositions are based upon the Platonic distinction between reason and emotion: subsequent Hellenistic notions about God tended to emphasize divine mind and thought, which altogether transcend joy and sorrow. In this prevailing view, God comes to be viewed as indifferent to humanity and oblivious of the world, possessing a fundamental will and consciousness that is impassive and aloof; the important point in this context is that God possesses no emotions that cause him to be moved or affected by mortal conduct and affairs.

OLD TESTAMENT

In the study of the Hebrew Bible, an ongoing theological problem has been to reconcile these essentially non-Se-

mitic philosophical presuppositions with the OT text which portrays Israel's god Yahweh in blatantly "anthropopathic" terms (i.e., possessing human emotions). This problem was confronted early on by Jewish philosophers such as Philo, and it was subsequently addressed by medieval Jewish scholastics and by Maimonides. Early Christian theologians like Clement of Alexandria, Marcion, Tertullian, Arnobius, and Lactantius also wrestled with the philosophical issues presented by the OT texts depicting divine wrath. (For more general treatments of philosophical issues related to anthropopathism and divine wrath, see esp. Heschel 1962, vol. 2, chaps. 1–6; also Berkovitz 1964; Micka 1943; Otto 1923, chap. 4; and Creel 1986.)

Current theological discussions continue to focus primarily upon two important issues that preoccupied earlier Jewish and Christian thinkers: (1) whether "the wrath of God" is a rhetorical figure of speech or an ontological reality; and (2) if anger is an ontological reality, whether it constitutes a permanent attribute of God co-equal with love, or something more transient that is precipitated by man's behavior.

A. Terminology
B. "Passion" or "Pathos"?
C. Divine Wrath in the ANE
  1. "Passion" of the Gods
  2. "Pathos" of the Gods
    a. Anger Prompted by Cultic Sacrilege
    b. Anger Prompted by Broken Oaths
    c. The Mesha Stele
D. The Wrath of Yahweh
  1. Causes of God's Anger
    a. Inexplicable Caprice
    b. Human Sinfulness
    c. Covenant Trespass
    d. Pagan Arrogance
  2. The Day of Wrath
E. Divine Anger as Royal Prerogative?
F. Summary

A. Terminology

Nahum 1:6 lists some nouns frequently used to designate God's "wrath" (*ʾap, ḥēmâ, ḥārôn, zaʿam),* and there links the notion of divine wrath with the notions of divine jealousy and vengeance. Deut 29:18–28, which comment on the curses contained in the preceeding chapter, also provide a rich catalog of words and images associated with divine wrath.

The noun most frequently used to refer to "anger," whether divine (140 times) or human, is *ʾap* (dual *ʾappayim*), which literally means "nose" or "nostrils." Derived from **ʾnp* ("to become angry"), it originally may have referred to "snorting"; nevertheless, it suggests that the nose is the seat of anger (Ezek 38:18; Ps 18:9 [—Eng 18:8]). God's anger is depicted as "burning" (*ḥrh,* see below), "blazing" (**bʿr,* Isa 30:27), and "fuming" (*ʿšn,* Deut 29:19 [—Eng 29:20]). The verb **ʾnp,* whether in the *Qal* or the *Hitpaʿel,* always (14 times) refers to God "becoming angry" (Deut 1:37; Isa 12:1; cf. also Ps 2:12).

The incendiary character of anger is also clearly conveyed by another noun frequently used to refer either to divine (almost 90 times) or to human "wrath," *ḥēmâ* (from **yḥm,* "to be hot"). In Nah 1:2 God is said to be *baʿal ḥēmâ,* "lord of wrath." God's wrath can be "kindled" (**yṣt,* 2 Kgs 22:13, 17) and is said to "go forth like fire" (Jer 4:4; 21:12), to "blaze like fire" (**bʿr,* Ps 89:47 [—Eng 89:46]), or to be "poured out like fire" (Lam 2:4; Nah 1:6). The notion of wrath being "poured out" (*šph, nth,* esp. in Jeremiah and Ezekiel) apparently led to the notion of God's "cup of wrath" (Isa 51:17, 22; Jer 25:15; cf. Hab 2:15–16). "Wrath" *(ḥēmâ)* appears parallel to or in conjunction with "anger" *(ʾap)* almost three dozen times (e.g., Deut 29:22 [—Eng 29:23]; Mic 5:14 [—Eng 5:15]; Ps 90:7), and over one-third of its occurrences are in Ezekiel.

A noun used exclusively (41 times) for divine "rage" is *ḥārôn.* It too has incendiary connotations (it literally means "burning"), and it is also used about three dozen times in association with "anger" (*ḥarôn ʾap,* "flare up/rage of anger" or simply "fierce anger"). The related verb *ḥrh* ("to ignite") either appears with divine anger *(ʾap)* as the subject (God's anger "flares up/rages" about three dozen times, e.g., Exod 22:23 [—Eng 22:24]; Num 22:22) or is used impersonally, *ḥārah l-,* "he (God) became enraged" (Gen 18:30; Ps 18:8 [—Eng 18:7]). Since the object of this rage is almost always Israel (except Hab 3:8 and Ps 18:8 [—Eng 18:7]), and since the source of provocation often is "transgression of the covenant" (Josh 7:1; 23:16; Judg 2:20) or "pursuit of other gods" (Deut 6:14–15; 11:16–17; 31:16–17), *ḥrh* and *ḥārôn* seem to have a specialized use designating the legitimate rage of a suzerain against a disobedient vassal.

The noun *qeṣep* is generally used (26 times) to refer to God's "ire" (Num 17:11 [—Eng 16:46]; Deut 29:27; Jer 10:10), and it refers to human ire only in two very late texts (Eccl 5:16 [—Eng 5:17]; Esth 1:18). About half of the occurrences of the verb *qṣp* in either the *Qal* or the *Hipʿil* refer (16 times) to God "becoming irate" (Deut 9:7, 8, 19, 22; Isa 57:16–17).

The noun *ʿebrâ* usually (24 times out of 30) refers to divine (as opposed to mortal) "fury," often in association with "anger" (Hos 13:11; Hab 3:8). Ezekiel refers to "the fire of (God's) fury" (21:36 [—Eng 21:31]; 22:21, 31; 38:19). The *Hitpaʿel* of **ʿbr* usually (5 times) refers to God "becoming furious" (Deut 3:26; Pss 78:21, 59, 62; 89:39 [—Eng 89:38]).

Yet another noun, *zaʿam,* almost always (21 times) refers to divine "indignation." It appears primarily in the prophets, where it is also used along with other words having incendiary connotations (Isa 10:5; 66:14–15; cf. also Isa 30:27; Ezek 22:31). In Ps 78:49 it appears alongside *ḥārôn ʾap* and *ʿebrâ* in a list of the various malevolent forces God loosed against the Egyptians. Divine indignation, like divine wrath, can be "poured out" (*šph,* Ps 69:25 [—Eng 69:24]; Ezek 21:36 [—Eng 21:31]; Zeph 3:8). No precise distinction seems to have been drawn between *zaʿam* as emotion or as "curse" (Isa 30:27; Mic 6:10). When the deity is the subject of the verb *zʿm* (6 times), it clearly refers to God "becoming indignant" (Isa 66:14; Zech 1:12; even Num 23:8). In Ps 7:12 (—Eng 7:11), God is referred to as *ʾēl zōʿēm,* "God of indignation."

The noun *kaʿas* (*kaʿaś* in Job 10:17) occasionally (8 times) refers to divine "aggravation" (e.g., 1 Kgs 15:30; 21:22), although occasionally (7 times) it refers to that of humans (e.g., 1 Sam 1:6). Other words for wrath are rarely con-

nected with it, leading some to translate it "grief" in certain contexts (e.g., Ps 6:8 [—Eng 6:7]). The Deuteronomistic Historian, however, perhaps building upon notions found in the archaic poem Deuteronomy 32 (vv 19, 27), used the *Hipʿil* of *kʿs* (43 times) to portray God regularly being "aggravated" (RSV "provoked to anger") by Israel's repeated apostasies (Deut 4:25; 2 Kgs 17:17, etc.; see McCarthy 1974: 100, 108 n. 5 for these Deuteronomistic "provocation formulae").

The noun *zaʿap* is used only twice to refer to divine "vexation" (Isa 30:30, Mic 7:9). The root *rgz*, meaning "to be agitated," sometimes refers to divine irritation (Job 12:6; Hab 3:2; cf. also 2 Kgs 19:27–28). The noun *rûaḥ*, "breath, spirit," denotes divine "exasperation" (Isa 30:28) as well as that of humans (Judg 8:3; Prov 29:11). (More complete treatments of these various terms can be found in *TDOT* 1: 348–60; 4: 106–11, 462–65; 5: 171–76; *TWAT* 4: 298–302; 5: 1033–1039.) Beyond this specific terminology, one might be able to infer divine wrath in almost any biblical reference to divine punishment or vengeance.

B. "Passion" or "Pathos"?

Any attempt to outline how divine wrath is depicted in the OT must first concede the overall anthropopathic character of Hebrew descriptions of Yahweh, a fact reinforced by the terminology above. But even though analogies are drawn from human anger, the wrath of Yahweh is portrayed somewhat differently from human anger in the Hebrew Bible. In some respects this is essentially the difference between "passion" and "pathos" (see Heschel 1962, vol. 2, esp. chap. 1).

"Passion" can be understood as an emotional convulsion which makes it impossible to exercise free consideration of principles and the determination of conduct in accordance with them. Although the OT discusses human anger much less frequently than divine wrath, it tends to portray human anger as such as a loss of self-control and then censures it, particularly in the wisdom writings (Prov 14:29; 16:32; 19:19; 29:22; 30:33; Eccl 7:9; cf. Sir 1:22–24; 28:3), thereby echoing Egyptian wisdom teachings (cf. also Gen 49:7; Amos 1:11).

"Pathos," on the other hand, is an act formed with care and intention, the result of determination and decision. It is not a "fever of the mind" that disregards standards of justice and culminates in irrational and irresponsible action; it is intricately linked to "ethos" and approximates what we mean by "righteous indignation" (Heschel 1962, 2: 5, 63). The wrath of God tends to be portrayed in this way in the OT, especially in the prophets; it seems not to be an essential attribute or fundamental characteristic of Yahweh's *persona* but an expression of his will; it is a reaction to human history, an attitude called forth by human (mis)conduct.

C. Divine Wrath in the Ancient Near East

Attempts to understand the wrath of Yahweh as it is depicted in the OT must also compare that depiction with the many portrayals of divine anger found in numerous ANE texts. Here, we note that the anger of a particular god is often portrayed as an idiosyncratic aspect of that god's *personality*, generally resembling the "passion" type described by Heschel. Sometimes, however, a god's anger is portrayed more as a legitimate exercise of his/her *"office,"* generally resembling the "pathos" type of anger.

1. "Passion" of the Gods. The most blatantly "mythological" texts of the ANE focus primarily upon the divine world and the interrelationships of the gods. In such texts, the anthropomorphic and anthropopathic portrayals of the gods tend to be especially heightened: deities become drunk, or sexually aroused, or frightened, or surprised, or overjoyed, or sullen and resentful, etc. Because of the apparent popularity of such myths in the ANE, there is good reason why deities in the various cultures surrounding Israel "are often represented as aimless, fitful, and arbitrary, acting without purpose" (Albrektson 1967: 89), and why those gods could often be portrayed as becoming angry "for no good reason." In such mythological portraits, the wrath of the pagan gods approaches a malicious and uncontrolled type of "passion" which is often characteristic of an implacable personality (cf. Sophocles and Herodotus, who attributed to the Greek gods an almost whimsical inclination to harm mortals gratuitously, and Aeschylus and Pindar, who detailed the sexual passions that gripped Zeus and Poseidon).

Only a few examples from ANE mythic texts need to be called as illustration. In the Myth of Atrahasis (*ANET*, 104–106), the distemperate gods, led by Enlil (the storm-god), decide to obliterate humanity by means of a flood because the human race had multiplied to the point that its noise kept the gods (and particularly Enlil) awake at night. Similarly, in the Epic of Gilgamesh (*ANET*, 72ff.), it was Enlil who, "unreasoning, brought on the deluge" and who was "filled with anger" when he saw Utnapishtim's boat and realized that his plans had been thwarted (XI: 168, 171). Indeed, in a recurrent ANE mythological type-scene, the angry god (in this case, Enlil) must be calmed down by other deities who fear that his anger is getting out of control (XI: 180ff.). Also in the Gilgamesh Epic, the goddess Ishtar (goddess of love/war) is portrayed as a spoiled adolescent who, when spurned by Gilgamesh, angrily yet tearfully implores her father Anu to destroy Gilgamesh because, in her words, "he has heaped insults upon me (by) calling attention to my odious behavior" (VI: 80f.).

The Egyptian gods also had their passionate tirades. In the Contest of Horus and Seth (*ANET*, 14–17), the goddess Neith vows to get angry and cause the sky to collapse if her favorite (Horus) is not chosen to succeed Osiris; furthermore, the god Re-Har-akti goes off to brood when another god reminds him that no one worships at his shrines anymore. In yet another myth (*ANET*, 10–11), the bloodthirsty goddess Hathor/Sekhmet goes beserk and almost annihilates the human race which is saved when other gods intervene, tricking her into believing that red-colored beer is human blood. In fact, in Egyptian mythological texts the god Seth is so vividly portrayed that he came to be known as "the raging one" whose irrational anger against the ideal order (implied in the myth of Horus and Osiris) seems to represent all the chaotic aspects of the world (Te Velde 1967: 23–24, 101).

In the Telepinu Myth of the Hittites (*ANET*, 126–28), the god Telepinu becomes so angry that he cannot put his shoes on the correct feet before running away from home. The consequence of his anger is clear: drought and famine throughout the world. The reason for his anger, however,

is not clearly stated, although it may have been prompted by a disagreement with his father. Regardless, his anger was only intensified when a bee found him asleep and stung him to awaken him.

In Canaanite mythology, Anath appears to resemble Hathor as a goddess whose bloodthirst can scarcely be sated. In the Myth of Baal's Defeat of Yamm (*ANET*, 129–31), the god Baal, worried that he may be required to become subservient to the god Yamm, scornfully rebukes those gods who bow down to Yamm's emissaries; when El orders him to submit to Yamm, he becomes so enraged (Ug *ʾanš*) that he impulsively grabs a knife to slay Yamm's emissaries. Significantly, he has to be restrained by Athtartu/Ashtoreth. (For further discussion of the wrath of the Canaanite gods, see Gray 1947–53.)

In these and other ANE myths, gods and goddesses are anthropomorphized so vividly that it is often possible to describe (even in some psychological detail) their idiosyncracies and personal characteristics. In the mythological texts, their anger often seems a natural extension of their personalities. In light of the caprice often attributed to these ANE gods, it is not surprising that magic and incantations to secure protection against their ragings were prevalent in the ancient world.

2. "Pathos" of the Gods. However, other ANE texts—particularly those that (like the Bible) attempt to relate historical events to divine will—often portray the wrath of the gods as a type of "pathos" legitimately occasioned by human offenses against the righteous will of those gods (see Albrektson 1967; references to divine wrath can be found on almost every page of chaps. 1 and 6). In these texts, the anthropomorphisms are more restrained, and the anger of the pagan deities comes close to approximating that of the Israelite god Yahweh. The matter can be summarized as follows:

> "If a defeat or the fall of a dynasty is regarded not only as the manifestation of divine anger but as anger at some transgression or negligence, then this implies also the view that the universe is in some way governed according to the laws of justice: it rules out the conception that the god's actions are nothing but arbitrariness and whimsicality. . . . In Mesopotamia, as in Israel, the idea of historical events as a revelation of divine wrath or mercy for sins or godliness presupposes both that the deity acts in history and that the universe is ruled with justice" (Albrektson 1967: 103).

In these texts, two types of human transgressions tend to provoke a god's legitimate and "official" wrath: contempt for that god's temple, and violation of solemn oaths.

a. Anger Prompted by Cultic Sacrilege. In some Mesopotamian texts (discussed by Albrektson) the historical devastation of a particular city (Akkad, Ur, Babylon, Uruk) is attributed to a deity (Enlil, Irra, Ninurta, Ishtar, or Marduk) who becomes angry, usually over some cultic offense (e.g., kings desecrating that god's shrine). Thus, at least on a superficial level, one can say that these are examples of divine *pathos* insofar as the gods can legitimately insist that their places of worship be respected. The important Weidner Chronicle, in which the rise and fall of historical kings and dynasties are interpreted in terms of divine punishment, is a good exemplar of these texts. As Albrektson observes (1967: 103), "the norm according to which these rulers are judged is their relations to Babylon and above all to the cult of Marduk in the central sanctuary, Esagila" (cf. the book of Kings, where N Israel is repeatedly condemned and eventually destroyed in part because it embraced the "sin of Jeroboam, son of Nebat," who set up temples rivaling that of Jerusalem).

Yet the distinction between divine *pathos* (righteous indignation) and *passion* (resulting, for example, from a bruised ego) is not always so clearcut when a god's own cult is concerned. In some respects, the cult in the first place exists for humans to influence and manipulate the god, thus some degree of divine egocentrism is implied by the simple fact that a shrine exists (even in Israel; see Roberts 1975). To what extent, then, does its desecration constitute primarily a violation of a divine ordinance (eliciting legitimate, divine pathos) or an insult to a divine personality (eliciting vitriolic passion)?

In fact, these various Mesopotamian texts themselves often blur the distinction. For example, in the "Curse of Akkad," which attributes the Gutian destruction of Akkad (ca. 2150 B.C.) to Naram-sin's destruction of the Ekur (Enlil's temple), eight deities must intervene to "cool Enlil's heart," a possible indication that, as far as these other gods were concerned, Enlil's anger was moving beyond legitimate and "official" pathos to unreasoning and "personal" passion (cf. Enlil's behavior in the various ANE flood stories). Similarly, in the Irra Epic, which may attribute the long and chaotic "dark age" of Babylonia (early 1st millennium B.C.) to the sins of prior Babylonian kings, the god Ishum intercedes to appease Irra's rage. Lambert (1962: 119), however, concludes that this text ultimately suggests no grounds for Irra's rage—it was simply *"in the god's nature"* (emphasis added; Irra was, significantly, a plague god). This type scene (others deities interceding to placate a god's wrath) suggests that even when the ancients believed that their gods had legitimate reason to vent anger, they nevertheless harbored deep anxieties about whether those gods had any *internal* motivation to control or limit that anger: undoubtedly the mythological texts elaborating on divine distemper lingered in the backs of their minds. Indeed, such anxieties may have been further heightened by the traditional associations of these various gods with nonrational and often violent natural phenomena (storm; plague; love/war). It is perhaps also significant that most Near Eastern and biblical terms for anger—whether of the passion- or pathos-type—were drawn from another, often violent natural phenomenon: fire.

b. Anger Prompted by Broken Oaths. In certain other ANE texts (e.g., the Plague Prayers of Mursilis, *ANET*, 394–96), momentous historical catastrophes are attributed to a deity who becomes angry because people (almost always political leaders) break certain solemn oaths they are sworn to keep. For example, in the Tukulti-ninurta Epic, which seeks to justify the Assyrian conquest of Babylon (ca. latter third of 13th century B.C.), the Babylonian gods become angry because the Babylonian king has repeatedly violated a border agreement with Assyria; consequently, the Babylonian gods abandon their shrines in Babylon and defect to the Assyrian side (cf. Ezekiel 9–11). Similarly, in the account of Ashurbanipal's 9th Campaign,

the king of the Arabian tribes becomes the object of divine wrath because he violated his loyalty oath to Ashurbanipal.

There is a strong formal similarity between these ANE depictions of divine pathos and that of Yahweh, who in the OT prophets and historical narratives is portrayed as being angry at Israel for its repeated violation of its covenant obligations. However, these ANE texts have obvious ideological functions that the OT lacks: they are self-serving documents written by kings seeking to legitimize their policies. In other words, in the Bible no political entity ever profits from the wrath of Yahweh. But the important point of similarity is that in these portrayals the "personal" feelings of the god are not the force driving the anger; the driving force is rather the god's "official" duty to uphold the moral foundation for human political and social life.

c. The Mesha Stele. The one ANE text that portrays a god's anger in language most reminiscent of the Bible is a Moabite text (*ANET*, 320–21). See also MESHA^{c} STELE. There it is stated that Chemosh, god of Moab, became angry with his own land and handed it over to Omri, king of Israel, until Mesha became king and liberated Moab from Israelite control. The text does not state what precipiated Chemosh's anger, but like the other ANE texts that are "history oriented" rather than "myth oriented," the implication is clearly that Chemosh had some legitimate reason for being angry with his people. What is not clear is whether the Moabites offended him through some cultic offense or through some moral or political offense.

D. The Wrath of Yahweh

1. Causes of God's Anger. Assuming that anger is directed against its cause, any listing of factors inciting Yahweh's wrath must also specify those against whom it is directed. The following constitutes an attempt toward a theological synthesis of the biblical references to divine wrath, rather than an historical description of Israelite ideas about divine wrath.

a. Inexplicable Caprice. At best, only a very few passages seem to suggest that, like other ANE deities, Yahweh could behave in an irrational manner unrelated to any moral will: Gen 32:23–33 [—Eng 32:22–32]; Exod 4:24–26; 19:21–25; Judg 13:21–23; and 2 Sam 6:6–11 (although only this last passage explicitly refers to divine anger [*wayyiḥar-ʾap YHWH*, 2 Sam 6:7]). The objects of such anger tend to be those who, unfortunately, are simply in the wrong place at the wrong time. Possibly underlying all these passages (particularly the latter three) is the fairly universal notion that the *mysterium tremendum* of deity is intrinsically life-threatening to mortals (Gen 16:13; see Otto 1923, chap. 4, esp. pp. 18–19). If the legends of Gen 32:23–33 (Jacob wrestling at Peniel) and Exod 4:24–26 (Moses as "bloody bridegroom") initially circulated in connection with popular notions of Yahweh's demonic or savage "passion," these aspects focusing on Yahweh's personality were subsequently censored out, and the legends were transformed to depict Yahweh acknowledging the force of both Jacob's desire for a blessing and Zipporah's solemn act of consecration implied by the circumcision (*ETOT* 1: 261).

b. Human Sinfulness. Because all of history—even chance (Exod 21:13)—is understood to be the domain of Yahweh, any misfortune or unexpected disaster, whether personal (2 Sam 12:15–18; Ps 88:17 [—Eng 88:16]) or corporate (Exod 9:14; 2 Sam 24:21; Amos 3:6) can be regarded as a manifestation of Yahweh's wrath, although the OT does not necessarily regard every misfortune or disaster as such. Here the instruments of divine wrath include natural elements (Isa 30:30; Joel 1), sickness and disease (Num 11:33; 1 Sam 6:4), or famine and pestilence (Ezek 5:13–17; 7:15). Divine displeasure was also thought to manifest itself in cataclysms of seemingly supernatural proportions (cf. Gen 6:17; 19:24).

As in other cultures, especially ANE ones, the proximate cause for such a display of divine anger was generally felt to be some specific human sin (Josh 7:11–12; 1 Kgs 17:18). When such could not be readily identified, it was tempting to attribute the misfortune to the unstable and temperamental personality of the god. Yet this seems not to have been the case in Israel, where the aniconic tradition helped assure that Yahweh would remain a fairly nondescript personality (also note that magic and incantations to secure protection against divine rage appear not to have existed in Israel). The Eden narrative (Genesis 2–3), by associating the miserable aspects of human life with some fundamental act of disobedience by the prototypical human being, effectively acquits Yahweh of any charge of capricious "passion" from that point on: specific misfortunes and even death are attributed to generic human sinfulness (in theological parlance, "the Fall"), an interpretation still widely held. In this perspective, the divine wrath beneath misfortune is still considered a justified "pathos," not capricious "passion": thus adversity becomes the expected and deserved norm for such flawed human life (Job 14:1f.; also Ecclesiastes), while experiences of good fortune become instances of undeserved divine favor [see *ISBE* 4: 154–59].) In the end, however, because the metaphysical "cause" of misfortune remains an enigma, so must the operation of divine wrath; at least two biblical texts suggest that the appropriate response is simply to bow to the possibility that misfortune indicates divine displeasure (2 Sam 15:26; Job 42:6).

Curiously, despite much provocation by human sin, God in Genesis is never explicitly said to have "become angry." God curses the serpent (3:14), expels Adam and Eve (3:23), refuses Cain's offering and subsequently curses Cain (4:5), regrets *(nḥm)* making human beings and sends the flood (6:6), thwarts the pretentious labors of the people of Babel (11:5), afflicts plagues upon Pharaoh's house (12:17), destroys Sodom and Gomorrah (18:20; see vv 30, 32), threatens Abimelech, king of Gerar (20:6), terrorizes cities (35:5), and slays Onan for doing what was wrong in God's eyes (38:10); but none of this is explicitly tied to divine "wrath."

It is perhaps significant that the first OT occurrence of God exhibiting anger appears in passages intimately tied to Yahweh's deliverance of the Israelites from Egyptian bondage. Yahweh's anger *(ʾap)* is kindled for the first time against Moses when the latter attempts to back out of his special calling as deliverer (Exod 4:13–14), and subsequently God's rage *(ḥārôn)* is celebrated poetically as the force that simultaneously consumed the pursuing Egyptians and delivered the fleeing Israelites (Exod 15:7). Thus divine anger first appears as Yahweh's response not to

generic human sinfulness but to whatever would impede efforts to free the Israelites from Egyptian enslavement.

c. Covenant Trespass. It is also significant that the very next reference to Yahweh displaying anger occurs *after* the Sinai covenant: the reference is embedded in a casuistic law outlining the consequences of Israel's failure to do justice (Exod 22:21–24). In one sense this passage sets the tone for almost all subsequent references to divine wrath that address preexilic Israel (the emphasis is different in passages that address later contexts; see below). From Sinai on, Israel is in covenant with Yahweh; therefore, the major cause of divine anger is Israel's failure to abide by the terms of the covenant (see comments on *ḥrh* above; cf. Amos 3:2). This is portrayed literarily by the motif of the "murmuring in the wilderness." On the way to Sinai, the Israelites' complaints about food and water induce Yahweh to respond favorably (Exod 15:22–17:7); however, when they lodge similar complaints on the way from Sinai, Yahweh typically becomes angry and punishes them (Numbers 11; 14; 16). The point is obviously not that Yahweh underwent some fundamental personality change at Sinai, but rather that from Sinai on, Yahweh and Israel are in covenant, with Yahweh ruling as Israel's king; from that point on, "murmuring" is tantamount to rebellion, and the king (Yahweh) is entirely justified in acting to reinforce his kingship. This anger is clearly of the "pathos" type. See COVENANT.

Israel's rebellion against the kingship and rule of Yahweh is the major cause of divine wrath in the OT, regardless of whether this rebellion is expressed by murmuring against God (cf. Deut 1:26–36; Ps 78:21–22), by flagrantly disobeying God's command (Josh 7:1), by generally scorning God's word (2 Chr 36:15–16), or even by "going after other gods" (Exod 32:1–10; Num 25:1–5; Deut 13:2ff.). The failure to provide the social justice implicit within the stipulations of the covenant also makes Israel liable to divine wrath (Ps 50:21–22; Isa 1:23–24; 42:24–25; Amos 8:4–10; Micah 6). The DH narrative of Israel's past is built around the theme of Israel transgressing the covenant (*ʿābar ʾet-bĕrît,* Josh 23:16; Judg 2:20) and thereby "provoking God to anger" (see comments on *kaʿas* above; McCarthy 1974; Haney 1960). It is interesting to note that Heb *lemaʿan* is used not simply in a resultative sense ("so that") but in a purposive sense ("in order that"), suggesting that covenant violations are (subconsciously?) *intended* to aggravate God (e.g., Jer 7:18), thus compounding the severity of the violation.

The notion that divine wrath is related to covenant trespass is reinforced by a cursory examination of phrases describing the resulting punishment. Especially in the prophets, the wrath of Yahweh is manifested in terms similar to treaty curses from other ANE cultures (Hillers 1964): drought and barrenness (Deut 11:17), afflictions for the land (Deut 29:22 [—Eng 29:23]), being scattered abroad (Jer 32:37), and ultimately destruction (Deut 9:19).

d. Pagan Arrogance. "When Yahweh has completed all his work (of punishment) on Mt. Zion and on Jerusalem he will punish the arrogant boasting of the king of Assyria and his haughty pride" (Isa 10:12). The references to divine wrath that appear in exilic and postexilic contexts envision Yahweh's wrath shifting from Israel onto the nations who oppress Israel, although references to divine wrath directed against foreign oppressors also appear earlier in various depictions of Yahweh as a warrior. The very nations which at one moment are Yahweh's instruments of wrath directed against Israel (Judg 2:11–15; 2 Kgs 13:3; 2 Chr 36:15–17; Zech 7:11–14; Lamentations 2) at another moment are themselves the objects of Yahweh's wrath (Jer 50:25; Ezek 36:1–7; Mal 1:2–5).

There are at least two reasons why God's wrath is directed against the nations. First, Yahweh's vindictive retaliation is directed against those who harmed His people (Jer 10:25; Ezekiel 25; Nahum 1 [—Eng 1:1–2:1]; cf. Jeremiah 50–51; Obadiah). Such passages seem to exude a narrow, triumphalistic nationalism, and in a few rare instances (e.g., Ezek 25:14) the tables are turned and Israel is depicted as God's instrument of wrath against a foreign nation. Second, other passages portray God's anger directed against foreign nations not simply because they oppressed Israel but because they failed to realize that in so doing they were not autonomous, but were merely tools being wielded by Yahweh (cf. Isa 10:5–19; Jer 25:7–14). The self-idolatry of the nations is what kindles the wrath of Yahweh against them.

2. The Day of Wrath. The prevalence of injustice in history led to notions about God's decisive and climactic intrusion into history, when God's saving purpose would be finally accomplished. See DAY OF YAHWEH; APOCALYPSES AND APOCALYPTICISM; ESCHATOLOGY. Apocalyptic texts refer to the "time of (God's) indignation" (*zaʿam;* Isa 26:20; Ezek 22:24; Dan 8:19) and to the "day of God's fury" (*ʿebrâ;* Ezek 7:19; Zeph 1:15, 18; cf. Prov 11:4; Job 21:30). Because the present world is at enmity with God, this eschatological moment is regarded as a day when Yahweh defeats His enemies (Isa 2:12ff.; 13:6ff.; Amos 5:18–20; etc.), and Isaiah envisions it also as a day when wrath is ended, reconciliation achieved, and Yahweh's people flourish (27:1–6).

E. Divine Anger as Royal Prerogative?

When the anthropopathic characterization of Yahweh is compared with that of other ANE deities, one immediately notes that in some fundamental ways Yahweh's anger is significantly different from the often passionate and sometimes petty tirades of other ANE deities: Yahweh's anger never seems to be a function of his personality.

But a comparison of Yahweh with other ANE kings may lead to some important nuances in our understanding of divine emotion. For example, on several occasions Sargon II is said to have acted "in a sudden rage" (*ANET,* 286), and a rather stylized expression repeated by Ashurbanipal was "I became very angry on account of these happenings, my soul was aflame" (*ANET,* 294, 296). In these and other (especially Neo-Assyrian) royal inscriptions and annals, "anger" is depicted as a royal prerogative essentially synonymous with "exercise of sovereignty." The same can be said of the rage of the Egyptian Pharaoh, who "is Sekhmet against those who transgress his command" (*ANET,* 431; on Sekhmet, see C.1 above). Yet even though the subjects here are all mortal kings, still we are cautioned against taking too literally these references to anger. "Wrath" is not necessarily the king's personal disposition but instead often appears to be a figure of speech referring to the king's unapologetic intent to extend his domain into hos-

tile territory. Royal "wrath" is not necessarily a personal or idiosyncratic emotion but rather a programatic orientation and, indeed, duty; it is a matter more of official policy than of private sentiment.

Because royal policy is often met with opposition and accompanied by (sometimes brutal) violence and warfare, one many infer that personal and emotional distemper is a factor. However, it may be that these references to royal "wrath" actually served rhetorically not to humanize and familiarize the king by focusing on his emotionalism but rather to aggrandize and distance him by suggesting that royal policy is accountable to no factor other than the king himself (cf. Ezek 20:8–9, 13–14, 21–22). The wrath of the king is not to be viewed like the wrath of other mortals; it is not one of the vicissitudes of being human, it is one of the prerogatives of being king: it is not of the *passion* type, but of the *pathos* type.

Indeed, some references to the wrath of pagan deities seem to make sense in this regard—these ANE gods could also exhibit a type of *pathos* legitimately linked to their "official" responsibilities for maintaining the just government of the universe (see C.2 above). Thus, Jacobsen has noted that already in the 3d millennium B.C. "the gods, *seen as kings and rulers*, were no longer powers in nature only, they became powers in human affairs—in history" (1963: 479; emphasis added). In other words, their ragings were no longer analogous simply to that of the unpredictable and violent storm, fire, plague, war, or emotion; now they could be analogous as well to the calculated and disciplined control over human affairs.

To what extent was Yahweh viewed as a king programatically extending divine rule—the fate of opponents being not a matter of personal enmity between them and Yahweh but a matter of Yahweh exercising the prerogatives of power in truly omnipotent fashion, i.e., without apology or explanation? On the one hand, there is no doubt that in those passages where Yahweh becomes angry at Israel for covenant violations, Yahweh is clearly portrayed as Israel's equivalent to a "king." On the other hand, however, those passages which depict mythological creatures as the object of Yahweh's "wrath" also suggest that Yahweh's wrath is a component not of emotion but rather of omnipotence (Job 26; Ps 89:5–13). God has the prerogative to act "in anger" because, at creation, God was able to extend sovereignty over the powers of chaos (Job 9:4–13). Thus, in order to destroy all his enemies, God "in anger" can deal with creation as a sovereign (Isa 30:27, 30).

In this regard, it is possible to suggest that the anthropopathic portrayals of Yahweh's "wrath" had the effect in ancient Israel not of "humanizing" Israel's god but rather just the opposite, of exalting Yahweh. Such a suggestion perhaps also enables us to understand why some early interpreters (e.g., Philo, Clement) insisted upon the impassibility of God and the nonliteral interpretation of those anthropopathic portrayals (see Micka 1943; Creel 1986). In this sense, we can likewise speak of God's omnipotence as entailing at least a certain type of "apathy" (a "royal aloofness"), thereby necessitating, at least to some extent, a figurative interpretation of the anthropopathic language used of God.

F. Summary

There is no uniform evaluation of divine wrath in the OT. On the one hand, because God's righteousness is called into question when He appears indecisive in opposing evil, divine wrath is viewed positively, as an understandable reaction to human misconduct (Mic 7:9; Ezra 8:22). Indeed, anyone who sins ought to anticipate divine wrath even before it is manifested in punishment (1 Sam 24:6 [—Eng 24:5]; 2 Sam 24:10). Thus, God's wrath is righteous because it destroys the wickedness that impedes deliverance (Isa 34:2), and for that reason psalmists repeatedly yearn for it (Pss 59:14 [—Eng 59:13]; 79:6).

On the other hand, because God's righteousness is also called into question when divine punishment seems disproportionate (cf. Job), God's wrath can be viewed negatively, especially when it appears to be excessively cruel (Lam 2:4) or unjust (Num 16:22; Job 19:11). Therefore, God is often portrayed tempering his anger against Israel with compassion and love (Exod 32:12–14; Isa 54:7–8; Hos 11:8; Mic 7:18). It is important to note that Yahweh is depicted as having the desire to restrain his own anger, in contrast to the depictions of the various ANE deities, whose ragings often must be restrained (sometimes forcefully) by the intervention of other deities. An ancient liturgical formula that apparently does intend to describe the *persona* or "personality" of Yahweh extols Yahweh as "slow to anger and abounding in steadfast love" (Exod 34:6; Num 14:18; Ps 103:8; Jonah 4:2). Despite its tragic necessity, however, anger is not depicted as an emotion God delights in; instead, it grieves God to be angry (Lam 3:33) and God would prefer to avoid it altogether (Isa 27:2–3; Hos 11:9). Some biblical writers portray God's anger as being restrained until a more propitious moment when the righteousness of the punishment can be seen more readily (although God usually proclaims the punishment in advance through a prophet; 1 Sam 15:23–28; 2 Sam 12:10–14; Amos 7:1–6). By asking "How long?" (Ps 89:47 [—Eng 89:46]; cf. also Ps 77:10 [—Eng 77:9]), the psalmist confesses his own inability to fathom the workings of divine wrath.

There is also no uniform answer for Israel's truly serious concern: how to be delivered from the wrath of its own God. One answer calls for the death of the guilty, either literally (Josh 7:22), vicariously through animal sacrifice (Leviticus) or metaphorically (the exile as "death"). Another relies upon the efficacy of priestly intercession (Num 16:41–50). Yet a third envisions "repentence"—a return to obedient service—as the proper way to circumvent divine wrath (Jer 4:4; 18:7; Amos 5:15). Another answer simply calls upon Israel to appeal to divine mercy and the hope for a new covenant wherein human disobedience and the consequent divine wrath no longer exist (Jer 31:31–34; Ezek 36:26–30).

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GARY A. HERION

NEW TESTAMENT

Although divine judgment is a significant theme throughout the NT and is expressed in a wide range of images, references specifically to God's wrath are confined mostly to the Pauline Epistles and the Revelation to John.

A. Terminology

In classical Greek there is a tendency for *thymos* to represent the inner emotion of anger, while *orgē* stands for its outward expression. The LXX uses the two words interchangeably to represent a large variety of Hebrew expressions for "anger." The NT reflects this usage, though when the subject is divine anger Paul shows a marked preference for *orgē:* he uses *thymos* only once (Rom 2:8, where *orgē* and *thymos* are combined in an OT quotation). The author of Revelation, on the other hand, shows a preference for *thymos* (14:19; 15:1, 7) or for both words together (14:10; 16:19; 19:15).

B. The Gospels

Wrath appears in John the Baptist's urgent question to the crowds (Luke 3:7) or to the Pharisees and Sadducees: "Who has warned you to flee from the wrath that is coming?" (Matt 3:7). The reference is to the eschatological day of judgment, when evil will be wiped out (Isa 13:9; Dan 8:19; Zeph 1:15; 2:2; *Jub.* 24:28; *1 Enoch* 62:12; 1QH 15:17; 1QS 4:12–13; 1QM 3:9). On that day, which John belives to be imminent, not even Jews will escape the wrath unless they demonstrate a radical repentance (Matt 3:7–10 = Luke 3:7–9).

In Luke 21:23 Jesus warns of "great distress upon the land and wrath upon this people" in connection with the destruction of Jerusalem (the parallel passage, Mark 13:19, refers to "tribulation"). Although Luke has taken over the apocalyptic discourse of Mark 13, from his perspective the fall of Jerusalem is separated in time from the end of the present age and the coming of the Son of Man. Hence wrath is associated not so much with final judgment as with the expression of divine judgment within history. Probably he intends an allusion to God's wrath in the fall of Jerusalem to Nebuchadnezzar (2 Chr 36:16; Lam 4:11; 5:22).

Occasionally in parables a king who in some sense "represents" God is said to be angry *(orgizomai)* with those who resist his purpose (Matt 18:34; 22:7; Luke 14:21). Jesus himself expresses anger at his critics' hardness of heart (Mark 3:5). But neither in the gospels nor elsewhere in the NT is the adjective "angry" or the verb "to be angry" used with God as subject.

It is probable that the "cup" about which Jesus prays in Gethsemane (Mark 14:36; cf. 10:38) alludes to the "cup of wrath"—an OT image for God's judgment upon sin (Isa 51:17–23; Jer 25:15–29). Hence Jesus is seen as identified with sinners and as bearing in his passion the judgment of God on their sin (Cranfield *Mark* CGTC, 337, 433, 493; Lane *Mark* NICNT, 379–80, 517). Less likely is the view that the cup alludes more generally to a destiny of suffering (Schweizer 1970: 313).

John's gospel has only one reference to wrath: "He who believes in the Son has eternal life; he who does not obey the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God rests upon him" (3:36). Characteristically, John speaks not of a future, final expression of wrath but of wrath as an ongoing state which arises from the refusal to respond to Christ. Just as eternal life is the present experience of believers, so unbelievers have already chosen for themselves the experience of alienation from God (3:16–21; 5:24).

C. Paul

An evaluation of Paul's 18 references to wrath suggests the following conclusions. First, wrath occurs both within history and at the final judgment. Its association with final judgment is clear in Paul's reference to "the day of wrath when God's righteous judgment will be revealed" (Rom 2:5; cf. 2:8; 5:9; 1 Thess 1:10; 5:9). But the wrath expected on that future day is already experienced by those who resist God's purpose in Christ, just as the hope of eternal life has already become part of the experience of believers. Thus Paul says of Jews who have persecuted Christ and his messengers, "The wrath has come upon them in a final way" (1 Thess 2:16). And God's wrath is now being revealed in his "giving up" people to the consequences of their own wrong choices (Rom 1:18–32).

Second, Paul does not think of wrath impersonally, as has been argued by C. H. Dodd (*Romans* MNTC, 21–23) and A. T. Hanson: "For Paul the impersonal character of the wrath was important; it relieved him of the necessity of attributing wrath directly to God, it transformed the wrath from an attribute of God into the name for a process which sinners bring upon themselves" (Hanson 1957: 69). They rightly stress that Paul never describes God as angry, and draw attention to the fact that Paul speaks of "the wrath *of God*" only in Rom 1:18, Eph 5:6, and Col 3:6; elsewhere he can speak of "the wrath" in an apparently impersonal way. But against them it may be pointed out

that the wrath clearly has its origin in God in 1 Thess 5:9, and in Rom 3:5, 9:22, and 12:19. Also Paul sometimes refers to "grace" without calling it "God's grace" (Rom 5:20–21), but we do not conclude thereby that grace is an impersonal process. And how can wrath be conceived as impersonal in a genuinely theistic universe?

Third, wrath represents no so much a "feeling" *(affectus)* in God as an action *(effectus)* of God—his judgment on sin. While it would be wrong to set these two understandings of *orgē* in opposition to each other, the emphasis in Paul's usage is certainly on wrath as *effectus*. When, for example, he describes wrath as eschatological, he is thinking primarily of God's final judgment on sinners, rather than of God's revulsion towards sin (which would be expressed in the present, when the evil is done).

Fourth, wrath is always directed at unbelievers, on account of their "ungodliness and wickedness" (Rom 1:18). Paul never uses *orgē* in connection with the sufferings of Christians or God's disciplinary judgment on them. The only possible exception to this is Rom 13:4–5, where the governing authorities are described as "the servant of God to execute his wrath on the wrongdoer." The background to this is the OT idea that the nations may be the agents of God's wrath (Isa 10:5; Jer 50:25). So Paul makes the hypothetical point that Christians who became wrongdoers would experience God's wrath through the state's punishment.

Fifth, the wrath of God is expressed as a spiritual condition of alienation from God. It is said of those who refused to enter into relationship with God that "God gave them up" (Rom 1:24, 26, 28)—God allows people to experience the consequences of their refusal to live in relationship with him. "The enterprise of setting up the 'No-God' is avenged by its success" (Barth 1933: 51). A similar meaning is probably intended in 1 Thess 2:16: the wrath which has come upon the Jews is their separation from Christ, the inevitable outcome of their rejection of him. Condemnation at the final judgment will be a consummation of this alienation. Thus is the wrath of God contrasted with salvation (1 Thess 5:9), eternal life (Rom 2:7–8), justification (Rom 1:17–18; 5:9), and membership of the kingdom of God (Eph 5:5–6).

Sixth, God's wrath must be understood in relation to his love. Wrath is not a permanent attribute of God. For whereas love and holiness are part of his essential nature, wrath is contingent upon human sin: if there were no sin there would be no wrath. In the structure of Romans, the warning of God's wrath (1:18) follows immediately the announcement of the gospel of justification through faith (1:16–17). God's opposition to people's sin exposes them to his wrath, but he offers in Christ the way of deliverance from wrath. L. Morris has argued forcefully that Paul's description of the work of Christ as a "means of propitiation" (Rom 3:25) includes the idea of the averting of God's wrath (1965: 179–202). But this is not the pagan idea that an angry god may be appeased by sacrifice: for God himself provides the means of propitiation and justification. In Christ, God himself absorbs the destructive consequences of sin. Hence the gospel creates a division between those who are freed from wrath through trust in God's merciful love (1 Thess 1:10; 5:9; Rom 5:9) and those who remain under wrath because they despise his mercy (Rom 2:4–5, 8; 9:22–23; Eph 2:3; 5:6; Col 3:6).

Finally, the background of Paul's understanding of wrath lies mainly in Jewish apocalyptic eschatology. Hanson's opinion that "we need look no further [than the Chronicler's impersonal view of wrath] for the origin of Paul's doctrine of the wrath of God" (1957: 23) is to be rejected. For regularly in the Chronicler's work God's people Israel is the object of wrath, whereas Paul shares the apocalyptic perspective that wrath is reserved for unbelievers (or "sinners," or "the wicked," though this may for Paul include unbelieving Jews), whereas the true people of God ("believers," "the righteous") are safe from wrath. And whereas the Chronicler speaks of wrath operating in historical events, Paul shares the apocalyptic focus on a final day of wrath. Of course, Paul differs from apocalyptic literature in believing that wrath is at work already. But that is all of a piece with his conviction that because the Messiah has come, the characteristics of the age to come (the Spirit, justification, eternal life, etc.) are already being experienced.

D. The Revelation to John

C. G. Jung found in the book of Revelation "a veritable orgy of hatred, wrath, vindictiveness, and blind destructive fury" (1954: 125). Hanson, however, can claim that "the concept of the wrath in the Book of Revelation is more profoundly Christian than that which is found in any other part of the New Testament" (1957: 178). The allusive and paradoxical character of the book's language and imagery requires that any interpretation of its theology must be somewhat provisional. But the following insights may be suggested.

John, like Paul, sees wrath as an eschatological phenomenon which already casts its shadow in the experience of history: historical events such as the impending doom of Babylon (Rome) herald the coming of Christ and the end of the present age. Thus wrath is associated with the sixth seal just before the end (6:16–17); with the seventh trumpet, which signifies the end itself (11:18); with the judgment on Babylon (16:19); and with the coming of Christ to "tread the wine press of the fury of the wrath of God the Almighty" (19:15). More generally, in chap. 16 the whole sequence of events leading up to Babylon's destruction is described as "the seven bowls of the wrath of God" (16:1).

John sometimes speaks of a battle between the wrath of God and the wrath of rebellious nations and the devil whom they serve (11:18; 12:12, 17; cf. Psalm 2), but it is more characteristic of him to say that God uses human wrath to achieve his own wrathful purposes. This is implied in the numerous occurrences of the image of the cup of wrath (14:8, 10; 16:19; 18:3; and the "bowls of wrath" in chaps. 15–16 are probably a variant on this theme). According to 14:8, Babylon has made the nations drink the wine of her impure passion *(thymos)* by seducing them with economic luxury and political security. But that wine turns out (14:10) to be the wine of God's wrath experienced by those who worship the beast rather than the Creator. And this process recoils on Babylon herself, for the harlot is devoured by the evil beast from whom she drew her power and by the nations over whom she ruled

(17:15–18). Evil is self-destructive, and God's wrath is his allowing the worshippers of the beast to be involved in that self-destructive process. John is expressing in more mythological language the same thought as Paul expounds in Rom 1:18–32.

John thus combines vivid anthropomorphic language about "the fury of the wrath of God" with a sophisticated theology of divine judgment worked out through the experience of people in history. Wrath is not impersonal, but it is not irrational or vindictive. The paradoxical nature of the wrath is heightened by the description in 6:16 of "the wrath of the Lamb." It is the wrath of one who himself has experienced alienation from God so that those who are faithful to him might be delivered from it. It has been argued that "the wrath of the Lamb" is not as paradoxical as it sounds, since in apocalyptic literature there are predictions of a conquering lamb who will destroy Israel's enemies (*T. Jos.* 19:8; Beasley-Murray 1974: 123–26, 139). But since the Lamb of Revelation 5–6 is specifically the Lamb who was slain to ransom men for God (5:9), surely the paradox remains striking. It is by his death that the Lamb conquers.

Finally, Revelation, more than Paul, makes explicit the idea that God's wrath in history is intended to provoke people to repent (9:20; 16:9). But refusal to repent seals their destiny forever (14:10–11).

E. The Problem of Translation

Modern English versions have not resolved the difficulty of translating *orgē* and *thymos*. The RSV normally preserves the archaic word "wrath" with reference to divine *orgē*, while using "anger" when the human emotion is at issue. *Thymos* in Revelation is variously translated "wrath," "anger," "fury," and "passion." Because "wrath" is not used in everyday speech, its use with reference to divine judgment makes it a semi-technical term. This has the advantage of reducing the risk that God's wrath be misunderstood as an arbitrary emotion, and the disadvantage of distancing the NT from ordinary language. The RSV also adopts the questionable practice of adding "of God" to the reference to wrath in Rom 5:9; 12:19; 13:5.

The NEB prefers to translate *orgē* in Paul by "retribution" (in Romans; 1 Thess 2:16), "dreadful judgment" (Ephesians; Colossians), "terrors of judgment" (1 Thess 1:10; 5:9). In Revelation it has "wrath" often for *thymos*, and for *orgē* it has "retribution" (11:18; 19:15) and even "vengeance" (6:16, 17; 14:10; 16:19). "Retribution" is misleading, since wrath in the NT is not normally retributive in the strict sense of the infliction of an equivalent penalty for deeds done. And "vengeance" introduces overtones of "taking the law into one's own hands"—which is hardly a true representation of NT teaching on divine judgment.

In the NJB, *orgē* in Paul and Revelation is consistently rendered as "retribution," *thymos* usually as "anger." The earlier JB also had "anger" for *orgē*. The GNB usually has "(God's) anger," though it has "punishment" in Rom 3:5; 13:4–5, and uses "furious anger" where the Greek has *orgē* and *thymos* together.

These examples serve to illustrate the dilemmas faced by translators and the impossibility of separating translation from interpretation. To retain the traditional "wrath" is to hide overcautiously behind a technical term—rather like declining to translate "Paraclete" in the Fourth Gospel. But other approaches have their pitfalls. Translators may either adopt the bold anthropomorphism of "anger"—and risk misunderstanding by those who do not study the nuances of how this term is used in the NT; or they may adopt a more strongly interpretive approach which translates the terms differently in different contexts—and accept that at each point their interpretation is open to challenge.

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STEPHEN H. TRAVIS

WREATH. This English word appears five times in the RSV as a translation of three different words, two Hebrew and one Greek. The two Hebrew terms, both found in the temple texts of 1 Kings, are obscure. One of these, *gĕdîlîm*, refers to "wreaths of chain work" that were part of the elaborate ornamentation of the capitals surmounting Jachin and Boaz, the two huge bronze pillars flanking the entrance to Solomon's Temple. This word, which is related to Babylonian *gidlu*, "cord," seems to indicate that wreaths were not part of the capitals but were fastened to them. But their exact nature cannot be determined, especially since they are not mentioned in the parallel descriptions of the pillars in 2 Chronicles and Jeremiah nor in the Greek versions.

The other Hebrew term, *loyôt*, is of uncertain derivation, although it may be related to an Arabic word meaning "to twist." It refers to the decorative element of the ten bronze stands that held the lavers in the courtyard of Solomon's Temple (1 Kgs 7:29, 30, 36). Because it has an archaeological parallel on a laver stand from Larnaka in Cryprus, the "wreath" may in fact have been a guilloche design (Gray, *Kings* OTL, 194, 196). See also LAVER.

The Greek word *stephanos* denotes a wreath used as a crown to reward the winner of a footrace (1 Cor 9:25).

Several other terms rendered "cord" or "network" in the RSV are translated "wreath" in other English versions, notably the KJV. See also NETWORK; LAVER; JACHIN AND BOAZ.

CAROL MEYERS

WRITING AND WRITING MATERIALS.

The Bible consists of a corpus of literature which was set down in writing during a period from the end of the 2d millennium B.C. until the beginning of the Common Era. As such, it has an important place in the history of writing and, more precisely, in the history of the early diffusion of the alphabet. If we want to understand how the Bible was written, we have to situate it in a historical and cultural context; this involves taking into account the writing materials used in its production and the ways in which writings were preserved and transmitted. To appreciate the significance of this literature for Israelite and early Christian society, it may be useful to observe the history of the diffusion of writing in the ANE and to consider the importance of scribes in this process.

A. Early History of Writing
B. Early History of the Alphabet
C. Writing Materials
D. Archives and Libraries
E. Diffusion of Writing
F. The Scribes

A. Early History of Writing

When the first biblical texts were written, writing had already been known and practiced for over two millennia in the ANE. The first evidence of writing appears toward the end of the 4th millennium B.C. in Mesopotamia and Egypt. In both areas writing was originally pictographic. To indicate an object or an animate being a simple picture would suffice. A very ancient written text might be a succession of pictures. Very soon, however, some pictures were used to stand not only for things but also for actions (for instance, a food could mean "to stand" or "to walk") and even sounds (this is called the *rebus* principle). At this stage, writing began to become phonetic, and its expressive power grew. The signs used in writing were able to represent not only objects, actions, and abstractions, but also the sounds of a language.

Writing seems to have developed in Mesopotamia during the 4th millennium in connection with accounting practices of the city-states, probably to meet the administrative and economic needs of Mesopotamian cities. The first step was to incise ciphers and pictograms in tablets of soft clay in order to keep a record of transactions. Early tablets of this type have been discovered at Uruk dating from ca. 3300 B.C. Scribes rapidly developed a more efficient method of writing that indicated not only the objects or animals exchanged in a transaction but also words of the language in which the transaction took place. In such texts, words are analyzed into syllables and represented by syllabic signs. Thanks to this early systematization, we have an idea of the Sumerian language used in S Mesopotamia ca. 3000 B.C.

Sumerian scribes generally wrote with a stylus of reed or wood held in one hand, incising signs in a tablet of soft clay held in the other hand. The inscribed tablet could be baked in the sun or in an oven and then kept for generations (or millennia). Because it is difficult to incise line drawings in soft clay, signs were generally made by a succession of short strokes, the resulting pictures becoming simplified and stylized. The use of a square or round stylus gave these small strokes the appearance of wedges, so this writing is called *cuneiform,* "wedge-shaped." Texts written in cuneiform were at first composed with the signs aligned in vertical columns, but later in horizontal lines, from left to right.

Cuneiform was first used to transcribe the Sumerian language; later (during the 3d millennium B.C.) it was adopted by speakers of Akkadian, a Semitic language. Both changes, the 90-degree rotation of signs and the adaptation of the system to a Semitic language, stimulated an evolution of the shapes and of the phonetic values of the signs, which were about 600 in number. The shape and phonetic value of cuneiform signs varied to some degree with location and time. CUNEIFORM writing remained in use until the first century of the current era.

In Egypt, the first inscriptions appear ca. 3150 B.C. but they are evidence of a developed system of writing which is probably older. By ca. 3080–3040 B.C., Egyptian inscriptions already used several hundred signs, many used to transcribe either full words (ideograms) or words of only two or three consonants (Egyptian writing generally did not indicate the vowels). Other signs, called determinatives, were used to classify the words in order to distinguish between homographs. In addition to these, about twenty "alphabetic" signs were used to represent only one consonant; these signs were used mainly to transcribe foreign names. This system of signs, employed most visibly in texts incised on monuments, is called *hieroglyphic writing.*

Many Egyptian texts were engraved in rock or stone so that they would be preserved, and many of these can still be read after nearly 5000 years. Most Egyptian texts, however, were written on wood, ostraca, or papyrus with a kind of small brush made of reed or rush and black or red ink; red ink was generally used for the titles and important passages (hence the word "rubric"). Papyrus was the commonly employed writing surface. Such a flexible writing system involving drawing or painting lines (linear writing) could naturally evolve toward simplified drawings or signs. While the early hieroglyphic writing remained in use for engraving texts on stones and monuments until the beginning of the Christian era (because it was considered one of the representational arts), a system of cursive and simplified characters for writing on papyrus also had a long history of nearly three millennia. This classical cursive writing system was used primarily to transcribe literary and sacred or religious texts, hence its name, *hieratic.*

Toward 700 B.C., another type of cursive writing, mainly used to transcribe the everyday language of accounts, administrative texts, letters, and contracts, became so different from the hieratic that it must be considered an independent writing tradition: popular or *demotic* writing. Because of its extremely cursive character, demotic writing is sometimes difficult for modern interpreters to read and to understand. These three types of writing (hieroglyphic, hieratic, and demotic) were used concurrently in Egypt until the beginning of the Christian era.

Both systems of writing, the Egyptian and the cuneiform, eventually disappeared because of the widespread use of alphabetic writing, particularly Aramaic and Greek. However, the older systems were very widely used; the Akkadian language of the 15th–13th centuries B.C., written in cuneiform, was for a while an international language

and writing system used throughout the ANE as far as Egypt and Anatolia. Cuneiform was employed also in the writing of other non-Semitic languages such as Hittite and Hurrian.

B. Early History of the Alphabet

The alphabet is one of the great discoveries in human history. Reducing the number of written signs from several hundred to twenty or thirty made the system generally accessible. Even a five-year-old child, at least theoretically, could easily learn to read and write. Alphabetic writing was not a completely new invention, for consonantal or alphabetic signs had been used in Egypt for centuries to transcribe foreign names. What was new was the systematization of the use of these consonantal signs so that in alphabetic writing no other signs need to be used.

The early history of the alphabet is not yet completely clear, and some details are still a matter of dispute. So far, the first evidence of alphabetic writing comes from peoples speaking a West Semitic (Canaanite?) language in Palestine and Sinai ca. 16th–15th centuries B.C. The first alphabetic inscriptions were found at Shechem, Gezer, and Lachish in Palestine, and at Serabit el-Khadem in the Sinai. This last site is well known for the forty-five "Proto-Sinaitic" inscriptions that were found there, incised on rock or on stone. Their decipherment is not yet satisfactory, but most of epigraphers agree on the reading *lbʿlt*, "to the Lady" (probably the goddess Hathor), and accordingly think that the signs constitute an alphabetic writing system, dated probably to ca. 1500 B.C. The date and place of discovery could indicate that the first alphabetic writing was used by the Hyksos, a West Semitic people who controlled Palestine and the eastern Egyptian delta in the 17th–16th centuries B.C. (Lemaire 1986a). What is clear is that this alphabetic writing developed under Egyptian influence and employed a linear writing technique. Furthermore, most of the letters were drawn according to the acrophonic principle: for instance, the consonant *m* was a horizontal jagged line represented waves on the surface of a body of water, the word for which begins with the sound /m/ in the West Semitic languages (*mayim/mêm*, "water").

Although the first alphabetic writing was linear, and in this respect like the Egyptian systems, in the 14th–13th centuries B.C. alphabetic letters were also written on clay tablets in a cuneiform script. This is known from several places in Syria-Palestine, mainly from Ras Shamra/Ugarit. Actually, two systems are known: a long alphabet (30 letters) and a short or simplified one (22 letters). The discovery of several abecedaries at Ugarit has revealed the names of the letters and their traditional order, and this confirms that this alphabetic cuneiform writing was an adaptation of the linear alphabet of the 16th–15th centuries B.C. (Cross and Lambdin 1960). Actually, several "Canaanite" inscriptions in linear script of the 15th–13th centuries B.C. have been found in Palestine, mainly at Lachish and Beth-shemesh.

While cuneiform alphabetic writing ceased with the great upheaval in Syria-Palestine at the beginning of the 12th century B.C., the simplified linear alphabetic script (22 letters) was preserved and used in Phoenicia and Palestine in the Iron I period, as is shown, for instance, by the inscribed bowl found at Qubur el-Walaydah (near Gaza) and inscribed texts from Byblos (ca. 1000 B.C.) as well as by several inscribed arrowheads found at El-Khadr (near Bethlehem) or in Phoenicia.

When Israel appears as a people in central Palestine toward the end of the 13th century B.C. (as indicated by reference to it in the Merneptah Stele), the Israelites occupied a region where alphabetic writing was already known for several centuries. They naturally adopted the "Canaanite" alphabetic linear script as is probably shown by the Raddanan inscribed handle (12th century B.C.), the inscribed ostracon from Izbet Sartah (near Aphek; dated 11th century B.C. [Cross 1980]), and the Khirbet Tannin fragment (end of the 11th century B.C. [Lemaire 1985c]).

Around 1000 B.C., the direction of West Semitic writing is definitively fixed from right to left. It is probably about this time that the Greeks started to adopt the linear alphabetic script from the Phoenicians (or from the Arameans?) with some transformations (writing from left to right, use of primitive "guttural" letters to transcribe vowels, addition of new letters). The Greeks may have taken several centuries in this adaptation of the linear alphabetic script, with several local variants, before they fixed their own tradition (McCarter 1975).

At the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C. in the Levant, various national schools of scribes connected with the state organizations of the Phoenician, Hebrew (see David's kingdom), Aramaic, Ammonite, and Moabite kingdoms started to develop distinctive styles of writing. As a result, while it is still difficult to precisely say whether the Gezer tablet (2d half of 10th century B.C.) is "Canaanite," Phoenician, or Hebrew, the Moabite script of the Mesha stele (ca. 810 B.C.) clearly is different from the Aramaic script of the Tell Fekherye inscription (N Syria, ca. 840 B.C. [Abou Assaf et al. 1982]) or from the Aramaic stele of Barhadad (ca. 797 B.C. [Lemaire 1984]).

During the 8th and 7th centuries B.C., there is evidence of an increasing use of the alphabetic writing system all over the ANE. In Israel and Judah, probably in connection with the development of scribal schools (Lemaire 1981), more and more paleo-Hebrew inscriptions are found, not only in the capitals or main cities (Samaria, Jerusalem) but also in small towns, fortresses, and villages. It is probably because of the destructive dampness of the climate of Palestine that only one paleo-Hebrew papyrus is known to have survived from this period, found in the Wadi Murabbaʿat in the Judean desert; but several hundred clay bullae (which were used to seal papyrus documents) show clearly that writing on papyrus was widespread in this period, mainly in Judah ca. 600 B.C. Furthermore seals, seal impressions, ostraca, inscriptions on vases, inscribed weights, and several inscriptions on stone or rock, as well as two inscribed silver amulets, are ample evidence of the paleographical developments of the paleo-Hebrew script during this period.

Around 800 B.C., the Phoenicians expanded W, founding harbors and settlements along the Mediterranean shores of Europe and North Africa and even along the Atlantic coasts of Morocco and Spain. Consequently the Phoenician and later Punic scripts came into use all around the Mediterranean Sea and beyond the Straits of Gibraltar.

By this period there is solid evidence of the use of the alphabetic scripts, originally with various local differences,

in Greece and Asia Minor. The Greek script was adopted in Italy with a few modifications, first by the Etruscans and later by the Latins.

In the 9th–8th century B.C. the Aramean kingdom gradually fell under the control of the Assyrian empire, but this did not mean the end of the Aramaic script. See ARAMAIC SCRIPT. There were official Aramaic scribes in the Assyrian administration and the Aramaic script became more and more widespread in Mesopotamia itself. Its use continued in the Neo-Babylonian Empire. During the Persian period (539–332 B.C.), Aramaic became one of the official scripts and languages of the Persian Empire and it was practically the only writing system used in the administration of the western provinces in Egypt and Anatolia. Eastward, Aramaic appears as far away as Afghanistan.

In Palestine, Aramaic became the official language and script of the administration of the province of Yehud (Judah), and is found in seals, seal impressions, and written on ostraca. Paleo-Hebrew script is only attested on a few seals and bullae, and was probably still used in copying traditional literary texts such as the biblical texts. However, even in the writing of biblical manuscripts the Aramaic script superseded, little by little, the use of paleo-Hebrew. It was perhaps in the period following Ezra's mission (probably ca. 398 B.C.) and later on during the Hellenistic period that the Aramaic script came to be used in copying the books of the Torah, which was recognized as the official religious law of the Jews by the Persian administration. The books of Ezra and Daniel have sections in both the Hebrew and Aramaic languages (cf. Ezra 4:6–6:18; 7:16–26; Dan 2:4–7:28).

If we ignore a few Judean coins and several fragments of biblical manuscripts in paleo-Hebrew script and the practice of writing the divine name in paleo-Hebrew characters in other biblical manuscripts, and bracketing the continuation of the paleo-Hebrew script in the Samaritan tradition, we see that during the Hellenistic period the Aramaic script almost completely superseded the paleo-Hebrew script and was used by Jews to write Hebrew as well as Aramaic texts. This Jewish Aramaic script, which developed special forms of certain letters in word-final position, came to be called the "square Hebrew" script.

Meanwhile the Greek language and script started to be used in the higher levels of the Judean administration and in trade. Thus, toward the beginning of the Christian era four kinds of script were used in Palestine. (1) The paleo-Hebrew script was used essentially by the Samaritans and in a few archaizing Judean inscriptions (especially on coins). (2) The Jewish Aramaic script (or "square Hebrew") was the everyday writing style of most Jews from Judea to the Galilee. The Jewish Aramaic script is attested in inscriptions on ossuaries and ostraca, as well as for writing letters and contracts on papyrus and leather. This script was also used in the copying of biblical manuscripts as well as for other newly composed literary Hebrew or Aramaic texts such as those found at Qumran and Massada. (3) The Greek script was used in the official administration, in trade, and among Jews living in the Western Diaspora. It is attested on a few literary manuscripts, on ostraca, and on ossuaries; it was also used to write official monumental inscriptions such as the one forbidding pagans to enter the Jerusalem temple. (4) The use of Latin was restricted to the higher levels of the Roman administration and to the army; it was mainly used in Palestine by foreigners temporarily residing there (e.g., Roman coins and the inscription of Pontius Pilate found at Caesarea).

C. Writing Materials

Virtually any surface can be used as a medium for writing an inscription: one has only to use tools appropriate to the surface. However, certain writing surfaces with their appropriate instruments are more commonly attested than others, and this is especially true in ancient Israel in connection with the writing of biblical texts.

Stone can be used as a writing surface either for monumental inscriptions or for graffiti. Monumental inscriptions on stone, often associated with reliefs, are well attested in Anatolia, N Syria, Persia, Phoenicia, and Egypt. In ancient Israel, several monumental inscriptions were engraved on stone in Jerusalem, among them the famous Siloam inscription and several tomb inscriptions cut into the E slope of the Kidron valley. These latter indicate the place of the tomb, the name of the owner (one has the title *ʾšr ʿl hbyt,* "royal steward" cf. Isa 22:15), and sometimes a curse against a possible violation. Other tomb inscriptions found in Khirbet el-Kôm are not so beautifully inscribed; they were incised or written with ink. Although found in a cave, the Khirbet Beit Lei and Nahal Ishai inscriptions are graffiti, incised or written in ink. See PALESTINIAN FUNERARY INSCRIPTIONS. Depending on the type of inscription, stone might be inscribed with a chisel (for monumental inscriptions; note Job 19:24; Jer 17:1) or a sharp engraving tool of metal or hard stone. Brief texts were written on stone with a pen.

All over the ANE, large stones were set up as steles and inscribed with texts commemorating a significant event, such as the victory of a king or a treaty between two kings. Inscribed steles are attested in Syria and Palestine in the 1st millennium B.C. Important examples of such inscribed steles are the Aramaic steles from Sfire (or from Afis) and the famous stele of Mesha, king of Moab, commemorating his victory over Israel during the 2d half of the 9th century B.C. See MESHAʿ STELE. So far, such beautiful steles have not been found in ancient Israel or Judah, but a few fragments of monumental inscriptions on stone found in Samaria and Jerusalem may be fragments of such steles or of some monumental building inscription.

Smaller stones could be cut into the shape of a tablet and used in the copying of brief texts, especially school texts. The best example of these stone tablets is probably the Gezer calendar, incised on limestone. Such tablets may be alluded to in the story of writing the Decalogue (Heb *luḥōt hāʾeben;* Exod 24:12; 27:8; 31:18). To write a longer text, such as the text of the Law (Deut 27:2–3; cf. also Josh 8:32?), a stone surface was sometimes coated with a thin layer of plaster. This sort of writing surface is known from a few plaster wall inscriptions dating from the 8th century B.C. Paleo-Hebrew and Phoenician inscriptions that had been written on plaster were found at Kuntillet Ajrud, but the best example is the Deir Alla plaster inscription, probably a copy of an Aramaic book about the seer "Balaam son of Beor" (Lemaire 1985b, 1986c). See DEIR ʿALLA (TEXTS); KUNTILLET ʿAJRUD.

Stone was also the usual material for weights and seals, and these were often inscribed. Like most seals from the ANE made of precious, semi-precious, or ordinary stone, the paleo-Hebrew seals could be made with amethyst, turquoise, chalcedony, opal, steatite, amazonite, azurite, serpentine, jasper, agate, carnelian, marble, quartz, or other valued stones, but quite a lot of them, especially toward the end of the Judean kingdom, were of local limestone. See SEALS, MESOPOTAMIAN.

The use of metal as a writing material is rare but well attested. In Mesopotamia, metal tablets of gold, silver, copper, or bronze could be inscribed for special occasions, while objects of metal (bowls, scepters, statues) could be incised with the names of their owners. In Iron Age I Palestine, some arrowheads of bronze were incised with the names of their owners. A few bronze bowls dating from Palestine of the 8th century B.C. have been found inscribed with the name of their Israelite owner. Inscribed weights and seals could occasionally be made of bronze, iron, or silver. Two small silver amulets with incised Hebrew texts have been found recently in tombs near Jerusalem (Barkay 1986); part of the incised text is a variant of the priestly blessing attested in Num 6:24–27. In the Bible, a priestly inscription on gold is mentioned in Exod 28:36, while 1 Macc 8:22; 14:18, 27, and 48 record that treaties and commemorative inscriptions could be engraved on "tablets of bronze." Later on, probably to be dated during the Second Jewish Revolt, a copper scroll found at Qumran contained a list of the hiding places of treasures.

Clay was a common material most everywhere and could be used as a writing surface in many different ways. Clay tablets were the usual medium for writing the cuneiform script in Mesopotamia. The scribe shaped the moist clay and then smoothed the surface, probably with the side of a stylus (a piece of wood or reed); then he inscribed the cuneiform signs with the square or round end of this stylus, working from left to right. As it dried, the tablet hardened; but to make it more durable it could be baked in the sun, or better, in a kiln. Once baked, a tablet could easily travel or be placed in storage. During the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods, clay tablets were sometimes written in Aramaic or at least given an Aramaic title.

Clay vessels were commonly used in daily life, and they were sometimes inscribed with the name of the owner or a label indicating the contents of the vessel. This could be incised before or after firing, or written with ink on the outside of a jar or jug, especially when it contained wine. In this last case, Lachish and Arad inscriptions show that one could indicate the year, the place, the owner (or producer?), and the quantity. In Iron Age II Judah, many pottery vessels were incised after firing in a special way: by a continuous chiseling.

Writing on ostraca differs from inscribing on vessels because there is no functional relation between the inscription and the potsherd, which is used simply as the medium upon which to write. Since potsherds were very common, cheap, and offered a nearly flat surface, their use as a writing material was widespread in countries using a linear script (Egypt, Syria-Palestine, Greece). Although ostraca do not seem to be mentioned in the Bible as a writing surface, they were commonly so used in ancient Israel, as is shown by the paleo-Hebrew ostraca found in Samaria, Jerusalem, Lachish, Arad, and other places (Lemaire 1977). See also ARAD OSTRACA; LACHISH LETTERS; SAMARIA (OSTRACA). The scribes usually chose fairly flat sherds and often gave them the rectangular shape of a tablet so they could be held easily in one hand.

Even if a few ostraca were incised with a sharp-pointed tool (nail or flint), most were written with a rush cut obliguely and then frayed at the end to form a brush, or with a reed cut obliguely and split. Traces of both types of pen are discernable on paleo-Hebrew ostraca. Ink was generally black and made of carbon (soot) mixed with an organic gum. The scribe generally wrote first on the outer surface of the sherd (recto) and then, if necessary, on the inner surface (verso). There were small ostraca containing only one name and there were larger ones; the largest one known is ostracon 6 from Kadesh-barnea (ca. 22 × 30 cm), which contains a list of measures of capacity and weights. This inscription reveals that ostraca could be used to write school exercises as well as lists of names, letters, or short messages.

Wooden tablets, often coated with stucco, were frequently used in Egypt, especially for schoolboys' exercises. Such tablets have little chance of surviving in Mesopotamia or Syria-Palestine because of the climate. Only one example is known from Palestine: a letter sent by Bar Kosiba/Kokhba and found in Nahal Hever.

Another kind of wooden tablet was used in Anatolia, Syria, and Palestine, and later on in Greece, Italy, and the whole Roman Empire: the wooden tablet coated with wax. Generally several tablets (probably Hebrew *luaḥ*, and Akkadian *lē'u*, with the determinative for "wood") were hinged together to form a diptych or a polyptych; this type is already well attested in Assyria and N Syria in the 8th century B.C. The most beautiful diptychs or polyptychs could be made of wood or of ivory, as is shown by the ones found in the Nimrud excavations. We also have an idea of the appearance of these diptychs because they are represented in neo-Hittite reliefs of the 8th century, especially on the stele of the young scribe Tarhunpias, probably from Marash, and on a relief from Zençirli representing the king Barrakib with a minister in front of him wearing a diptych. These reliefs also show that scribes wrote on these tablets with a stylus, using the sharp-pointed end to write and the other end to smooth out. Wax makes an excellent writing material because it is very easy to write on, to erase on, and to write on anew; this explains why these diptychs or polyptychs were often used by secretaries and professional scribes as well as by wealthy schoolboys. Scribes used these tablets to write a first draft from dictation and could then copy the text carefully onto a sheet or roll of papyrus or leather.

So far, no wax-coated writing boards have been found from 1st-millennium Palestine, but two biblical texts may allude to this writing material, namely Isa 30:8 and Hab 2:2; both passages seem to describe the way prophetic oracles or visions were recorded. First they were written from dictation onto wooden tablets; then they were carefully copied onto a scroll. This procedure is all the more plausible since these biblical texts are contemporary with the polyptychs found in Nimrud and those represented in neo-Hittite reliefs. With the use of wax as a writing mate-

rial from the 8th century B.C. on (see also Luke 1:63), one can better understand how the prophetic books were born. Later on, these diptychs or polyptychs, commonly used in the Hellenistic and Roman world, were probably the ancestors of the codex.

Papyrus is a typically Egyptian writing material used from about 3000 B.C. Thin strips of pith were cut from the stalk of the papyrus plant (an aquatic sedge common in Egypt), and the strips were laid in two layers, the first side by side to form a sheet, the second at right angles to the first. These two layers were pressed, beaten, and smoothed to create the writing surface. Individual sheets were then joined together with glue to form a long strip that could be rolled into a scroll. This writing material was light and supple but strong; because of these qualities, papyrus was in great demand as a writing material. Large quantities of papyrus were exported into Syria-Palestine and, later on, into Greece and Italy. The English word "paper" is derived from "papyrus."

The proximity of Palestine to Egypt made papyrus easy to obtain there, all the more so during the LB period, when Canaan was an Egyptian protectorate. Archaeological discoveries directly and indirectly confirm the use of papyrus in the 1st millennium B.C. Because of the climate, papyrus documents from this period are likely to be preserved only if they are in a dry desert and in a cave or shelter. So it is not surprising that the only paleo-Hebrew papyrus (from the 7th century B.C.) was found in a cave in Wadi Murabba'at; this sheet is 18 × 8 or 9 cm and was written on twice (that is, it is a *palimpsest*). The first text written on it was a letter; later, the letter was (incompletely) erased and a list of names written.

Later Aramaic papyri were found in another cave in the Wadi ed-Daliyeh. They are 4th century B.C. contracts (Cross 1969; 1985). See DALIYEH, WADI ED-. Other papyri were found in caves around Qumran (1st century B.C. and A.D.) and in Nahal Hever (2d century A.D.). One must also mention the 5th century B.C. Aramaic papyri of the Jewish community of Elephantine in S Egypt.

As is clearly shown by the Elephantine (Porten 1979, 1980, 1983) and Samaria papyri, contracts and letters written on papyrus were usually tied and sealed with one or several bullae. Consequently these bullae exhibit a seal-impression on one side and generally the impression of the papyrus on the other side. Several hundred bullae from the time of the Israelite kingdoms are known today. Some of them were found in regular excavations, others were illicit digs; they have been found at Samaria, Lachish, Tell el-Hesi, Beth-zur, and Jerusalem, and on most of them one can see the seal impression on one side and traces of the string and of the papyrus fibers on the other. Thus the bullae confirm indirectly that sheets of papyrus were widespread in Israel and Judah in the 8th and 7th centuries B.C.

Official documents such as deeds and contracts were frequently written on papyrus. Jeremiah 32:10–14 tells in detail how a deed for the purchase of a piece of land was prepared. A deed of purchase containing the terms and conditions of sale was prepared in two exemplars (v 11); both exemplars were signed by Jeremiah and witnesses (v 10) and only one exemplar was sealed; both texts were then entrusted to the scribe Baruch son of Neriah to be deposited in an earthenware jar for preservation (v 14).

Papyrus was not only used in sheets for the writing of lists, letters, and contracts; literary texts were written on scrolls. In Egypt, inscribed rolls were already known in the 3d millennium B.C. and papyrus scrolls were used to write literary texts in hieratic or even, during the Persian period, in Aramaic. At Elephantine in Egypt the Aramaic proverbs (Lindenberger 1983) and story of Ahiqar, as well as a copy of the Bisitun inscription (Greenfield and Porten 1982), were written on a roll of papyrus in the 5th century B.C. See ELEPHANTINE PAPYRI. The use of papyrus scrolls to copy biblical texts during the First Temple period is probable. Jeremiah 36 concerns the fate of a scroll of prophecies dictated by Jeremiah and written by Baruch, son of Neriah, the scribe. A bulla has recently come to light with the inscription *brkyhw bn nryhw hspr;* it has traces of papyrus on its reverse, and this shows that at least in this case, Baruch, son of Neriah, wrote on papyrus. It is generally more difficult, however, to decide whether a scroll (Heb *mĕgillâ*) mentioned in the Bible was written on papyrus or leather. There is a great likelihood that both were used to write biblical texts at least until the Persian period (Haran 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985a; Hicks 1983; Lemaire 1985a).

In Egypt, the use of tanned skins as writing material dates, at least, from the early 3d millennium B.C. Leather scrolls were sometimes deposited in temples. Leather was also used in Mesopotamia, at least during the 1st millennium B.C., to write Aramaic, but no leather sheet or roll survived there because of the climate. The use of leather scrolls during the Persian period is attested literarily by Diodorus Siculus (*basilikai diphterai* 2.32.4) and confirmed by the Arsham letters, written in Aramaic on leather, found in Egypt but sent from Persia. The Torah scroll brought by Ezra from Babylon (Ezra 7; Nehemiah 8) was probably a leather scroll; the earlier scroll (of Deuteronomy?) found by Hilkiah in the Jerusalem temple (2 Kings 22) may have been a leather scroll as well. Although papyrus is attested at Qumran, most of the biblical texts found there are on leather. According to Talmudic tradition the Torah must be copied on leather scrolls (see Haran 1985b), and the elegant Torah scrolls mentioned in the *Letter of Aristeas* (line 176 [*OTP*, p. 24]) were of fine leather (the letter was written can. 150–100 B.C., but refers to the period 287–247 B.C.).

Parchment, a fine processed leather whose name derives from the name of the city Pergamum, an ancient center of its manufacture, was prepared by removing the hair from sheep or goat skins and smoothing the hides with lime. Its use in the preparation of books became widespread in the 2d century B.C.

Scrolls, whether of papyrus or of leather, were the form taken by literary texts of all sorts, and biblical books were no exception. A scroll had the advantage of being long enough (often around 10 m) to contain a whole book in a small volume, once it was rolled up. The scribe wrote on these scrolls in vertical columns (Heb *delet,* Jer 38:18, 23; Lachish ostracon 4:3). A scribe prepared columns by tracing a frame of vertical and horizontal lines either with red ink (as in the Deir Alla inscription) or with an etcher's point. The letters were written with a pen (Heb *ʿēṭ sôpēr;* Ps

45:2), either a rush cut obliquely and frayed to form a small brush, or a pointed reed (calamus) split to form a nib. Black ink (Heb *dĕyô*) was made of carbon and organic gum, and red ink, used sometimes to write the rubrics, was generally made of iron oxide and gum. The scribe prepared these inks by mixing the dry ink with water in an inkwell in his writing case (Heb *qeset hassōpēr* [Ezek 9:2, 3, 11]; this Hebrew word was borrowed from the Egyptian *gśty*). The scribe's writing case was worn tied to a girdle when not in use. The scribe also used a knife (Heb *taʿar hassōpēr* [Jer 36:23]) to cut a sheet from a roll or to erase letters if he made a mistake.

The famous Isaiah scroll found at Qumran provides us with a good example of a leather biblical manuscript dated near the turn of the current era. Such leather scrolls were used for the reading of biblical texts in synagogue services in the 1st century A.D., as is shown by Luke 4:17, where the scroll of the prophet Isaiah is called *biblion* in Greek. The plural *biblia* (2 Tim 4:13) provided the origin of the word "Bible."

If OT books were generally written on leather scrolls, most of the NT books, especially letters, were probably first written on papyrus. Some of these letters are very short and could have been easily written on a single sheet; the first collections of these letters may have been made of several sheets fastened together or copied onto a scroll in the traditional manner.

By 1st century A.D. and probably first at Rome there appeared a new book format, the *codex*. The idea of the codex was probably inspired by the example of the polyptychs, which sometimes had a dozen or more wooden tablets bound together. A codex consisted of individual sheets of papyrus or parchment bound together at one edge so that a text could be written on both sides of a sheet and the pages could be read sequentially. While the Jewish tradition continued to write official biblical texts on leather scrolls, Christians very quickly adopted the new format to copy the NT and even the whole Bible translated into Greek. (The most famous Greek biblical codices are called Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, and Alexandrinus.) However, these codices retained from the earlier scroll tradition the practice of writing two, three or four columns per page.

D. Archives and Libraries

Today we often distinguish archives, which contain administrative documents, contracts, and letters pertaining to private persons or organizations, from libraries, which shelter books. But in the ANE, where all the texts were manuscripts, there does not seem to have been such a distinction. All types of writings presented the same problems of preservation. The major differences among documents were the type of writing material: clay tablets required different storage conditions than papyrus and leather scrolls.

Archives and libraries of cuneiform texts are well attested in Mesopotamia (Uruk, Isin, Larsa, Nippur, Babylon, Nuzi, Mari, Nineveh), Anatolia (Boghazköy, Kultepe), N Syria (Ebla, Emar, Alalah, Ugarit), and even Egypt (El-Amarna), the most famous one being probably Assurbanipal's library in Nineveh (7th century B.C.). These libraries tried to collect most of the technical, legal, and literary texts known in their times (history, astronomy, religion, myths, etc.) so that they could be easily consulted; eventually catalogues of the titles of the texts were compiled to make consultation easier. The tablets themselves were kept in baskets (especially in private or administrative archives) or set up vertically on benches or wooden shelves (especially in large libraries) so that one could read the title on the top of the tablet. Literary texts were often too long to be written on one tablet and a scribe had to continue writing on other tablets; in this case each tablet starts with the last words of the previous one. The scribe might also write his name at the end of the text and give details about the circumstances of the copying process; a scribal note of this type is called a *colophon*. Once a clay tablet was baked in fire, the texts housed in cuneiform libraries could be kept for centuries; but the tablets were heavy and took up much space.

In Egypt, libraries had a different look. Archaeological excavations have not yet discovered any ancient Egyptian library with scrolls still in situ. At Edfu, however, a Ptolemaic building could be identified as a library because there were still wall inscriptions above recesses giving the main themes and sometimes a catalogue of the scrolls kept in each. Literary texts give further witness to the existence of libraries, probably connected with the "life houses" (*pr ʿnḫ*), situated generally near temples. Egyptian libraries could be smaller than their Mesopotamian counterparts because a papyrus or leather scroll 10 m long did not take up more space than a small tablet, but its content was the equivalent of ten large tablets. Several literary texts might sometimes be contained on the same scroll. Although much more practical than tablets, scrolls had the great disadvantages, at least for later ages, of rapid disintegration under normal use (requiring that they be recopied periodically) and flammability. This is why nothing is left of the largest library of the ancient Hellenistic world. Founded by Ptolemy I Soter (325–285 B.C.) at Alexandria, this famous library, connected with a museum (a kind of university/academy), collected all the Greek literary texts of its time as well as translations or adaptations of important works written in other languages (such as the histories of Manetho and Berossus). According to the *Letter of Aristeas*, the Greek translation of the Torah called the Septuagint was undertaken for the needs of this library, which probably contained half a million scrolls or volumes (from Lat *volumen* "scroll"). See ALEXANDRIA; SEPTUAGINT.

To this day no library or archive housing documents written on papyrus or leather has been discovered in Palestine. A few small archives of administrative ostraca have been found in Samaria, Lachish, and Arad, however, and groups of bullae from Lachish and Jerusalem are indirect evidence of the existence of paleo-Hebrew papyrus archives ca. 600 B.C. Libraries and archives were probably more numerous in the Persian period, to judge from the archives of Aramaic ostraca from Arad and Beer-sheba and a small private archive containing Aramaic contracts of the 4th century B.C. from Wadi ed-Daliyeh, parallel to the famous Aramaic archives of the 5th century B.C. from Egypt. A further group of bullae from the early Persian period is also evidence of a postexilic Judean archive (Avigad 1976). From the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods, several remains of archives were found in the

desert of Judah (Murabba'at, Nahal Hever) as well as a significant portion of the holdings of a library probably housed at Qumran. The discovery of the famous Qumran library reveals that, by this time, scrolls were being stored in sealed jars. The scrolls were not found in situ in a library building, but in caves. It can be determined from the many manuscript fragments discovered, especially in Cave 4, that this library contained several hundred manuscripts, most of them written on leather and only a few on papyrus.

These archaeological discoveries confirm a few hints found in biblical tradition. According to 2 Kgs 22:8, there may have been some kind of library in the Jerusalem temple in the 7th century B.C. The existence of libraries in Jerusalem during the Persian and Hellenistic periods is pointed to in 2 Macc 2:13–15 and in later rabbinic traditions. Furthermore, the Aramaic word for an archive or library, *bêt siprayyā'*, is attested in Ezra 6:1–2, referring to the royal Persian archives kept in Ecbatana.

E. Diffusion of Writing

The problem of literacy in the modern world is not always very clear because reliable statistics are wanting. The problem is still much more complicated for antiquity, and there may be differences of appreciation among historians. The situation was certainly different for each epoch and countries; for the ANE, literacy varied further according to the systems of writing in use. However, this last point is sometimes overstated. With the discovery of the alphabet any person of average intelligence could learn to read and probably to write within a few weeks, but this does not mean that literacy flared up at once. Historically we do not see anything like that. The alphabetic script that developed around 1600 B.C. had many difficulties asserting itself ahead of the two traditional writing systems in Egypt and Mesopotamia. Even in LB IIB Palestine, excavations have uncovered more Egyptian than alphabetic inscriptions. During David's reign we have no sure evidence of either the Egyptian system or of alphabetic writing.

Even if reading and writing an alphabetic script is much easier than learning Egyptian or Mesopotamian cuneiform, literacy still had to be taught. The problem of literacy is therefore also a social and institutional problem connected with the existence and number of schools. Unfortunately ancient schools did not leave many distinctive archaeological traces, even as late as the Roman period (cf. Huttenmeister and Reed 1977) and one can only identify them from literary indications or epigraphical evidence (schoolboys' exercises, such as abecedaries, lists of names, and tables of measurements). However scanty, this epigraphic evidence shows that there was some kind of system of schooling during the First Temple period, especially in 8th–7th century B.C. Judah. This fits well with the fact that we now have evidence of paleo-Hebrew inscriptions from this period not only in the capital, but also in villages and fortresses. Most paleo-Hebrew epigraphers agree that literacy was widespread in Judah toward the end of the 7th century B.C.: "Ancient Hebrew written documents, recovered by archaeology, demonstrate both that there were readers and writers in ancient Israel, and that they were by no means rare. Few places will have been without someone who could write, and few Israelites will have been unaware of writing" (Millard 1985b: 308). This seems to confirm a few indications of the biblical tradition, mainly in Deuteronomy (6:9, 11:20, 17, 18, 24, 12), and this probably explains how the Judeans could maintain their own literary tradition while in exile.

After the fall of Jerusalem in 587 B.C., most of the educated populace were taken into exile, while the people left in the country were mainly "wine-dressers and laborers" (Jer 39:10). So although literacy may have been widespread among the exiles, it was probably less common among the poorer class left in the country. This situation was probably more or less the same at the beginning of the Persian period in the province of Yehud. However, with the return of the exiles, the situation improved little by little, but with a big difference: Aramaic writing took the place of paleo-Hebrew writing. At the beginning of the Hellenistic period, Ben Sira's book gives an idea of the high level of education given in the schools of Jerusalem. By the end of the 1st century B.C. there were schools in most of the Jewish towns. According to one Talmudic tradition, the high priest Jesus, son of Gamaliel (63–65 A.D.), ordered schoolteachers to be appointed in every town and children to be brought to them from the age of six or seven. From these indications one may assume that literacy was widespread among the Jewish people in Palestine in the 1st century B.C.; even if Jesus did not attend a high rabbinic school (cf. John 7:15), he was able to read the Scripture in the synagogue (Luke 4:17).

F. The Scribes

Even if literacy was widespread at certain periods in ancient Israel, this does not mean that everyone could read, much less write, with ease. Many Israelites doubtless learned rudimentary reading and writing, but for many this probably meant the ability to write their own names. The average villager probably would have had a difficult time composing a letter and probably did not have the technical skill to draft a will or a contract. Besides the dexterity necessary to write clear letters, an experienced writer had to master the formulaic language of decorum, business, or law. So even in an ancient society with a certain level of literacy, the professional scribe still played a very important role.

This was all the more true in ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt, where writing was more difficult to learn but just as necessary, especially for the administrative needs of an empire. In both countries scribes were highly appreciated and could rise to important positions in the state administration. The scribe's elevated status was the reward of long and tedious training in schools; many wisdom books remind the young schoolboy of these advantages to make him more docile to his master's teaching. These same texts reveal an awareness that the scribe belongs to a higher class, and inculcate in their readers the notion that it is a privilege to belong to the scribal profession. The scribe's calling, like most professions, was generally inherited from one's father, even if most of the training was given in schools.

Appreciative comments on the scribal profession are to be found in several biblical passages, especially in Sir 38:24–34. In ancient Israel scribes played an important

role, probably from the time of David's reign, because the king needed scribes for his administration. One of the members of the royal cabinet even had the title "scribe" (2 Sam 8:17; 20:25; 1 Kgs 4:3; 2 Kgs 18:18, 22:3ff) or "royal scribe" (*sopēr hammelek* [2 Kgs 12:11]) and was probably some kind of "secretary of state." During Josiah's reign, scribes are mentioned several times in prophetic oracles as a special group around the king, acting as advisers; and in this capacity they are sometimes criticized as deceitful guides (Jer 8:8). Nonetheless, Jerusalemite scribes were probably the originators of many biblical books, among which may have been Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic tradition (Weinfeld 1972). Baruch the scribe appears to have had a role in compiling the book of Jeremiah. The narrative of chap. 36 is very informative because it shows how a written collection of prophetic utterances could be produced in several editions by a single scribe even during the lifetime of the prophet (Jer 36:32). The title *spr*, "scribe," appears on several paleo-Hebrew seals, as well as on Moabite or Ammonite seals; these seals were undoubtedly used to authenticate the documents written by these scribes. A deed of sale is sealed in Jer 32:10.

Jewish scribes also played a very important role during the Persian period in transmitting the Jewish tradition, as well as in codifying and enforcing it as a law. Ezra, "a scribe skilled in the law of Moses" (Ezra 7:6), was "sent by the king and his seven counselors to make inquiries about Judah and Jerusalem according to the law" of God with which he was entrusted (7:14), now on par with the "law of the king" (Ezra 7:26).

More and more, the title of "scribe" was used not only of professional scribes in daily life but also for people learned in the Jewish law and able to give an official interpretation of it, especially in a difficult religious or political situation (cf. 1 Macc 7:12; 2 Macc 6:18). In the NT, scribes (Gr *grammateus*) appear essentially as "scholars," specialists in the Jewish law and in the interpretation of the Scripture. They are generally associated either with the Pharisees or with the high priests and members of the Sanhedrin. See SCRIBES. Saul/Paul is a good example of these pharisaic scholars learned in the Jewish law (Acts 22:3, 23:6, 26:5; Phil 3:5–6) who eventually became a Christian (Matt 13:52). But even with all his learning, Paul, when he wrote long letters, dictated them to a professional scribe (one is named in Rom 16:22); he wrote with his own hand only one short personal letter (Phlm 19, 21) and the conclusions to the longer ones. On these occasions he writes with pen and ink (cf. 3 John 13) with his own hand (2 Thess 3:17) and in big letters (Gal 6:11).

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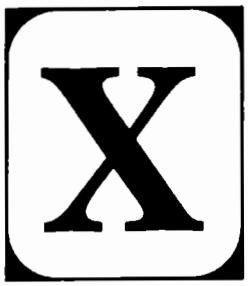
ANDRÉ LEMAIRE

WYCLIF'S VERSION. See VERSIONS, ENGLISH (WYCLIFFE'S VERSION).



XANTHICUS [Gk *Xanthikos*]. In 2 Macc 11:30, 33, and 38, the name of the month from the Macedonian calendar cited in official letters preserved there; in 2 Macc 11:30, the name employed in the expiration date of a general amnesty for Jews. Some Lucianic mss (93, 542) read *Xandikos* (see also Bickerman 1980: 20). In v 38 Katz (1960: 15) and others prefer to read *Dioskoridou*, the genitive of *Dioskorides* on the basis of some Latin versions (see DIOSCORINTHIUS), while Vg and 771 integrate the two names into a doublet (de Bruyne 1922: 40). Hanhart (1961: 473–74) rejects the possibility that the latter versions of v 38 could be original readings.

According to Josephus, Xanthicus corresponded to Nisan in the Jewish calendar (*Ant* 1.81, 3.248, 11.109; cf. *HJP*^{2} 1: 596–99). By arguing rather that it is equivalent to Adar, Goldstein can relate the events cited here to the Megillat Taanit reference to the 28th of that month (*2 Maccabees* AB, 418–19).

The authenticity of all four official letters preserved in 2 Maccabees 11 has been upheld in recent scholarship (Goldstein ibid., 408–09; but note Momigliano 1975: 84–85), with the exception of the dates (Habicht 1976). Habicht has raised questions about the coincidence of the dates in 2 Macc 11:33 and 38, as well as the brevity of the span between the date of the granting of the amnesty on Xanthicus 15 in v 33 and its expiration on Xanthicus 30 in v 30, particularly if it came from Antiochus IV while he was in the E portion of the empire. Goldstein (418–21) has responded, arguing that the decree was granted under the auspices of Antiochus V as coregent.

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XERXES (PERSON). **1.** The Achaemenid king Xerxes I was born in 518 B.C., the first son of Darius and his favorite queen Atossa, born after Darius had come to the throne. He was elevated to official crown prince some years before the death of his father.

The transfer of kingship from Darius to Xerxes in 486 B.C. went smoothly, though at the time Egypt was in revolt. This serious rebellion had begun in June 486 B.C., before Darius's death, and was successfully suppressed some time before January, 484 B.C. Shortly thereafter Babylon also rebelled, and Xerxes suppressed the uprising with a particularly heavy hand. Local temples were destroyed, the statue of the city-god Marduk may have been carried away, and there is evidence for at least a temporary interruption in the Persian imperial policy of ruling conquered peoples with great tolerance.

The most significant events of the reign of Xerxes involved the Persian invasion of mainland Greece in 480/79 B.C. After massive preparations for the campaign in that part of NE Greece already controlled by the Achaemenids, the Persian army advanced southward down the E coast of the peninsula, supported from the sea by a coordinated advance of their fleet. The first battle of the war took place at the famous pass of Thermopylae. The Persians then marched rapidly southward to capture Athens and burn the Acropolis. The Persian fleet, meanwhile, had suffered considerable damage in a storm at sea, but when it reached the Bay of Salamis it nevertheless outnumbered the challenging Greek fleet led by the Athenians. Legend has it that Xerxes sat on a throne on the cliffside and personally watched the complete defeat of the Persian navy in what was almost certainly the greatest naval engagement in history to date. Xerxes then returned to Asia, leaving the Persian land forces under the command of the general Mardonius. Both armies then went into winter quarters. When good weather returned in 479 B.C., after much maneuvering, the Greeks and Persians came to battle on the field of Plataea. Persian defeat in this battle, after a fairly even fight, came as their morale cracked when Mardonius was slain.

Little is known about Xerxes' reign during the 14 years before his death. We have almost no sources for these years, either primary or secondary. The great king may have been primarily involved with his massive construction works, particularly at Persepolis. Here he not only meticulously finished works begun by his father, he also greatly enlarged the Persepolis platform and constructed several

monumental buildings in his own right, including the Gate of All Nations, the Hall of One Hundred Columns, and his own residential place. Xerxes was assassinated, apparently in a very complicated court intrigue, in 465 B.C.

Traditionally Xerxes has been viewed as a weak king, unable to recover from the reverses his army and navy experienced in Greece. While it is true that under him the expansion of the Achaemenid empire came to an end and, indeed, some contraction of Persian territorial control resulted from defeat in Greece, nevertheless Xerxes may not have been so ineffective as tradition would have it. Certainly he was his dynamic father's explicit choice for the kingship and the early years of his reign were marked by vigorous action. In the end a proper assessment of his reign is difficult, given our lack of good source materials.

The setting of the book of Esther is at the court of Xerxes I, who is called Ahasuerus in this story. See AHASUERUS and ESTHER, BOOK OF.

2. Xerxes II, son of Artaxerxes I. He was assassinated only a few weeks after the death of his father (424 B.C.).

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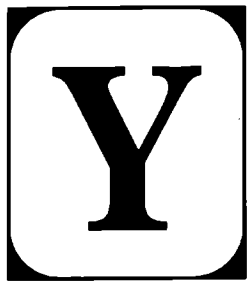
T. CUYLER YOUNG, JR.

XI. The fourteenth letter of the Greek alphabet.



YAEL, EIN. See REPHAIM, VALLEY OF.

YAHUDIYA, EL- (PLACE). See JEHUD (PLACE).

YAHWEH (DEITY) [Heb K *yhwh*]. The name of God in the OT. When it stands alone, and with prefixed prepositions or the conjunction *wa-*, "and," the name is always written with the four Hebrew letters *yod, he, waw, he,* and is for that reason called the Tetragrammaton. In this form the name appears more than 6000 times in the OT. (Variation in the Masoretic mss makes it difficult to establish the number of occurrences exactly.) Shorter forms of the divine name occur in personal names. At the beginning of names the form is *yĕhô-* or the contracted form *yô-;* at the end of names, *-yāhû* or *-yāh.*

A. Pronunciation

The pronunciation of *yhwh* as Yahweh is a scholarly guess. Hebrew biblical mss were principally consonantal in spelling until well into the current era. The pronunciation of words was transmitted in a separate oral tradition. See MASORETIC TEXT. The Tetragrammaton was not pronounced at all, the word *ʾădonāy,* "my Lord," being pronounced in its place; *ʾelōhîm,* "God," was substituted in cases of the combination *ʾădonāy yhwh* (305 times; e.g., Gen 15:2). (This sort of reading in MT is called a *qere perpetuum.*) Though the consonants remained, the original pronunciation was eventually lost. When the Jewish scholars (called Masoretes) added vowel signs to biblical mss some time before the 10th century A.D., the Tetragrammaton was punctuated with the vowels of the word "Adonai" or "Elohim" to indicate that the reader should read "Lord" or "God" instead of accidentally pronouncing the sacred name (*TDOT* 5: 501–02).

The form "Jehovah" results from reading the consonants of the Tetragrammaton with the vowels of the surrogate word *Adonai.* The dissemination of this form is usually traced to Petrus Galatinus, confessor to Pope Leo X, who in 1518 A.D. transliterated the four Hebrew letters with the Latin letters *jhvh* together with the vowels of Adonai, producing the artificial form "Jehovah." (This confused usage may, however, have begun as early as 1100 A.D.; note *KB,* 369). While the hybrid form Jehovah has met much resistance, and is universally regarded as an ungrammatical aberration, it nonetheless passed from Latin into English and other European languages and has been hallowed by usage in hymns and the ASV; it is used only a few times in KJV and not at all in RSV.

The generally acknowledged vocalization "Yahweh" is a reconstruction that draws on several lines of evidence. The longer of the two reduced suffixing forms of the divine name, *yāh* and *yāhû,* indicates that the name probably had the phonetic shape /yahw-/ with a final vowel. The vowel is supplied on the basis of the observation that the name derives from a verbal root *hwy,* which would require the final vowel /ē/; this inference is confirmed by the element *yahwī* occurring in names in the Amorite language (see *TDOT* 5: 512; the relevance of the Amorite names is challenged by Knauf 1984: 467). In the Aramaic letters from Elephantine in Egypt (ca. 400 B.C.; *ANET,* 491–92), the divine name occurs in the spelling *yhw,* probably with the vocalization /yahû/ (*TDOT* 5: 505). Instances of the divine name written in Greek letters, such as *Iao* (equivalent to "Yaho"), *Iabe* (known to the Samaritans, Theodoret [4th century A.D.], and Epiphanius), *Iaoue, Iaouai* (Clement of Alexandria [3d century]), and *Iae* also favor the form "Yahweh" (*NWDB,* 453).

B. Meaning

The meaning of the name is unknown. Arguments favoring particular meanings have been for the most part grammatical. The name has long been thought to be a form of the verb *hāwāy,* an older form of the Hebrew verb *hāyāh,* "to be." The reconstructed form *yahwēh* is parsed as either a third-person Qal imperfect of this verb or as the corresponding form of the causative stem. This analysis is encouraged by theological notions of God as one who is, or who exists, or who causes existence. Thus the explanation of Yahweh in Exod 3:14, "I am who I am," is a folk etymology based on this verb (*ROTT,* 181–82). The analysis of the name as a causative falters on the grammatical point observed by Barr that "the causative of this verb does not occur in Hebrew elsewhere" (*HDB,* 335). However, the name could be a unique or singular use of the causative stem.

C. Origin

The date and origin of the name has been debated. Its earliest appearances are in the Song of Deborah (Judges 5; which has been dated to the 11th century B.C.), on the Mesha Stele (9th century; *ANET,* 320), in an ostracon from Kuntillet ʿAjrud (8th century; Freedman 1987: 246), and in the Arad and Lachish Letters (6th century; *ANET,* 569, 322).

To move outside of the Levant, we find Egyptian name lists which include a Syrian site, *Ya-h-wa* (No. 97), which is identical to Yahweh. A Rameses II (1304–1237 B.C.) list is found in a Nubian temple in ʿAmarah West with six names (Nos. 93–98) following the designation "Bedouin area." Nos. 96–98 have been found at Soleb in Nubia on an Amon temple of Amenhotep III (1417–1379). No. 93, *Sa-ʿra-r*, has been identified with Seir (Edom) and related to the biblical references (Deut 33:2) which associate Yahweh with Seir and Paran. This could be taken as evidence the name was known in Edom or Midianite territory ca. 1400 B.C. (*EncRel* 7: 483–84).

However, Astour (*IDBSup*, 971) notes that the writing "S-r-r" is incorrect as opposed to the spelling in other Egyptian inscriptions. Furthermore, three of the sites, including *Yi-ha*, on Rameses III's temple in Medinet Habu, are in a Syrian context suggesting that *Ya-h-wa*/*Yi-ha* was also in Syria. Thus the name is not associated with Edom or Midianites but does seem to appear as early as 1400 B.C. in Syria.

From a later time, the 8th century B.C., two Aramean princes have names with the element "Yau." This has been taken to mean that some Arameans may have worshipped Yahweh (Rankin 1950: 95). This could relate to the earlier connection of the Patriarchs with the Arameans, e.g., Jacob's sojourn with Laban, the eponymous ancestor of the Arameans (Genesis 29–31). The divine name is not found in any cuneiform texts.

The formative *-yw* in some personal names from Ugarit (ca. 14th century B.C.) is not a divine element and has no connection with the name Yahweh. Considerable controversy arose over the alleged occurrence of a theophoric element *-ya* in personal names from Ebla. The cuneiform sign NI, read as /ya/ by Pettinato (1980) and others (Dahood 1981: 276–77), is now read IL_x "god" when used in personal names. See EBLA TEXTS.

D. Yahweh in the Bible

In terms of the biblical narrative, some suggest that Moses derived the name of Yahweh from the Egyptians, while others think Yahweh was a Midianite deity worshipped by the Kenite clan. Moses would have been introduced to this new deity when he married the daughter of Jethro (Exod 3:1; 4:18) or Hobab (Num 10:29; Judg 4:11), a priest of Midian (Exod 18:1, 12) or the Kenites (Judg 1:16). See KENITES.

E. The Magical Aspect of the Name

In antiquity, the significance of a name goes far beyond a mere label. In ancient times, the name held magical power. One who knew the name of the deity could wield power over the deity and summon him to his/her aid, e.g., against one's enemies. The importance of the name is underscored by the story of Jacob wrestling with a divine being who was reticent to reveal his name to Jacob (Gen 32:24–30; cf. Judg 14:17–20). Adam's naming of the creatures (Gen 2:20) may be the J writer's version of the Priestly 1:28, "have dominion . . . over every living thing . . ." The name also reflects the character of the named, as in Nabal ("fool") in 1 Sam 25:25 and the change from Abram to Abraham (Genesis 17), Jacob to Israel (Genesis 32).

F. Character

While the date and origins of the name are debatable, the character of Yahweh is certainly clear, although multifaceted in the biblical text. He is a storm god who speaks in the thunder, who hurls or shoots lightning (Exod 19:16–19; 20:18; Ps 18:14; Job 37:5; Amos 1:2; Hab 3:11). He is a god of the mountains (Exodus 19; 1 Kgs 20:3). Fire is both a sign of Yahweh's presence and a weapon (Exod 13:21; 1 Kgs 18:38). He is a god of the desert (Judg 5:4). He has control over the waters of the earth—the sea (Exod 14:21; Jonah), the rivers (Josh 3:16–17), and the rain (Gen 2:5; 1 Kings 17). He is the giver of life and one who brings death. He is a god of war and of peace.

But most important to the biblical tradition, Yahweh is the god of the covenant. Yahweh created, maintains, and sustains the natural world, which includes humanity. There are covenants with Noah which include the natural world, with the patriarchs, with Moses and the people, Aaron and Phinehas and the priesthood, David and the royal house, and others. No matter what the origin of the name or the non-Israelite nature of his epithets, Yahweh had chosen Israel to be his people and had entered into covenants with them. This fact is the central theme of the OT. See also COVENANT.

For further discussion see *TDOT* 5: 500–21.

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YAHWEH, DAY OF. See DAY OF YAHWEH.

YAHWIST ("J") SOURCE. The scholarly designation for one of the alleged sources of the Pentateuch.

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A. Name and Definition

In the historico-critical exegesis of the OT, the term "Yahwist" (abbreviated "J") designates one of the principal literary sources of the Pentateuch. Since these sources are not self-evident but can be reconstructed only by modern literary criticism, it is important to keep in mind that "J," like the other presumed sources of the Pentateuch, represents in fact, and has always represented, a scientific hypothesis. Its name derives from the fact that the texts attributed to this source resort, when speaking of the God of Israel, almost exclusively to the Tetragrammaton YHWH. According to the classical consensus (see C.3 below)—which in the meantime has been severely shaken (see D below)—"J" was seen as the first source presenting the narrative thread of the whole Pentateuch, its inception starting with the "second" Creation story in Genesis 2. Commonly dated to the 10th or 9th century B.C., "J" has been long regarded as the most ancient historiographic work of the Bible.

B. "Birth" of the J Source

1. Beginnings. The discovery of a Yahwist source in the Pentateuch is linked to the early stages of critical research on the Pentateuch in the 18th century (cf. Kraus 1982: §28; Houtman 1980). The idea that the Pentateuch could be composed of several sources was provoked mainly by the existence of two creation stories in Genesis 1–3. H. B. Witter and J. Astruc had both been struck by the fact that the two stories (Gen 1:1–2:3 and 2:4–3:24) were using different names when speaking of God, *ʾĕlōhîm* and *yhwh*. Astruc was led to the conclusion that a "memoir" A had to be distinguished from a "memoir" B. It is the distinctive use of the name YHWH (or, at that time, JHVH) that was soon to accredit the term "Yahwist" (J) to designate Astruc's memoir B. One century later, the siglum "J" was nearly unanimously accepted among critics, one notable exception being A. Dillmann (*Genesis* KEHAT), who continued to designate the different sources as A, B, and C. The "Yahwist's" success came about with the acceptance of the "newer documentary hypothesis" *(neuere Urkundenhypothese)*, which is linked to the names of Hupfeld, Delitzsch, Riehm and others. At that stage, however, "J" was not yet considered the oldest of the sources. Among the three sources he admitted, Hupfeld (1853), for instance, distinguished the "primary elohistic document" (*elohistische Urschrift*, = the future "P"), the "younger elohistic document" (*jüngere elohistische Schrift* = the future "E"), and, as the latest source, the "document using the divine name Yhwh."

2. J in the Graf-Wellhausen System. The reversing of the sources' chronology was provoked by the discovery, due to Reuss, Graf, and Wellhausen, that the priestly legislation belongs to the latest—and not to the earliest—stage in the development of Pentateuchal law. As a result, Wellhausen's paradigma of the sources (J-E-D-P, in that chronological order) imposed itself to the majority of scholars, and J came to be regarded as the oldest source of the Pentateuch. The main criterion in attributing texts to the J source remained the distinctive use of the name YHWH, but the existence of doublets or parallel narratives (such as Genesis 15 and 17, or Exodus 3–4 and 6; see the list offered by Seebass [*TRE* 16: 443–44]) also played a role in the argumentation. Holzinger (1893: 93ff.) and Driver (1913: 116–26) tried to establish a "lexicon of J" (peculiarities of vocabulary, style, and grammar). Often, more general features, such as the "anthropomorphisms" in the presentation of God (as opposed to E and P), were invoked. But a complete and specific description of the linguistic features of J—contrarily as to what became possible for P (McEvenue 1971)—was never attempted, and it is not surprising that for Wellhausen and his pupils, "J" remained without a precise profile and functioned mainly as a scientific siglum to designate the remaining text material once the more easily recognizable layers (such as E, P, and D/Dtr) had been subtracted.

Wellhausen himself did not attempt a precise dating of J and contented himself with the general attribution of J to the monarchic period. Even more telling is that Wellhausen (1899) often did not bother to distinguish between J and E, preferring to speak of JE or of "jehowistic" texts.

3. Problem of the Unity of J. For Gunkel, who was more interested in the literary genres than in the sources, J represented not a single author *(Einzelschriftsteller)* but a school of narrators *(Erzählerschule)* (Gunkel 1910: LXXXV; cf. also Smend 1978: 94). Therefore, it may seem only slightly paradoxical that Gunkel joined those scholars who argued for further literary subdivisions within the J source, using such sigla as J^a, J^b, J^c, and J^d. This trend, launched by Budde (1883: 455–57; cf. also Bruston 1885) who had hoped to subdivide J into J_1 and J_2, was developed into a full-fledged theory by Smend Sr. (1912) and Eissfeldt (1922; 1974). In later years, the theory was still being defended by Simpson (1948: 31–36), Fohrer (1965: 173–79) and Cazelles (*DBSup* 7: 770–803). Eissfeldt called his older source (Budde's and Smend's J_1) "L" (*Laienquelle*, lay source), whereas Fohrer (1965: 173–79) opted for the siglum "N" (*Nomadenquelle*, nomadic source). However, Eissfeldt's 1922 synopsis of the sources of the Hexateuch proved through its sheer complexity to have a discouraging and even self-defeating effect; consequently the theory of two Yahwists did not find many followers in subsequent years. It had become evident that the very real problem of J's coherence could not find its solution through the subdivision of sources into ever more infinitesimal layers.

C. J as the Architect and Theologian of the Pentateuch

If the understanding of the Yahwist underwent a major change in the critical exegesis, it was due notably to the work of von Rad and Noth. For Wellhausen, the (however numerous) authors of the sources were seen as *Schriftsteller* ("writers"). Gunkel (1910: VII–XCII) had shown that the Yahwist and the Elohist had to be understood as collectors of folktales and other oral traditions, and that their work therefore consisted mainly in the writing down and editing of these traditions. Von Rad was the first to ask himself what precisely could be considered as the "personal" contribution of the Yahwist to the inherited tradition, and what was his "theological" purpose in composing such an extensive work. With these questions it was clear that the Yahwist had ceased to be a collective "school," possibly working over decades or centuries, but had become a *person,* a unique thinking and organizing mind. To this day the most crucial issue in the debate remains whether or not, behind the J source, there is to be seen a creative personality. Or, to put the question in other terms, in the genesis of what was to become the J source, at what specific point can the intervention of such a personality be perceived, and what are the clearest textual witnesses to that intervention?

1. Von Rad's Conception. In *Das formgeschichtliche Problem des Hexateuch* (1938), later published in English as *PHOE,* von Rad defends the idea that the Pentateuch—or rather, the Hexateuch—is ultimately the work of J. It is J who creates the "history of salvation" that begins with the creation of the world and ends with the entry of Israel into Canaan. As a basis for his construction, the Yahwist could rely on the ancient "Historical Credo" of Deut 26:5–9, which von Rad considers as the archaic kernel of the future Hexateuch. The merit of the Yahwist, according to von Rad, is not only to have given this ancient "Credo" a narrative form, but also to have initiated three decisive developments: (1) the insertion of the primeval history as a "prologue" to the whole; (2) the development and extension of the story of the Patriarchs (three patriarchs instead of one); and (3) the insertion of the Sinai-tradition (see 1961a: 58–75; *Genesis* OTL).

The Yahwist appeared to von Rad as a man of such creativity and freedom that only one historical period seemed to offer a suitable environment for so remarkable an enterprise: the "enlightened" era of Solomon's reign (*PHOE,* 69). That allowed von Rad to date the Yahwist to 950–930 B.C. Furthermore, such a great literary work could not have been undertaken without a specific ideological or theological purpose. That purpose, according to von Rad, was to reinterpret the ancient traditions of tribal Israel in the light of the Davidic monarchy: it was with the establishment of this powerful kingdom (and empire) that the blessing of Abraham and the promises to the fathers found their true fulfillment.

With that, von Rad presented the Yahwist not only as the first "architect" of the Pentateuch, i.e., the first to conceive the history of the origins of Israel with its basic components (primeval history, patriarchal stories, Joseph, Moses, exodus, Sinai, conquest), but also as *the* theologian *par excellence* of the early monarchy.

2. Noth's Reconstruction. Noth also considered that in terms of theology J "contains the most important testimony found in the Pentateuchal narrative as a whole" (*HPT,* 236), but his main interest was to determine how the traditions, before they came into the hands of the Yahwist, had reached their normative shape, grown together, and found their place in the nascent "hexateuchal" structure. While not resting his case entirely on the "Historical Credo," Noth agreed with von Rad that Israel's normative historical traditions had matured in the premonarchic period, i.e., before the Yahwist set out to write his comprehensive account of these traditions. Noth distinguished five main "themes" which had taken shape in oral tradition and which the Yahwist had taken over from that tradition (*HPT,* 46–62): (1) the leading out of Egypt; (2) the leading into the land of Canaan; (3) the promise to the fathers; (4) the leading in the desert; and (5) the revelation at Sinai.

Noth postulated that some of these originally autonomous themes had already found their way into a structured document which he labeled "G" (*Grundlage,* the common basis for the Yahwist and the Elohist), leaving open whether this document existed in a written or an oral form (*HPT,* 38–41). The diversity of themes and the inconsistency of outlooks within J confirmed the fact that J had used (written or oral) sources to compile his great work.

After the attempt of Eissfeldt, Noth (*HPT,* 28–32) was one of the rare exegetes to propose a complete enumeration of the texts he considered as belonging to J (compare the lists in Eissfeldt 1974 and Noth, *HPT,* 28–32). It is his reconstruction that served as a basis for all the subsequent discussion on J from the 1950s to the 1970s. Within the general consensus about J as was generated by the work of Noth, the modifications proposed by later authors were of minor importance, the only unresolved issue was where precisely the J source ended (see C.3.e below).

3. The Classical Consensus. Even if the views of von Rad and Noth on J do not always coincide (on the presuppositions of von Rad, see the reservations of Noth [*HPT,* 40–41]), it is nevertheless on their convergences that the consensus of the following twenty years rests.

a. Text and Content of J. According to the unanimous judgment of mainstream exegesis after Noth and von Rad, the J source begins with the story of the creation of man in Gen 2:4b. The Yahwist then sets out to narrate the origins of humanity up to the episode of the Tower of Babel. This first period—which von Rad had placed under the heading "proliferation of sin"—is marked by a pessimistic, or rather realistic, view of human beings. Then comes, as a positive answer to these calamitous beginnings, the story of Yahweh's calling of Abraham in Genesis 12 which is J's starting point in the history of the chosen people. After having dealt with the mythical ancestors in Genesis 12–50, J turns to the birth of the *nation* starting with Exodus 1: the oppression in Egypt and the liberation through the mediation of Moses. The sojourn in the desert is characterized by the constant murmuring of the people, but its main event is the revelation of Yahweh to his people on Mt. Sinai (Exodus 19–24): in spite of Israel's disobedience, Yahweh will lead his people to the promised land.

The confidence of most authors in the possibility of reconstructing the J source was such that several scholars

did not hesitate to offer a continuous translation of the Yahwist source (see Schulte 1967; Smend 1967: 24–87; Resenhöfft 1977). The only major problem still remained the riddle of the end of the J source.

b. Date and Origin of J. With von Rad's brilliant staging of the "Solomonic enlightenment," his proposed date of around 930 B.C. was no longer seriously questioned. Some even went so far as to suggest that the priest Abiathar, the companion of David exiled to Anathoth by Solomon (2 Kgs 2:26–27), might be the author of the J source. In fact, the foundations for that early dating were rooted in the vision that Noth (1930; *HPT,* 252–59) and von Rad had developed of premonarchic Israel. Noth especially had insisted on the fact that all the constitutive "themes" of the Pentateuchal tradition, as well as their integration into a normative sequence, were marked by a "pan-Israelite" outlook (*HPT,* 42–51). The advent of this pan-Israelite consciousness presupposed, of course, the formation of a tribal league in the mountains of Palestine. But that the Pentateuchal tradition belongs in its essence to the pre-Davidic period appears from the fact that the monarchic institution is remarkably absent and that the center of gravity of Israel still seems to rest with the tribes of central Palestine (Joseph, Benjamin)—especially apparent in the Jacob and Joseph stories of Genesis and in the conquest narratives of Numbers—and not with Judah (*HPT,* 51, 56, 208–213). The monarchy thus was the necessary condition only for the writing down of the traditions. Symptomatic of Noth's argumentation is the following statement: "As far as I can see, there is nothing in the original material of the J narrative which would force one to place its composition later than the Davidic-Solomonic period" (*HPT,* 230). For this 10th-century dating, the following further arguments were adduced: (1) the J material contains no allusions to the Aramean or Assyrian perils which Israel encountered starting with the 9th century B.C.; (2) there is no hint of the division between Israel and Judah; the tribes of the N and S are considered a unity; and (3) the cursing of Canaan in Gen 9:26 (J) reflects the situation of the Davidic and Solomonic empire, as do a number of other texts (e.g., Gen 15:18; 25:23; 27:37, 40a; Num 24:15–19).

The geographic origin of J was located in the south (Judah) rather than in the north for the following reasons: (1) in the primeval history, the tradition of Cain (Genesis 4) points to the Negeb; (2) the cycle of Abraham and Lot (Genesis 12–13) is rooted in Mamre, near Hebron; (3) Judah plays a dominant role in the J strand of the story of Joseph (Gen 37:26; 43:3, 8–10; 44:14–34; 46:28); (4) the peculiar material of Genesis 38 concerns Judah; and (5) in the Exodus narrative, J presents traditions connected mainly with Kadesh and the Midianites (e.g., Exod 3:15–22; 18:1 (J?); Num 13:26; 20:1, 14–16). Finally, the absence of specifically Jerusalemite traditions in the corpus of J led some authors to locate the Yahwist in the rural areas of Judah (see Steck 1971: 553).

c. Theology of J. Interest in J's "theology," sparked by von Rad, has grown because the possible *kerygma* of that source is much less explictly stated than that of P or Dtr (Smend 1978: 91). J's primeval history, however, which is commonly regarded as freely composed by the Yahwist, allows the careful reader an insight into some of its author's profound mode of thinking. The major stories in that section (Gen 2:4b–3:24; 4:1–16; chaps. 6–8; 11:1–9) all concern human transgressions, the consequences of which are used to explain the suffering and frustration encountered in life (e.g., hostility between animals and humans, pain of childbirth, aridity of the soil, wearisome work, animosity between brothers). Thus the frustrations of the *conditio humana* are attributed not to God nor to hostile deities or powers but to the fallibility of human beings. The constant human urge to transgress the limits established by YHWH prompts a reaction of the Creator, but beyond punitive interventions, YHWH evermore takes preservative measures to keep humanity from destruction (see Westermann 1964: 51–58).

This very subtle art of storytelling, which avoids supernatural interference and has forsaken all forms of magical or manichaean thinking, bears a distinctive flavor that brings it close to Wisdom Literature. At the same time, the primeval history of J offers a genuine and coherent theology insofar as it portrays a universal YHWH, at the same time almighty and gracious to man, who declares (Gen 8:21), "Never again will I curse the ground because of man, even though every inclination of his heart is evil from childhood." Many of these traits can be found again in other parts of the J source (notably in the Jacob cycle, in the Joseph narrative, and in the desert stories) or, for that matter, in the "Succession Narrative" (2 Samuel 9–20; 1 Kings 1–2) which may come from a similar background. The same message is repeatedly suggested: Whatever good happens to the chosen of YHWH is not due to their own merit, but to the gracious and hidden forbearance of God (see de Pury 1975: 91–116).

Admittedly, the theological intention is less easy to define in the subsequent sections of the J narrative. If, starting with the patriarchal stories, J is not the "inventor" of most of his narrative material, how is it possible to determine the theological purpose of his work? Wolff (1966: 136–37) suggests that there are two areas where the intention of the Yahwist may be recognized: (1) in the "programmatic" passages that are due to his own wording (such as Gen 8:21–22; 12:1–4a; 18:17–18, 22b–33; 32:10–13; 50:20, 24), and (2) in the juxtaposition or rearrangement of previously unconnected narrative units. Very typical of that second possibility might be the insertion of an episode illustrating Abraham's infidelity in Gen 12:10–20 after the promise of the land in 12:7, or the placing of Gen 32:23–33 as YHWH's answer to Jacob's prayer in 32:10–13 (see Stoebe 1954).

For the interpretation of the Yahwist's theology, the key passage has always been Gen 12:1–3. Here both elements—programmatic statement and linking of narrative units—are present. Von Rad (*PHOE,* 65) already gave these verses utmost importance:

> "In this interlinking of primeval history and history of salvation the Yahwist accounts for the intent and purpose of the salvatory relationship that Yahweh has granted Israel. It is the etiology of all etiologies of Israel."

The problem, though, is to know whether this relatively serene universalistic kerygma, extending the blessing of Abraham not only to his offspring but also to "all the clans

of the earth," may be translated into a "political" message and interpreted in terms of a Davidic "history of salvation." Von Rad (1961a: 75–81) thought that J had in mind to legitimate the Davidic monarchy as the fulfillment of God's plan (see also Rost 1956: 5; Amsler 1969: 243–45). Others perceived in the Yahwist's message a more critical vein, his intent being not only to accept fully the Davidic turn in Israel's history, but also to lay bare the hubris of the Solomonic court (Henry 1960: 15–20; Wolff 1966: 155; von Soden 1974) and, possibly, to denounce the servitude imposed on "brother" nations like Edom (see Gen 27:40b) or Ammon (on the whole question, see de Pury 1975: 117–65). The second option is more in line with the above reading of Genesis 2–11, but it entails that the Yahwist was not the first narrator to have told the story of Israel's origins in the wake of the establishment of the Davidic kingdom. That brings us to the question of J's antecedents.

d. Sources of J. Since the time of Gunkel (1910: VII–XCII), everyone has admitted that the Yahwist did not invent most of what he narrates in his work. J and E are essentially *tradents* of a lore of tales carried by oral tradition (see also Westermann, *Genesis* BKAT, 11–51). Yet some of the "incoherences" within the thread of the J narrative may be so sharp that the suspicion arises that the Yahwist is not just retelling old tales, but coping with already formulated earlier narratives. We have mentioned Noth's hypothesis of "G" as a first pre-J source of the Pentateuch. In later years, some authors thought there were sufficient indications to reconstruct one or several segments of this pre-J strand. Kilian (1966: 1–35, 220–22, 285–94, 301–06), de Pury (1975: 49–58, 130–33) and Otto (1979: 82–88) found pre-J strands in the Abraham and Jacob narratives, Otto (1975: 241–99) in the Sinai pericope, Fritz (1970: 107–34) in the desert stories, and Richter (1986: 29–57) in the primeval history. Recently, Vermeylen (1989) has proposed the reconstruction of a pre-Yahwist, Davidic narrative extending through the whole book of Genesis (suggested siglum: Dv). These attempts are all rooted in the observation that the texts attributed to J often bear traces of a prolonged redactional elaboration. The main question, then, is: does the Yahwist, from the point of view of his method, represent an analogous phenomenon to that of the Deuteronomistic Historian, i.e., besides being occasionally a narrator, could he be first and foremost an "editor." But in that case, it is not surprising that the arguments invoked for his dating and the determination of his sociohistorical roots call to be reexamined, as will be shown below.

e. Problem of the End of J. In line with his conception of history of salvation, as it had been reconstructed mainly from Gen 12:1–3, J's work had to include the story of Israel's entry into Canaan and, most probably, to end with it. That, at least, was the opinion of practically all mainstream authors. Since the conquest of Canaan is told only in the book of Joshua and in Judges 1, some authors (and among them von Rad) traced segments of the J narrative up into the book of Joshua. Noth thought that the end of J had been suppressed when the Pentateuch (or, rather, the Tetrateuch) had been linked up with the Deuteronomistic History (DtrG) (Noth, *HPT*, 33, n. 127), since that historiographic work already contained an account of the entry into Canaan (for a discussion of that problem, see Auld 1980). But other proposals for the location of the end of J were also defended:

—Num 14:8a (Weimar 1977: 163–64; 1980: 121, 134);
—Joshua 11 (Otto 1975: 95–103);
—Joshua 24 (Seebass, *TRE* 16: 445);
—Judg 1:26 (Eissfeldt 1922: 83–84, 252);
—1 Kings 2 (Budde 1883);
—1 Kings 12 (Hölscher 1952);
—1 Kgs 14:25 (Resenhöfft 1977).

It thus becomes apparent that even at the time of the consensus, the end of J was perceived as a major problem. It is therefore no surprise that it is precisely at that point that some of the critics of the "J" theory entered with their objections.

D. The Calling in Question of J

Starting with the 1970s, the entire research on the Pentateuch was submitted to a radical critique, and it was quite natural that the "Yahwist" stood from the outset in the first line of the debate. After the premonitory motion launched by Winnett (1965), the decisive works in reopening the discussion on the Yahwist were those of Van Seters (1975), Schmid (1976), and Rendtorff (1976). Without retracing here the antecedents of the discussion (for that, see Whybray 1987; de Pury and Römer 1989), one can say that it is no longer possible today to speak of the "Yahwist" without acknowledging that the former consensus has vanished. The attacks against Noth's and von Rad's Yahwist developed along two main lines: either J was radically "redated," or his existence was entirely contested in the course of an overall critique of the Documentary Hypothesis.

1. Redating J. In his *Der sogenannte Jahwist*, Schmid took as his starting point the Yahwist as defined and delimited by Noth. After examining a number of key J texts (in Exodus 3–4; 7–10; 14; 15; 17; 19; 24; Numbers 11; 12; 21; plus the promise narratives in Genesis), Schmid concluded that these "Yahwist" texts were very closely related to the style and the theological preoccupations of Deuteronomistic literature. The call of Moses (Exod 3–4), for example, presupposes the call of the classical prophets, and the theme of the people's disobedience in the desert reflects a mode of thinking known mainly from the Deuteronomistic school. Therefore, the historical context of the Yahwist seems to be a time of crisis rather than that of the glorious Solomonic "enlightenment" (which appears to Schmid as an invention of modern exegesis. The approach of Schmid takes its place in the wake of the (re)discovery of Deuteronomic/Deuteronomistic influences in the Pentateuch initiated notably by Brekelmans (1966), Perlitt (1969), Reichert (1972), and Fuss (1972).

In the same general line, Rose (1981; 1986) takes Schmid's intuition one step further. Whereas Schmid refrained from proposing a specific date for J and left open the exact chronological relationship between J and DtrG, Rose submitted certain Deuteronomistic texts in Deuteronomy and Joshua to a minute comparison with the corresponding episodes in the J narrative, and he concluded that J is later than DtrG. That discovery led him to the thesis that J composed his work in order to provide the

historiography of DtrG with a "prologue" and perhaps to correct the somewhat too "legalistic" tendency of DtrG. It should be noted that if J never had an autonomous existence, Rose's thesis would offer an elegant solution to one of the major problems of the "old" J theory: that of its "lost end." Van Seters (1983; 1986) defends a similar approach. In his eyes, the Yahwist is essentially an "historian", i.e., an intellectual comparable to the Greek historians of the Persian period, who "conceived" Israel's prehistory and placed it as an opening of the earlier Deuteronomistic history.

This theory of Rose and Van Seters turns the classical consensus upside down insofar as it considers J, formerly the "oldest" source, now a postexilic work. On the other hand, it preserves unharmed the system of the sources as such (see the critique of Diebner 1985), and it even allows scholars to reclaim some of von Rad's inspiring theological interpretations (theology of grace, anthropological pessimism, the Historical Credo, etc.) by transposing them into the postexilic context. This theory today seems to rally increasing support (see Cryer 1985; Kaiser 1984: 93–96).

2. The Dissolution of J. In his *Überlieferungsgeschichtliches Problem des Pentateuch,* Rendtorff proclaimed an irreversible "farewell to the documentary hypothesis" (1976: 148). First and foremost, that meant abandoning the notion that the Yahwist is a continuous source in the Pentateuch (see also Rendtorff 1977). He tried to show that in spite of appearances, "J" is a very fragile construction. The substance of J is traditionally obtained by way of subtraction of the more easily recognizable other sources (see Smend 1978: 86; Seebass, *TRE* 16: 441), and there are no positive criteria for the attribution of a single text to the J source. Neither is there a consensus on the extension of the Yahwist or on his "theology." A more promising approach is therefore to liberate oneself from the yoke of the source theory and to explain the composition of the Pentateuch on the basis of the "major unities" recognized by Noth (primeval history, patriarchs, exodus, desert, Sinai, conquest). But contrary to Noth, Rendtorff does not consider these "unities" as themes that were carried only by oral tradition: he sees in them autonomous literary works that were transmitted independently from each other until they were reunited by a redactional enterprise of "Deuteronomistic" type. The "promises to the fathers" that were for von Rad the expression of the *ipsissima verba* of the Yahwist become, for Rendtorff, the most visible traces of this "Dtr" redaction. In such a system there is no room any more for a continuous Yahwist.

How are these autonomous "unities" to be imagined? Rendtorff's model was applied to the primeval history by Crüsemann (1981), who tried to show that Genesis 2–11 had not been composed with the intention of serving as an opening for the Yahwist history of salvation, but instead represented an independent reflection on the origins of humanity, reflecting presumably the point of view of Judean peasantry in the time of the early monarchy. Blum (1984), after having shown (among other things) the weakness of the traditional argument based on the distinction between the divine names YHWH and Elohim, ventured to explain that the patriarchal cycle of Genesis 12–50 had grown as an independent unity during a long redactional process (extending from ca. 1000 to 400 B.C.).

An approach comparable to that of Rendtorff and his students is defended by Houtman (1980: 243–45) who refuses a source-system based on a continuous J and who presents the Pentateuch as the conglomerate of three previously independent unities: Genesis, Exodus-Numbers, and Deuteronomy.

E. J in the Current Debate

After more than a decade of severe attacks against the classical consensus on the Yahwist, there is still no new majority view in sight. Some scholars, perhaps waiting for better days, seem to refrain from writing much on the Pentateuch, and many of those who venture into the field do so with great prudence. In the current publications, four main approaches stand out (see Coote and Ord 1989 for an overview).

1. Defense of the Classical Conception. In spite of all the turbulence, a few scholars maintain categorically their allegiance to the Yahwist of Noth and von Rad. This is the case of exegetes such as L. Schmidt (1977; 1983: 90–95), W. H. Schmidt (1981; 1985: 72–74), Kohata (1986a; 1986b), Scharbert (1986), and Kreuzer (1989: 114–17). Others, like Smend (1978: 92–94), Seebass (*TRE* 16: 445–47), or Stendebach (1987) continue to believe in the existence of the J source, but do no longer find sufficient evidence for a precise datation—like Wellhausen, they are content with situating it generally during the monarchy. Moreover, they do not consider J to be an individual, but take it, once again, as a siglum for a "school."

2. A Solomonic J with a Reduced Substance. Taking heed of the current criticism of an ancient date especially concerning the more "theological" passages of J, some authors such as Weimar (1977; 1980), Zenger (1982; 1985), Vermeylen (1981; 1989), and Peckham (1985) seek a solution in the drastic reduction of the J source. These exegetes admit that many texts commonly attributed to J (e.g., Genesis 15; 24; etc.) are evidently much later than the 10th century, but they remain convinced that there *is* a Solomonic Yahwist comprising at least the primeval story, the Patriarchs, and the exodus, even if the substance of that work may comprise only two or three pages of text. The problem with that position is that it becomes more and more difficult to find palpable arguments to justify the proposed delimitation of the text.

3. An exilic or Postexilic J. As has been shown (see D.1 above), Rose and Van Seters maintain the Yahwist source in its traditional delimitation, but they date it to the Persian period. In the same line, one could mention the studies of Vorländer (1978), who dates the "Jehowist" (he refuses to separate between J and E) to the time of the exile, and Schmitt (1980), who sees in J a postexilic redaction of an earlier "elohistic" version of the Pentateuch. The problem with Rose's and Van Seters' conception is that it does not try to account for the depth of the redactional process that may often be recognized behind a J text. Has not the homogeneous Solomonic Yahwist of von Rad simply been replaced by a Yahwist of the Persian era which is equally homogeneous?

4. A Nonexistent J. As we have seen (see D.2 above), Rendtorff, Blum, and others hold that there are, comprised within what was commonly attributed to J, relatively ancient literary unities, but that a continuous J source

never existed. If these views should finally prevail, critical exegesis would either have to renounce entirely the use of the siglum "J" or give that name to the (late) compiler/redactor who integrated the different unities into a coherent—and theologically assertive—whole. That second possibility would bring us again into the vicinity of the solutions of Rose and Van Seters, but with the recovery of an interest for the pre-"Dtr" literary history of each individual unity. The problem with Rendtorff's approach is that the very obvious (and secondary) "Dtr" passages in the Tetrateuch (e.g., Gen 22:15–18; 26:3b–5) are not sufficiently distinguished from the supposed "Yahwist" redaction.

F. Conclusion

The debate on the Yahwist obviously is not closed. No new scholarly consensus is yet in sight. And new research, discoveries, and points of view may bring about yet another turn in the appreciation of this complex literary corpus.

What currently seems to have been most severely shaken is the hypothesis of an extensive J historiography in the time of Solomon as von Rad and Noth had conceived it. In spite of the diversity of expressed opinions, the debate of the last two decades has shown some convergence in drawing the attention of exegetes to two related problems: (1) the apparent autonomy of the major components of the traditional J source, and (2) the apparent fragility of the links that bind together these major components. On these two aspects, a few final remarks are in order.

First, the main components of the traditional J source—the primeval history, the patriarchal saga, and the "national" saga (the birth of Israel in Egypt, exodus, entry into the land, etc.)—are too different from each other, and too autonomous in their outlook and scope, to have been conceived for the purpose of a single historiographic work. Each of these components can stand on its own. The patriarchal saga (and more specifically the Jacob cycle) and the story of the exodus/conquest even offer two rival etiologies for the presence of Israel in Canaan (they are still perceived as such in Hosea 12). There are good chances that these autonomous developments not only belong to the preliterary levels of the traditions, but that they also marked the first stages of their growth as literary works.

Second, the links that explicitly bind together the three components of the traditional J source are rather tenuous, and some of them are manifestly late. That is the case most notably of the story of Joseph (Genesis 37–50), which links the exodus story to the patriarchal narratives. The story itself, held by von Rad (1961b) to be a literary gem of the Solomonic Yahwist, the purest expression of that enlightened era, tends to be considered today by some scholars as a postexilic Jewish diaspora novel (Redford 1970; Meinhold 1975/76). Its function as a bridge between the Jacob and exodus stories might be even later. The P source knows of a descent of Jacob and his sons to Egypt but tells nothing of Joseph (Gen 37:1–2; 46:6–7, 8–27; 47:27b–28; 49:29–33; 50:12–13, Exod 1:1–5a, 13). The same can be said of the Dtr and post-Dtr Credos (Deut 10:22; 26:5; Josh 24:4; 1 Sam 12:8). The only text that mentions the story of Joseph is Ps 105:18–23, a very late psalm that presupposes the final redaction of the Pentateuch (Römer 1987). It is less easy to determine the age of the descent of Jacob to Egypt, but it likewise has all the appearances of a redactional link.

If one considers the question from the side of DtrG, the connection between patriarchs and exodus does not appear before the final redaction of the Pentateuch. As Römer (1988) has shown (after Van Seters 1972), the "fathers" frequently referred to in Deuteronomistic literature never designate the patriarchs but have in mind the successive collective generations of ancestors that came out of Egypt. It seems that DtrG ignores—or intentionally omits—the whole "prehistory" told in Genesis.

There remains the problem of Gen 12:1–3 and of the link between primeval history and patriarchal narratives. That link is evidently older than P, since P also connects a primeval tradition with the story of the patriarchs, but even if it should be relatively old, it does not necessitate a continuation of the patriarchal story in the exodus story. The only few explicit cross-references between the exodus and patriarchal stories (e.g., Gen 15:13–16; Exod 3:6aβ) most probably belong to the final phases of the redaction of the Pentateuch. Thus, if one decides to define the Yahwist as the author of Gen 12:1–3—to whatever period that may lead—one still does not get a corpus that extends beyond the book of Genesis.

What remains to be determined is the precise nature of the connection between the Genesis and the Exodus narratives. Were there any links prior to P? If not, does that make P the true "inventor" of the Pentateuch as a literary project combining the two rival stories of Israel's origins? If the "Yahwist" is defined with Rose as the provider of a prologue to DtrG, did his prologue begin with Genesis 2 or with Exodus 1? In that case, does one have to expect a second Yahwist for the inclusion of Genesis, or was this inclusion brought about by P or R^P? These and many other questions will undoubtedly have to be faced by those who hope to know a little more about that elusive "Yahwist" who has fascinated biblical scholarship for so long.

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ALBERT DE PURY

YA'NIN, KHIRBET. See NEIEL (PLACE).

YAVNEH (PLACE) See JAMNIA (JABNEH), COUNCIL OF.

YAVNEH-YAM (M.R. 121147). An ancient coastal city (Minât Rubin) located some 15 km S of Joppa. According to one theory, Yavneh-Yam was the harbor suburb (or "port") of the city of JABNEEL (M.R. 126141) situated 8 km to the SW. According to another theory, the site was called Heb *mḥwz* (= "port"), which is attested in Egyptian inscriptions as *Mukkazi* (a name that has also been attributed to Tell Abu-Sultan 6 km E of Yavneh-Yam). From the Hellenistic period on, Yavneh-Yam was known by the name *Iamnētōn . . . limēn*, which persisted to the end of the Crusader period.

A square enclosure bounded by freestanding ramparts constitutes the most impressive remains at this site. More than half of this enclosure has been eroded due to the slowly rising sea level. However, the entire E rampart (800 m long) and parts of the N and S ramparts are still preserved, and it can be reasonably assumed that the entire enclosure was a square of 640 dunams. A complete square enclosure of this type was first observed at el-Mishrefe in Syria (Mesnil de Buisson 1926; 1927).

The Yavneh-Yam fortifications were excavated between 1967 and 1969 with the purpose of examining the method and materials used to construct the enclosure. Work was concentrated in two areas: in the N rampart (area A), and in the S half of the E rampart (area H). In area A, a vertical cut was made from the top of the rampart down to its base. Apparently the rampart was constructed first by leveling the whitish sand covering the virgin soil along the intended line of the rampart. Then a 12-cm-thick layer of *khamra* (red clay soil of the coastal plain) was laid down along the line to serve as the core of the rampart; it was then encased by a sheath of *khamra*. On the outer face the glacis originally consisted of two layers. The first (or interior) layer was made of heavy clay soil approximately 60–70 cm thick, extending from the top of the rampart down to virgin soil. The second (or covering) layer was made of crushed kurkar 50 cm thick, probably intended to prevent the damp clay from drying out and crumbling. At a later stage an additional glacis (or third layer) was applied over the crushed kurkar layer (see the schematic drawing in *EAEHL* 4: 1217).

On the analogy of the el-Mishrefe enclosure, the Yavneh-Yam fortification was assumed to have one entrance gate on each of its four sides. Indeed, in area H three superimposed gates were uncovered, indicating that the enclosure was entered from the space during each of the periods it was used as a fortification. The two lower gates (II and III) were built of sun-dried brick, were protected on the exterior by heavy walls of rubble, and were flanked by towers. The bottom gate (III) contained three pairs of gate piers. The lower part of gate II, with only two pairs of gate piers, was especially well preserved. The plan of one of the defensive towers of gate II is thus far unattested elsewhere. The walls of the right-hand tower were 2.4 m thick, and the narrow space between its walls and its central massive structure apparently contained a staircase leading to the upper story. Half of a smaller rubble-stone gate (I), dating to LB II, was exposed above the ruins of gate II.

Although this enclosure, like that of el-Mishrefe, was apparently intended to house large numbers of troops and their families and livestock, no traces of occupation were uncovered inside the open enclosure. However, in addition to occupational remains on and around the small mound of Minât Rubin, building remains and graves were found lined only along part of the inner rampart slope. In area A, for example, 9 layers were uncovered along and near the inner rampart slope. The earliest layer (9) contained no building remains and yielded only some MB I sherds. Layers 3–8 yielded sherds and a few vessels dating from MB II–III, while layers 1–2 contained LB I sherds, especially of "Tell el-Ajjul ware." In a small area of virgin soil in front of gate III (area H) were found the remains of hearths. Inside and around them were found MB I sherds, fragments of an incense burner, and a number of ivory plaques incised with designs. MB I sherds were also found on the lowest floor of one of the chambers of the gate towers and in the foundation trench of one of the tower walls.

The Yavneh-Yam excavations have thus furnished information about the construction method of the terre pisee ramparts, glacis, and gate structures of the MB I square enclosures (Kaplan 1975). It is now evident that the square enclosure with the three-pier gates made its first appearance in MB I between 2000 and 1800 B.C. The small quantities of pottery found in the two excavated areas indicate that the Yavneh-Yam enclosure was used intermit-

tently, with alterations and repairs, throughout the remainder of the MB Age, and that the enclosure ceased to function as a fortification at the beginning of the LB Age.

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JACOB KAPLAN

YEAR. See CALENDARS.

YEAST. See MEAL CUSTOMS (JEWISH DIETARY LAWS).

YERUHAM, MOUNT (M.R. 139045). A site in the Negeb highlands, located on the NE spurs of Har Rakhma above Nahal Revivim and the Yeruham Reservoir. Scattered over an area of 5 km^2 are found most of the typical phenomena of the EB IV culture in the Negeb: a central settlement with about 50 habitational units; a cemetery containing about 80 burials in tumuli; a high-place located on a barren hilltop; and scores of isolated buildings, tumuli, and straight-built-lines. Mount Yeruham's nature as a key site for the EB IV in the Negeb was the reason for its excavation, the first excavation from this period in the Negeb. It took place in 1963 and was directed by M. Kochavi. Another expedition, led by R. Cohen, excavated the site in 1973.

Two superimposed strata were discerned in the central settlement, both belonging to the EB IV. Stratum II, the earlier and more substantial one, consisted of rectangular buildings surrounded by a stone fence. Stone pillars made of roughly rounded stone drums supported the roofs. In the lowest area of the settlement were various installations, including a potter's shop with a kiln and a clay storeroom. Stratum I consisted of only a few round buildings and two large enclosures, all built on top of Stratum II remains. Pottery finds from both strata show the same typology fitting into the "Southern" family of EB IV wares. The existence of a few red polished sherds, however, may indicate some connections with Transjordan. Two small animal figurines found by the pottery kiln are unique. A hoard of eighteen copper ingots found in a Stratum I courtyard demonstrate the high level of metallurgy obtained in this period.

The burials in the tumuli consisted of well-built cists in which the skeletons and burial offerings were put to rest on two superimposed floors. Some tumuli, including the eight built on top of the Stratum II remains in the settlement, were built as small step-pyramids, 4–5 m in diameter. All other tumuli, including those from the cemetery, were 7–8 m in diameter, and in each the area between the outer circular wall and the cists was filled with stones. The high-rise tumuli were assigned to Stratum I and the larger filled-in tumuli to Stratum II.

The high-place had a magnificent view from a rocky outcrop on a hill crest near the central settlement. The outcrop had 12 cupmarks of different sizes and a well-built stone wall encompassing about 500 m.^{2}. No building remains were observed near the high-place, but many were discerned on the saddle connecting the high-place and the spur.

Mount Yeruham was one of the main centers of the EB IV in the Negeb. Its first settlers built rectangular houses in a well-organized, defensive settlement. Other spurs near the settlement were designated for burial and for cult. The economy was based on seasonal agriculture in the well-watered riverbanks below and on hunting and herding on the nearby hills. The second wave of settlers belonged essentially to the same culture, but their settlement at the site was ephemeral.

A small Byzantine farmstead, hidden in a small wadi, was the only other ancient remain at the site.

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MOSHE KOCHAVI

YIFTAHEL (M.R. 171240). A prehistoric site some 8 km E of Nazareth. Adjacent to this is a small tell, Kh. Khalladiyeh, and a perennial spring. The ancient name of the site is unknown and the modern appelation, Yiftahel, derives from the identification of this small valley with that bordering the land allotted to the tribe of Zebulon (Josh 19:12, 14). A recent historical-geographical study of this area has challenged this identification, placing the vale of Yiftahel some small distance to the E.

Beneath a heavy alluvial cover, where road construction cut into the valley floor, evidence of a prehistoric occupation was first encountered. Preliminary soundings unearthed only a Pre-Pottery Neolithic B occupation, exemplified by white plaster floors and an extensive flint industry. A large-scale salvage excavation proved the site to be far more extensive, with evidence of several aceramic Neolithic levels and EB I, MB I, and possibly MB II occupations.

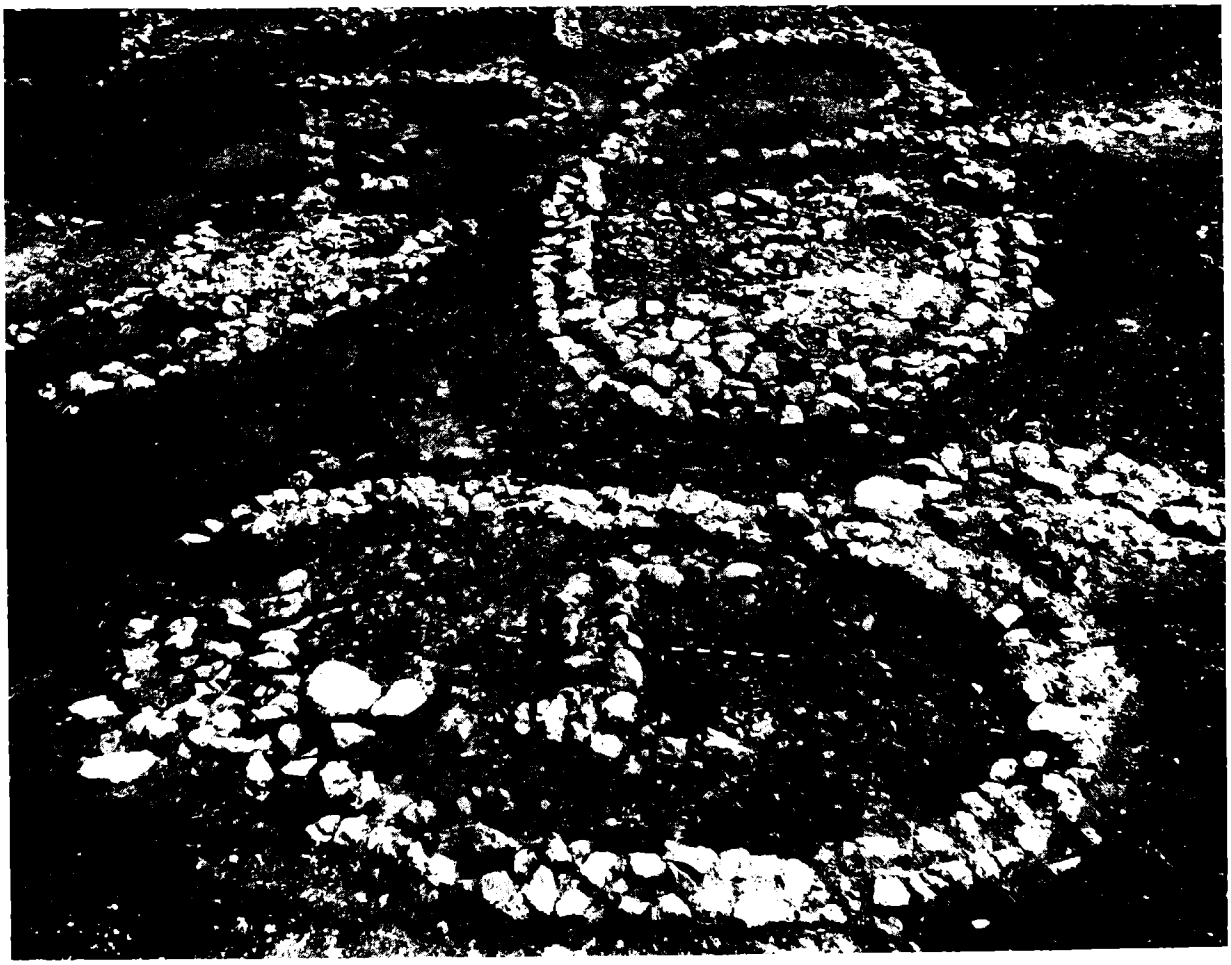
The Neolithic strata included several successive buildings with the well-known white plaster floors which the excavator was able to assign to houses of rectangular plans. The best preserved had a central roofed room flanked by 2 open-aired rectangular courtyards, and it resembles

dwellings of the same cultural horizon at Jericho. Remarkably preserved organic finds included charred pulses and the earliest instances of horsebean *(Vicia faba L.)* yet encountered (Kislev 1985). In another aceramic level, several long, rambling stone walls, probably of large enclosures, perhaps surrounding tent dwellings, were unearthed. They are unlike anything heretofore unearthed of this period in the S Levant.

In another aceramic Neolithic occupation were found a series of rectangular houses with earthen or cobbled floors, all neatly aligned, suggesting a degree of central planning or organization. Several of these houses had porticoes attached to the entrance. The best preserved had 3 rooms in a linear alignment with a pillar base and plastered doorsill. Its plan is somewhat reminiscent of a Neolithic building excavated by Garstang (1948: 59–60) at Jericho and described by him as a probable temple. A number of primary and secondary burials found in and around these several levels can be assigned to the same horizon.

Directly above the Neolithic layers were the remains of at least 22 whole or partial houses spread over more than 2400 m^2 of the valley floor, all dating to several phases of an EB I occupation, making this one of the largest exposures of any site dated to this period in the S Levant. A peculiarity of this occupation was the apparent avoidance of any form of angularity in building techniques; all structures were oval, sausage-shaped, or circular in plan. See YIF.01. Pottery of this period included pithoi, amphoriskoi, storage jars, and some small bowls, usually covered in red paint or wash. The absence of grain wash as a painting technique and the presence of a gray burnished carinated bowls with projecting sinuous lines, (apparently an early type of Esdraelon Ware) date this occupation to early in the EB I horizon. Important architectural affinities with these curvilinear structures are found at Byblos (Dunand 1973, Installation Eneolithique) and Sidon-Dakerman (Saida 1979) of the Eneolithique Period as well as at other sites in Israel and Jordan.

Some sparse evidence of a squatter's occupation in the abandoned ruins of the EB I levels was encountered in the field. In the adjacent valley slope a rock-cut tomb of the



YIF.01. Oval houses at Yiftahel—EB I. *(Courtesy of Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums)*

MB II period attests to human activity. Surface pottery from the nearby tell suggests occupation in the Roman, Byzantine, Arab, and Turkish periods.

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ELIOT BRAUN

YINʿAM, TEL (M.R. 198235). A site located among the fields of Moshavah Yavneel near the W edge of the floor of the Yavneel Valley in the E Lower Galilee, also known as Tell en-Naʿam. The mound is about 85 m in diameter N–S and has a large terrace settlement. While many researchers have identified the site with Yenoam mentioned in New Kingdom Egyptian texts, this identification has been questioned (Liebowitz 1981: 92, n. 1). In Israelite times, however, the site seems to have been known as Jabneel, a S border city of the Naphtali tribe (Josh 19:33).

While the site was surveyed by the Palestine Exploration Fund in 1973 and sherded by Saarisalo (1927: 44, 49), Aharoni (*LBHG*, 79, 125–29), and Amiran, regular excavations at the site were first begun by Liebowitz in 1976. With the exception of a small salvage dig conducted on the terrace settlement in April 1978, all excavation has thus far been limited to the mound.

Like many sites in the Near East, Tel Yinʿam had a lengthy history. It was initially occupied in the Neolithic period and yielded sherds, flint blades, and small objects of worked stone paralleling similar material from Shaar Hagolan. The site was also occupied during the late Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods. However, since no one has yet reached the earliest levels of the site, the assemblages from these cultural phases have not been found in stratified contexts.

Early Bronze I material, including a rare terra-cotta bull protome, was found near a small, round cultic installation in the terrace settlement. The tell was subsequently abandoned until the MB II period, though two EB IV tombs were excavated 2 km away in the Moshavah proper.

While no one has found substantial evidence for a MB occupation at Tel Yinʿam, the upper part of a unique, apparently MB jar which had contained a copper figurine recalling those from Byblos, and a unique electrum figurine recalling somewhat a type found in copper at the Nahariyah temple, were found just below the earliest floor level of the northernmost room of building 2. These finds are consistent with the discovery of an earthen surface at the W edge of the mound containing sherds dating to an early phase of MB II. The tell was subsequently abandoned through the remainder of the MB and during the LB IA, LB IB, and early part of LB IIA.

The LB II reoccupation of the site began around 1325 B.C. Like many LB sites, the settlement was not surrounded by a city wall. The major LB structures excavated consist of a palatial building and adjoining secondary buildings. These structures yielded a major assemblage of local pottery, the earliest known bronze ploughshare found in Israel, and rare and unique imports from Egypt, Late Helladic Greece, and Assyria. The NW room of the palatial structure was reused as a primitive iron smelter (Liebowitz and Folk 1984). The LB settlement was destroyed by fire sometime in the mid-13th century.

The site was reoccupied at the beginning of the Iron Age and was continuously occupied throughout the Iron I period. Jug-shaped cooking pots are very prevalent throughout the Iron I period and are a hallmark of the period. Changes are also discernible in the jewelry: shell beads became prevalent and small stone club-shaped pendants make their appearance. The Iron II (10th century) stratum is particularly rich. As in the LB Age the stone sockles of the building are approximately 1 m high and the floors of the side rooms are cobbled. The buildings are well constructed and the pottery is well made. Of the many small objects perhaps the most interesting is a knife consisting of an iron blade, copper rivets, and a bone handle. The Iron IIC level is poorly represented architecturally, but a rich repertoire of Iron IIC pottery (cooking pots, storage jars, jugs, and a lamp) was found in two partially excavated houses in areas B and G.

The Persian Period loci yielded an interesting array of local pottery forms and imported Attic and East Greek pottery. The buildings of the period are well constructed and the walls are more than a meter wide. Although there was a gap in occupation during the Hellenistic period, discovery of Herodian lamp nozzles and coins attest to reoccupation of the site in the Early Roman period. The site was apparently also occupied during the Middle Roman Period. However, the overwhelming majority of the late material dates to the Late Roman/Byzantine period (3rd–6th century). The Roman period architecture yielded evidence for several phases; but the floor levels, close to the modern surface of the tell, were not well preserved, and it is difficult to associate the favious assemblages found on these floors and in pits with specific building phases. Indeed the most important assemblages come from pits dug from uncertain surfaces. In addition to remains of domestic structures, the Byzantine period yielded a well-preserved *mikveh* (Jewish ritual bath) dated by C_{14} to around 525 C.E. By the 6th century, if not earlier, the tell was permanently abandoned.

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HAROLD A. LIEBOWITZ

YIRON (PLACE) [Heb *yir'ôn*]. A fortified city listed as part of the inheritance of the tribe of Naphtali (Josh 19:38). The name does not appear elsewhere in the Bible. The LXX renders the name both as *Iarion* (LXXB) and as *Keroe* (LXXA). The town is probably mentioned in the list of towns in Galilee conquered by Tiglath-pileser III: Ak *Ir-ru-[na]*. The ancient toponym is preserved in the village of Yarun (M.R. 189276), which is situated in the Upper Galilee of Lebanon at an altitude of 800 m above sea level and 5 km S of Bint Jibel. Archaeological surveys uncovered there Iron Age sherds. Scholars maintain that the place was founded as one of the Israelite mountain settlements (Abel *GP* 2: 65, 351; Press 1954: 405–406; Garstang 1931: 102 n. 1; *SWP* 1: 258).

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RAMI ARAV

YOD. The tenth letter of the Hebrew alphabet.

YOHANAN BEN ZAKKAI. Rabbinic Judaism pictures Yohanan as the person most responsible for the survival of Judaism after the Great Roman War of 66 C.E.–73 C.E., and the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple in 70 C.E. By establishing a school in Jamnia/Yavneh, Yohanan—a legislative innovator, a mystic, and a creative biblical exegete—made it possible for Judaism to survive despite the destruction of its physical and spiritual centers.

Even though Yohanan plays a central role in the rabbis' construction of the history of Judaism, several American scholars have argued for the impossibility of writing conventional biographies of the early masters such as Yohanan, or of establishing the validity of the tradition's claims about them (Green 1978). Unlike other cultures of late antiquity, rabbinic Judaism did not leave us any documents organized around the names or sayings of individual sages (Porton 1981). Rather, Jewish texts are organized around themes, topics, or scriptural verses (Green 1978: 80). Moreover, rabbinic comments "almost always focus on matters of detail, so that they (the rabbis) appear as glossators, never as innovators" (Green 1978: 80). Even the literary features of the rabbinic texts mitigate against our discovering much about the figures who appear in them, for the materials in these documents have been shaped and transmitted in literary patterns which "by [their] nature remove us from a historical figure because they 'package' or epitomize his thought, obscure idiosyncrasy and unique modes of expression, and thereby conceal distinctive elements of personality, character and intellect" (Green 1978: 81). Finally, we lack certainty even about the reliability of the attributions (Green 1978: 83), because we are often confronted with inconsistencies concerning the attribution of a particular saying when we compare the parallel versions of a pericope or the relevant manuscripts (ibid., 84).

It is not surprising, therefore, that the traditions of Yohanan ben Zakkai have been preserved and transmitted according to the frameworks and agenda of the editors of several collections and not as part of a narrative centering on Yohanan's life or career (Neusner 1970: 1). Nor are the inconsistencies which we find among the various parallel accounts of a single event unexpected (Neusner 1970: 5). Furthermore, the lacunae we encounter in our information is not unanticipated (ibid., 5–6).

Neusner's study of the Yohanan-traditions has demonstrated that the different rabbinic collections and the various strata of these texts preserve dissimilar information and paint disparate pictures of Yohanan. Neusner has shown that while the earliest strata of the Tannaitic midrashim contain minimal references to Yohanan's view of the Revolt, his work at Jamnia, his mysticism, and his principles of biblical exegesis, it does not mention his escape from Jerusalem, a story central to the rabbinic view of his importance (1970: 16–35, esp. 35). The Yohanan-material in the Mishnah, which describe him as a lawyer-judge who exhibits little or no interest in historical or political events, has virtually no relationship to the Yohanan-corpus in the Tannaitic midrashim (Neusner 1970: 62–63) or the Tosefta (ibid., 81). Many passages designated as Tannaitic in the Babylonian Gemara add new information to the picture of Yohanan's activities and teachings found in the earlier texts. In some cases we find different versions of rulings first encountered in the Mishnah, in others we see significant expansions of earlier pericopae, and in still others we discover totally new information (Neusner 1970: 110). The Amoraic stratum of the Palestinian Talmud indicates that only a few of Yohanan's legal sayings were subjected to serious study in the later Palestinian academies (Neusner 1970: 155). Much of the material concerning Yohanan's life first occurs in the Amoraic stratum of the Babylonian Talmud (Neusner 1970: 156), so that a substantial amount of information about Yohanan's career appears for the first time in the stratum of both talmuds created furthest from his lifetime. Because material which occurs in later texts appears to be late (Neusner 1970: 265) and most of the biographical information we have comes from the later strata, it is unlikely that we can construct an accurate biographical sketch of Yohanan ben Zakkai. Furthermore, because the earliest strata of Yohanan's sayings are brief, while much material occurs for the first time or at least is fully developed for the first time in the later strata (Neusner 1970: 273), it is also doubtful that we can paint an historically accurate portrait of Yohanan's intellectual activity.

Even if we ignore the problems outlined above, the traditions about Yohanan ben Zakkai do not yield much information about him. The exact dates of his birth and death are unknown to us, and we do not learn anything about his parents (Neusner 1970a: 12) or his early schooling (ibid., 31). Although Mishnah *'Abot* tells us that Yohanan took over from Hillel and Shammai (Neusner 1970a: 33), it is only much later traditions which draw a strong connection between Yohanan ben Zakkai and Hillel (Neusner 1970: 110). It is also striking that Yohanan does not quote Hillel or that neither Hillel's nor Yohanan's disciples juxtaposed the supposed master with his famous disciple (Neusner 1970: 290). Neusner suggests that con-

necting Yohanan with Hillel reflects "the desire to claim continuity of Pharisaic leadership from Hillel before the destruction [of the Temple] to Yohanan b. Zakkai after it . . ." (1970: 41–43, quoted from 43). In a comparatively late source we are told that Yohanan was a tradesman (Neusner 1970a: 16), a fact minimally supported by other late material which informs us that he had some knowledge about how the systems of weights and measures were employed in the marketplace (ibid., 17–18).

From passages in the Babylonian Talmud we learn that Yohanan moved with his wife and son to Arav in Galilee; however, we are not informed about why he left Jerusalem for the north (Neusner 1970a: 47). Yohanan was not well known during this period, for it appears that he attracted only one student, Hanina ben Dosa (Neusner 1970a: 50–53). Yohanan returned to Jerusalem after spending perhaps twenty years in Galilee (Neusner 1970a: 47). It is possible that Yohanan's disagreements with the Sadducees (Neusner 1970a: 75–86) and the priests (ibid., 61–75; 86–89; Allon 1977: 318–23) should be set during this period.

Perhaps the most famous event of Yohanan's life is his escape from the besieged Jerusalem, his meeting with Vespasian, and his eventual settling in Jamnia. The story of the escape occurs in relatively late collections: *ʾAvot de Rabbi Nathan A*, *ʾAvot de Rabbi Nathan B*, *Lamentations Rabbah*, and Babylonian Talmud *Gittin* (Neusner 1970: 228–34; Saldarini 1975; Schaefer 1979: 44–56). Neusner argues that "[n]one can possibly date from Tannaitic times . . ." (1970: 228). He believes the versions in *ʾAvot de Rabbi Nathan* are the earliest, while that in the Babylonian Talmud is "clearly a composite" (1970: 228), with the version in *Lamentations Rabbah*, perhaps a post-Islamic text, having been "corrected in important details to conform to the criticism of b. Git . . ." (ibid., 232). Neusner suggests that "some sort of independent materials circulated widely, and were used by the authors of the several stories independently of one another" (1970: 233). Saldarini argues that "all four versions of the escape story depend upon a *Vorlage*, a basic, original story which then developed through two traditions into the four versions" (1975: 190). He thinks that the original story of Yohanan's escape "runs from his being carried out of Jerusalem in a coffin to his meeting with Vespasian where he predicts that Vespasian will be emperor and Vespasian grants him a school in Jamnia" (1975: 199), so that the original story focused on the founding of the school in Jamnia. The emphasis on the siege and destruction of Jerusalem probably occurred after the Bar Kokhba War, at which time "many supplementary details and motifs were added" (1975: 199). Although we cannot know what actually happened or whether Yohanan and Vespasian ever actually met, Saldarini states that "a reasonable hypothesis is that Vespasian had ordered escaping Jews to be quartered in Jamnia and that once there Johanan did the natural thing and began teaching. Only gradually did his school become authoritative and central for Judaism. The story of the meeting with Vespasian explains that gradual development by one, critical meeting" (1975: 204).

Schaefer offers the most detailed analysis of the several versions of the escape (1979: 57–58) and concludes that the speculations and theories about which versions are earlier or later are irrelevant (1979: 62). The historical value of the details in each rabbinic source must be established independently and by taking the *tendenz* of each document into account (1979: 98). Further, Schaefer believes that because late sources can contain valid historical information about earlier events, the date of a text's final redaction is not always relevant (1979: 57–62). He argues that on some points the rabbinic materials are dependent on Josephus and other materials from his time (ibid., 92–93). Schaefer concludes that the Romans probably had information about the affairs within Jerusalem and that they controlled the negotiations with Yohanan (1979: 70–72). Although it is impossible precisely to date Yohanan's escape from Jerusalem or discover the reasons behind it, Schaefer suggests that the most important factor was Yohanan's opposition to the war. Schaefer doubts that the burning of the supplies in Jerusalem was the motivating factor behind Yohanan's escape (1979: 62–70; 72–75; 80–82). Schaefer believes that Yohanan was first taken into custody by the Romans in Gophna and then later moved by the Romans to Jamnia (1979: 82–83). He, like Neusner (1970a: 243–45), rejects Allon's (1977a) theory that Jamnia was a Roman prisoner-of-war camp (Schaefer 1979: 88–90). He further rejects the historicity of Yohanan's prophecy about Vespasian's becoming emperor, but Schaefer does suggest that it may go back to an authentic interpretation of Isa 10:34 by Yohanan (1979: 83–88). For this reason Schaefer believes that Yohanan's request to found a school in Jamnia is not a historical fact, but the "foundation myth of rabbinic Judaism" (1979: 98).

By looking at the descriptions of Yohanan and his activity, we can discover what the rabbinic tradition thought was important about itself and its origins. The sayings attributed to Yohanan are not placed in the context of the development of pre-70 rabbinic thought, for he does not quote those who went before him, such as Hillel or Gamaliel I; rather, his laws go back to the biblical prophets or to Moses. Similarly, his exegetical comments always appear as the first example of a rabbinic comment on the particular verse. Thus the tradition pictures Yohanan as standing at the beginning of a new epoch (Neusner 1970: 3). This new epoch saw the foundation of the rabbinic movement, and Yohanan's ritual innovations and his disagreements with the priesthood place the rabbinic usurpation of priestly prerogatives at the very inception of the rabbinic movement. For the rabbis, as symbolized by Yohanan, it was Torah, not military power, which carried the day. Following Jeremiah's advice, Yohanan left the war-torn Jerusalem and retired to Jamnia to study God's word and to teach that word to his disciples. Yohanan was a sage, a lawyer, a mystic, and a biblical exegete. Thus, each of the rabbinic modes of interpreting and expressing Judaism could trace its origin to Yohanan. This meant that nothing was new; it all had been present at the very beginnings of the rabbinic movement. Through the powers he gained from his knowledge of Torah, Yohanan was able to win the respect and admiration of the ruler of the most powerful political and military force of his time. Thus the rabbinic way of life and the activities pursued by the rabbis gave them the ability to conquer all opposition, and this was true from the very inception of the movement. This is probably why Yohanan was described as he was, for by

picturing him in this way, the whole of rabbinic Judaism was placed at the origin of the movement and all facets of its being were present from its birth.

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GARY G. PORTON

YOKE [Heb *môṭ/môṭâh, ʿôl/ʿōl, ṣemed;* Gk *zugos* and related terms]. Most language, vocabulary, and concept studies make it very evident that terms which have come to be considered technical were once in common usage. This is certainly true of the "concept of the yoke" as it developed within the context of ANE, Hebrew, Apocryphal, rabbinic, and Christian literature. In the earliest periods the yoke was the simple instrument which bound animals—singularly, in pairs, or in groups—to a mechanism of production. Such a concept was very visual, concrete, and specific.

The use of a yoke mechanism employed to bind and control animals was transferred very early in ANE usage to instruments used to control and discipline human prisoners. After the fashion of the "yoke" commonly used to carry water, the center of a yoke bar was secured to the prisoner's neck and his hands were fastened at the two extreme ends (see Jeremiah 27–28).

From such early concrete concepts of the yoke, however, figurative ideas began to develop. The term came to apply to the number "2" in the fashion of a pair or yoke of oxen, and to the area of land a yoke of oxen could plow in a day. This figurative interpretation was not limited to the world of animals; it also came to be applied to human beings.

In all of the earliest applications of the yoke concept, the yoke was seen as a symbol of control, ownership, or service. Consequently, the yoke became a symbol quite early of the owner-owned, master-slave, lord-subject relationship. Indeed, even as animals were frequently marked with the symbol of the owner either through branding or through the fastening of a cord or chain to which was affixed an ownership tag, so owners, masters, or lords came to mark their human property either with actual brands (i.e., Cain) or with fastened tags (i.e., at the ear hole). These practices are frequently characterized as or designated by the term "yoke." There is a significant relationship between the continuing development of ornamental pieces such as necklaces, anklets, bracelets, earrings, and the like, and the use of these "slave tags" fastened to cords or chains. Indeed, there would also seem to be a close relationship between the "putting on of the Yoke of the Kingship of God" in Tannaitic Judaism and following, the use of "tefillin" as symbols of one's being marked as the "subject of God," and the wider concept of the yoke.

Out of these very literal attitudes toward the yoke, more and more metaphorical applications were made. Forced economic or political labor (corvée) was regularly designated as "bearing the yoke." To "wear the yoke" indicated one's economic subservience to another. To "wear the yoke" symbolized one's subjugation to one's political or economic ruler, with or without actual yokes or subjugation tags. To submit to the yoke either by allowing a foot literally to be placed on one's neck, by allowing a literal yoke to be placed on one's neck and hands, by wearing a slave tag, or by bringing tribute to one's sovereign or owner (tribute is frequently designated by the term "yoke") was thus to acknowledge the ownership and sovereignty of another. To lay the yoke on someone either by placing one's foot on his neck or by the other real or symbolic means declared the sovereignty of the king or owner.

It is no surprise to find that these symbols at the literal, economic, and political levels would eventually be used to describe and define the relationship between man and his celestial owners or sovereigns, the gods. Even as earthly conquerors and owners declared their sovereignty and ownership of their subjects through "the laying on of the yoke," and the conquered and slaves acknowledged that sovereignty and ownership through "the receiving of the yoke" (frequently accomplished through the bringing of tribute by means of the use of a yoke, in which case the "bearing of the yoke" was transferred in meaning to "the bringing of the tribute"), so attitudes and practices of religion and worship appropriated the familiar patterns related to economic and political life and applied it to relationships between gods and humans.

The yoke concept within the Hebrew literary traditions is strongly related to the idea of the Sovereignty Covenant. God laid his yoke on his people. His people either bore the yoke (an obedient, proper relationship) or broke off the yoke (a relationship of rebellion). God's people might choose to attempt to wear the yokes of other gods, which was the same as throwing off the yoke of Israel's god. Obviously, one could not wear two yokes at the same time.

The wearing of the yoke as viewed in Hebrew scripture was the outward sign of an inward relationship. Thus one might bring the offerings and do all of the things of religion and still not be bearing the yoke in terms of attitudes and relationships. Hebrew scriptures can thus view the bearing of the yoke of God's sovereignty as joy, honor, and privilege rather than tragedy, hardship, and sorrow.

The yoke concept in apocryphal Jewish literature continued to reflect the general secular and religious ideas noted above. The yoke figure underwent a great change during this period, however, as it was coupled with such ideas as

Torah, wisdom, and God's instructions. The yoke was evidence of one's acknowledgment of the sovereignty of God, who gave these expressions of his nature and will to the people, and it was the people's expression of their relationship to God. It would seem that this association provided a link between the more general use of the yoke concept in prior material, and the liturgical use in later Tannaitic and perhaps even Christian literature.

When one comes to the Tannaitic material (the rabbinic materials from approximately 200 B.C.E. to 200 C.E.), one finds in place a new and dynamic liturgical and personal employment of the term "yoke." When the Shema was recited twice daily and when tefillin were used, the Jew took upon himself the yoke of God's kingship. He hereby declared God's sovereignty in his choice, direction, discipline, and blessing of Israel. He also declared the oneness of God in contrast to the many gods of the idolaters and polytheists, and, perchance, with the developing proclamation of the divinity of the Christ of the Christians.

Nor is the yoke image absent in the NT. Indeed, the Christian concept of the yoke may well be a reflection both of the background of Christianity in Judaism and the conflicts which developed between these two brother faiths. The synoptic materials speak of taking up the yoke in connection with learning of the Messiah. Such an act is associated with meekness and lowliness. Such a relationship is also associated with restfulness and peace. Certainly, as with the Tannaim, the yoke was seen as an indication of privilege and honor, and not reproach and hardship.

It is also likely that the statements concerning taking up one's cross are to be associated with the Jewish practice of reciting the Shema each day as the sign and symbol of God's sovereignty. Indeed, the use of the term "daily" in association with this Christian concept would make this suggestion even more likely. When one realizes that the term for the cross beam which Jesus is pictured as having carried to the place of execution is the same term frequently used for the cross beam known as the yoke, and when one realizes that at least some of the early Christian interpreters of Jesus' words saw a specific relationship between cross and yoke, the likelihood of there having been a daily assumption of the "Yoke of the Kingship of God" (the term used by the Jews with respect to the Shema/assumption of the Yoke of the Kingship of God) by Christians via some type of recitation becomes more likely. It would seem reasonable to associate such a ritual as including the recitation of the model prayer or some other liturgical formula. Perhaps, also, as the assumption of the yoke was symbolized in tefillin in Judaism, some religious object(s) or symbol(s) were used as a part of this personal worship among the Christians. For further discussion see *TDNT* 1: 572; 2: 96–101; *ISBE* 5: 3126–27.

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CHARLES L. TYER

YOKEFELLOW (PERSON) [Gk *syzygos*]. A member of the Philippian church urged by Paul to help Euodia and Syntyche to settle their differences (Phil 4:3). Paul addresses him or her as Gk *gnēsie syzyge*. There has been some speculation that this could be read as a proper name, Syzygus, with Gk *gnēsie* being interpreted as "truly called." In this case Phil 4:3 would offer a parallel to the play on the name of Onesimus in Philemon 11. Thus the propriety of Syzygus' name would be indicated: as one "truly called" Syzygus (lit. "yoked together") he was to bind these two women together again in accord. But no corroborating evidence exists to confirm Syzygus as a proper name.

If the epithet, however, is rendered as "true yokefellow," based on the literal meaning of *syzygos*, "yoked together," then the question arises as to who this was. Theories have suggested a broad range of candidates, among them: (a) Epaphroditus, as the bearer of the letter, who "seems most probable . . . for in his case alone there would be no risk of making the reference unintelligible by the suppression of the name" (Lightfoot 1888: 158); (b) Timothy, despite the fact that he is coauthor of the epistle (1:1), since Paul earlier in Phil 2:20 had indicated he was "genuinely (Gk *gnēsios*) anxious" for the welfare of the Philippians; (c) Paul's wife, perhaps Lydia, on the supposition they may have married, i.e., become partners or yokefellows. The host of nominees for yokefellow also includes the husband or brother of EUODIA or SYNTYCHE, Paul's companions Silas or Luke, the chief bishop at Philippi, the whole Church addressed as one person, and even the Lord himself. It does seem rather certain that the person addressed as yokefellow must be male, since one would have expected Paul to address a female as Gk *gnēsia*, but beyond that, as the multitude of suggested names testifies, scholarship has hardly reached a consensus.

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YOM KIPPUR [Heb *yôm kippûr*]. See DAY OF ATONEMENT.

YOQNEAM, TELL. See JOKNEAM (PLACE).

YUTTAH (PLACE). See JUTTAH (PLACE).

Z

ZAANAN (PLACE) [Heb *ṣaʾănān*]. A village in the Shephelah of Judah (Mic 1:11). While the town is otherwise unknown, it is likely to be identified with Zenan (Josh 15:37), listed in the context of the other Shephelah towns Adullum, Lachish, Achzib, and Mareshah (vv 33–44), which are all mentioned in Micah's dirge (1:10–16). The difference in spelling is an *ʾalep;* the *nomen proprium loci* could have had variant spellings, the Joshua occurrence could have been written defectively, or Micah could have added the *ʾalep* to make clear his wordplay on *yāṣēʾâ* "get out." The grammatical situation is not exactly the same but it may be noteworthy that Mareshah is spelled with an *ʾalep* in the Joshua list and without it in Micah's (Josh 15:44 where variant mss record the defective spelling of Mareshah like Mic 1:15). In Mic 1:11, the Greek versions spell "Zaanan" alternatively *Sennaar, Sennan, Sainnan, Sanaōn,* and *Saniōn.* Symmachus translates the word *euthēnousa* "thriving, flourishing," evidently reading *šaʾănān* "at ease, secure" as attested by 1 MS Kenn. and 4 de Rossi. Peshitta records Zoan. On the basis of Arabic *el-ʿAraq,* some have identified with modern ʿArâq el-Kharba W of Lachish, but this location has gained no consensus (Abel *GP* 2: 455).

Micah's lament is well known for its paronomasia whereby a town's *nomen* is its omen, and for its personification of the Shephelah towns with their inhabitants [Heb *yôšebet*] as women (verbs and suffixes are feminine). See MAROTH. As mentioned, Zaanan is a pun on the Hebrew word for "get out," and the wordplay is continued with the following Beth-ezel. Therefore, v 11b should be translated, " 'Lady Exiton' [Zaanan] will not get out; mourning in 'Witholdon' [Beth-ezel] will keep her support from you!" The point is that the neighboring village of Beth-ezel will be so busy mourning her own destruction that she will be unable to come to the rescue of her sister village Zaanan. See Elliger 1934; Kellerman 1978.

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LAMONTTE M. LUKER

ZAANANNIM (PLACE) [Heb *ṣaʿănannîm*]. One of the place-names on the S border of Naphtali (Josh 19:33), and the site of the camping place of Heber the Kenite (Judg 4:11). The complete name of Zaanannim is "oak of Zaanannim" (Heb *ʾēlôn bĕṣaʿănannîm*), and so probably refers to a familiar local geographical feature rather than a town name. Parallels to this type of name are the Diviner's Oak in Judg 9:37 and the well-known oak of Moreh in Gen 12:6 and Deut 11:30.

The site of Zaanannim has not been satisfactorily identified. Nor is it yet clear whether we are dealing with two sites or one; it seems more probable that this is one location. Abel (*GP* 2: 64, 312, 439) accepts them as one site and identifies Zaanannim as Khan et-Tujjar, a caravan station between Beth-shean and Damascus, four miles SE of Adam. This caravan station was part of the Via Maris, and located near Tell Abu Qedeis, which is to be identified with the Kedesh in Judg 4:11.

Aharoni (*LBHG,* 201) places Zaanannim on the border of Naphtali's inheritance in the vicinity of the Jabneel valley, away from the battle zone in Judges 4, toward Hazor, whither Sisera fled. Kallai (*HGB,* 228–34) notes that the site is closely associated with Mount Tabor, and also places it near Tell Abu Qedeis, in proximity to Taanach and Megiddo. He also states that the Kedesh in Judg 4:11 is in no way related to the Kedesh-Naphtali in Judg 4:6, the home of Barak, the son of Abinoam.

Finally, Noth (*Josua* HAT) claimed that Josh 19:33 was a distorted description of Naphtali's N border, but this view is not accepted by the majority of scholars.

It seems best, therefore, to identify Zaanannim as a well-known sacred tree near the S border of Naphtali, on the edge of the territory of Kedesh, in the vicinity of Mt. Tabor. A more exact location cannot be given.

SIDNIE ANN WHITE

ZAAVAN (PERSON) [Heb *zaʿăwān*]. A clan name in the genealogy of Seir the Horite in Gen 36:27. Zaavan also appears in the parallel genealogical clan list in 1 Chr 1:42 (KJV reads Zavan). In both lists he is described as second of three sons of the clan chief Ezer, and is thus a grandson of Seir. These clans, not to be confused with the Hurrians, inhabited the area of Edom prior to the coming of the Esau clans and are said to have been subsequently dispossessed by these more aggressive peoples (Deut 2:12–22). Their designation as "cave dwellers" may be a reflection of their use of these natural shelters for themselves and their flocks or it may be a disparaging remark by their conquerors to demonstrate how "uncivilized" they were. The conquest of the Horite tribal territories in Edom is paired in the text with the conquest of Canaan by the tribes of Israel.

VICTOR H. MATTHEWS

ZABAD (PERSON) [Heb *zābād*]. The name "Zabad" can be understood to mean "(Yahweh or God) has made a gift." In the OT, the verb is used only in Gen 30:20 (Zakovitch 1980: 31–50).

1. A descendant of Judah, who shared Israelite and Egyptian ancestry (1 Chr 2:36–37). He was the son of Nathan, grandson of Attai, and great-grandson of Jarha. The Chronicler reports that Jarha was an Egyptian slave, owned by Sheshan, to whom Sheshan gave his daughter as a wife (1 Chr 2:34–35). Zabad was the father of Ephlal.

2. A descendant of Ephraim (1 Chr 7:21). Tensions can be seen in 1 Chr 7:20–29 apparently arising from the literary history of Chronicles. 1 Chr 7:20 begins a linear genealogy characterized by the form "[name 1] and [name 2] his son, and [name 3] his son," etc. Chronicles would thus depict Zabad as the son of Tahath and the father of Shuthelah, Ezer, and Elead. Ezer and Elead were killed when they went down to raid cattle belonging to the natives of Gath (1 Chr 7:20–21). 1 Chr 7:22 reports that "Ephraim their father mourned many days." If "father" is understood to mean "ancestor" some tension may be avoided, but other difficulties remain. Ephraim would be understood as mourning the seventh generation of his descendants. This incident is used to explain the name of another son of Ephraim (v 23), Beriah (Heb *bĕrîʿâ*), so named because "evil had come upon his house" (Heb *bĕrēʿâ hāyĕtâ bĕbêtô*). After a notice about Ephraim's daughter (v 24) the genealogy of the line of Ephraim through Beriah (characterized by the form discussed above, though Resheph is an exception) continues in vv 25–27, culminating with Joshua. Understandings of the literary history of this passage vary, as can be seen in the commentaries.

3. The son of Ahlai, listed as one of King David's outstanding warriors in 1 Chr 11:41b. The warriors of greatest renown were known as "the three": Josheb-basshebeth, a Tahchemonite; Eleazar, the son of Dodo; and Shammah, the son of Agee the Hararite (2 Sam 23:8–12). (1 Chr 11:10–14 mention the exploits of Jashobeam a Hachmonite and Eleazar the son of Dodo.) Other warriors of renown were called the thirty (2 Sam 23:24; 1 Chr 11:15). Neither the list in 2 Sam 23:24–39 nor the list in 1 Chr 11:26–47 contains exactly thirty names, although 1 Chr 11:26–41a parallels the list in 2 Sam 23:24–39 with some variations. The names found in 1 Chr 11:41b–47, on the basis of differences in both form and content, are sometimes considered to have come from another source (Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 159–60; Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 88–91; Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 103–104). See also DAVID'S CHAMPIONS.

4. Identified by the Chronicler as a servant of King Joash; he was the son of Shimeath the Ammonitess, who with Jehozabad, son of Shimrith the Moabitess, conspired against Joash because the king had ordered the stoning of Zechariah the prophet (1 Chr 24:25–26). Zechariah was the son of the priest Jehoiada, who had shown great kindness and loyalty to Joash. After the death of Jehoiada, when Joash turned from God to idols, Zechariah had announced God's judgment, "You have forsaken Yahweh and Yahweh has forsaken you" (2 Chr 24:20). Zabad and Jehozabad killed Joash as he lay in his bed wounded from his encounter with the Syrian army (2 Chr 24:23–26). The Chronicler does not report any consequences suffered by these servants for the assassination of the king, but does report that though Joash was buried in the city of David, he was not buried in the royal tombs. The Chronicler's report of the death of Joash differs from that of 2 Kgs 12:20–22—Eng 12:19–21. The RSV adopts the reading found in the LXX and in many Hebrew mss and identifies the servant first named in 2 Kgs 12:22—Eng 12:21 as Jozacar (Heb *yôzākār*) the son of Shimeath; the MT of *BHS* has Jozabad (Heb *yôzābād*). 2 Kgs 12:22—Eng 12:21 identifies the second assassination as Jehozabad the son of Shomer.

5. An Israelite, and a descendant of Zattu (Ezra 10:27, Gk *Zabad;* 1 Esdr 9:28, Gk *Sabathos*). Zabad is listed as one of those who divorced his foreign wife in accordance with the covenant described in Ezra 9–10 = 1 Esdr 8:65–9:36—Eng 8:68–9:36. The list of those who divorced their foreign wives and disowned the children born to them may seem "extraordinarily small considering the furor and the census figures in chapter ii" (Myers *Ezra-Nehemiah* AB, 87). Myers discusses three possible explanations: (1) the problem was not as serious as it would seem on the surface; (2) the list preserved is only a partial list perhaps reflecting only the upper classes; or (3) the reform was not successful (ibid., 87–88; *1 and 2 Esdras* AB, 99). Stating that the first explanation can be easily dismissed, he favors the second explanation. Blenkinsopp, on the other hand, argues that the reform was not successful (*Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 197–201).

6. A descendant of Hashum who divorced his foreign wife (Ezra 10:33, Gk *Zabed;* 1 Esdr 9:33, Gk A *Sabannaious*, B *Bannaious*). See above, no. 5.

7. A descendant of Nebo who divorced his foreign wife (Ezra 10:43, Gk *Sedem;* 1 Esdr 9:35, Gk *Zabadaias*). See above, #5.

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ZABADEANS. Name of an Arab tribe invaded and looted by Jonathan the Hasmonaean in 143 B.C.E. (1 Macc 12:31). Josephus (*Ant* 13.179) made a geographical and ethnic error, stating that Jonathan raided "Arabia" and took "Nabatean" prisoners. However, the additional information (of taking prisoners and selling them in Damascus) is reasonable, although its source cannot be traced.

Jonathan's victory over the Zabadeans is apparently alluded to in *Meg. Taʿan.*, "On the seventeenth of it (Adar) Gentiles arose against the surviving scribes in the country of Chalcis and Be-Zabdi(n) and there was a salvation" (Lichtenstein 1931/32: 36). This is probably a dim echo of Jonathan's resourcefulness in rescuing Jewish refugees who had taken shelter in the Lebanon Valley since the persecutions of Antiochus IV Epiphanes. The specific circumstantial background was probably the political rivalry of Jonathan and the Zabadeans during the wars of Seleucid succession. In fact, Jonathan had already carried out similar campaigns in the past together with Judas Maccabeus and Simon (1 Macc 5:9ff). Historically, the

evidence of *Meg. Taʿan.* sounds reasonable, but the *Scholion* (i.e., the Commentary) annexed to it does not help to solve the mystery, due to its lateness and medieval atmosphere (Efron 1987: 208–209).

It is difficult to ascertain the precise geographical location of the Zabadeans. Although 1 Macc 12:31 gives two possibilities—the Emesa region and the Chalcis-Damascus area—the second seems to be more attractive as it is supported by *Meg. Taʿan.* If the Zabadeans were related to the Arab ruler Zabdiel (mentioned in 1 Macc 11:16–17), and if Zabdiel was father of Imalkue the Ituraean, we could further reinforce the second possibility (Kasher 1988: 37–41).

The name "Zabadeans" is derived from *Z-B-D* meaning "to give as a present" (Harding 1971: 294–95, Altheim-Stiehl 1964: 279, 296, 356). There was an ancient settlement in the Lebanon Valley called *Kaprozabdaiōn* (*CIG* 9893); to this day, a village called *Zabed* and a region called *Zebdani* may be found along the Beirut-Damascus road, and several other sites whose name include the elements *Z-B-D* are located N to Damascus and in the foothills of Mt. Hermon (Dussaud 1927: 203–4; Abel 1949: 226; Dar 1978: 62–63, 143). This name, known since biblical times (*EncMiqr* 11: 892–893; *EncMiqr* 11: 892), remained fairly common in Jewish circles during the Second Temple, Mishnaic, and Talmudic periods (e.g. Matt 4:20–22; Kosovsky 1985: 208–209).

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ARYEH KASHER

ZABBAI (PERSON) [Heb *zabbay*]. **1.** A descendant of Bebai and one of the returned exiles whom Ezra required to divorce his foreign wife (Ezra 10:28 = 1 Esdr 9:28). Noth claims that Zabbai is a shortened form of a name derived from the Aramaic root *zbd,* "gift"—a name much more prevalent in the postexilic era (*IPN,* 39, 46–47). For further discussion, see ATHLAI.

2. The father of Baruch, one of those who repaired a section of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh 3:20). Clines raises the possibility that Zabbai is also the Zaccai listed in Ezra 2:29 (*Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* NCBC, 149); however, that is highly conjectural. Myers points out similarities between "Zabbai" and an Assyrian personal name and "Zabe," which appears in the Alalakh texts (*Ezra, Nehemiah* AB, 111).

JEFFREY A. FAGER

ZABDI (PERSON) [Heb *zabdî*]. **1.** Grandfather of Achan, son of Zerah, from the tribe of Judah (Josh 7:1). Achan sequestered some of the devoted booty; in response to this infidelity, the Lord punished Israel by having them defeated by Ai. Joshua complained bitterly to the Lord and was told to assemble Israel by tribes. The guilty party was revealed by a narrowing process: first the tribe of Judah, then the family of Zerah, and next Zabdi (Josh 7:16). Zabdi presented his family man by man, and his grandson Achan, son of Carmi, was finally identified as the perpetrator. Achan and his household were subsequently stoned by Israel under the direction of Joshua (Josh 7:25).

2. Third of nine sons of Shimei, a Benjaminite (1 Chr 8:19). Shimei (= Shema) was the head of a Benjaminite family from Aijalon which along with Beriah's family routed the occupants of Gath (1 Chr 8:13), an event which is not noted elsewhere. The time period covered by this genealogy is not mentioned. In addition, neither the connection of Shimei/Shema to earlier Benjaminite generations nor that of Zabdi to later ones is indicated.

3. A state official; a Shiphmite. One of twelve stewards of royal property appointed by David, his specific charge was oversight of the produce of the vineyards (1 Chr 27:27). Of the twelve, he is one of seven identified with a gentilic rather than by paternity, indicating perhaps that he was from outside the tribal structure. There is no other occurrence of the term "Shiphmite."

4. A Levite descended from Asaph (Neh 11:17 and 1 Chr 9:15 [read Zabdi for Zichri]). Both lists indicate four generations (beginning with Asaph, then Zabdi/Zichri, followed by Micah, and ending with Mattaniah) and both include this line with several other Levitical lines. The list in Nehemiah is part of the enumeration of the volunteers and draftees who repopulated Jerusalem when Nehemiah restored the walls. In Chronicles the same basic list provides the names of those who first returned from exile and inhabited Jerusalem. For detailed comparisons of the two lists, see Braun (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 129–44) and Williamson (*Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 341–54).

RICHARD W. NYSSE

ZABDIEL (PERSON) [Heb *zabdîʾel*]. The name of three different persons mentioned in the OT. Zabdiel is derived from "God" (Heb *ʾēl*) and "gift" (Heb *zābād*), and means "my gift is God" (BDB, 256; cf. *TPNAH,* 132–33).

1. The name of a father of one of David's officers, Jashobeam, son of Zabdiel (1 Chr 27:2). The family was descended from Perez of the tribe of Judah.

2. The overseer of a group of priests in Jerusalem according to Neh 11:14. Zabdiel is described as the "son of the great ones" (Heb *haggĕdôlîm*). This term may be a title or it may represent a personal name. The confusion over the term "great ones" may be seen in the texts of the LXX which either translate the term "son of Haggedolim" or omit it altogether.

3. The Arab who decapitated the Seleucid king Alexander Balas and sent the head to the Egyptian Ptolemy VII (1 Macc 11:17). Alexander Balas had been defeated by Ptolemy in Cilicia on the S coast of Asia Minor and had then fled to the country E of Damascus (*KlPauly* 1: 483) into the hands of Zabdiel the Arab, who presented Ptol-

emy with the head of his foe. Josephus, knowing the account in 1 Maccabees 11, records that the Arab Zabeilus was responsible for the death of Alexander (*Ant* 13.4.8 §118). Diodorus Siculus (32), however, states that Alexander Balas fled to Arabia and sought refuge with Diocles, a local sheikh, and was killed there by two of his own officers, Heliades and Casius. The accounts in 1 Maccabees and Josephus can be made to agree with that of Diodorus if we posit that the Arabic name of the sheikh was Zabdiel. Diodorus would thus have recorded only the Greek name Diocles (meaning "glory of Zeus"), which was probably not the original name of an Arab sheikh. Evidence does exist for the use of the name "Zabdila" among Arabs in Palmyra (Cooke 1903: 272). Livy (*Ep.* 52) contradicts the accounts of 1 Maccabees, Josephus, and Diodorus by stating that Alexander died in battle with Demetrius, his contender for the Seleucid throne.

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MICHAEL E. HARDWICK

ZABUD (PERSON) [Heb *zābûd*]. A priest and friend of the king at Solomon's court (1 Kgs 4:5). He was a son of Nathan, but it is not clear if this was Nathan the Prophet, Nathan the son of David (2 Sam 5:14), or another Nathan. The responsibilities of the office of king's friend are not specified, but he was probably a counselor to the king (Jones *Kings* NICOT, 137). A parallel may be found in David's court where Hushai was both king's friend and counselor (2 Sam 15:37; 16:16; 17:5 ff.).

PHILLIP E. MCMILLION

ZABULON. See ZEBULUN.

ZACCAI (PERSON) [Heb *zakkāy*]. Var. CHORBE. Head of a family of Babylonian exiles who are listed as returnees under the leadership of Zerubbabel and others (Ezra 2:9 [= Neh 7:14 = 1 Esdr 5:12]). In place of the name Zaccai, the list in 1 Esdras gives the form CHORBE. For discussion of the Ezra 2 list, see AKKUB.

CHANEY R. BERGDALL

ZACCHAEUS (PERSON) [Gk *Zakchaios*]. Apart from the passage in Luke 19:1–10, Zacchaeus is otherwise unknown. The name is the graecized form of the Hebrew, *Zakkai* or *Zaccai* (Neh 7:14; Ezra 2:9; *Zakchos* in the LXX). It appears as an officer of Judas Maccabees (2 Macc 10:19) and of the father of a famous rabbi from the end of the 1st century, Yoḥanan b. Zakkai. *Zakkay* means "clean, innocent" and is often used in parallelism with *ṣaddiq*, "righteous, upright." It is not to be associated with the name Zechariah. According to later ecclesiastical tradition, the Zacchaeus of Luke 19 became the bishop of Caesarea (Ps-Clem. *Hom.* 3.63–72; *Recogn.* 3.66,4), appointed by Peter against the will of Zacchaeus. Clement of Alexandria identified him with Matthias (*Strom.* 4,6,35).

The story of Zacchaeus cannot be viewed as a later and secondary development of the call of Levi (Mark 2:14–17; Luke 5:27–32), for this theory accounts for neither the name nor such details as the climbing of the tree and the localization of the scene in Jericho (*Luke* AB, 1219,1223; *Luke* NIGTC 695). Moreover, Jericho was a likely city for a toll collector (better translation than tax collector?) of some standing. The city was an important customs station for the major trade route between Judea and the lands E of the Jordan. It also produced and exported costly balsams (*NIDNTT* 3: 758).

Perhaps the most important question about the Zacchaeus story is its literary form. Is it a legend, a conversion story (Kariamadam 1985: 56–58), a vindication story (White 1979: 93–96), or a biographical apophthegm in which the saying of Jesus is the point of the story and generally comes at the end (Bultmann 1963: 55–56)? The latter seems the most likely. Also, the various biblical criticisms yield different understandings of the passage.

Zacchaeus is portrayed in gentle, humorous fashion, and the "it is necessary" places the whole narrative within God's providence. The portrayal of Zacchaeus is complex. As a chief toll collector (*architelōnēs* occurs only here in the whole of Greek literature), viewed by his fellow townspeople as a sinner and described as "lost," Zacchaeus certainly qualifies as one of the "poor" or disadvantaged to whom the Lukan Jesus is particularly sent.

The dominant thought pattern in the Zacchaeus story is seeking, seeing, and salvation. Zacchaeus sought to see (cf. Luke 9:9; 23:8) who Jesus was and even climbed a sycamore tree to get a better view. But Jesus noticed Zacchaeus in the tree and invited himself to Zacchaeus' house. Exactly as instructed, Zacchaeus made haste and descended and received Jesus joyfully. Once they arrived at the house, Jesus explained that today salvation had come to this house because Zacchaeus, too, was a son of Abraham (cf. Luke 13:16); for the Son of Man came to seek and save the lost (19:9–10). He who sought to see Jesus is really sought, seen, and saved by him. The movement is from the actions of Zacchaeus to Jesus' actions on his behalf.

Zacchaeus also demonstrates a correct attitude toward wealth. The text does not explicitly say that he cheated anyone (but see Salom 1966: 87; Watson 1966: 282–85). At a minimum, Zacchaeus stood in need of salvation; otherwise, Jesus' comments in vv 9–10 would be nonsensical. Zacchaeus did distance himself from his wealth. He gave half of his goods to the poor, and although the normal recompense for money illegally acquired was that amount plus one fifth (Lev 5:16; 6:1–5; Num 5:5–7), Zacchaeus restored the amount plus a threefold penalty, as demanded of those who steal ox and sheep (Exod 22:1; Jos. *Ant.* 16 §3; *Luke* AB, 1225; *Luke* NIGTC 698). This latter might be a reference to the fourfold restitution that David calls for in 2 Sam 12:6 (Grindlay 1987: 46–47). Apparently, similar practices existed in Roman and Egyptian law.

Zacchaeus and his story have been compared to a number of other pericopes in Luke's gospel. For instance, John the Baptist preached that one should share one's possessions with the poor and that toll collectors should not exact more than what was permitted (3:10–14). The cure of the paralytic (5:17–26) and the story of Zacchaeus have the following in common: presentation of Jesus with a journey

motif, attempt to see Jesus, prevention of this by the crowd, climbing, positive reaction of Jesus, criticism by some men of Jesus' action, and Jesus' reply with a Son of Man saying about salvation. Moreover, both Levi (5:27–35) and Zacchaeus are identified as toll collectors who responded joyfully to Jesus, took a correct stance toward their wealth, and gave a banquet for him in their houses. Again Jesus was on a journey. He took the initiative; he first saw each of the toll collectors. A crowd was present, and Jesus was criticized by adversaries. He defended himself with a saying about his salvific mission. The story of the sinful woman (Luke 7:36–50) likewise resembles that of Zacchaeus: Jesus becomes a guest, the host is named, there is a presentation of a sinful person, there is murmuring against Jesus, the sinner is converted, Jesus defends his actions, and finally, there is a statement of salvation (Kariamadam 1985: 32–33, 48–53). Furthermore, the prodigal son is described as "lost" (15:24,32; cf. vv 4,6,8–9) as is Zacchaeus (19:9).

Luke 18 is particularly significant for understanding 19:1–10 (Hobbie 1977: 285–87). Thanks to a correct attitude toward God, according to 18:9–14, the toll collector went home justified, but the Pharisee did not. Luke makes the rich magistrate similar to Zacchaeus by explicitly calling him rich *(plousios)* and by emphasizing his social role (18:18,23; cf. 19:1). Besides, each needed to be cured of a blindness associated with his wealth which made it impossible for him to enter the kingdom. But with God, salvation is possible. By way of contrast, the rich magistrate acknowledged only Jesus as "good master," clung to his property, and grew sad while Zacchaeus received Jesus with joy, called him "Lord," and separated himself from his wealth.

Between the narrative of the rich magistrate and that of Zacchaeus stands the third prediction of Jesus' death and resurrection and the healing of the blind beggar. Both the story of the blind beggar and that of Zacchaeus begin with a journey notice about Jesus. Like the beggar, Zacchaeus was at first unable to see Jesus, experienced the murmuring of the crowd, remained resolute in his quest and, transformed, acknowledged Jesus as Lord. Is the truly blind man really Zacchaeus who wants "to see Jesus, who he was" (Hamm 1986: 463–65; Kariamadam 1985: 37–38, 62–64)?

The story of Zacchaeus occurs near the end of the travel narrative and reflects its theology. Luke's emphasis is on Jesus' initiative to save the disadvantaged, despite the murmuring of others, and on the divine power present in him to fulfill the promises made to Abraham (Loewe 1974: 330–31). Luke 19:9–10 are probably redactional (Schneider 1975: 278–79) and summarize what is enacted in the story. Furthermore, Jesus incarnates in v 10 the messianic shepherd of Ezekiel (34:2,4,15–16,22; Dupont 1969; 252–53). This overall interpretation is confirmed by the many Lukan parallels to the story of Zacchaeus.

Many Lukan themes appear in the Zacchaeus story. There are God's providence and Jesus, the savior of the disadvantaged, who actually seeks us. Zacchaeus represents persistent effort to seek and to see Jesus, precise and joyful response, hospitality, recognition of Jesus as "Lord," and a correct attitude toward wealth (Kariamadam 1985: 58–72; O'Hanlon 1981: 16–22). Finally, Luke reflects on who really belongs to Israel and makes indirect reference to the journey to Jerusalem.

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ROBERT F. O'TOOLE

ZACCUR (PERSON) [Heb *zakkûr*]. The name Zaccur can be understood to mean "(Yahweh or God) has been mindful."

1. A Reubenite, the father of Shammua (Num 13:4). Shammua was one of the spies sent by Moses from the wilderness of Paran to spy out the land of Canaan (Numbers 13).

2. A man listed by the Chronicler as a descendant of Simeon; he was the son of Hammuel and the father of Shimei (1 Chr 4:26).

3. A Levite, a descendant of Merari, belonging to the family of Jaaziah (1 Chr 24:27).

4. A Levite of the family of Asaph (1 Chr 25:2, 10). Zaccur, according to 1 Chronicles, was the leader of a group or family of twelve persons set apart by David as the third of 24 divisions made up of Levites from the families of Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun to prophesy with musical instruments in the temple. The Asaphites set apart for this duty were under the direction of Asaph, who was under the direction of David (1 Chr 25:1–31).

5. A descendant of Bigvai, listed with Uthai (RSV) as a leader of a group of 70 males who returned from Babylon with Ezra (Ezra 8:14). The consonants and vowels in the body of the MT are *zabbûd.* A note in the Masora parva to be found in the margin of *BHS* indicates that the name is not to be read as "Zabbud" (Heb *zabbûd*) but as "Zaccur" (Heb *zakkûr*). The consonants written in the body of the text and the consonants written in the note in the Masora parva of *BHS* are designated by the terms Ketib and Qere respectively, derived from the Aramaic passive participles meaning "what is written" and "what is read." In printed editions and most mss, the consonants of the Ketib are

pointed with the vowels to be read with the consonants of the Qere note. These notes, which are not used in synagogue scrolls, point to the Masoretic concern to preserve both the consonantal text and the tradition for reading the text—which in these cases were at variance with each other (Yeivin 1980: 52–64). Myers (*Ezra-Nehemiah* AB, 64–67) and Blenkinsopp (*Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 159; but p. 234 has "Zakkur" with a reference to Ezra 8:14) read the Ketib "Zabbud," noting that the preposition with a singular objective suffix "with him" (Heb *ʿimmô*) would require the reading "Uthai, the son of Zabbud," and cite 1 Esdr 8:40 "Uthai the son of Istalcurus."

6. The son of Imri who presumably with his family and/or servants worked to rebuild the section of the Jerusalem wall next to that worked on by the people of Jericho (Neh 3:2).

7. A Levite (Neh 10:13—Eng 10:12) who signed the covenant described in Nehemiah 10—Eng 9:38–10:39. In the present arrangement of the material, this covenant is linked ("Because of all this," Neh 10:1—Eng 9:38) to the day of penance described in Nehemiah 9—Eng 9:1–37. The origins and chronology of the materials in Ezra and Nehemiah is, however, a matter of scholarly debate.

8. A descendant of Asaph and an ancestor of Micaiah and Zechariah (Neh 12:35). Perhaps to be identified with #4 above.

9. The son of Mattaniah and the father of Hanan (Neh 13:13). Hanan was appointed by Nehemiah to assist Shelemiah the priest, Zadok the scribe, and Pedaiah the Levite in the distribution of provisions to the priests and Levites.

10. A temple singer listed in 1 Esdr 9:24 (Gk *Bakchouros*) as one of those who divorced a foreign wife. The list of those who divorced their foreign wives and disowned the children born to them may seem "extraordinarily small considering the furor and the census figures in chapter ii" (Myers *Ezra-Nehemiah* AB, 87). Myers discusses three possible explanations: (1) the problem was not as serious as it would seem on the surface; (2) the list preserved is only a partial list perhaps reflecting only the upper classes; or (3) the reform was not successful (ibid., 87–88; *1 and 2 Esdras* AB, 99). Stating that the first explanation can be easily dismissed, he favors the second. Blenkinsopp, on the other hand, argues that the reform was not successful (*Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 197–201).

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KEITH L. EADES

ZADOK (PERSON) [Heb *ṣādôq*]. **1.** One of the two priests at the Jerusalem shrine during the reign of King David, and the single holder of that position after Abiathar was banished to Anathoth by King Solomon. Most historians have concluded that the descendants of Zadok held a monopoly on the Jerusalemite priesthood from the time of Solomon until the exile (586 B.C.). According to the program which the prophet Ezekiel proposed for postexilic Israel, the priesthood was to be restricted to Zadokites. This restriction did not, however, prevail following the exile, as priestly ordination was extended to the descendants of Aaron.

Zadok is first mentioned in 2 Sam 8:17, where he is listed as the son of Ahitub, but this genealogical information is suspect because of apparent textual disarrangement (see below). He appears in 2 Sam 15:24–29, along with Abiathar, as one of the two priestly custodians of the Ark of the Covenant of God. Eventually Zadok ascends to sole possession of the Jerusalem priesthood when his co-priest Abiathar has the bad fortune to support Adonijah in the contest for the kingship with Solomon and is subsequently banished from Jerusalem by King Solomon (1 Kings 1–2).

Zadok's genealogy constitutes a problem which has long puzzled OT scholars. If Zadok's father Ahitub was the brother of Ichabod (1 Sam 14:3), this would incorporate Zadok into the family of Eli. This would make Zadok brother to Ahimelech and uncle of Abiathar (1 Sam 22:20; cf. Rowley 1939: 113–16; *HAIJ*, 114–15, with genealogical chart). This genealogy, however, conflicts with the point of 1 Sam 2:27–36 and 1 Kgs 2:26–27, which seek to explain how it came about that Zadok's family superseded the family of Eli in the priestly service.

Another tradition, traced in detail in 1 Chr 5:29–34; 6:35–38—Eng 6:3–8, 50–53, also posits Ahitub as Zadok's father but derives both from a line which does not include Eli. In the Chronicler's version Zadok derived from a line descended from Aaron's son Eleazar, and 1 Chr 24:3 specifically contrasts his descent from Eleazar with the descent of his co-priest Abiathar from another son of Aaron, Ithamar.

Most scholars since Wellhausen have considered the pivotal verse 2 Sam 8:17 to be problematic. The reversal of the Ahimelech-Abiathar sequence (contrast 1 Sam 22:20) raises the suspicion of either accidental or intentional alteration of the original reading. Most would restore the text to read "Zadok and Abiathar son of Ahimelech, son of Ahitub" (so NEB: cf. *AncIsr*, 373; contrasts *CMHE*, 212–14), leaving Zadok without any genealogy.

Scholarly consensus has generally regarded these genealogies as patent fictions, intended to create an appropriate lineage for a priest who in fact was not derived from any of the traditional Hebrew priestly families. If this be the case, whence, then, did Zadok enter into such a prominent role in the Hebrew priesthood?

A number of theories have been proposed to account for Zadok's position in the period of the united monarchy. One suggestion is that prior to their joint service in Jerusalem, Abiathar was priest at Jerusalem and Zadok was serving at Gibeon, where we find him in 1 Chr 16:39. Zadok would have been the priest who gave David the fateful oracle of 2 Sam 21:1—which should be relocated in the early years of David's reign—and David showed his gratitude by subsequently bringing Zadok to the Jerusalem sanctuary (Auerbach 1931; 1969: 49–50). There is, however, no conclusive evidence to show that Zadok had ministered at Gibeon prior to the mention in 1 Chr 16:39.

Another theory proposes that the *ʾaḥyô* ("Ahio") in the MT of 2 Sam 6:3–4 should be emended to *ʾāḥiyw*, so that the verses read, "Uzzah and *his brother*, the sons of Abinadab, were driving the new cart with the Ark of God; and *his brother* went before the ark," and that the brother was Zadok (Budde 1934: 48–50). Eleazar, son of Abinadab,

who has charge of the Ark according to 1 Sam 7:1, is the same person as Uzzah. Zadok's association with the Ark, of which we are explicitly apprised in 2 Sam 15:24–29, would therefore have begun much earlier. One difficulty with this theory is that the unnamed brother of Uzzah, though associated with the Ark in 2 Sam 6:3, is not mentioned later in 2 Samuel 6 when the Ark is brought into Jerusalem. Furthermore, to put Zadok in the same generation as Eleazar, living at the time of the Philistine capture and return of the Ark, makes it rather unlikely that he would be yet serving some sixty-plus years later in the time of Solomon (1 Kings 1) as a co-priest with Abiathar, whose great-uncle Ichabod (cf. 1 Sam 14:3; 22:20) was born at the time of the Ark's capture (1 Sam 4:19–21).

The theory which has commanded the widest support maintains that Zadok was a priest of the Jebusite cult prior to the conquest of Jerusalem (Jebus) by David (Bentzen 1933; Rowley 1939; Ringgren 1966: 210; Zimmerli *Ezekiel 2* Hermeneia, 457; cf. Cody 1969: 91–93). The installation of Zadok alongside David's own priest Abiathar was a measure designed to placate the Jebusite subjects of David, who constituted a significant portion of the citizenry of the new capital. That Zadok was the pre-Davidic king of Jerusalem (so Bentzen 1933) is not widely held, for it seems unlikely that David would elevate his defeated opponent to such a prominent role in the government.

Several forms of the Hebrew root *ṣdq* occur rather frequently in the OT in connection with Jerusalem (Melchizedek, Gen 14:18, Psalm 110; Adoni-zedek, Josh 10:1; Zedekiah, 2 Kgs 24:17–18; cf. Isa 1:26, Jer 31:23, Ps 118:19; cf. Rowley 1950: 465, Ahlström 1961: 122). Since the word seems to have frequent associations with Jerusalem, its occurrence in the name of a priest (Heb. *ṣādôq*) who appears just after David's takeover of that city suggests that the priest might have been native to the city.

It is suggested (Rowley 1939: 126–28) that Kind David, rather than allowing the Ark to remain throughout his reign in the tent which he prepared for it (2 Sam 6:17), housed it in Zadok's Jebusite shrine after Nathan dissuaded the king from building a temple (Ahlström 1961). The story of Melchizedek and Abraham in Genesis 14 and the enthronement Psalm 110 were created in an effort to legitimate the Jebusite priesthood and to express the mutual recognition between the Jerusalemite priest and the Davidic ruling house (Rowley 1950). This series of events facilitated the identification of Yahweh with *ʾEl ʿelyôn*, the Canaanite god of Zadok and Melchizedek (Gen 14:18)—an identification attested in OT texts such as Pss 7:18—Eng v 17; 47:3—Eng v 2; 91:9 (Rowley 1967: 74–75).

Zadok's support for Solomon, son of the Jerusalemite Bathsheba, against his rival Adonijah makes especial sense on the supposition that Zadok was a Jerusalemite. The presence of the bronze serpent Nehushtan, which King Hezekiah removed from the Jerusalem Temple (2 Kgs 18:4), becomes, on this theory, a relic of the pre-Davidic Jebusite shrine (Rowley 1939: 132–41).

An additional argument advanced to explain why the appointment of a Jebusite Zadok would have commended itself to David builds on the mention in 1 Chr 12:29—Eng 12:28 of a warrior named Zadok coming among those who repaired to David at Hebron as the latter was building his group of supporters (Hauer 1963; Rosenberg 1965: 168). It is proposed that this was the same Jebusite priest Zadok and that his defection to David at Hebron ingratiated him to the young king sufficiently to warrant the installation of Zadok as priest in Jerusalem upon the capture of the city.

Several recent writers have been critical of the theory of Zadok's Jebusite origins (*CMHE*, 195–215; Olyan 1982). Cross maintains that the *ṣdq* appellative is attested in too many other Canaanite areas for it to be regarded as exclusively Jerusalemite. Moreover, there is no evidence to indicate that David took over an existing Canaanite shrine, and passages such as 2 Sam 6:17 and 7:6 militate against that possibility. The appointment of a pagan priest by a devout Yahwist such as David, who sought to establish his state's link with the traditions of the tribal league, is regarded as most unlikely.

Furthermore, if the Zadokites felt the need for a pedigree reaching back to an ancient noble, why, instead of claiming descent from the ancient figure of Aaron (as the postexilic traditions do), would they not appeal to their lineage from Melchizedek? If the Jebusite contingent was powerful enough to motivate a conciliatory gesture by David, why the need to conceal Zadok's Jebusite lineage?

Recently, several writers have looked for Zadok's origins within Judah. Cross argues (*CMHE*, 211–14) that *ṣādôq ben ʾaḥîtûb* in 2 Sam 8:17 is not necessarily an error which should cause us to discount Zadok's Aaronide ancestry, as traced through Ahitub (1 Chr 5:29–34). Zadok's father Ahitub need not be the same Ahitub who was the grandson of Eli and the grandfather of Abiathar (1 Sam 14:3; 22:20). Cross postulates that Zadok was in fact a scion of the Aaronide family, and that the rift between Abiathar and Zadok represents a conflict between two rival priestly families—a Mushite priesthood descended from Moses and an Aaronide family with roots in Hebron (see Josh 21:10, 13; 1 Chr 6:42—Eng 6:57). Installing the leader of each priestly house as a diplomatic move made by David to avoid alienating either—a tactic later employed by Jeroboam I, who set up an Aaronide temple in Bethel and a Mushite shrine in Dan (cf. 1 Kgs 12:26–30). Since Hebron was David's first capital, it is reasonable that he would install a Hebronite as his priest upon the move to Jerusalem. With the ascendancy of the Zadokites (Aaronides) under Solomon (1 Kgs 2:26–27), they gained a monopoly at the Jerusalem Temple and the priestly traditions which they preserved elevated Aaron more and more to a prominent role.

A somewhat similar hypothesis works from 1 Chr 12:29—Eng 12:28 (see above), but instead of interpreting this text as the report of a Jebusite defecting to David, it proposes that Zadok was the son and aide of the Aaronide Jehoiada, mentioned in the adjacent verse, 1 Chr 12:28—Eng 12:27 (Olyan 1982). This Jehoiada was a priest and was father also of Benaiah (2 Sam 23:20; I Chr 27:5), who was to become a warrior for David and eventually the king's commanding general. Zadok, Benaiah, and their father came from the town of Kabzeel (2 Sam 23:20), in the Negeb, where David built a base of support during his sojourn among the Philistines. Both sons of Jehoiada were to rise to prominent posts in David's government, and they worked in tandem to ensure Solomon's succession to David's throne (1 Kgs 1:32–40). The recurrence of the name "Jehoiada" in the line of the Jerusalem priests (2 Kings 11;

2 Chr 22:11) strengthens the supposition of a family connection between the Zadok and the Jehoiada of 1 Chr 12:28–29. However, one must wonder why, if this theory be followed, the actual Aaronide lineage of Zadok was suppressed and an alternative, but fictitious, Aaronide genealogy constructed for him.

Since all of these theories about Zadok's origins are forced to rely on indirect evidence and inferences from texts which often convey the impression of being tendentious, no solution at present claims the overwhelming confidence of OT historians.

It is not so certain as many of the above-mentioned scholars assume that the preexilic priesthood in Jerusalem was monopolized by a family descended from Zadok (whatever his origins might have been). The references in the Deuteronomistic and the Chronicler's Histories to men holding the office of "the priest" or "the high/chief priest" do not at all make it clear that we can assume hereditary succession for them (Bartlett 1968). None of the priests mentioned for the period between Zadok and the exile is explicitly and unambiguously called the son of the previous priest. Other priesthoods are mentioned in Jerusalem (cf. 2 Sam 8:18; 20:26; 1 Kgs 4:5), indicating that there was not in fact a Zadokite monopoly. Moreover, Bartlett's study of some of the terminology relating to the chief priest suggests that the position might have been one to which men were appointed by the king in consideration of their ability rather than hereditary.

The program for the postexilic community which was spelled out in the book of the prophet Ezekiel expressly relegated the "Levites" to inferior temple duties and reserved priestly service at the altar for "the sons of Zadok" (Ezek 44:9–31). Repeatedly in Ezekiel, a distinction is made between those priests "who have charge of the temple" and those priests "who have charge of the altar," with the latter group restricted to the sons of Zadok (Ezek 40:45–46; cf. 43:19; 48:11).

In actual postexilic practice, however, it was not just the "sons of Zadok" who served as priests, but a broader group, the "sons of Aaron." It has been suggested that after the Temple was destroyed and the majority of Zadokites were carried off into exile, makeshift religious services were continued in Jerusalem during the exile and supervised by non-Zadokite priests; upon the return of (mostly Zadokite) priestly personnel from the exile, there was conflict between rival houses, and some sort of compromise proved necessary (cf. *AncIsr*, 395–97; Cody 1969: 156–74; Hanson 1975). In the work of the Chronicler and the Priestly writers, all sons of Aaron have priestly privileges (1 Chr 24:1–6; Exodus 28–29; Num 3:1–4). But even though the postexilic literature extended the priesthood to all Aaronides, the line of Zadok's ancestor Eleazar is given a more prominent role in P (cf. Num 26:1–4; 31:13, 21, 25–31) and is granted the Lord's promise of perpetual priesthood (Num 25:10–13). See also LEVITES AND PRIESTS.

The Zadokites apparently managed to hold the high priesthood until the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, and the origin of the community of the Dead Sea Scrolls likely was related to the loss of that office by the Zadokites (Cross 1961: 127–60; *CMHE*, 334–42).

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GEORGE W. RAMSEY

2. The son of Azor and father of Achim, according to Matthew's genealogy tying Joseph, the husband of Mary, to the house of David and Solomon (Matt 1:14). The name does not appear in any other genealogy or list of Jesus' ancestors (except in Luke in D, where an adaptation from Matt 1:6–15 is substituted in Luke 3:23–31), although Albright and Mann (*Matthew* AB, 4–5) believe the name is characteristic of names used in the last two centuries B.C. Gundry (1982: 18; following Hervey 1853: 133) posits that Matthew's interest in Davidic Christology leads him to incorporate the name of Zadok, who was an "outstanding high priest during David's reign (1 Chr 6:8 [MT 5:34)" (see #1 above), following Azor, short for the Azariah mentioned in 1 Chr 6:9–5:35–36 (—Eng 6:9–10), and preceding Zadok's son, Ahimaaz (shortened to Achim). Gundry's theory is intriguing but difficult to prove, since Matthew's dependence on 1 Chronicles in 1:13–15 is difficult to establish.

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STANLEY E. PORTER

ZADOKITE FRAGMENTS (DAMASCUS DOCUMENT). First discovered in two medieval manuscripts from the Cairo *genizah* by Solomon Schechter in 1886, this sectarian text, abbreviated CD, was later found in several manuscripts at Qumran. It is now consid-

ered to be part of the sectarian literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls. See also DAMASCUS RULE (CD).

A. Manuscripts

Schechter's two medieval manuscripts are held in the Cambridge University Library. Ms A (T.-S. 10 K 6), dating to the 10th century C.E., is preserved in 16 pages (cols. 1–16), while ms B (T.-S. 16 32), from the 12th century, consists of 2 long pages (numbered 19–20, skipping 17–18). Much of ms B is a somewhat expanded version of pp. 7–8 of ms A, indicating that the work survived even into the Middle Ages in varying recensions. In addition, Qumran Caves 4, 5, and 6 have yielded a number of copies (5Q*J2* and 6Q*J5* in Baillet, Milik and de Vaux 1962: 128–31, 181). The bulk of the material, that from Cave 4, still awaits publication. Without question, these fragments confirm the intimate link between the *Zadokite Fragments* and the sectarian texts from Qumran, most notably the *Rule of the Community* (1QS, 1QSa and 1QSb). In general, the Qumran fragments which have been published agree with the recension in ms A.

J. T. Milik, entrusted with the publication of these texts, suggests that the Qumran manuscripts require a reordering of the text, and indicate that several pages have been omitted from ms A. J. A. Fitzmyer (in Schechter 1970: 18–19) has presented a revised outline of the text in accord with this evidence, while observing that the Cave 4 material indicates that the text circulated in various recensions reflecting the stages in the history of the Qumran community.

B. Contents

The text as a whole, somewhat like the book of Deuteronomy, consists of two primary units, the Exhortation (Admonition), and the Laws. The Exhortation recounts the place of the sect in Jewish history, arguing that it is the only true continuator of biblical tradition. The sect was constituted by those who perceived the iniquity of their generation, but lacked direction and leadership. The rise soon afterward of the Teacher of Righteousness (or "Correct Teacher") soon filled this gap. Damascus (cf. Amos 5:27) serves as a code word for the sectarian settlement at Qumran (CD 7:19), hence the designation "Damascus Covenant." The Exhortation argues for predestination toward the paths of good and evil, and condemns the evils of the rest of the Jewish community, alluding to the various groups of Jews which existed in the Hasmonean period. The sins of the rest of Jewry are catalogued, and the sectarians are pictured as being the only ones who know the correct interpretation of the Torah, the "hidden" laws, and who properly observe them. Scholars are divided as to whether the text expected one "Messiah of Aaron and Israel" or two separate messianic figures. Parts of the Exhortation must have originated as arguments to join the sect, while other sections must have been designed to maintain the loyalty of members of the group in the face of political, religious, and eschatological disappointments.

The Exhortation quotes *Jubilees* and the *Testament of Levi* and alludes to older traditions of biblical exegesis and to various legends which were part of early Second Temple Judaism. Much of the text consists of *pesher*-like interpretations of various biblical texts which the members of the sect and their leaders saw as crucial to their self-definition.

The second section is a compilation of laws arranged topically. These laws are composed of biblical phrases which indicate to modern scholars the exegesis which lay behind each legal ruling. Following Fitzmyer's outline, the following topics are covered: rules for entering the sect; laws pertaining to oaths, witnesses and judges; ritual purification; Sabbath laws; miscellaneous laws; relations with non-Jews; additional purity rules; communal organization; and the sectarian penal code. Confirmation of the order will have to await final publication of the Qumran manuscripts.

C. Dating

The text of the *Zadokite Fragments* has to have reached approximately its present form (discounting medieval expansions and scribal errors) by the date of the earliest manuscripts, ca. 75–50 B.C.E. (Milik 1959: 38). This puts to rest the earlier theories which before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls sought to identify this text as medieval Karaite or early Christian. Since the earliest date for Qumran settlement in the Hellenistic period is the reign of John Hyrcanus (135–104 B.C.E.), and since this text represents within it several stages of historical development, we would have to date its final composition to the latter years of John Hyrcanus or the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 B.C.E.). (Scholars who see the text as emerging from a pre-Qumranic milieu do date the composition of this text somewhat earlier [Davies 1983: 202–204].)

D. Character of the Laws

Both the Exhortation and the Laws present a consistent view of Jewish law, the source of its authority, and the method of its derivation. The laws are of two types. Those laws clearly mentioned in Scripture are termed *nigleh*, "revealed." These prescriptions are known to all the people of Israel who nonetheless violate them. Known only to the members of the sect are the *nistar*, the "hidden" laws, those which are not explicit in Scripture, and which the sect saw as derived through inspired biblical exegesis. All Israel is guilty of violating these prescriptions, which pertain to virtually every area of Jewish law (Schiffman 1975: 22–76). In this way the sect accomplished the expansion of Jewish law beyond its biblical origins, a matter also accomplished in different ways by the Pharisaic "traditions of the fathers," the redaction of the *Temple Scroll* in the form of a direct divine revelation, and the later rabbinic oral Law concept. For the sect, there had been a one-time revelation at Sinai and all further laws, for each and every epoch of history, would be derived from their form of legal exegesis (Schiffman 1983: 14–17).

E. Relation to Other Qumran Documents

Immediately after the publication of the *Rule of the Community* from Qumran, the close affinity of the new material from the caves with the *Zadokite Fragments* was clear. Indeed, the new scrolls confirmed the broad outlines of what Louis Ginzberg had described already in 1911 as "an unknown Jewish sect" (1970). Yet early studies tended to rely on circular methodology. It was assumed that the

Zadokite Fragments and the *Rule* described the very same community, and that this was the Essene community also described by Philo and Josephus. Only with the advent of more scientific methodologies did scholars come to see these texts as describing a group of related and similar sects (or subsects) within the broad range of groups and approaches which constituted Second Temple Judaism.

With these advances the relationship of the *Zadokite Fragments* to the *Rule of the Community* is now much clearer. The *Rule* prescribes the rules and regulations for those living and studying at the sectarian center at Qumran, whereas the *Zadokite Fragments* legislate for those who join the sect but choose to remain in "camps," sectarian communities spread throughout the land of Israel. The *Zadokite Fragments* provide only for the initial stages of the novitiate, but full entry into the sect, possible only at the Qumran settlement, is described in the *Rule*.

The *Zadokite Fragments* have also been found to have affinities with a variety of other Qumran documents, especially as regards use of the characteristic terminology of the sect, as well as the sharp animus toward outsiders. The relationship of the *Zadokite Fragments* to the *Temple Scroll* (11QTemple) is a more difficult question. Y. Yadin, the editor of the *Temple Scroll*, saw this text as being in substantial agreement with the *Zadokite Fragments* whenever they dealt with similar issues. In fact, while this is sometimes the case, there are other points at which the two texts diverge or where there is substantial incongruity between them. This is because the provenance of the *Temple Scroll* is to be found in related and perhaps earlier circles, but not in the Dead Sea Sect itself.

F. Significance

The *Zadokite Fragments* occupy a unique place in the history of modern scholarship. Their publication a half century earlier than the Qumran finds opened the eyes of scholars to the existence of what we now know as the Qumran or Dead Sea Sect. In this way it was possible for students of rabbinic Judaism and early Christianity to begin to take into account this sect in the early 20th century. As a repository of written Jewish legal materials organized by subject, the *Zadokite Fragments* quickly became a source for the study of the history of Jewish law and tradition. With the Dead Sea Scrolls, this text has illuminated the existence of various groups in the Second Temple period, and has provided a firm basis for understanding the sect's image of itself and of its fellow Jews, as well as its relation to the heritage of Scripture which preceded it and to the Judaism which followed it.

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LAWRENCE H. SCHIFFMAN

ZAHAM (PERSON) [Heb *zāham*]. A son of King Rehoboam (2 Chr 11:19). Zaham was one of three sons born to Rehoboam and Mahalath. The latter was Rehoboam's cousin who descended from Jesse through the line of Eliab, one of David's brothers. The note on Zaham's birth occurs in an extended passage not found in 2 Kings (2 Chr 11:5–23). This passage seems to be a unit in itself. It begins with a description of cities that Rehoboam fortified and ends with a statement that the king distributed some of his sons among all the fortified cities. Presumably they functioned as part of Rehoboam's governmental bureaucracy. The narrative does not specify which of Rehoboam's sons filled these positions. Zaham's position is therefore left unspecified. His name appears to be connected to the Hebrew root *zhm*, "loathsome." What this designation refers to is impossible to determine.

JAMES M. KENNEDY

ZAIR (PLACE) [Heb *ṣāʿîr*]. A site at which a clash took place between King Joram of Judah and the Edomites (2 Kgs 8:21). In the parallel account in 2 Chr 21:9, we find instead of the place-name the phrase *ʿim śārāyw* (i.e., "with his generals"). Already in the reign of Joram's father, Jehoshaphat, a Judean superintendent governed Edom (1 Kgs 22:47). In the reign of Joram, however, in the middle of the 9th century, Edom detached itself from Judah's sovereignty and again became an independent monarchy (2 Kgs 8:20–22). The text of 2 Kgs 8:21 assumes that Joram was at least partially successful ("and he defeated Edom"). However, we ought perhaps to assume that the text has been altered (*ʾt* instead of *ʾtw:* originally "and Edom defeated him") so as to camouflage Joram's defeat.

It is difficult to say just where this battle took place. Although the LXX reads *Siōr*, Zair has been held to be identical with the Zior (Heb *ṣîʿōr*) of Josh 15:54 and ultimately with the village of Seir (Ar *seʿīr/saʿīr*), situated 8 km NE of Hebron (Abel *GP*, 464). This identification is difficult because the shift from Heb *ṣ* to Ar *s* is unusual in place-names. Furthermore, it is difficult to imagine a battle with Edom in the vicinity of Hebron in the early monarchical period. Even less plausible is the assumption of a scribal error which would represent Edom as Heb *ṣēʿîr*, not *śēʿîr* (cf. Gen 32:4—Eng 32:3; Judg 5:4). In 2 Kgs 8:21, Edom and Zair/Seir are simply not interchangeable.

Because of the geographical situation of Edom SE of the Dead Sea, the location of Zair is to be sought at some distance from the heartland of Judah. It is inviting to associate Zair with Lot's hiding place Zoar (Gen 19:20–22), as this name is likewise based on the root *ṣʿr* ("to be small") (Borée 1968: 28). According to Gen 19:31–38, Isa 15:5, and Jer 48:34, Zoar is located on the border of the Moabite hill-country (see also Deut 34:3). This would point to a location SE of the Dead Sea, where the site was also posited by Josephus (*JW* 4.482) and the Madaba map of the Byzantine period (Keel and Küchler 1982: 254). Joram

of Judah is then likely to have encountered the Edomites somewhere in the vicinity of *ghor eṣ-ṣafije*.

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RÜDIGER LIWAK

ZALAPH (PERSON) [Heb *ṣālāp*]. The father of Hanun who worked to reconstruct the Jerusalem wall (Neh 3:30). It is suggested that the name means "caper-plant," as is attested in Middle Hebrew.

NORA A. WILLIAMS

ZALMON (PERSON) [Heb *ṣalmôn*]. One of David's champions, from the clan of Ahoah of Benjamin (2 Sam 23:28). See AHOHI. The parallel name in 1 Chr 11:29, Ilai the Ahohite, may be a corruption of the diminutive form of Zalmon—Zilai. See ILAI. The name Zalmon is a diminutive nominal form of the Heb root *ṣlm*, meaning dark or darkness. The term is related to the Akk *ṣalāmu* ("to be/become black, dark"), and in the dimunitive form probably means "the small, dark/black one." It may also refer to a dark cloud, or clouds, in which sense it could convey the idea of a mountain shrouded in dark clouds; a good vernacular translation might be simply "black mountain." On the basis of the Arabic word *ẓalmūn*, Noth (*IPN*, 223) argued that Zalmon meant "light" or "splendor." It is also possible that Zalmon the Ahohite, a Benjaminite, was named for Mt. Zalmon in neighboring Ephraim. See ZALMON (PLACE).

D. G. SCHLEY

ZALMON (PLACE) [Heb *ṣalmôn*]. A mountain in Ephraim in the neighborhood of Shechem. In Judg 9:48, Abimelech and his men are said to have climbed Mt. Zalmon and cut brushwood to burn out the rebels who had barricaded themselves in the Tower of Shechem. It has been suggested that this Zalmon may refer to one of the shoulders of Mt. Ebal or Mt. Gerizim, the two mountains flanking Shechem. Another suggestion is that Mt. Zalmon here refers to Mt. Ebal. Psalm 68:15 (—Eng 68:14) also mentions a Mt. Zalmon, but the parallelism of this text suggests that the mountain is an eminence in Bashan, the territory NE of the Sea of Galilee. On the meaning of the name, see ZALMON (PERSON).

D. G. SCHLEY

ZALMONAH (PLACE) [Heb *ṣalmônâ*]. The word may mean something like "dark" or "shady," and is the name of the Israelite encampment between Mt. Hor and Punon at the time of the Exodus (Num 33:41–42). The location is unknown. Due to its name it may have some reference to a Mt. Zalmon, a mountain covered with brush as in Judg 9:48; Ps 68:14.

JEFFREY K. LOTT

ZALMUNNA (PERSON) [Heb *ṣalmunnāʿ*]. One of the two "kings of Midian" captured and killed during Gideon's war against the Midianites. See ZEBAH AND ZALMUNNA.

ZANOAH (PLACE) [Heb *zānôaḥ*]. **1.** A town situated in the N Shephelah, or lowlands, of Judah (Josh 15:34), within the same district as Socoh and Azekah. This settlement is listed among the towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:21–62). The theory that this list is derived from an administrative roster compiled under the Judean Monarchy (Alt 1925) has been widely accepted, although controversy continues over the precise make-up of the districts, the proper context of the town lists of Benjamin and Dan, and the period of the monarchy to which the original roster belongs (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 64–72). Neh 11:30 records that Zanoah was among the Judean villages reoccupied by those returning from exile in Babylon. Zanoah's inhabitants played a role in rebuilding the wall around Jerusalem, sharing with Hanun responsibility for the Valley Gate and the accompanying wall segment stretching to the Dung Gate (Neh 3:13). Given its location and the obvious similarity in name, ancient Zanoah has most often been identified with modern Khirbet Zanu (or Zanukh), a hilltop site approximately 3.5 km S, and slightly E, of Beth-shemesh (M.R. 150125). The discovery of Iron Age pottery on the surface of the site provides persuasive archaeological support for this identification (Albright 1925: 10–11).

2. A town situated in the S hill-country of Judah (Josh 15:56), within the same district as Maon. As with its northern namesake, it appears in the list of towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Jos 15:21–62). In 1 Chr 4:18, Jekuthiel, one of the "sons" of Caleb, is referred to as the "father" of Zanoah. The occurrence of several other southern hill-country town names in this context, such as Soco, Keilah, and Eshtaol, suggests that the relationship between a village and its founders is here signified by means of a kinship metaphor. Given the Calebite connection, it seems most likely that Zanoah of 1 Chronicles is to be identified with the hill-country village rather than with that in the N Shephelah. A common identification locates the hill-country Zanoah at Khirbet Zanuta, approximately 10 km SW of Hebron. As Rainey (*ISBE* 4: 1172–73) indicates, this identification is unacceptable for several reasons: the site is much too far to the W in relationship to the other towns of the district, the similarity in names seems to be superficial, and there is no evidence of pre-Roman occupation. A more plausible alternative (*IDB* 4: 934) is Khirbet Beit Amra (M.R. 155095), located approximately 2 km W of Yatta (ancient Juttah) near Wadi Abu Zennakh, which may distantly reflect the ancient name. However, surface remains give no evidence of occupation prior to the Byzantine period.

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WADE R. KOTTER

ZAPHENATH-PANEAH (PERSON) [Heb *ṣāp̄ĕnat paʿnēaḥ*]. The name in Gen 41:45 (KJV: Zaphnath-paaneah) which Joseph received from the Pharaoh when he was made vizier of Egypt as a reward for his services. Numerous attempts have been made to reconstruct the Egyptian original (Vergote 1959: 151–52; Redford 1970: 230), but most are either unacceptable phonetically or have no sound parallels in Egyptian. As first suggested by Steindorff (1889), the original Egyptian form is now considered by most scholars to be Djed-pa-netjer-iw-f-ankh (**Ḏd-p3-nṯr-jw.f-ʿnḫ*), "The God speaks and he [the bearer of the name] lives" (cf. Schulman 1975: 240–41). This is a type of Egyptian birth name attested from about the 21st Dynasty on, although invariably a specific deity is indicated where the proposed name has the generic "god" (Redford 1970: 230).

Criticisms have been raised against this interpretation because the name is attested much later than the normally held dates for the Patriarchal age, and because there is no connection between the meaning of the name and the narrative. Both arguments can perhaps be dealt with by assuming that the writer of the Joseph story simply utilized an Egyptian name from his own time to add authenticity to the narrative. Indeed, the use of a characteristic Egyptian birth name at this point in the tale might symbolically underscore Joseph's rebirth as an Egyptian (Humphreys 1988: 163).

No convincing Egyptian original has been found for the LXX form of the name, *Psonthomphanech*. The translation "revealer of secrets" found in Josephus, *Ant* 2.6.1, and the Targums, although contextually apposite, must come from a Hebrew derivation, the first part of which was based on Heb *ẓâphan*, "to hide."

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GARY H. OLLER

ZAPHON (PLACE) [Heb *zāp̄ôn*]. A town located at the S end of an E Jordan valley near Succoth and Beth-Nimrah, taken from King Sihon of the Ammonites, and given by Moses to the tribe of Gad (Jos 13:27). Zaphon (Judg 12:1; Gk *Zephina;* Heb *zāp̄ōnāh*) is also apparently the battleground for the feud between Jephthah and the Ephraimites, who failed to help the men of Gilead fight the Ammonites on the E side of the Jordan.

This movement across the Jordan leads Mitmann (1970) to speculate that Zaphon could be a S site in Gilead, but this seems unlikely. Two locations on the E Jordan side could be proposed (Mittmann 1970: 218–20) for Zaphon: little known Tell el-Mezār (M.R. 207182, 3.25 km NNW of Tell Deir ʿAlla [M.R. 208178]; i.e., Succoth) or Tell es-Saʿidiye (M.R. 204186, 5.75 km "further northwest from the end of Wadi Kufrinje"). Glueck (1943: 20–23) prefers Tell el-Qôs (M.R. 208182, 5 km N of Tell Deir ʿAlla) on the N side of Wadi Rāǧib. The talmudic tradition and Josephus seem to support this location (actually a double tell which includes Tell ʿAmmata only 500 m away). Josephus reports that Alexander Jannaeus fought at ʿAsophan (*Ant* 13.12.5), but Mittmann cautions that ʿAsophan should not be identified with ʿAmathous (Tell ʿAmmata) because there are no Hellenistic ruins in this vicinity outside of Tell el-Qôs.

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PAUL NIMRAH FRANKLYN

ZAPHON, MOUNT (PLACE). A mountain identified with modern Jebel ʾel-Aqraʿ (35°59′N; 36°00′E), and located near the mouth of the Orontes River in N Syria. Mt. Zaphon was the sacred mountain of the storm god Baal-Hadad in ancient Canaanite mythology. It was also known as Mt. Casius in classical sources, and Mt. Hazzi in Hurrian texts. Aside from the passages discussed below, *ṣāp̄ôn* is usually the general designation for "north" in the Hebrew Bible.

The etymology and semantic development of "Zaphon" has long been disputed. Grelot (1958: 62) sees "north" as the original meaning of "Zaphon." However, most scholars follow Eissfeldt (1932: 16–20), who argued that "Zaphon" was applied to the mountain before it was applied to the point on the compass. Also viewing "north" as a late semantic development, de Savignac (1984) argues that "Zaphon" originally referred to the wind that brought rain and clouds to the mountain, which then assumed the same name. For de Savignac and other scholars "Zaphon" derives from the root *ṣpn*, "to hide." Clifford (1972: 57), among others, derives the term from the root *ṣpw/y* ("to look out, spy out"), perhaps vocalized as *ṣapānu* in Ugaritic. For Clifford (ibid.) the meaning of "simply 'north' " is not found in Ugaritic, and in the Bible it is due to Zaphon's prominent location N of Israel. Grave (1980: 229) argues that "Zaphon" (from *ṣpw/y*) first referred to "clearness of the sky/wind (from the north)," and subsequently to the mountain from which such clearness supposedly originated. Finally it displaced the older *śamʾālu* as the term for "north" in the Northwest Semitic area.

Recent discussion of Mt. Zaphon has focused on the function of sacred mountains in Canaanite religion, especially as exemplified in Ugaritic texts. Along with F. M. Cross *(CMHE)*, Clifford (1972) has provided one of the most detailed studies of the association of Mt. Zaphon with the kingship of Baal in the Ugaritic texts. Indeed, the mountain was the site of Baal's royal palace built by Kothar-wa-Hasis, the divine architect. Mt. Zaphon was a feasting place for the gods (*CTA* 4.5.106–117) and the site of Baal's proclamations (e.g., *CTA* 3.3.10–28). It was also where Baal and his archrival Mot engaged in a cosmic battle (*CTA* 6.6.12–34). The mountain itself appears as a

deity in many Ugaritic offering lists and in Phoenician personal names such as *ʿbdṣpn*, "servant of Zaphon."

According to Eissfeldt (1932: 12–15) and other scholars, one of the earliest texts referring to Mt. Zaphon in the Hebrew Bible is Ps 89: 13—Eng v 12, where Yahweh is said to have created *ṣāpôn* along with Mt. Hermon and Mt. Tabor. Ps 48:2–3—Eng vv 1–2 describes Mt. Zion as a sacred mountain of Yahweh, and the use of *yarkĕtê ṣāpôn* ("distant north," "utmost peak of Zaphon," among other renditions) in the phraseology appears to identify Zion with Mt. Zaphon. Divine decrees issue from Mt. Zion (cf., Isa 2:3) as they do from the holy mountains in Ugaritic myths. Baal's theophany on Mt. Zaphon involves storm-clouds, lightning, and a thunderous voice which shakes the mountains and the earth itself (*CTA* 4.5.68–71; 4.7.29–35). The theophany of Yahweh at Mt. Sinai (Exod 19:16–19) also involves clouds, lightning, Yahweh's thunderous voice, and earthquakes. Isa 14:13 mentions the *yarkĕtê ṣāpôn* in a poem which apparently describes the actions of a rival deity against Yahweh. Although traditions about Canaanite El and his mountain (Mt. Amanus) may be preserved in this passage, the language and theme is also reminiscent of the struggle between Baal and Mot on Mt. Zaphon. Roberts (*IDBSup*, 977) suggests that reference to *ṣāpôn* being stretched out over the void in Job 26:7 may be due to the effect seen when clouds envelope the base of the mountain.

According to Clifford (1972: 136–37) and earlier scholars, places such as Baal-zephon (Exod 14:2) and Zaphon, a city of Gad (Josh 13:27), may reflect a geographical "translation" of Mt. Zaphon traditions to other areas of the Near East.

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HECTOR AVALOS

ZAREPHATH (PLACE) [Heb *ṣārĕpat*]. A city-state located near the tip of a promontory along the Lebanese Mediterranean seacoast about 14 miles (ca. 22.5 km) N of Tyre and 8 miles (ca. 13 km) S of Sidon. Since Zarephath was located on the coastal road in Phoenicia, it encountered many passing armies and therefore is occasionally mentioned in ancient records, but it never became an important city. An inscription unearthed near the site of Zarepath indicates that its name may have been preserved in the modern village of Sarafand, situated in the hills immediately SE of the rather inconspicuous tell. A 13th century B.C. Egyptian papyrus lists Zarephath as the site of a Phoenician harbor (*ANET*, 477).

At the time of Zarephath's peaceful surrender to Sennacherib in 701 B.C., he described it as a walled city of Sidon named at that date "Zaribtu" (*ANET*, 287). The city was transferred to Tyre's control in the time of Esarhaddon (ca. 680–669 B.C.). Located about 50 miles (80 km) N of Mount Carmel, Zarephath is mentioned in the Bible as the town where the prophet Elijah went during a severe famine in Palestine and was entertained by a poor widow. The prophet miraculously provided her with a constant supply of oil and later raised her dead son as a reward for her unselfish hospitality (1 Kgs 17:8–24; Luke 4:26). The prophet Obadiah envisioned Zarephath as the N boundary of restored Israel (Obad 20).

Recent archeological excavations undertaken by J. B. Pritchard since 1969 have unearthed information showing Zarephath to be a sizable commercial city during both the Phoenician and Roman occupations. They showed the site to have been inhabited during the latter part of the 2d millennium and through most of the 1st millennium B.C. More than 20 pottery kilns were uncovered, showing that the city probably was a center for manufacturing pottery. The city possessed industrial, religious, and residential quarters. The main business was the production of textiles and ceramics. Exports included grain, oil, wine, and a red-purple dye extracted from local shellfish from which both Zarephath and Phoenicia ("red-purple") derive their names. Of the old city, considerable indications remain to this day. A large, technically sophisticated Roman port was found dating from the 1st to 6th centuries A.D. A shrine of the goddess Tanit was discovered overlooking the Roman port, and scholars have associated the shrine with pagan religious ceremonies calling for the sacrifice of children, a practice strongly condemned in the Hebrew Bible (Jer 7:31; 19:3–6; 2 Kgs 23:10). Pilgrims journeyed to Zarephath as early as the late 4th century A.D. A tower was constructed marking the site of the "upper chamber," in which the prophet Elijah was to have lived (1 Kgs 17:23).

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RAY L. ROTH

ZARETHAN (PLACE) [Heb *ṣārĕtān*]. A site on the E side of the Jordan River, about halfway between the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea.

Its first reference in the Bible is in Josh 3:16, which describes the stopped flow of the Jordan River when the Israelites crossed the river during the spring flood (v 15). Verse 16 narrates that the waters "rose up in a heap far off, at Adam [i.e., Tell ed-Damiya below the Jabbok], the city that is beside Zarethan . . ."

Tell es-Saʿidiyeh (M.R. 204186) is over 11 miles N of the Damiya Bridge. The Jerusalem Talmud (*Soṭa* 7:5, Rabbi Yohanan, 3d century A.D.) locates Zarethan 12 miles N of Adam. Since ca. 11 miles seems a little far for "beside," some look for a Zarethan nearer Tell ed-Damiya (M.R. 201167). One suggestion has been Qarn Sartabeh (M.R. 193167; the Hellenistic Alexandrium, later fortified by Herod the Great) on the W bank, opposite Damiya. However, archaeological survey has found no evidence of oc-

cupation here between the Chalcolithic and Iron Ages and no other likely site is in the area.

Albright (1925: 33 n. 37) attempted to resolve the problem by translating "as far from Adamah as beside Zarethan," i.e., the waters backed up as far as Zarethan. Glueck (1943: 6) retranslated "beside" to "fortress" (*msd* to *mesad*) so the waters backed up to "fortress Zarethan." The striking feature of the event was the distance the waters backed up. Similar stoppages of the Jordan have been observed as natural phenomena in 1267, 1906, and as recently as 1927, when the riverbanks at Damiya caved in and blocked the water for 21.5 hours (Garstang 1931: 136–37). These observations, however, have left no records of how far the water backed up in these naturally occurring events.

Zarethan is mentioned in 1 Kgs 4:12 as a reference point to delineate the fifth Solomonic district: the district contained "Taanach, Megiddo, and all Beth-shean which is beside Zarethan below Jezreel . . ." Beth-shean is 18 miles N of Tell es-Saʿidiyeh, and on the W bank. Smick (1973: 103 n. 32) claims the reference is to the "district" of Zarethan, and not the town site. But Ottosson reasons that Zarethan was near Beth-shean and suggests its identification with Tell el-Meqberah (on the Wadi Yabis). Once again there is a problem in the interpretation of "beside," since the Valley of Jezreel is W of Beth-shean, while Zarethan is traditionally located to the S in the Jordan Valley.

The localities are further complicated by the second phrase that says Baana's district extended from Beth-shean to Abel-meholah, as far as the other side of Jokmeam (1 Kgs 4:12). Pritchard (1987: 230 and front endpaper map) locates Jokmeam S of Wadi Farʿah, 25 miles S of Beth-shan, probably at west-bank Tell el-Mazar (M.R. 195171; also Aharoni, *LBHG*, 313). But Smick (1973: 95, 167–68) identifies it with east-bank Tell el-Mazar (M.R. 207181), near Deir ʿAlla.

Abel-meholah has also been located in several places S of Beth-shean and on both sides of the river. Three places are cited on the W bank: Tell Hilu (M.R. 197192), 11.5 miles due S of Beth-shan (Pritchard 1987: 99; 111); Tell Abu Sifre (Soggin, *Joshua* ET, OTL, 144), W of the Wadi Yabis; and Tell Abu Sus (M.R. 203197), at two of the Jordan's fords, 9.4 miles from Beth-shan (Pritchard 1987: 210). Aharoni (*LBHG*, 313) claims the Abu Sus identity can be made with much confidence. Two places cited on the E bank are Tell el-Maqlub (M.R. 214201) in the Wadi Yabis (which some identify with Jabesh-gilead), and Tell el-Meqbereh or Tell Abu Kharaz (which others identify with Jabesh-gilead) in the Wadi Yabis (Pritchard 1987: front endpaper map).

The passage in 1 Kings 4 could be a chiasm with the two phrases parallel in an a:b :: b:a pattern. Baana's district is described from W to S in the first phrase and from S to W in the second. But this would reveal only that Zarethan and Abel-meholoah are S of Beth-shean.

In this same period Solomon built the temple in Jerusalem, and among the furnishings were various bronze articles which were cast in earthen molds between Succoth and Zarethan (1 Kgs 7:46; 2 Chr 4:17). Succoth is usually identified with Tell Deir ʿAlla (M.R. 208178), two miles N of the Jabbok, 8 miles N of Adam (Pritchard 1987: 247; Aharoni, *LBHG*, 284 n. 224; Glueck 1968: 121–25). The Palestinian Talmud (*Šeb.* 9.2, 38d) says Succoth is Tarʿela or Darʿela, which sounds like Deir ʿAlla. Excavations have found evidence for a bronze smelting industry in the 12th–11th centuries B.C.

Deir ʿAlla's excavator, H. J. Franken, prefers to identify Deir ʿAlla with Gilgal (1 Sam 13:15) and Succoth with Tell Ekhsas ("booths"), 1.5 miles W and a mile from the river (1978: 321). See DEIR ʿALLA (ARCHAEOLOGY). Glueck (1943: 18–19) said Succoth was Tell Umm Hamad (M.R. 205172), SW of Deir ʿAlla. Ottosson says Tell es-Saʿidiyeh, "five miles NW of Deir ʿAlla, is Succoth (1969: 225 n. 60; Pritchard 1985: 2). The area is assumed to have been selected because of the clay deposits in the valley. The copper ore could have been brought up from the Arabah S of the Dead Sea, or bronze loot from raids and wars could have been sent there to be recast (cf. 1 Chr 18:8). The forests of Gilead (Ajlun) could have provided wood for the fire.

There is clearly more textual evidence for Succoth than for Zarethan. Josh 13:27 refers to places in the valley including Succoth and Zaphon, but not Zarethan. The references to Succoth in Judg 8:5, 8, 16, when the people of the city refused to help Gideon with provisions and his later punishment of the inhabitants, is usually interpreted also as the site in the valley near the Jabbok. (The Succoth in Egypt [Exod 12:37, 13:20; Num 33:5, 6] is a different place, of course, but suggests Succoth as a city-name rather than simply the common noun for booths which gave the site its name in Gen 33:17.)

Zaphon (Josh 13:27; Judg 12:1) was another site in the area, and Aharoni (*LBHG*, 34) locates it at Tell es-Saʿidiyeh (Pritchard 1987: 254 and first endpaper map) and in turn identifies Zarethan with Tell Umm Hamad (*LBHG*, 284 n. 222, 313). However, Pritchard (1985: 3; *EAEHL* 4:1028) says that identification of Saʿidiyeh with places mentioned in the Bible has so much uncertainty that "any conclusions about the ancient names of the sites must of necessity remain hypothetical." Ottosson (1969: 216), who was on the excavation staff, agrees: "The excavations . . . have yielded no results whatever in . . . favor" of identifying Saʿidiyeh as Zarethan. After renewing excavations for two seasons, Tubb (1986: 124) had no further clues on the identity of the site. However, others claim the excavations confirm or prove that Saʿidiyeh is Zarethan (Soggin, *Joshua* ET, OTL, 62; Glueck 1967: 431). Glueck's initial identification of Saʿidiyeh as Zarethan was based on its prominence at the edge of the Jordan River (1968: 126–30). Ottosson's reasons for identifying Saʿidiyeh as Succoth are that Ps 60:8 refers to the "Vale of Succoth" and such a reference "calls for an eye catching spot . . . ; the most obvious from both north and south is unquestionably *tell es-saʿidije*." See SAʿIDIYEH, TELL ES-.

Tell Qos (Zaphon or Zarethan) is on the Wadi Rajib, 3.5 miles N of Deir ʿAlla and 4.5 miles E-SE of Tell es-Saʿidiyeh (Zarethan or Zaphon or Succoth). Tell Umm Hamad is 3.5 miles SW of Deir ʿAlla and on the N bank of the Jabbok. Hamad is 1.5 miles E of the Jordan and 3.5 miles NE of Damiya. This location would make the backing up of the waters in Josh 3:16 less of a miracle. Its distance from the Jordan River is not a problem (Saʿidiyeh is 1.1 miles from the Jordan), for the backing up would presumably include the Jabbok River as well. And the term "beside" may be loose enough simply to refer to the next big tell. In any

event, the "miracle" was not in the backing up of the water as such, perhaps natural in itself, but in the timing of the event.

Pritchard (1987: first endpaper map) also shows Zarethan *south* of the Jabbok, but the archaeological name is not given for the site. The possible location of Zarethan at Qarn Sartabeh was cited earlier. Here we should add the possibility of Tell Sleihat, S of Tell el-Meqbereh, 10 miles N of Deir ʿAlla (Albright 1925: 33; McClellan *HBD*, 1156; Sleihat is a natural hill and not an ancient tell, according to Glueck 1951: 345; 1968: 134–35; but cf. Yassine 1988: 169).

Obviously considerable uncertainty remains on the location of biblical sites like Zarethan, Zaphon, Succoth, etc. Perhaps future excavation of other sites will shed light on the question of Zarethan's identity.

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HENRY O. THOMPSON

ZARIUS (PERSON) [Gk *Zarios*]. Supposed brother of king Jehoiakim, who seized Zarius in order to deport him to Egypt (1 Esdr 1:38). But the author of 1 Esdras apparently confused 2 Chronicles 36 and 2 Kings 23–24 by conflating the names Jehoiakim and Jehoiakin and by associating the exile of Zarius with that of Jehoahaz (Jeconiah in 1 Esdr 1:34) (Meyers *1 and 2 Esdras* AB, 32–33). The spelling of Zarius probably is due to an orthographic corruption of the *dalet* to a *reš* in Zedekiah (Heb *ṣidqîyāhû*). The name Zarius, variously formed among LXX manuscripts, is otherwise unidentifiable.

CRAIG D. BOWMAN

ZATTU (PERSON) [Heb *zattû*]. The name of a nonpriestly family, some of whom returned to Palestine with Zerubbabel shortly after 538 B.C.E., the end of the Babylonian exile (cf. Ezra 2:8 and Neh 7:13). Another contingent accompanied Ezra a century later (cf. Ezra 8:5; but note the name is omitted in Hebrew). The later parallel narrative of 1 Esdras mentions both these returns (1 Esdr 5:12; 8:32).

The family of "the sons of Zattu" participated in the reform recorded in Ezra-Nehemiah. They divorced their foreign wives (Ezra 10:27) in obedience to Ezra's ban upon foreign marriages. The head of the family signed the pledge of reform (Neh 10:15—Eng 10:14), which committed the Jewish community to the observance of Yahweh's law.

The Gk versions use a variety of transliterations of this word (Ezra *zathoua/zaththoua*, Neh *zathoua/zathoueia/zaththou(i)a*), but especially in 1 Esdras (*zathoui/zatou/zaton*, 1 Esdr 5:12; *zathoēs*, 8:32; and *zamoth*, 9:28). They are all rendered "Zattu" in the English versions.

STEVEN R. SWANSON

ZAYIN. The seventh letter of the Hebrew alphabet.

ZAZA (PERSON) [Heb *zāzā*]. Son of Jonathan and a descendant of Jerahmeel by his wife Atarah of the tribe of Judah. Zaza is mentioned once in 1 Chr 2:33 as the brother of Peleth, and his name concludes the genealogy of Jerehmeel. Variant spellings of Zaza are found in the LXX (B *Ozam*, A *Ozaza*, L *Zēiza*). Many speculate that the *omicron* of LXX BA is probably due to misunderstanding the *waw* of the MT as part of the name rather than as the conjunction "and." Many scholars consider the genealogies of the LXX corrupt (especially Codex Vaticanus), but the genealogies of Jerahmeel in the MT are viewed by most contemporary commentators as being in good order. For further discussion of the provenance and authenticity of the genealogies in 1 Chronicles 2, see MAAZ.

The meaning of Zaza is uncertain. Some commentators suggest that this short form was fashioned by the duplication of one sound from a full word as a term of endearment (*IPN*, 40–41).

W. P. STEEGER

ZEALOTS. The study of zeal and the Zealots focuses on the late Second Temple period in Israel's history from the Maccabean Revolt in 167–142 B.C.E. to the Roman-Judean War of 66–74 C.E. There has been much confusion in the study of zeal and the Zealots because scholars differ in their views and their use of terminology. The issues can be organized around three questions: What was the concept of zeal? Who were the Zealots? Was the Jewish revolutionary struggle of the 1st century a "Zealot Movement?"

A. The Concept of Zeal
B. Who Were the Zealots?
   1. Josephus' Perspective
   2. The Pre-war Revolutionary Period
   3. Revolutionary Groups in the Jewish War (66–74)
      a. The Sicarii
      b. The Zealots
      c. John of Gischala
      d. Simon bar Giora
   4. The Aftermath of the War

C. Resistance Against Rome and the Zealot Movement
   1. Political Causes
   2. Socioeconomic Causes
   3. Religious Causes
   4. Multiple Causes
D. The Revolutionaries and Jesus
E. The Revolutionaries and the Essenes

A. The Concept of Zeal

During this two-century period, "zealot" became a technical term for a model of piety rooted in zeal for God and the Law (Kohler 1905; Farmer 1956; Hengel 1956). Zeal is behavior motivated by the jealous desire to protect one's self, group, space, or time against violations. In the biblical tradition, human acts of zeal punished idolatrous violations of God's right to exclusive allegiance from Israel. As expressed in the First Commandment, God is a jealous/zealous God who requires the allegiance of the people. Because God's holiness will not tolerate idolatry or other violations against the covenant (Exod 20:5; Deut 5:9), God will punish the whole nation for such offenses unless someone acts on behalf of God—zealous with God's jealous anger—to kill or root out the offenders.

The prototype of such zeal was Phineas, the grandson of Aaron the priest (Num 25:1–15). When God put the Israelites under a plague for their idolatrous relations with the Moabites, Phineas discovered Zimri in the act of sexual intercourse with a Midianite/Moabite woman and, "zealous for his God," stepped in on behalf of God and killed them both with a single spear thrust (Num 31:6). God removed the plague from the land and rewarded Phineas with the covenant of a perpetual priesthood for his descendants. The features of this model of piety included a spontaneous unofficial action taken with the courage of one acting alone, expressing the jealous anger of God against an act of idolatry committed by a fellow Israelite, which "made atonement for the people" by ridding the land of an uncleanness and which turned back God's wrath so that God "did not consume the people of Israel." This act was reckoned to Phineas as righteousness (Ps 106:28–31), God rewarding him with a "perpetual priesthood."

Other biblical figures expressed similar zeal. Simeon and Levi took zealous vengeance by killing the men of Shechem for the rape of their sister Dinah (Gen 34:1–31). Elijah was "zealous for the Lord" in killing the prophets of Baal (1 Kgs 18:36–40; 19:10–18. "In zeal for the Lord" King Jehu slaughtered all who worshipped Baal (2 Kgs 10:16–27). And King Josiah rooted out idolatry from the land (2 Kgs 22:1–23:30).

Throughout the Second Temple period, many Jews venerated these ancient figures. Sirach ranks Phineas "third in renown" after Moses and Aaron for "being zealous" (45:23–24). Sirach also glorifies Elijah for "his zeal" (48:1–2). 1 Maccabees depicts Mattathias showing zeal "as Phineas had done" (2:26) and refers to Phineas as "our father, who never flagged in his zeal" (2:54; cf. 2:50 and 2 Macc 4:2). *4 Maccabees* gives Phineas the epithet "the zealous priest" (18:12). The veneration of Phineas continued into the later rabbinic period (Hengel 1956: 154–78; Klassen 1986). The book of Judith describes Simeon as "aflame with zeal" for God's cause (Jdt 9:2–4). The book of *Jubilees* portrays Levi as "zealous to execute righteousness" (30:17–19; cf. *T. Levi* 6:3; *T. Ash.* 4:2–5). *2 Baruch* holds up Josiah as one who was "zealous with zeal for the Mighty One," because he alone was "firm in the law at that time so that he left none that was uncircumcised or that wrought impiety in the land" (66:5).

During this period, the objects of zeal extended beyond idolatry against God to include all offenses against the Law. Those zealous for the Law would not only personally endure imprisonment, beatings, and death rather than transgress the Law (1 Macc 2:50), such zealots might also maim, kill, or destroy the property of others who disobeyed the Law. They would "root out" transgressors in order to turn back God's wrath because transgressors defiled Israel (*Jub.* 41:25). The literature identifies numerous offenses against which people might take zealous action: idolatry (1 Macc 2:24), intercourse with a heathen woman (*m. Sanh.* 9:6; *T. Levi* 6:3; *Jub.* 30), the profaning of God's name (*Jub.* 30:15), the presence of uncircumcised people in the land (1 Macc 2:44–46), the use of images (*JW* 2.169–74, 195), the misuse of the temple (John 2:17), the stealing of sacred vessels (*m. Sanh.* 9:6), and the presence of a gentile in the sacred court of the temple (Acts 21:8–29; *JW* 5.194; *Ant* 15.417). According to the gospel of John, Jesus acted out of zeal in cleansing the temple (John 2:17; cf. Ps 69:10—Eng v 9). Paul the apostle identified himself as a former zealot who persecuted Christians to death on behalf of the traditions of the forefathers (Gal 1:13–14; Phil 3:6; cf. Acts 22:3 and Rom 10:1–4). Later many Jews and Jewish Christians in Jerusalem who were "zealous for the Law" threatened to kill Paul (Acts 21:20; 23:12–14). Simon the zealot, the disciple of Jesus, had probably earned the epithet by taking it upon himself to punish transgressors (Luke 6:15; Acts 1:13; cf. Matt 10:4 and Mark 3:18). Some writings show a concern that zeal on behalf of God and the community not be an excuse for plunder (*Pss. Sol.* 2:27) and that vigilante actions not be a substitute for the regular procedures of the Law (Salomonson 1966). Nevertheless, as Philo put it, "Thousands are watchful, zealots of the laws, strictest guardians of the institutions of the fathers, merciless to those who do anything to subvert them" (*Spec. Leg.* II: 253).

None of these examples refers as such to actions which were revolutionary, although at times zeal for the Law spilled over into revolutionary action. 1 Maccabees portrays zeal as the driving force behind the Maccabean Revolt. The author describes how Mattathias "showed his zeal for the law, as Phineas had done toward Zimri," by killing a Syrian officer and a Jew who had offered a sacrifice to a pagan god (2:19–28). Mattathias invited others who would be "zealous for the law" to flee with him to the mountains. 1 Maccabees depicts those who subsequently fought in the revolt as striking out at Jewish sinners, circumcising by force, tearing down altars, plundering, and maiming those Jews who did not cooperate with the war against the Syrian Empire (2:44–46). 1 Maccabees also commends those who were willing to suffer persecution for their zealous devotion to the Law in opposition to foreign rule (2:50; *4 Macc.* 18:12). The same kind of zeal seems also to have typified some actions of later revolutionaries who opposed Roman rule, vigilante actions against Jews who cooperated with the foreign powers in order to cleanse the land and

thereby to guarantee God's support in their cause against the Roman oppressor (Farmer 1956).

Some scholars assume that citations to zeal and zealots in the 1st century, such as the NT references to Simon the zealot, refer to a Jewish sect of Zealots dedicated to revolution against Rome. Other scholars disagree. The failure in ancient manuscripts to distinguish formal nouns allows for differing interpretations regarding the use of the term "zealot." It seems clear, however, that Jewish and Christian writings of the period refer to a wide variety of offenses against which private individuals or groups might act in zeal on behalf of the community, some of these actions being revolutionary and others not. Moreover, the diversity of offenses, the cross-section of literature glorifying zeal, and the variety of individuals and groups to which zealous actions were attributed (e.g., Paul the Pharisee was a "zealot") suggest that the term "zealot" was not a sectarian designation but descriptive of a type of piety which was not limited to one group or sect. The evidence from Josephus suggests that it was not until about 68 C.E. during the Roman-Judean War that one of the revolutionary factions came to identify itself formally as the Zealots. Therefore, it is anachronistic to view people acting with zeal before 68 C.E. as members of a sect called the Zealots.

Zeal was only one tradition or model of piety among many in the period before the war, and it usually related to specific actions and did not become a sectarian way of life. Zeal was also only one of many religious factors which inspired the revolutionary activity against Rome. The influence of zeal was limited (Horsley 1987: 129), but it was certainly not inconsequential. Zeal was an intensification of the general Jewish concern for holiness, so central to Israel's cultural identity as a nation. As such, the zealot model of behavior likely influenced many revolutionary actions against Rome.

B. Who Were the Zealots?

Historians disagree whether the title "Zealots" properly applies to all Jewish revolutionaries who engaged in war against the Romans or to only one of many factions active in the resistance movement. Although there are a few scattered references to revolutionaries in Roman writers and rabbinic literature, the debate about the identity of the Zealots focuses on the interpretation of the writings of the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus, the only extant works to offer a comprehensive history of Palestine in this period.

1. Josephus' Perspective. Josephus was born in 37 C.E. in Jerusalem and was an eyewitness of the events leading up to and including the war period. In fact, he fought against the Romans as general of Galilee under the Jewish wartime government. Josephus surrendered to the Romans under Vespasian at Jotapata and subsequently cooperated with the Romans by appealing to the Jews under siege in Jerusalem to surrender to Titus. After the war, Titus took Josephus back to Rome and provided him with house and pension, and the emperor Vespasian commissioned him to write the official Roman history of the war. As an official historian, Josephus wrote three works relevant to the study of the war: *The Jewish War* (75–80 C.E.), *The Antiquities of the Jews* (93–95 C.E.) and the autobiographical *Life* (95–100 C.E.).

Scholars continue to disagree about the reliability of Josephus' writings (Cohen 1979; Moering 1984; Rajak 1984), particularly with regard to the accounts of those events in which Josephus himself was involved. Josephus had a personal history of conflict with the revolutionaries and a desire to malign them, as well as an apologetic need to justify his participation in the war on first the Jewish and then the Roman side. Josephus' own role as Jewish general of Galilee is uncertain, as attested by the fact that Justus of Tiberius, who also participated in the war, wrote a history of the Roman-Judean war (no longer extant) which attacked Josephus for fomenting war against the Romans. As a result of all these factors, Josephus' works are filled with bias. For example, he wrote *The Jewish War* from an official Roman point of view the purpose of which was to dissuade Jews in the Parthian Empire from opposing Rome in the aftermath of the war. In this work he sought to exonerate Romans and Jews in general by blaming the war on a small sectarian minority of Jews and a handful of corrupt Roman procurators (Moering 1984). Josephus penned each of his writings with different purposes and for different audiences (Cohen 1979).

Disagreement about the historical identification of the group called the Zealots centers on Josephus' depiction of Judas the Galilean. Judas enjoined resistance in 6 C.E., when the Romans turned Judea into a province and conducted a census in preparation for tax assessment (*JW* 2.118, 433; 7.253–57; *Ant* 18.4–10, 23–25, 102). Although Judas was from Gamala in Galilee, he was active in Judea, that part of the country which became a province at this time. Disagreement exists over whether Judas merely called for non-cooperation with the census (Horsley 1987: 88) or actually incited people to rebellion against Rome (Rhoads 1976: 47–60). In any case he enjoined resistance because in his view the land belonged to God, and the Romans had no right to claim the ownership implied by a census. Judas upbraided his countrymen for being willing to submit to Roman slavery and for giving up the freedom they had fought so hard (under the Maccabees) to obtain. Judas and his followers opposed Jews who cooperated with the census, for they considered cooperation with Caesar to be an idolatrous transgression of the First Commandment to have "no other lords before me." Judas' small and unsuccessful revolt was carried out in the belief that if the Jews were faithful to the covenant, God would honor their cause by bringing victory in the struggle against Rome. Judas was apparently killed as a result of his actions.

Josephus' historical accounts show that Judas was followed by a family of leaders who opposed Roman rule. Judas' sons, James and Simon, were executed for revolutionary activity under the procurator Tiberius Alexander (46–48 C.E.; *Ant* 18.102). His grandson(?) Menahem was killed by other revolutionaries in 66 C.E. (*JW* 7.253). And a descendant Eleazar ben Jair was head of the group which died at Masada in 74 C.E. (*JW* 2.447). Furthermore, although the evidence is tenuous, some scholars argue that Judas the Galilean was the same Judas, son of Hezekiah, who according to Josephus led one of the revolts which occurred after the death of Herod in 4 B.C.E. (*JW* 2.56; *Ant* 17.271–72). Josephus tells us this Judas attacked the royal palace at Sepphoris and aspired to rule Israel. His father Hezekiah was a bandit chief, perhaps among the

last of the Hasmonean dynasty who fought against Herod early in Herod's reign. If Judas the Galilean was the son of Hezekiah, then he was part of a family tradition of opposition to Roman rule which lasted from the beginning of Herod's reign until the fall of Masada (Kennard 1946).

Josephus refers to Judas as a "teacher" and tells us that with a Pharisee named Zadok he founded a sect which Josephus designates as the Fourth Philosophy in order to distinguish it from Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes. This Fourth Philosophy, Josephus tells us, was in all respects like the Pharisees except for the principle of "No lord but God" (*JW* 18.23). This principle represented a novel application of the First Commandment which treated cooperation with Caesar and the Romans as idolatrous allegiance to a lord other than God. Josephus goes on to tell us that after "they had won an abundance of devotees, they filled the body politic immediately with tumult, also planting the seeds of those troubles which subsequently overtook it, all because of the novelty of this hitherto unknown philosophy" (*Ant* 18.9). After the revolt in 6 C.E., however, we hear nothing of Judas' sect for four decades. Judas' sect of followers was either inactive or ineffective (Baumbach 1985) until after 44 C.E., the year when all Israel, including Galilee, became a province of Rome. Then, under the procurator Albinus (62–64 C.E.), the "Sicarii," as Josephus calls Judas' descendants and their followers, began a new form of banditry by assassinating the high priest Jonathan and other notables in Jerusalem and by kidnapping officials to bargain for the release of their compatriots (*JW* 2.254–57; *Ant* 20.165, 186, 204, 208–210). In 66 C.E., Menahem, grandson of Judas, leader of the Sicarii and also a "teacher," briefly took charge of the war effort in Jerusalem. Menahem was, however, assassinated by other revolutionaries; Menahem's followers then fled to Masada, where they remained throughout the war under the leadership of Eleazar ben Jair.

Scholars who embrace the traditional view about the Zealots (Hengel 1974; Brandon 1965) take Josephus' statements about Judas at face value (*Ant* 18.9), concluding that "Judas the Galilean founded the so-called fourth sect, an actual party with quite definite points of view. . . , a firm organization and unified leadership, which decisively determined the fate of the Jewish people during the next two generations and which formed the stable center-point of the growing Jewish freedom movement" (Hengel 1956: 89). According to this view, Judas' sect caused havoc in the countryside and panic in the city until with its ideology of freedom it dragged the rest of the nation into war. During the war, the group splintered into conflicting revolutionary factions. Scholars who take this position argue that Judas' sect of revolutionaries was called the Zealots. In this view, all revolutionaries were Zealots and the war was a Zealot movement, because zeal for the Law—rooting out from the land all idolators (Romans as well as the Jews who cooperated with them)—was the paradigm for the revolt against Rome.

Recently, however, several scholars have rejected this monolithic picture of the revolutionaries in favor of one that depicts the revolutionaries as a movement which from the beginning was composed of heterogeneous elements without a unifying ideology (Smith 1971; Rhoads 1976; Horsley and Hanson 1985). The main arguments are as follows: (1) Josephus exaggerated Judas' movement when depicting it as a sect or Fourth Philosophy because he was eager to blame the war on a small, separate, and distinguishable group that embraced an "innovation" in Jewish Law (*Ant* 18.9). Hence Josephus' statements about Judas' innovation indicate only that Judas was "the first to make resistance to alien rulers a religious duty and to set the example for the fanaticism which later led to disaster, not that he founded an organization which produced all the later incidents" (Smith 1971: 6; cf. *JW* 7.262). (2) Josephus' subsequent narrative suggests that Judas' followers had limited influence. They did not emerge until after 44 C.E. In the prewar period, they were only one of many factions, and they did not control other revolutionaries. In the war period, the Sicarii were one of five different revolutionary factions listed by Josephus, factions which had independent origins and did not result as splinter groups of a single movement. Furthermore, the followers of Judas' descendants were rejected early in the war by other revolutionaries and spent the entire war period isolated on Masada. They did not participate with other revolutionary groups in the defense of Jerusalem. (3) In any case, Josephus does not refer to the group led by Judas' descendants as the Zealots. Previous to his account of the events of 68 C.E., Josephus does not refer to any revolutionary group as Zealots. Even then the title refers to only one faction which formed in 68 C.E., made its headquarters in the temple, and overthrew the provisional government. Only in one passage is the term "zealot" connected with Judas' descendants. Josephus depicts Menahem's bodyguards as "a suite of armed zealots" (*JW* 2.444, cf. 2.564, 65). This reference occurs before Josephus explains the other group's adoption of this name and occurs without the definite article. It probably means "zealots" or "devotees" and might best be translated "a suite of armed fanatics" (Feldman 1984: 645). Josephus consistently refers to the descendants of Judas and their followers not as Zealots but as Sicarii. Apparently the Romans referred to some revolutionaries as "sicarii" because they assassinated with a dagger called a sica (*Ant* 20.186). The name was at first an epithet, the "sicarii," but came to be employed as a title which Josephus used to distinguish this faction from other revolutionary groups.

Thus, Josephus' overall narrative belies the bias of his few statements blaming the whole war on this revolutionary faction. Judas' sect did not unify the revolutionaries or by itself bring on the later war. Nor did Judas' Fourth Philosophy provide the dominant ideology for the war, even if other groups were influenced by his teaching. In light of the arguments cited above, it is therefore incorrect to apply the title "Zealots" to the revolutionary movement as a whole. Despite the fact that Judas' followers may have acted often on the model of zeal, they did not bear the title "Zealots." Rather, the Zealots were one of several revolutionary factions active in the war period. What follows is a discussion of the larger revolutionary movement in the pre-war and the war periods, with a characterization of the various revolutionary groups.

2. The Pre-war Revolutionary Period. Once we discard the view that a small sect was responsible for the war, a complex picture of the pre-war period emerges, one which shows broad resistance to Roman imperialism from all quarters. The pre-war period had its roots in the time of

Herod. The widespread revolts after Herod's death attest to the popular dissatisfaction with his high taxes, political oppression, and promotion of Hellenism and Roman imperialism (*JW* 2.55–65; *Ant* 17.269–85). These revolts were put down quickly by Varus, the Roman Legate of Syria. Scholars usually mark 6 C.E. as the beginning of the pre-war period. At this time the Romans turned Judea, the S part of Israel, into a province, sent a procurator and Roman troops, and began to collect tribute directly. After the brief resistance movement led by Judas the Galilean, the first procuratorial period from 6–44 C.E. was relatively quiet, perhaps because the Jews were waiting to see whether the procuratorial arrangement with greater autonomy for Israel under a high priest would be effective (see Tacitus' comment that "Under Tiberius all was quiet," *Hist.* 5:9). There were a few popular insurrections at the time of the procurator Pilate (26–36 C.E.; cf. *JW* 2.169–77; *Ant* 18.55–64, 85–89), and in the early 40's there occurred a series of massive protests against Gaius' plan (aborted by his death) to put his statue in the temple at Jerusalem, a crisis which some scholars consider to be a turning point in Roman relations with Judea.

After a brief period under the rule of Agrippa I (41–44 C.E.), the whole of Israel became a Roman province, at which time a few minor protests took place. Then, during this second procuratorial period of 44–66 C.E., a series of incidents caused a deterioration in Roman-Jewish relations. Under the procurator Cumanus (48–52 C.E., cf. *JW* 2.223–46; *Ant* 20.103–36), a Jewish crowd became irate at an obscene gesture made near the temple by a Roman soldier, a Jewish bandit group attacked a Roman caravan, some Roman soldiers caused a riot by burning a copy of the Law, and Cumanus showed extraordinary negligence in failing to deal with a conflict between Jews and Samaritans. Although Cumanus was recalled to Rome as a result of formal Jewish protests, from this point on, law and order broke down in the countryside and bandit groups operated with impunity, a condition which subsequent procurators did little to alleviate. Then, under Festus (60–62 C.E.) and Albinus (62–64 C.E.), the atmosphere also deteriorated in Jerusalem, with conflicts among Jewish high priestly factions jockeying to gain the procurator's favor. The situation in Jerusalem was exacerbated by the atmosphere of terror resulting from assassinations and kidnappings by the "sicarii" (*JW* 2.272–77; *Ant* 20.182–215).

Thus the combination of Roman ineptness and Jewish insurrection led to an atmosphere in the city and in the countryside in which the populace was ready to erupt into conflict at the slightest provocation. Nero's decision to place the governance of Caesarea into the hands of the Greek populace (*JW* 2.284–93) and the action by the last procurator Florus forcibly to extract the tribute money from the temple treasury (*JW* 2.293) provided the catalysts for the war.

Throughout much of this pre-war period there were various forms of resistance to Roman rule (Borg 1984; Rhoads 1976; Horsley and Hanson 1985). There were the official Jewish protests to Caesar, along with delegations complaining of the ineptness of the procurators, which led to the recall of three procurators (*Ant* 18.89; *JW* 2.239–46; *Ant* 20.193–95). These official protests culminated in the 60's with the national refusal to pay the tribute. There were popular protests and riots against the actions of Pilate, the efforts of Gaius to put his statue in the temple, and the failure of Cumanus to act against the Samaritans, ending in the widespread burning and pillage in reaction to Nero's decision about Caesarea (*JW* 2.457–80). Bandit groups such as that led by Eleazar ben Dinai (*JW* 2.235–36, 253; *Ant* 20.121, 161) arose from among dissidents and the economically marginal, attacking Romans as well as wealthy and powerful Jews who cooperated with the Romans (Hengel 1956; Horsley 1979b; 1981). The "sicarii" created terror with their kidnappings, their assassination of the high priest Jonathan, and the attacks on other notables. Oracular prophets such as John the Baptist (*Ant* 18.116–19) and Jesus, son of Ananias (*JW* 6.300–309), stirred up expectations of hope or doom. Action prophets such as Theudas (*Ant* 20:97–98), the Egyptian (*JW* 2:261–63; *Ant* 20:169–72; Acts 21:38), and other figures led people to cross the Jordan or to go into the desert for signs of liberation, actions similar to the liberating events of the exodus from Egypt (Barnett 1980; Horsley 1984; 1985a; 1986c). All the prophetic figures fueled a millenarian atmosphere.

Resistance to Roman rule, both violent and nonviolent, was widespread. Resistance came from virtually every quarter—Pharisees, high priests, peasants, local villagers, Jerusalemites, people of every geographical sector. The causes and motivations varied tremendously—poverty, overtaxation, incompetent procurators, and unruly soldiers, as well as a variety of beliefs, including zeal and commitment to the Law. Far from a single unified sect dragging the rest of the nation into war, there is the picture of much of the nation in resistance, struggling to cope with the foreign occupation by the Romans—a picture which coheres well with what we know otherwise of the diversity in 1st-century Judaism. By the time this turmoil came to a head in 66 C.E., the war was supported by some portions of virtually every sector of the populace, cutting across sectarian categories, economic classes, and geographical regions.

3. Revolutionary Groups in the Jewish War (66–74). The war itself began when the procurator Florus (64–66 C.E.) attempted to seize money from the temple treasury to cover the Jewish tribute (*JW* 2.293–96). Hand-to-hand fighting led to the expulsion of Florus and his troops from the city (*JW* 2.325–32). Herod Agrippa tried unsuccessfully to persuade the Jews to pay the tribute and to restore relations with Rome (*JW* 2.342–407). Then lower-class priests officially ended the relation with Rome by stopping the daily sacrifices on behalf of Caesar (*JW* 2.409–421). These priests and other revolutionaries took control of the temple and fought the combined forces of the Jewish aristocracy, the royalist troops, and the Roman contingent, all located in the upper city. The insurgents gained enough control of the city (*JW* 2.322–24) to hold off the siege by Cestius, the legate of Syria, who had come with the Roman Twelfth Legion to reestablish Roman control over Jerusalem (*JW* 2.499–561). When Cestius withdrew, probably because of the impending winter, the Jews pursued the Romans out of the country, seized weapons and equipment, and returned victorious to Jerusalem. The event unified much of the country in favor of war.

This initial Jewish victory brought even the aristocracy onto the side of war. In general, the wealthy ruling elite had sought to avoid conflict with Rome because they were responsible to Rome for peace in the nation and because they had the most to lose by war. Nevertheless, they now joined the anti-Roman cause, probably because they knew it was the only way to retain leadership of the nation. Under the leadership of the high priests, then, the Jews formed the provisional government of independence which appointed governors to the various regions to prepare to fight the Romans when they returned to reconquer the province (*JW* 2.562–68). In addition, the provisional government began to fortify Jerusalem and to train troops. It is likely that the high priests and the lay aristocracy sought to establish military strength and to unify the nation in order to negotiate the best terms with the Romans if that became possible or to fight the most effective war against the Romans if that became necessary.

In 67–68 C.E., Vespasian led the Tenth Legion to recapture Israel. He conquered Galilee and Idumea, as well as Judea, and prepared to besiege Jerusalem (*JW* 3.309–4.120, 550–56). Vespasian had to withdraw, however, because of unrest in Rome, and in 69 C.E. he became emperor (*JW* 3.655). Meanwhile, in 68 C.E. a coalition of revolutionaries in Jerusalem overthrew the moderate provisional government. When the Romans returned under Vespasian's son Titus, the Jews were divided by factions, their ranks and supplies depleted from fighting each other. They did combine, however, to offer a valiant and sustained defense of the city. Nevertheless, in 70 C.E. the Romans conquered Jerusalem and razed the temple.

Josephus identifies five revolutionary groups active in the war period (*JW* 7.262–70): the Sicarii, the Zealots, John of Gischala and his followers, Simon bar Giora and his followers, and the Idumeans. These factions differed in origin, goals, methods, type of leadership, and composition. For the most part, when they were not cooperating in opposition to a common enemy, these factions were in conflict with each other. What follows is a description of four of these factions and a delineation of their role in the war; the role of the fifth group, the militia from Idumea, will become clear in the discussion of the other four groups.

a. The Sicarii. The Sicarii were the group led by the descendants of Judas the Galilean. Several leaders were described as "teachers." They had promoted a program of social equality and a balanced distribution of wealth, perhaps based on Deuteronomy 15 and Leviticus 25 (Baumbach 1965). Their actions often exemplified a zeal to cleanse the land. They were prepared to fight and die rather than submit to any other than God as their lord.

At the opening of the war, this group under Menahem, apparently to gain a foothold of power in relation to the other Jews, seized Masada from the Romans by a trick and took over the arsenal of weapons there (*JW* 2.408, 434). Meanwhile, other Sicarii slipped into the temple to join the revolutionaries in Jerusalem who had initiated war there (*JW* 2.425). These Sicarii were probably instrumental in burning houses of the wealthy as well as the Public Archives which held the record of debts in order "to cause a rising of the poor against the rich, sure of impunity" (*JW* 2.426–29). Then Menahem, the leader of the Sicarii and the grandson of Judas the Galilean, entered Jerusalem "like a veritable king" with the arms he had seized from Masada and assumed charge of the revolutionary forces in the city (*JW* 2.433–34). He spearheaded attacks against the upper class and assassinated the high priest Ananias (*JW* 2.435–42). However, Eleazar, the leader of the revolutionaries from Jerusalem and the son of Ananias the High Priest, whom Menahem killed, rose up against Menahem. When Menahem made a play for greater power by entering the temple in royal robes, this was too much for the Jerusalem revolutionaries, who considered this brash Galilean to be "far below themselves." They killed him and drove his followers out of the city (*JW* 2.443–48). The Sicarii fled to Masada, where they remained throughout the war. They had little contact with other revolutionary groups, raided Jewish villages to gain supplies, and did not participate in the defense of Jerusalem (*JW* 4.400–5, 516).

After Jerusalem fell, Masada held out, along with the fortress cities of Herodium and Machaerus (*JW* 7.163–209). In 74 C.E., after a lenghty siege, Roman troops under the new procurator Flavius Silva made it to the top of Masada, only to find that the defenders of Masada had committed suicide rather than submit to Roman lordship and slavery (*JW* 7.304–406). This same devotion to have "no lord but God" led other Sicarii who had earlier fled Masada for Alexandria and Cyrene to endure great torture and death rather than acknowledge Caesar as lord (*JW* 7.410–419, 437, 444).

b. The Zealots. The Zealots were a coalition of lower priests, Jerusalem insurgents, and refugee bandit groups from the countryside who overthrew the provisional government in 68 C.E. in order to assure the successful prosecution of the war. Their major goal was political independence from the Romans. They opposed Jews with power and privilege, set up their headquarters in the temple, and established an alternative egalitarian government. The Zealots contributed little, however, to the actual battles against the Romans.

Josephus writes that the Zealots emerged as a distinct faction in the winter of 67–68 C.E. Nevertheless this group probably had roots in the events at the opening of the war. In 66 C.E., shortly after Florus was driven out and Agrippa was banished from Jerusalem, some lower priests, probably from Jerusalem and Judea, led by a few upper-class priests and supported by some laypeople from Jerusalem, stopped the sacrifices which the Jewish nation had agreed to provide twice daily on behalf of Caesar as an official sign of allegiance to Rome (*JW* 2.409–417). These lower priests under the leadership of the temple captain Eleazar, son of the high priest Ananias, were cleansing the temple of all gentile influence. Their cessation of these sacrifices withdrew all divine benefits for Rome and was a declaration of independence. Civil war broke out in Jerusalem over the matter (*JW* 2.418–56). The lower priests took control of the temple and confined the high priests, the lay aristocracy, and the royalist troops in the upper city, excluding them also from temple worship. Joined by Sicarii and other revolutionary groups, this coalition gained sufficient control of the city to defeat the remaining Roman troops and to hold off the Syrian legate Cestius Gallus when he came to retake the city for the Romans (*JW* 2.499–562).

Eleazar, son of Simon, was a priest and one of the revolutionaries who had seized money and weapons in the rout of Cestius as he retreated N (*JW* 2.564–65). Because of fear of Eleazar's influence, the provisional government which was established after Cestius' withdrawal excluded Eleazar from appointment to regional posts. As the war progressed, Eleazar became dissatisfied with the progress of the war and sought to gain control of the government. When the provisional government resisted his efforts, conflict erupted. Eleazar and his forces (*JW* 5:5) joined the bandit groups, local militia, and other refugees who fled to Jerusalem from Vespasian's devastating conquest of Galilee and Judea (*JW* 4.138–50); they withdrew into the temple and used it as a fortress (*JW* 4.151–52). At this point in his narrative, Josephus clearly identifies this revolutionary coalition as the Zealots (*JW* 4.161). These Zealots, led in part by priests, set up their own egalitarian government with a collective leadership. They also chose by lot from among the descendants of Zadok their own high priest, an uneducated peasant from Judea (*JW* 4§153–57).

Scholars disagree about the origins and goals of the coalition of Zealots. Some scholars (Baumbach 1968; Stern 1973; Rhoads 1976) argue for a continuity between the early priestly group under Eleazar son of Ananias, who in 66 C.E. stopped the sacrifices for Rome, and the later group of Zealots which formed in 68 C.E.: both groups were committed to war, opposed the aristocracy and the royalists, had their headquarters in the temple (even the inner temple, where only priests were permitted), had priestly leadership, revived ancient traditions, and excluded other Jews from temple worship. These scholars also point to the implied continuity of priestly leadership in Eleazar son of Simon, as well as the possible connection with Eleazar son of Ananias who was appointed leader of the Idumean militia, to whom the Zealots later turned for help (*JW* 2.566). The scholars who support this position emphasize the religious motivations of those who chose to call themselves "Zealots" as Jews who wanted to purify the temple and the city. Other scholars (Smith 1971; Horsley 1986a) claim that the Zealot faction which formed in 68 C.E. had little in common with earlier revolutionaries in the city but comprised refugees and bandit groups who had fled to Jerusalem in the face of Vespasian's conquest of NW Judea (*JW* 4.135, 138). These scholars argue that the Zealots reflected views typical of peasants in their anti-aristocratic attitudes, their establishment of an alternative government, and their egalitarian leadership. The truth may be a combination of both views. It is likely that the Zealots were a coalition of the forces already situated in the city under Eleazar, son of Simon, and the refugee forces from Judea which entered the city. Besides, the lower class priests and the peasants of Judea would have shared a common religio-political outlook.

In any case, there was in 68 C.E. a civil war raging between the Zealots in the temple and the provisional government (*JW* 4.162–207). At this point, John of Gischala told the Zealots, now under siege in the temple, that the provisional government intended to turn the city over to the Romans for terms of surrender (*JW* 4.208–233). So the Zealots sent secret messages to the standing army of Idumea (*JW* 4.224–35). Under cover of a rainstorm at night, the Idumeans entered the city surreptitiously and freed the Zealots from the temple (*JW* 4.283–313). Joined by these Idumeans and the forces under John of Gischala, the Zealots took over the city and began a reign of terror, killing the high priest Ananus and bringing to justice by trials, torture, imprisonment, public shaming, and execution all those upper-class Jews, particularly the Herodian nobles, suspected of treason (*JW* 4.314–344, 355–65). Thus they succeeded in preventing the provisional government from coming to peaceful terms with the Romans.

Eventually the Zealots withdrew to the inner temple (*JW* 5.59). John of Gischala set up his force in the outermost temple (*JW* 4.389–97), most of the Idumean units broke with the Zealots because of their excesses (*JW* 4.345–54), and the surviving Jerusalem nobles who were released by the Idumeans fled to Simon bar Giora (*JW* 4.353). Subsequently John overpowered the Zealots and retook control of the inner temple (*JW* 5.98–103). The remaining core of dedicated Zealots, located in the inner temple, fought under John's command (*JW* 5.20) and cooperated cautiously with Simon's forces in defending the city against the Roman siege led by Titus (*JW* 5.248–51, 358–6.92, 148). When the Romans stormed the walls, those Zealots who were able to flee died fighting the Romans in the forest of Jardes (*JW* 7.210–15).

c. John of Gischala. John of Gischala was a prominent rival of Josephus in Galilee who aspired to command the nation. John showed neither the social radicalism nor the apocalyptic hopes which typified other groups. He appears to have been drawn into the war as events progressed (Rappaport 1983). A realistic nationalist who hoped to defeat the Romans, John used every opportunity to gain power. It is a mistake to identify John as a Zealot (Lake). Nor is he to be characterized as a bandit chief (Horsley 1981), despite Josephus' labeling of him as such in *The Jewish War*.

Although poor at first, John had likely been an impoverished member of the landed gentry (*JW* 2.590; Baumbach 1965). He may also have been a Levite (Baumbach 1986). He initially opposed war against Rome but was goaded into it by nearby gentile cities which attacked and burned his hometown and other cities in N Galilee (*Life* 43–45). John mustered a large force of refugees from these razed cities and retaliated. Then he rebuilt and fortified Gischala with funds raised by marketing the imperial corn he had seized (*Life* 73) and by selling oil to Jews in Syria (*Life* 76), and he made Gischala his headquarters.

John resented the appointment of Josephus as governor of Galilee and had several encounters with him (*Life* 84–103). Since John knew well the leading Pharisee in Jerusalem, Simon ben Gamaliel, and had contact with the provisional government, he appealed to them to remove Josephus from his post (*Life* 89–193). After the provisional government sent a delegation to investigate, the popular assembly in Jerusalem confirmed Josephus in his post (*JW* 3.309–310). John's views were vindicated, however, when Josephus voluntarily surrendered to Vespasian at Jotapata (*JW* 3.340–408). Then when the Romans attacked Gischala, John and his band fled to Jerusalem to take up the war there (*JW* 4.84–120).

With his own fighting force in Jerusalem (*JW* 4.121–28), John had influence with the provisional government, which asked him to negotiate with the Zealots fortified in

the temple (*JW* 4.208–215). As we have seen, John's declaration to the Zealots that the provisional government was about to betray the city to the Romans led to the subsequent Zealot takeover of the city (*JW* 4.216–32). John joined in the reign of terror against the upper classes in the hope of gaining greater power. Unable to gain command over the Zealots because of their egalitarianism, John formed his own coalition and took control of the outer temple (*JW* 4.389–97). However, the arrival of Simon bar Giora in Jerusalem prevented John from gaining control of the whole city. In the end, John's force gained leadership over the Zealots (*JW* 5.98–105) and defended Jerusalem alongside Simon's larger army.

John did not have a social program like the Sicarii and Simon, nor did he have the zealotic concern for the purity of the temple. Also, he did not have messianic aspirations like Simon bar Giora. John was apparently convinced that the Romans would deplete their resources conquering the countryside and that "had they wings, the Romans would never surmount the walls of Jerusalem" (*JW* 4.126–27). John believed God was an indomitable ally in the Jewish struggle. He melted sacred vessels for use as weapons in the conviction that the nation "should not scruple to use divine things on the Divinity's behalf" (*JW* 5.564). When near capture, John requested the Romans to permit his group to leave the city to settle in the desert (*JW* 6.351). Instead, the Romans seized him and later imprisoned him in exile (*JW* 6.434; 7.118).

d. Simon bar Giora. Simon son of Giora was a champion of the lower classes. He rose from obscurity, as David had, to become his country's leader. His name probably means "son of a proselyte" (Roth 1960: 53). From Gerasa in the Transjordan, Simon was a popular "strong man" known for his youth, physical prowess, and courage, similar to Athronges and Simon, a slave of Herod, who each led revolts at the death of Herod in 6 B.C.E. (*JW* 2.57–65; *Ant* 17.273–84; Farmer 1957; Horsley 1984: 488–91). Simon, whose loyal followers obeyed him "like a king" (*JW* 4.510) apparently had messianic aspirations.

Simon was the leader of a band active in the Judean countryside in the pre-war period. He first appears in 66 C.E., attacking Cestius Gallus' troops and seizing Roman supplies (*JW* 2.521). Simon subsequently took control of the Acrabatene region in NE Judea, plundering the wealthy pro-Roman citizens (*JW* 2.652–54). The provisional government in Jerusalem was alarmed by this development and sent a force to disarm him, whereupon Simon fled S to the Sicarii at Masada, with whom he had little in common except antipathy for the Jewish government (*JW* 4.503–513). After the provisional government was overthrown and the high priest Ananus had died, Simon moved out to the hill country and later overran Idumea, with headquarters at Nain (*JW* 4.515–37). He greatly increased the size of his following by a royal-like proclamation of "freedom for slaves and rewards for the free" (*JW* 4.507–508; cf. Isaiah). Also, many nobles fled the Zealot reign of terror in Jerusalem to join Simon (*JW* 4.353, 510). When it became clear to the Zealots in Jerusalem that Simon was preparing to storm the city, they kidnapped his wife, which made him furious (*JW* 4.538–44). Then some Idumeans in Jerusalem who had broken with the Zealots opened the city gates, and, in 69 C.E., the people welcomed Simon as "savior and protector" of the city (*JW* 4.574–75). Although Simon was unable to dislodge either the Zealots or John of Gischala from the temple areas (*JW* 5.23–26), he nevertheless took control of the upper city and part of the lower city with headquarters in the tower of Phasael. He was now "Master of Jerusalem" (*JW* 4.577).

In the defense of Jerusalem, Simon led the largest force, comprising 10,000 men, and under him served the Idumeans, 5,000 strong. In battles against the Romans, these troops cooperated with John of Gischala, who had 6,000 men under him, and the Zealots, who numbered 2,500 (*JW* 5.248–50). As a commander who inspired great loyalty (*JW* 5.309), Simon exerted firm discipline, executing upper-class people suspected of treason, prohibiting assembly, imprisoning suspected deserters, and providing burial for the dead (*JW* 5.527–45, 567, 6.380–81). After Simon's troops were defeated and he and the leaders of his group had fled into the underground passages of Jerusalem (*JW* 7.26–27), Simon emerged alone in white robes and voluntarily surrendered, perhaps to assume his messianic role even in defeat and to prevent further ill-treatment of his troops (*JW* 7.28–29). The Romans obviously considered Simon to be the main Jewish commander, for they paraded him in chains at Rome, where he was executed in the Forum (*JW* 7.153–54).

4. The Aftermath of the War. By the end of the war, the city was destroyed and the temple was completely razed. Most Jewish warriors were killed and their families enslaved. A few fortresses in S Israel held out after the war—Machaerus, Herodium, and Masada—which the Romans subdued by 74 C.E. The economic life of the nation was devastated by the loss of the temple and by the scorched-earth practices of Roman conquest. The temple tax now went to the Romans. The Sanhedrin and the ruling classes were destroyed in the war, and the priests could no longer participate in a sacrificial cult. The surviving Pharisaic rabbis established a center at Jamnia, studied the Law in hopes of a restoration of the nation, and may even have exercised some jurisdiction in civil cases (*HJP*^{2} 1: 514–28).

The Romans maintained Judea as a province under Roman governors until the Bar Kokhba War of 132–135 C.E. at the time of the emperor Hadrian. When the Romans subdued this Jewish revolt in Palestine, they turned Jerusalem into a Roman colony, renaming it Aelia Capitolina and prohibiting any Jew from entering there. This was the end of Israel as a political entity in the Roman Empire.

C. Resistance Against Rome and the Zealot Movement

Scholars have consistently referred to the revolution against Rome as the Zealot Movement. If they mean by this that all revolutionaries were Zealots or that all revolutionaries embraced the particular ideology of "zeal," then undoubtedly the depiction is incorrect. However, if the Zealot epithet for the movement simply emphasizes a predominance of religious motivations over social or political motivations in the war against Rome, then we must weigh the causes and the motivations of the war, the preconditions, and the precipitating events in order to determine how appropriate it is to refer to the war as a Zealot Movement in this broad sense.

The dynamics of the war were extremely complex. Not only was this a national war against the Romans, who dominated and exploited the Jews politically, economically, and culturally, but it was also a civil war among Jews. In a traditional peasant society like Israel, there was widespread hostility against exploitation by the Jewish ruling elite, especially where the elite ruled on behalf of foreign power. This social situation pitted peasants against the wealthy, lower priests against high priests, rural against urban, populace (including urban laborers) against the aristocracy. These internal conflicts drew the majority of the nation, including the reluctant elite, into the struggle against Rome. In addition, as we have seen, the factions had different ideological bases, conflicting political programs, and a variety of methods to achieve their goals. During the war these Jewish factions made continual war on each other except when constrained to form coalitions in the presence of the common enemy, Rome. In the end, this was a popular war resulting from widespread and longstanding grievances affecting large segments of the population. The causes and motives were therefore many and varied, including the ordinary human drives for survival, honor, wealth, and power. Scholars variously emphasize three major sets of causes for the war: political, socioeconomic, and religious.

1. Political Causes. Some scholars emphasize a political cause (Aberbach; Moering; Rappaport; Smallwood): the Roman Imperial imposition of the Hellenistic-Roman culture upon a local national culture struggling to survive. This Roman domination is evidenced by the emperor Gaius' intention to put his statue in the temple, the establishment of Hellenistic cities and culture in Palestine under Herod, the particular conflicts in Palestine between Jews and Greco-Syrians over control of cities and scarce land, the gradual change in official Roman policy toward the Jews which became more negative as the century wore on and eventually led to the volatile decision by Nero in 66 C.E. to give the Greek populace of Caesarea charge of the city over the Jews who lived there, and finally the massacre of Jews in Hellenistic cities at the opening of the war. Add to these the political mismanagement of the province, including (a) the rapid turnover of procurators who used the position as a means to gain wealth and as a stepping stone to higher rank (cf. *Ant* 18: 172–78), (b) incompetent and corrupt procurators who showed little sensitivity for Jewish customs, (c) erratic procuratorial appointments to the office of high priest which resulted in conflicts among the high priestly houses, (d) the failure to station an adequate number of troops in Palestine, and (e) the Roman use in their auxiliary forces of non-Jewish residents from Palestine who already had a history of hostility toward Jews. Such an ineffective governance of the province, if it did not cause the war, certainly provided the conditions for the rise of revolutionary factions. In addition, there were the military miscalculations of Cestius Gallus at the opening of the war (Gichon) and the harsh Roman prosecution of war—a scorched earth policy and a refusal in the conquest of cities to distinguish between those who favored war and those who did not—which fueled the flames of war throughout.

It should be noted, also, that the Jews were not easy to govern. They had a strong historic commitment to freedom from foreign domination, which in this period had become an article of religious faith (Feldman 1984: 661). Coins of the revolt bore the inscription "The Freedom of Zion." And from the Roman point of view, Jews had peculiar religious sensibilities, such as the prohibition against images, about which the Jews were adamant. Judea was like "the top of a volcano of Jewish nationalism which might erupt at any moment" (Smallwood 1965: 316). And the conflicts between the ruling high priestly families and their efforts to gain power by bribing the procurators only exacerbated the Roman struggle to control the province.

2. Socioeconomic Causes. Other scholars emphasize socioeconomic issues (Appelbaum; Goodman; Horsley; Kreissing; Rajak): the confiscation of property by the Romans, the foreclosure on property resulting from failure to repay loans to wealthy Jews, the restriction in the size of peasant holdings at a time when the population had burgeoned due to the displacement of Jewish peasants from city territories restored to gentile hands by Pompey, the subordination of peasant holdings to large estate owners, an extremely burdensome system of double taxation for the Jewish and Roman governments, famine in the late 40's, and significant unemployment due to the completion of the temple in 64 C.E. These factors led to peasant indebtedness, indenturing, forced urbanization, and widespread banditry and terrorism against the upper classes—which in themselves contributed significantly to the atmosphere leading to war. The victims of these conditions swelled the ranks of revolutionaries. Revolution arises in peasant societies where the governance is ineffective and the peasantry is economically marginal. In Israel, the result was a class struggle, a peasant rebellion, against both the Romans and the ruling Jewish elite.

3. Religious Causes. Still other historians emphasize the religious motivations of the Jews (Borg; Freyne; Hengel; Stern): an ideology of "no lord but God" which was absolutely incompatible with Roman rule; the belief that God's land should be free of foreign domination; the obstinate defense of the Jewish Law; the commitment to execute God's vengeance; the zealous cleansing of the holy land, city, and temple from profane gentile influence as a means to secure the prosperity and freedom of the nation; and the conviction that when they fought for the Law, as the small group of Maccabees had once fought, God would honor their cause. Add also the widespread eschatological atmosphere fueled by the presence of prophetic figures, the belief that scriptures were about to be fulfilled, and the expectation of a messianic figure (which Josephus states as the main religious motive, *JW* 6.312)—all informed by the conviction that the worse things got, the greater was the likelihood that God would intervene. Many leaders believed God was the ally to guarantee their cause in the course of events: the Jews in Parthia and Abiadene might bring those territories to Israel's aid; the Jews in the Roman Diaspora might rise; unrest in Rome during the year of four emperors which led Vespasian to withdraw in 68 C.E. might cause a breakdown in Roman rule; disturbances among the Gauls and Celts might distract the Romans; or the Romans could wear down their war machines on the fortresses of Galilee and then be unable to overcome the formidable walls of Jerusalem. Many Jews interpreted the withdrawal of Cestius and disturbances in

Rome to be signs of God's inevitable victory. Even the coins of the revolt, bearing "Jerusalem the Holy" and "the Redemption of Zion," attest to the fundamentally religious nature of the conflict.

4. Multiple Causes. Given the complexity of the war, it is perhaps not possible to identify any one of these major causes without which the war would not have happened. And while each of these causes is necessary to explain the war, no one of them is by itself a sufficient explanation for the war. The war was caused by the accumulative effect of a variety of factors over a long period of time (Bilde; Harter; Levine; Rhoads). Besides, religion was not a discrete factor in the ancient world, but was deeply embedded in political and economic realities. All understood their political situation and articulated their social hopes in religious terms. Every social, economic, political, and cultural issue was at the same time a thoroughly religious issue. Therefore, in the end it is not appropriate to distinguish the religious from the social, for example, as separate factors causing the war. So the Jewish resistance movement against Rome cannot adequately be capsulized by the phrase "Zealot Movement." It was that, but it was also a "social revolution," a "peasant rebellion," a "quest for holiness," a "clash of cultures," a "millenarian movement," a "national war for freedom," and much more. Only by the use of several depictions can we adequately characterize the complexity of events comprising the Roman-Judean War.

D. The Revolutionaries and Jesus

Historians have proposed that Jesus of Nazareth was a zealot (Reimarus; Kautsky; Eisler) or a Zealot sympathizer (Brandon 1967). This view is based on the notion that the gospels transformed Jesus into a pacifist figure and that the true revolutionary picture of Jesus can be inferred from such details as his execution by the Romans on the charge of being a revolutionary, his inclusion of Simon the zealot (e.g., Luke 6:15) among the Twelve, and his admonition to the disciples to buy swords (Luke 22:36; cf. 12:51). Other historians agree that Jesus was revolutionary in his thinking but that he rejected the Zealots (Hengel 1971; 1973; Edwards 1972), pointing to his rejection of violence (Matt 26:52), his acceptance of Jews who collected taxes for the Romans (e.g., Mark 2:15–17), and his command to love one's enemy (Matt 5:44; Luke 6:27–31, 35).

All of these scholars have tended anachronistically to see Jesus in terms of whether he was a Zealot or not. However, in light of the diversity in Judaism, the multiform character of resistance to Rome, and the late appearance of the Zealot group, scholars will do well to compare and contrast Jesus with various groups, such as the differing schools of the Pharisees, the action prophets, the "zealots," the Fourth Philosophy, and so on (Borg 1984; Horsley and Hanson 1985). in this regard, we can assess Jesus not in terms of whether he was a Zealot or not, political or not, but in terms of his larger vision and strategy for the nation of Israel as God's people, particularly in relation to the issues which came to a head at the end of Jesus' generation in the Roman-Judean War. For example, Jesus shared with some revolutionaries an opposition to the imbalance of wealth and the authoritarian use of power, and he called for renewal at every level of national life based on an egalitarian model of shared wealth and power (Horsley 1987). On the other hand, Jesus' program of renewal was opposed to the ideology of holiness which inspired much of the war, an ideology which called for radical separation from what was considered unclean. By contrast, Jesus' ideology was to spread holiness through mercy so that holiness in the land might be attained not by suppression or exclusion but by the transformation of what was unclean through healing, forgiveness, and a renewal of the temple and Torah (Borg 1984). For Jesus, the fundamental principle for interpreting the law was not "No Lord but God" (the Fourth Philosophy) nor the command to "be holy" (Pharisees and Essenes) nor the concern for proper temple worship (Sadducees) but the command to love God and to love one's neighbor, including one's enemy, as oneself (Mark 12:28–34 and parallels).

While Jesus pursued his activity nonviolently, he was nevertheless a significant threat both to the Jewish authorities and to the Roman governance of the province. In word and action, he challenged and condemned any claim to authority other than that which was an expression of the coming Kingdom of God. His apocalyptic program called for an end to the present order in the expectation that God would soon establish a new Messianic order. These and other factors help to explain why Jesus was condemned by the Jewish leaders and executed by the Roman procurator.

Although some Jewish followers of Jesus after his death were "zealous" for the Law (Acts 21:20) and probably joined the war against the Romans, most early Christians shared Jesus' rejection of violence and therefore opposed the Roman-Judean War. The gospel writers viewed the defeat of Israel at Roman hands as the consequence of the nation's rejection of Jesus and his program of renewal. Paul renounced his former zealous behavior. Although the author of Revelation had great hostility toward the Romans and shared the zealot antipathy to images and to political idolatry, the author believed that God, not humans, would exact vengeance. No early Christian writing extant advocates armed revolution as a way of expressing devotion to God.

E. The Revolutionaries and the Essenes

While most scholars have identified the Dead Sea sect at Qumran as Essenes, a few have equated them with the Zealots (Roth; Driver). The latter base their view on the mutual hatred both groups shared toward the Romans, the correlation of figures in the Dead Sea Scrolls with revolutionaries active in the war, and a calendar held in common with the Sicarii on Masada. However, the evidence for a similarity in calendar is inconclusive, and the tenuous correlation with revolutionary figures in the war is unlikely since the Scrolls were probably written long before the war (Rowley 1959; Vermes 1977). Also, while both groups hated the Romans, the ethic of the Dead Sea sect was contrary to that of the revolutionary groups and the piety of zeal. The revolutionary zealots hated the Romans and wanted to cleanse the land with acts of vengeance on behalf of God. They were activists who believed they could force God's hand, for God would honor their zeal by removing the Romans. By contrast, the Essenes left vengeance in the hands of God. They withdrew and waited, unwilling to

fight until God initiated the eschatological battle, fantastically depicted in the *War Scroll*. Their pacifism is confirmed by archaeologists who have found no weapons for the period prior to the destruction of the Qumran community by the Romans in 68 C.E.

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DAVID RHOADS

ZEBADIAH (PERSON) [Heb *zēbadyāh, zēbadyāhû*]. The name means "Yahweh has given a gift." In the OT, the verb is used only in Gen 30:20 (Zakovitch 1980: 31–50).

1. A descendant of Benjamin (1 Chr 8:15) through the line of Elpaal and Beriah (1 Chr 8:15–16).

2. A descendant of Benjamin (1 Chr 8:17) through Elpaal (1 Chr 18: 17–18).

3. A Benjaminite, the son of Jeroham (1 Chr 12:8—Eng 12:7), who with his brother Joelah joined David in Ziklag during the time David could not move freely about because of Saul. The Chronicler describes the Benjaminites who joined David as kinsmen of Saul, who could shoot arrows or sling stones with either their right or left hands (1 Chr 12:2).

4. Listed as a gatekeeper, a Levite, the third son of Meshelemiah (1 Chr 26:2). Zebadiah's father Meshelemiah is identified as the son of Kore and, in the MT, as belonging both to the Korahite family of gatekeepers and to the family of Asaphites. Commentators regard it as unlikely that Meshelemiah and his family are to be linked with the family of the Asaphites who were known as temple musicians. LXX^{B} has Abiasaphar instead of Asaph. Myers (*1 Chronicles* AB, 174) suggests "Abiasaph" and "Ebiasaph" as possibilities and notes that Ebiasaph appears in 1 Chr 9:19. Williamson (*1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 170) suggests reading Ebiasaph. Braun (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 248–49) reads Abiasaph.

5. The son of Asahel who, according to 1 Chr 27:7, succeeded his father in bearing responsibility for the division of laborers that worked in the fourth month in a twelve-month rotation. Although 1 Chr 27:1–15 intends to depict the administrative structure established by David, Zebadiah's father Asahel was killed before David became king of all Israel (2 Sam 2:18–23). Williamson (*1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 174–75) notes that the mention of Zebadiah acknowledges this difficulty, but does not eliminate the tension raised by the text.

6. One of the Levites, who according to the Chronicler was sent by Jehoshaphat in the third year of his reign, along with the king's officers and two priests, in order to teach in the cities of Judah (2 Chr 17:8). Myers (*2 Chronicles* AB, 99) proposes that the fact that laymen were mentioned as teachers points to a tradition older than the Chronicler, since the Chronicler considered the Levites to have had the primary responsibility as teachers. He considers 2 Chr 17:8 as a possible addition by the Chronicler. The nature of the "book of the law of Yahweh" which the officials, Levites, and priests are reported to have taken with them is not known. Williamson holds that the Chronicler understood it as primarily religious in character, based on what we now know as the Pentateuch (*1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 282–83) but agrees with the suggestion by Myers (*2 Chronicles* AB, 99–100) that the book referred to in the Chronicler's source may have been a royal law code. The possibility that the report of the teaching mission in 2 Chr 17:7–9 represents another version of the report of judicial reform in 2 Chr 19:4–11 has also been discussed.

7. The son of Ishmael, called the governor (Heb *nāgîd*) of the house of Judah (2 Chr 19:11). According to the report of Jehoshaphat's judicial reform (2 Chr 19:4–11) Zebadiah was charged with supervising the judges who were responsible for matters of royal law, while Amariah the chief priest supervised the judges in matters concerning Yahweh.

8. The son of Michael, listed in Ezra 8:8 as the head of the father's house of Shephatiah which included eighty males who returned to Jerusalem with Ezra. Myers (*Ezra-Nehemiah* AB, 67) notes that while 1 Esdr 8:34 has "Zer-

aiah" (Gk *Zaraias*), the name Zebadiah has been found on a 5th century ostracon from Ashdod.

9. Listed in Ezra 10:20 as a descendant of the priestly family of Immer who divorced his foreign wife (= 1 Esdr 9:21, Gk *Zabdaios*). The list of those who divorced their foreign wives and disowned the children born to them may seem "extraordinarily small considering the furor and the census figures in chapter ii" (Myers *Ezra-Nehemiah* AB, 87). Myers discusses three possible explanations: (1) the problem was not as serious as it would seem on the surface; (2) the list preserved is only a partial list perhaps reflecting only the upper classes; or (3) the reform was not successful (ibid., 87–88; *1 and 2 Esdras* AB, 99). Stating that the first explanation can be easily dismissed, he favors the second explanation. Blenkinsopp, on the other hand, argues that the reform was not successful *Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 197–201).

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KEITH L. EADES

ZEBAH AND ZALMUNNA (PERSONS) [Heb *zebaḥ wēṣalmunnāʿ*]. The two "kings of Midian" who were captured and executed because they had killed Gideon's (half-?) brothers at Tabor (Judg 8:5ff.; Ps 83:12 [—Eng 83:11]; Knauf 1988: 91). The name Zebah means "sacrifice" (cf. Old S Arabic *ḏbḥm, ḏbḥn;* Palmyrene *dbḥ*). The name Zalmunnah in Hebrew, by popular etymology, means "shadow is withheld." The various versions (LXX *Selmana;* Vulg *Salmana*) have preserved the correct vocalization: the name therefore is a composite with the divine name *Ṣalm* and the verb *mnʿ*—*ṣalmmanaʿ*, "Ṣalm protects." The name *Ṣlm* ("statue") is already attested as a divine name in the Hittite capital during the LB Age (see *ṣalm* in CAD). It is perhaps worth noting that the Assyrians worshipped deified statues of kings. A god with this name is also attested at Taima as early as the 6th century B.C., and it survives well into the Roman period as far N as Palmyra and Transjordan.

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GEORGE E. MENDENHALL

ZEBEDEE (PERSON) [Gk *Zebedaios*]. The father of the apostles James and John (Matt 4:21 par.; 10:2 par.; 26:37; John 21:2) and the husband of Salome (Mark 15:40; cf. Matt 20:20), who herself was a disciple of Jesus (Matt 27:56; Mark 15:40; 16:1). Zebedee and his sons were involved in the fishing industry in Capernaum in Galilee and were closely associated in the business with Simon Peter and his brother Andrew (Mark 1:16–20; Luke 5:1–11). Zebedee was with James and John in the fishing boat when Jesus called them (Matt 4:21; Mark 1:19–20) and was left to fish alone with the hired servants upon his sons' departure (Mark 1:20). The *Gospel of the Nazarenes* 33 calls Zebedee a "poor" fisherman. However, having servants in his employ (Mark 1:20) and a wife, Salome, who may have contributed to Jesus' support (cf. Mark 15:40–41; Luke 8:1–3) indicates he may have been a man of some financial means. It is nowhere recorded that Zebedee actively participated in the ministry of Jesus as did his wife and sons.

JOANN FORD WATSON

ZEBIDAH (PERSON) [Heb *zbydh*]. Mother of Jehoiakim, King of Judah (2 Kgs 23:36). Her name occurs in the regnal formula of her son found in 2 Kgs 23:36 but is omitted from the parallel account in 2 Chr 36:5. She is the daughter of Pedaiah from Rumah. Her marriage to Josiah is seen by some as evidence of Josiah's influence in the N. Zebidah is the Kethib of 2 Kgs 23:36 *(zĕbîdâ);* the KJV follows the Qere and reads Zebudah (Heb *zĕbûdâ*). See also JEHOIAKIM; QUEEN.

LINDA S. SCHEARING

ZEBINA (PERSON) [Heb *zĕbînāʾ*]. A descendant of Nebo and one of the returned exiles whom Ezra required to divorce his foreign wife (Ezra 10:43). The parallel text of 1 Esdr 9:35 omits Zebina completely. According to Noth, the name Zebina means "bought," perhaps because the child was an orphan (*IPN,* 231–32). Zebina was a member of a family from which a group of exiles returned with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:29 and Neh 7:33). For further discussion, see BEDEIAH.

JEFFREY A. FAGER

ZEBOIIM (PLACE) [Heb *ṣĕbōyîm*]. One of the five "cities of the plain." According to biblical tradition, Zeboiim was located near Sodom and Gomorrah and destroyed with them. Zeboiim is cited as one of the towns marking the Canaanite's S border (Gen 10:19). Its king, Shemeber (along with the kings of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, and Zoar), was defeated by the Elamite King Chedorlaomer and his three allies (Gen 14:2, 8). The account of God's overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen 19:24–28) does not explicitly mention Zeboiim. However, its destruction is assumed in Deuteronomy (29:22—Eng 29:23), where Zeboiim and Admah are presented along with the better known Sodom and Gomorrah as proverbial examples of divine punishment. Hosea 10:8 also recalls Zeboiim's destruction (cf. Wis 10:6).

The historicity of Zeboiim's association with Sodom and Gomorrah is uncertain. Scholarly opinion has ranged from characterizing the story of the existence and destruction of the "cities of the plains" as an etiological creation to accepting the essential historicity of the Genesis 14 account of the league of five cities (Schaub 1982: 18–20). Several scholars hold that the relatively infrequent number of references to Zeboiim and Admah indicates that they have been secondarily added to a core Sodom tradition. The association of these two cities with Sodom and Gomorrah is, however, very strong. Zeboiim and Admah are mentioned apart from Sodom and Gomorrah only in Hosea 10:8. The location of Zeboiim is also disputed. Biblical references suggest that the cities of the plain were located near the Dead Sea (cf. Gen 14:3). However, scholars debate whether their ruins should be sought near the

sea's N or S shore. Five EB Age towns found to the SE of the Dead Sea have been hailed as the cities of the plain; however, there is no archaeological evidence directly linking the sites to the biblical cities. See Harland 1942; van Hattem 1981; Simons *GTTOT,* 222–29.

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CAROLYN J. PRESSLER

ZEBOIM (PLACE) [Heb *ṣĕbōʿîm*]. **1.** A valley toward which a reconnaissance party of Philistine soldiers from Michmash was sent at the time of Saul's uprising (1 Sam 13:18). The scouts evidently headed SE along the N rim of the Wadi es-Ṣwenīt toward the desert. Today, approximately 9 km SE of Mukhmas (Michmash), near the conjunction of the Swenit with the Wadi el-Ḳelt, exists the Wadi Abū Ḍibāʿ (Arab: "Valley of the Father of Hyenas"), which seems to retain the ancient Hebrew toponym.

2. A town of the Benjaminites in the period following the Exile (Neh 11:34). It is listed among towns that seem to lie in the W portion of traditional Benjaminite territory. Kh. Sabīyah, N of Lod, is frequently suggested as its location.

PATRICK M. ARNOLD

ZEBUL (PERSON) [Heb *zĕbūl*]. Abimelech's appointed governor (Heb *pāqîd* "delegate" in Judg 9:28; *śar-hāʿîr* "ruler of the city" in Judg 9:30; cf. *HALAT,* 904; Reviv 1966: 255) of Shechem, who warned his master of Gaal's sedition and impending revolt. Suggesting that Abimelech ambush Gaal and his men at dawn (Judg 9:32), Zebul first played down Gaal's fears the next morning, and then taunted him to rush out impulsively to defend the city (Judg 9:38). After Gaal's defeat, Zebul denied Gaal reentry to Shechem as a base for continued opposition (Judg 9:41). Throughout the narrative, the only dialogue is between Zebul and Gaal. Abimelech never speaks, but only acts (Soggin *Judges,* OTL, 188). Zebul's title, *pāqîd,* is related to a Hebrew verbal root meaning "to recruit, muster." One of his activities must have been that of "mustering" forces for the universal practice of military and civil forced labor, which could not have increased his popularity with the Shechemites (Boling *Judges* AB, 177). Zebul is the remnant of a sentence name and means "exalted" (Gamberoni *TDOT* 4:30). It probably refers to the "exalted" state of some deity rather than the title of his own political position. It occurs often in Ugaritic texts as an adjective, of Baal and Yam (the Canaanite sea god). It also occurred once as a personal name in an Egyptian inscription (Ward 1963: 426).

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KIRK E. LOWERY

ZEBULUN (PERSON) [Heb *zĕbûlūn*]. Var. ZABULON. ZEBULUNITE. The sixth son born to Leah and Jacob, and the full brother of Issachar and Dinah (Gen 30:20). Zebulun is also the eponymous ancestor of the tribe whose territory is in the Galilee.

Zebulun is born to Leah after an unspecified period of infertility. The narrative implies that Leah's inability to bear additional children is a result of Jacob's refusal to sleep with her. The circumstances of Leah's isolation change when her firstborn son, Reuben, discovers some mandrakes (an aphrodisiac), prompting Leah's hopes to have intercourse with her husband. Her childless sister Rachel, however, bargains for the mandrakes, but Leah exacts as the price from Rachel that Leah will sleep with Jacob (Gen 30:14–18). This extraordinary account culminates with four births: Leah has Issachar, Zebulun, and Dinah; Rachel gives birth to her first child, Joseph.

Upon bearing Zebulun, Leah poignantly exclaims, "God has given me *(zĕbādanî)* a good gift *(zebed);* now my husband will dwell with me *(yizbĕlēnî),* because I have borne him six sons" (Gen 30:20). Interpreters have posited two sources for the name Zebulun in this popular etymology. Some suggest, for example, that the words *zebādanî* and *zebed,* both of which come from the root *zbd,* is E's explanation for the name, whereas J's explanation is based on *yizbĕlēnî,* which comes from the root *zbl* (BDB, 256–59). The translation of *zbl* as "dwell" is supported by Gen 49:13 with an emendation to the text. The proposed Hebrew reads *zĕbûlūn lĕḥôp yammîm yizbōl* ("Zebulun will dwell by the shore of the sea"), with the substitution of *yizbōl* for MT *yiškōn.* As the narrative in Genesis 30 stands, both *zbd* and *zbl* contribute to the understanding of the name, and it is not necessary to posit two distinct sources for Leah's statement of the significance of Zebulun's name. *Zbd* reflects the name because of the assonance, and *zbl* mirrors the root from which Zebulun comes (*IPN,* 159). The naming is ultimately ironic because there is no indication that Jacob ever ended his disdain for Leah, his less beautiful but more fertile wife. Nonetheless, Leah's naming of the child indicates that she understands the son to be a gift, as are all the children who are given to her because of God's sympathy (Gen 29:31). Whatever the origins of the actual etymology or the popular etymology, Noth suggests that the name was originally a personal name (*NHI,* 66), and Elliger proposes that the name originally referred to a god or a specific dwelling place (*IDB* 4: 941; cf. *TPNAH,* 197, 300).

The very explicit borders of the tribal territory of Zebulun are found in Josh 19:10–16. The territory, found in the Galilean highlands, is alongside the territory of Issachar. The reference in Gen 49:13 to Zebulun dwelling at the shore of the sea probably refers to the tribe's early attempts to possess the shores of the Chinnereth, or it could refer to the tribe's Solomonic borders, which extended to the Mediterranean. Aharoni (*LBHG,* 237) has

identified the tribe's borders as including the region bounded by Sarid/Sadud (tell Shadud) on the SE border, to Wadi Musrarah/Kishon on the W, to the Sahl el-Battof on the NE and W. Zebulun, along with Asher and Naphtali, dwell in mountainous and forested terrain, a situation that prompts Gottwald to suggest that they lived in pockets within the territory dominated by Canaanite city-states (1979: 528). Judg 1:30 recounts, "Zebulun did not drive out the inhabitants of Kitron, or the inhabitants of Nahalol; but the Canaanites dwelt among them, and became subject to forced labor." It is possible that Zebulun and Issachar shared some territory, since Deut 33:18–19 implies they had a mountain sanctuary in dual possession and because Moses' blessing to Issachar and Zebulun is given together.

Zebulun usually is listed as the sixth tribe of Israel (Gen 35:23, 46:14, Exod 1:3), although there are deviations. For example, when the tribes and their spies for the land are listed in Num 13:1–16, Zebulun is listed seventh. Not much information is given about the activities of Zebulun. It is mentioned as one of the tribes summoned by Barak of Naphtali when he fought Sisera in the Galilee region at Deborah's request. The song of Deborah praises Zebulun for its courage in the battle. Zebulun also assisted Gideon in battle against the Midianites and Amalekites. Only a few individuals of Zebulun are given distinction. One of its commanders, Eliab son of Helon, represents Zebulon when Moses orders a census of the tribes and commands its troops (Num 1:9, 2:7). Other leaders include Elizaphan, son of Parnach, who divides the territory of Zebulun upon Moses' appointment, and Elon, who judges Israel in the years between judges Ibzan and Abdon. The only other thing that is known about him is that he was buried at Aijalon in Zebulon (Judg 12:12). Although the cited numbers of the Zebulun's troops cannot be considered historically accurate, the tribe is consistently represented as having a proportionately large population. In Num 1:30–31 it has the fourth largest number of troops of all the tribes, and in 1 Chr 12:33 it provides the single largest army of all the tribes to fight for David's installation as king. Elliger points out, however, that since Zebulun is not included in the enumeration of the Solomonic districts (1 Kgs 4:7), it may be surmised to have been of lesser economic importance (*IDB* 4: 941). In the days of Hezekiah, some people from Zebulun responded to Hezekiah's plea to return to Jerusalem to celebrate the Passover (2 Chr 30:11). Although some did not follow all the prescriptions, Hezekiah's prayers for them were answered (2 Chr 30:17–20). Isaiah speaks of Zebulun's future glory (Isa 8:23—Eng 9:1), and Ezekiel hopes for the restoration of Zebulun alongside Issachar and Gad (Ezek 48:26–27).

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SHARON PACE JEANSONNE

ZECHARIAH (PERSON) [Heb *zĕkaryāh, zĕkaryāhû*]. Var. ZECHER. Zechariah appears in the biblical writings first as an Israelite name in the mid-8th century B.C.E. (see nos. 1–2). Its etymology, "Yahweh remembers," may explain the rise of the name at this time. In light of the societal pressures caused by the rise of the Neo-Assyrian empire and the developing Israelite traditions of its deity's involvement with the establishment of the Israelite nation, the name may represent a religious plea of the Israelite and Judean nobility to invoke renewed divine aid. The absence of the name in the biblical corpus in the 7th century supports this interpretation. The name becomes most prominent again in the Persian period. Given the development of the biblical traditions and the political and social hardships suffered by the Judean communities in Judah and in Diaspora during this time frame, the etymological significance of the name again was most appropriate, as is seen in the thematic importance of Yahweh "remembering" within the Priestly source (see, e.g., Gen 8:1). The name achieved widespread geographical dispersion in the period. The name is found for historical persons in Babylon (see ## 21–23), in Judah (see ## 20, 26, and 29), and in the Judean military colony in Elephantine Egypt (see Porten 1968: 240–43). In addition, the name represents a favorite for the Chronicler to employ in order to create anachronistically his history of the Jerusalem temple-state (see ## 3–18 and 28–29). The Chronicler was especially fond of utilizing the name for his newly created priestly and levitical personnel (see ## 5–9, 12, and 14–18), reflecting perhaps the particular association of the name within these groups in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.E. The name persisted in Judah throughout the Hellenistic (see # 30) and Roman eras (see ## 31–32), though it does not seem to have maintained the widespread popularity that it possessed within the Persian period.

1. A king of the N kingdom of Israel in the mid-8th century B.C.E. (2 Kgs 15:8). The son of Jeroboam II (2 Kgs 14:29), Zechariah lasted only six months in office until he was assassinated, ending the dynasty of Jehu (2 Kgs 15:10). The account of his reign in 2 Kgs 15:8–12 is characterized by the stereotypical Deuteronomistic condemnation of the northern kingdom's rulers. Therefore, his reign informs us about the political intrigue and instability of the northern kingdom only in the thirty years before its downfall to the Neo-Assyrian empire.

2. A Judean whom Isaiah of Jerusalem called upon to witness the prophet's prediction of the downfall of the northern kingdom, Israel, at the hand of the Neo-Assyrians (Isa 8:2). Most likely from the aristocracy of Judah, Zechariah, along with "Uriah the priest," served to insure the credibility of the prophet, who took care to inscribe this prophecy upon a large tablet (Isa 8:1). While certainty alludes us because of the fragmentary nature of the evidence, the same Zechariah may also be found in 2 Kgs 18:2 (= 2 Chr 29:1) as the father of Abi, the mother of Hezekiah. This identification takes on increased probability in light of Uriah the priest's presence in the reign of Ahaz (2 Kgs 16:10–16; see Kaiser *Isaiah 1–12* OTL, 180). If so, Zechariah was the maternal grandfather of Hezekiah. His presence in the early career of Isaiah suggests a long familial relationship between the prophet and Hezekiah, clarifying perhaps Isaiah's influence within Hezekiah's court.

3. According to the Chronicler, a Reubenite kinsmen of Beerah (1 Chr 5:7). The Reubenite genealogy of 1 Chr 5:1–10 contains many difficulties, including the rough

transition between vv 1–6 and vv 7–8. While this Zechariah and his kinsmen Jeiel and Bela may represent fragments of an earlier source (Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 45–47, 63–64), the vocabulary in the passage and the close association of Zechariah and Jeiel in other artificially constructed onomastic lists (see 1 Chr 8:29–31; 9:35–37; 15:18, 20–21; 16:5; 2 Chr 20:14; 26:5–11; 35:8–9) suggest that the Chronicler may have created Zechariah the Reubenite to fill out his genealogical list.

4. According to 1 Chronicles, a Gibeonite, the son of Jeiel and uncle of Saul (1 Chr 9:37). 1 Chr 9:35–44 essentially duplicates the Benjaminite genealogy in 1 Chr 8:29–41, where the name "Zechariah" appears without the theophoric ending as "Zecher" (1 Chr 8:31). The exact relationship between the two genealogies remains contested. Williamson (*1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 83, 91–92) argues that 1 Chr 9:35–44 depends upon 1 Chronicles 8, itself patched together from independent sources, whereas Braun (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 122) holds the opposite.

5. According to the Chronicler, a prominent levitical gatekeeper during the reign of David (1 Chr 9:21–22). According to 1 Chronicles 9, Zechariah was the son of Meshelemiah (also called Shallum, 1 Chr 9:19 and Shelemiah, 1 Chr 26:14), the chief gatekeeper of David's administration (1 Chr 9:17–19). Appointed to the entrance of the tent of meeting, the Chronicler portrays Zechariah as possessing the chief security and administrative responsibilities for the tent of meeting (1 Chr 9:24–28). During the establishment of a permanent personnel system by David for the soon-to-be temple, Zechariah receives by lot the care of the N area of the temple (1 Chr 26:14). The Chronicler designates him as a "wise counselor," a phrase that indicates Zechariah's high status as a royal counselor in Chronicles (see Wright 1990). This Zechariah illustrates how the Chronicler could personify a common name from his era, place it into an important civil office within the social framework of Judah in the Persian period, and transplant it anachronistically into the era of the united monarchy.

6. A levitical musician whom David appoints to take part in the procession of the ark into the tent of meeting in Jerusalem (1 Chr 15:18). Zechariah received the specific assignment to play the harp in this procession (1 Chr 15:20), an assignment that becomes permanent once the ark is established in the tent of meeting (1 Chr 16:5). Zechariah becomes part of the levitical musical care of the ark under the direction of Asaph. The inclusion of this specifically levitical corpus into the Deuteronomistic ark narrative is unique to Chronicles, and it most likely represents the Chronicler's own ideological invention rather than a historical account of a procession during the reign of David.

7. A priestly trumpeter whom, according to the Chronicler, David appointed to go before the ark in a processional into the tent of meeting in Jerusalem (1 Chr 15:24). Williamson (*1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 126) has argued that Zechariah and his priestly colleagues represent the interests of a later priestly redactor to Chronicles, attempting to redress a levitical bias in the original work. Yet the style of the passage and especially the parallels between 1 Chronicles 15 and the dedicatory processional of Nehemiah 12 suggest that the Chronicler composed the entirety of 1 Chronicles15. The Chronicler either employed Zechariah to expand this scene due to its commonality in his day or possibly because of the presence of Zechariah the trumpeter within the Nehemiah Memoirs (Neh 12:41; see no. 29).

8. The son of Isshiah and one of the "remaining Levites" who, according to the Chronicler, casts lots before David, Zadok, and Ahimelek in order to receive his place among the levitical household leaders (1 Chr 24:25). For a discussion of the historical provenance of 1 Chr 24:20–31, see ISSHIAH. The Chronicler most likely borrowed a common name from his era in order to complete a suitable list of levitical names for the reign of David.

9. According to the Chronicler, a levitical gatekeeper of the house of Merari during the reign of David (1 Chr 26:11). This Zechariah, the fourth son of Hosah, took up his position with his relatives in the W region of the Temple area, providing security on an important road that led outside the city (1 Chr 26:16). The Chronicler again employed a common name from his day to detail anachronistically a scene in a previous era.

10. According to the Chronicler, the father of IDDO, a prince of the half-tribe of Manasseh in Gilead (1 Chr 27:21).

11. According to the Chronicler, a Judean aristocrat contemporaneous with Jehoshaphat (2 Chr 17:7). Jehoshaphat assigns this Zechariah, along with other Judean leaders and Levites, to travel through the cities of Judah in order to enforce the "book of the Law of the Lord" (2 Chr 17:9). While Albright (1950: 61–82) argued that this government-sponsored religious reform reflects a historical event from the time of Jehoshaphat, it seems more likely that the Chronicler invented the whole passage, including Zechariah, to aid in his portrayal of the "good" reign of Jehoshaphat.

12. According to the Chronicler, the father of Jahaziel, a levitical singer-prophet who prophesied victory for Jehoshaphat's Judean army in an impending battle against the Moabites, Ammonites, and Meunites (2 Chr 20:14). Zechariah, a name that the Chronicler continually associated with levitical personnel, represents the construction of an artificial genealogy for Jahaziel, thereby channeling prophecy into the levitical order (Petersen 1977: 55–87).

13. According to 2 Chronicles, a son of Jehoshaphat, a brother of Jehoram (2 Chr 21:2). 2 Chr 21:2–4 alone describes the misfortune of Zechariah, along with his brothers Michael, Azariah, Jehiel, and Shephatiah. Zechariah and his brothers receive wealth and their own fortified cities from their father (2 Chr 21:3a). Their fortune, however, is short lived. Following Jehoshaphat's death, firstborn and heir-designate Jehoram purges his kingdom of all potential rivals to the throne, including Zechariah and his brothers. For a discussion of the historicity of this scene, see MICHAEL (PERSON). The Chronicler most likely anachronistically retrojected the common postexilic name "Zechariah" into the time of the divided kingdom for his narrative purposes.

14. According to the Chronicler, the son of Jehoiada, a priest who led a palace coup against Athaliah and established Joash as king of Judah (2 Chr 24:20). Absent from the Chronicler's source in 2 Kings 12, Zechariah appears only as a character in the reign of Joash in 2 Chronicles

24. After Jehoiada's death, Joash submitted to the pressure of his nobility and "forsook the house of the Lord . . . and served the Asherim and the idols" (2 Chr 24:18). Therefore, Zechariah delivers a prophetic oracle against Joash. Despite Zechariah's father's support for Joash, the king orders the execution of Zechariah. Zechariah dies in the court of the temple (2 Chr 24:22), where previously Jehoiada had saved the life of the young prince, Joash (2 Chr 23:9–11, 15–16). Before his death, however, Zechariah utters a curse upon Joash (2 Chr 24:22), setting into motion the Chronicler's theology of immediate divine retribution. Joash is assassinated by his own servants "because of the blood of the son of Jehoiada the priest" (2 Chr 24:25). The significant differences between 2 Kings 12 and 2 Chronicles 24 has caused some commentators (see, e.g., Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 273–74) to posit that the Chronicler utilized an independent source in the composition of this narrative. The Chronicler's own ideology, however, sufficiently explains the differences that exists between the two narratives. Zechariah, therefore, would represent a literary character of the Chronicler's own invention, a priestly and prophetic figure like the restoration prophet of the same name (see ZECHARIAH, BOOK OF), rather than a historical figure. Despite this lack of historicity, it is this Zechariah who is referred to in an early Q saying (Luke 11:51), possibly indicating that Chronicles was considered by this time to be the last book in the Hebrew Bible (see Dillard *2 Chronicles* WBC, 193). Matthew, however, mistakenly interprets this early Jesus-saying to refer to the Zechariah of the prophetic book ("Zechariah the son of Barachiah," Matt 23:35; cf. Zech 1:1). See # 31 below.

15. According to the Chronicler, a mentor of king Uzziah (2 Chr 26:5). The Chronicler credits Zechariah for Uzziah's early success because he taught him "the fear of God," which brought about divine favor (2 Chr 26:5). The identity of this Zechariah is unclear. Williamson (*1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 334) suggests that the Chronicler found a Zechariah associated with Uzziah in an independent source; Dillard (*2 Chronicles* WBC, 208) raises the possibility that the Chronicler referred to the Zechariah of Isa 8:2. Perhaps, however, it is best to understand the Chronicler appealing to the Zechariah of 2 Chr 24:20 (see # 14). The language of 2 Chr 26:5 mirrors that of Zechariah's speech in 2 Chr 24:20–22, and prophecy (2 Chr 24:20) and instruction (2 Chr 26:5) are closely related in Chronicles (see, for instance, 1 Chr 25:1–8). The Chronicler relates proper royal behavior to the king's obedience to prophetic instruction through the figure of Zechariah.

16. A levitical descendant of Asaph, who, according to the Chronicler, participated in the cultic purification of the temple in Hezekiah's reforms (2 Chr 29:13). The levitical workforce cleaned only the outer areas of the temple, leaving the altar and vicinity for the priests (2 Chr 29:16). While debate exists concerning the compositional history of 2 Chronicles 29 and the historicity of the Chronicler's portrayal of the reforms and Passover of Hezekiah, there is a general consensus that the appearance of this Zechariah and his levitical colleagues are a result of the Chronicler's own ideological tendency, anachronistically portraying postexilic names as persons from the time of Hezekiah.

17. A Levite from the family of Kohath who, according to the Chronicler, supervised work crews during Josiah's temple renovation (2 Chr 34:12). The Chronicler seems to portray these levitical supervisors as temple musicians (2 Chr 34:12b) who also possess other civic duties ((2 Chr 34:13b). It is interesting to note that Zechariah appears with Meshullam in this scene, reminiscent of the proximity of the two names elsewhere in 1 Chr 9:21 and 26:1–19 (see no. 5). Zechariah here again represents the Chronicler's literary imagination retrojecting a name from his own day to construct the history of preexilic Judah.

18. A priestly nobleman who donated sacrificial animals for the Passover festival during the reign of Josiah (2 Chr 35:8 = 1 Esdr 1:8). This Zechariah is designated as a "ruler" *(nāgîd)* of the temple. This position seemingly generated abundant wealth from which he donated for the special Passover celebration. The Chronicler's own hand is apparent throughout this narrative, indicating that he again drew upon the name of Zechariah to portray a priestly individual who played an important supporting role in the religious reforms of preexilic Judah.

19. According to 1 Esdras, a representative of Josiah who observed the proceedings of the Great Passover celebration with his colleagues Asaph and Eddinus (1 Esdr 1:15). Zechariah here exists as a variant reading for "Heman" in 2 Chr 35:15 (as Eddinus is for Jeduthun). In light of the significant association of Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthan throughout Chronicles (see 1 Chr 16:37–42; 25:1; 2 Chr 5:12; and 29:13–14), it seems that Zechariah may have appeared in the text of 1 Esdras either as the result of assimilation of an association between Zechariah and Asaph found in 1 Chr 16:5 or of Zechariah's important role within the Josiah narrative (1 Esdr 1:8 = 2 Chr 35:8). This event is altogether omitted in 2 Kings 23.

20. The late-6th century prophet and contemporary of Haggai to whom the book of Zechariah is attributed. See ZECHARIAH, BOOK OF.

21. A 5th century B.C.E. Diaspora Judean in Babylon who led 150 kinsmen back to Judea with Ezra (Ezra 8:3 = 1 Esdra 8:30). For the historical value of Ezra 8:1–14, see GERSHOM. Zechariah was from the house of Parosh, a family heavily involved in the first repatriation of Judah under Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:3). Members of the contingency led by Zechariah participated in the reforms of Ezra by divorcing their non-Judean wives (Ezra 8:25) and appear, most likely as a literary construct, signing Nehemiah's covenant in Nehemiah 10 (see Blenkinsopp *Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 310–14).

22. A 5th century B.C.E. Diaspora Judean in Babylon who led a small group of 28 kinsmen to Judea with Ezra (Ezra 8:11 = 1 Esdr 8:37). For the historical value of Ezra 8:1–14, see GERSHOM. Zechariah was from the family of Bebai, who also participated in the first repatriation of Judah under Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:11). Members of the contingency led by Zechariah participated in the reforms of Ezra by divorcing their non-Judean wives (Ezra 8:28) and appear, most likely as a literary construct, signing Nehemiah's covenant in Nehemiah 10 (see Blenkinsopp *Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 310–14).

23. A leader of the exiled Judeans returning to Judah with Ezra (Ezra 8:16 = 1 Esdr 8:44). Upon Ezra's discovery that no levitical families existed among the new group of

repatriates, Ezra sent a group of leading men, including Zechariah, to Iddo, in order to obtain levitical personnel for the repatriation. There is no way to tell whether this Zechariah is identical with the Zechariah from the family of Parosh, Bebai, or Bigvai, or whether he is unknown in the extant literary sources from the 5th century B.C.E.

24. A member of the family of Elam who lived in Judah during the reforms of Ezra (Ezra 10:26 = 1 Esdr 9:27). Zechariah had married a non-Judean wife. He agreed to divorce her under the threat of complete ostracism from the Jerusalem temple-state during Ezra's reforms.

25. A Judean official who appeared in Jerusalem with Ezra during the public reading of the "Book of the Law" (Neh 8:4 = 1 Esdr 9:44). While a later editor seems to have thoroughly redacted this scene of Ezra's reform, the reference to specific individuals may represent the presence of an underlying historical source (see Blenkinsopp *Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 284–87). This may have been one of the Zechariahs who returned with Ezra from Babylon (see nos. 21–23). The scribe who added Meshullam to the MT in Neh 8:4 seems to have identified this Zechariah with the Judean leader of the same name that Ezra sent with the embassy to Iddo of Casiphia (Ezra 8:16–17; see # 23).

26. According to the book of Nehemiah, an ancestor, possibly the grandfather, of Athaliah, an inhabitant of Jerusalem in the Persian period (Neh 11:4). Zechariah here appears as a genealogical link between Athaliah and Perez, one of the sons of Judah (Gen 46:12). Zechariah thus "proves" Athaliah's lineage as one of the "sons of Judah" (Neh 11:4).

27. According to the book of Nehemiah, an ancestor of Maaseiah, an inhabitant of Jerusalem in the Persian period (Neh 11:5). Zechariah here appears as a genealogical link between Maaseiah and Shelah (Gen 46:12), who is referred to here as "the Shilonite" (Neh 11:5). Zechariah thus "proves" Maaseiah's lineage as one of the "sons of Judah."

28. An ancestor of Adaiah, the head of a priestly family in Jerusalem in the Persian period (Neh 11:12). The inclusion of Zechariah here illustrates well the process by which an editor, possibly the Chronicler, formed artificial genealogies. The editor of Neh 11:1–24 inserted "son of Pelaliah, son of Amzi, son of Zechariah" (Neh 11:12) between Jeroham and Pashhur in 1 Chr 9:12. He thereby increased Adaiah's lineage from three to six without disrupting extensively the original genealogical framework.

29. A priestly trumpeter who participated in Nehemiah's dedication of the restored walls of Jerusalem (Neh 12:35, 41). Zechariah appears in Nehemiah 12 leading the priestly trumpeters behind Ezra in Nehemiah's dedicatory processional (Neh 12:35). Following the circumambulation of the walls in opposite directions, the two groups, one lead by Nehemiah (12:38) and one by Ezra (12:31b–36) rejoined each other in the temple (12:40). Under the direction of Jezrahiah, Zechariah participates in the musical culmination of the dedicatory ceremony (Neh 12:41–42). This performance of the temple musicians thereby initiated the accompanying sacrifices and subsequent festival (Neh 12:43). The exact lines of the compositional history of Neh 12:27–43 are difficult to discern with precision. An editor, possibly the Chronicler, has carefully redacted the original Nehemiah Memoirs throughout this section (see Blenkinsopp *Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 343–48). Thus, while Zechariah's appearance in the temple (Neh 12:41) seems to represent an original part of the Nehemiah Memoirs, his leadership of half the procession around the Jerusalem walls seems to have originated in the redactional work of the editor. Zechariah here receives a distinguished lineage that originated with Asaph (Neh 12:35), an original temple musician according to 1 Chronicles 25. The editor thereby utilized the name "Zechariah" to unify his narrative purposes with his historical source.

30. The father of Joseph, an unsuccessful Judean general during the Maccabean War (1 Macc 5:18, 56). The presence of Zechariah in the 2d century B.C.E. attests to the continued presence of the name in Judah throughout the Hellenistic and into the Roman period. It does not seem to have achieved the popularity, however, that the name possessed in earlier Second Temple times.

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31. Father of John the Baptist, a member of the priestly division of Abijah (Luke 1:5; 3:2; 1 Chr 24:10). Zechariah appears in the infancy narrative in Luke 1 as a witness of the dawn of the messianic age. Zechariah and his wife, Elizabeth, were aged and without children. When Zechariah was serving at the temple, the archangel Gabriel appeared and revealed that God had heard his prayers; he and Elizabeth would have a son, and his name would be John. John's character would be "filled with the Holy Spirit" and his task was to prepare the people in the spirit and power of Elijah. In light of Zechariah's doubt regarding his and Elizabeth's ages, Gabriel provided a sign: Zechariah would be unable to speak for the entire duration of Elizabeth's pregnancy (1:5–25).

Upon the circumcision of John, he confirmed Elizabeth's choice of the name John rather than the customary name of the father or grandfather, by writing it on a tablet. Then his voice returned and he prophesied regarding Israel's messianic hope with what is now called the Benedictus (1:68–79).

Zechariah also appears in the apocryphal *Protevangelium of James* 23–24 as slain in the temple forecourt as a result of Herod's wrath. However, this account is a conflation of Luke 1 with the reference to the prophet Zechariah in Luke 11:51. There is confusion as to the exact identity of the Zechariah in Luke 11:51 (Ross 1987). Luke's passage could refer to 2 Chronicles 22–24 to Zechariah, the son of the high priest Jehoiada (see # 14 above). Filled with the Spirit, Zechariah denounced apostasy and was stoned to death by order of King Joash. His death was avenged by the taking of Joash's life (24:25). Matthew (23:34–36) calls Zechariah "the son of Barachiah," identifying the martyr with the postexilic minor prophet (Zech 1:1; # 20 above). Some think Zechariah may be an unknown prophet who

was killed in the temple within a short time of Jesus' ministry.

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ZECHARIAH, BOOK OF. The book of Zechariah, in both the MT and the LXX, is the eleventh book of the Twelve Minor Prophets. Many scholars believe that the book is a composite production, made up of First Zechariah, which includes chaps. 1–8, and Second (or Deutero-) Zechariah, which includes chaps. 9–14. First Zechariah is considered to be a product of the late 6th century, contemporary with the postexilic prophets Haggai and Malachi. However, there is no general consensus on the date for the oracles in chaps. 9–14.

ZECHARIAH 1–8

First Zechariah is presumably the name of the prophet who wrote most of Zechariah 1–8 and who was also the redactor of the Haggai-Zechariah 1–8 composite work. See HAGGAI, BOOK OF. Of priestly descent, the prophet is identified in Zech 1:1 with a double patronymic (Zechariah ben-Berechiah ben-Iddo), which suggests the importance of the prophet's family in the restoration period.

A. The Structure of Zechariah 1–8
B. The Structure of the Composite Work, Haggai-Zechariah 1–8
C. Historical Background
D. Features of the Three Parts
1. Zechariah, Part One (1:1–6)
2. Zechariah, Part Two (1:7–6:15)
3. Zechariah, Part Three (7:1–8:23)

A. The Structure of Zechariah 1–8

The first eight chaps. of Zechariah can be divided into three main sections, based on date formulas that introduce each: Part One (1:1–6) is a brief introduction connecting Haggai with First Zechariah; Part Two (1:7–6:15) is the heart of First Zechariah and comprises the visionary sequence (seven visions plus a prophetic vision) interspersed with oracular material; and Part Three (chaps. 7 and 9) consists of an introductory section (7:1–6), an address to a delegation (7:7–14), and two sets of oracles (8:1–17 and 8:18–23).

B. The Structure of the Composite Work, Hagai-Zechariah 1–8

Haggai and the first eight chaps. of the canonical book of Zechariah belong together as a composite work. This statement can be justified on thematic grounds alone. Both prophets deal with the reorganization of national life and institutions in the restoration period. The dated prophecies of both Haggai and Zechariah 1–8 take place within a very close time frame (29 August 520 to 7 December 518 B.C.E.). The cast of characters in the two works is virtually the same: the high priest Joshua, the governor Zerubbabel, priests, and the citizenry or representatives of Yehud (Judah). While they diverge to a certain extent in the specifics of their words, the two prophets complement each other, as one might indeed expect of two men of God who are responding to virtually the same questions and quandaries. Together they provide a pragmatic program as well as a world view that looks to the future in the process of dealing with the challenges and opportunities their people confronted at the outset of the reign of Darius I.

Correspondences of Literary Features between Haggai and Zechariah 7–8

Feature	Hag	Zech
date formula	1:1, 15; 2:1, 10, 18, 20	7:1
oracular question	2:11ff.	7:3ff.
"House of Yahweh of Hosts"	1:14	7:3; 8:9
"people of the land"	2:4	7:5
devastation of land	1:6	7:14
"remnant" of the people	1:12, 14; 2:2	8:6, 11, 12
be strong	2:4 (3x)	8:9–10
refound/rebuild temple	1:2, 2:18	8:9
House = temple	1:2, 2:3, 7, 15, 18	8:9; 7:3
earnings	1:6	8:10
man/beast	1:11	8:10
man/beast	1:11	8:10
prosperous sowing/temple building	1:6–11; 2:18–19	8:12
land/produce; heavens/dew	1:10	8:12
blessing	2:19	8:13
"do not fear"	2:5	8:13
"nations"	2:7, 22	8:13, 22, 23
hem/garment	2:12	8:23
Elohim	1:12 (2x), 14	8:8, 23

Aside from these obvious congruencies of content and context, various features of their literary structure indicate that Haggai and Zechariah 1–8 are a combined work. Furthermore, the individual utterances of these two prophetic leaders of the restoration were apparently delivered and then collected and organized into the present arrangement within a relatively few years. Haggai's words help initiate, or reinitiate, work on the temple in 520, and then draw attention to the significance of the actual ceremony of refoundation, an event related to Zechariah's visionary experiences, which he presents along with his oracles in his prophetic work. Zechariah's last group of oracles comes less than ten months after the refoundation ceremony. The chronological headings provide a span of less than two-and-a-half years for the materials in Haggai and Zechariah 1–8 and indicate that the two works could not have been put together as they stand any earlier than the last date given, 7 December 518. In other words, the latest date in Zechariah 1–8 serves as a *terminus post quem* for the compilation of the whole work.

C. Historical Background

Like Haggai, before him, Zechariah joins the ranks of Israelite prophecy amid the new and unfamiliar circumstances of the beginning of Darius I's rule. More than any

other factor, the absence of a realistic opportunity to restore the monarchy influenced his emergence as a prophet and determined the content of his utterances. The hegemony of Persia in all local affairs is presupposed in his oracles. Moreover, the dyarchic pattern of rule in Yehud (Judah), consisting of governor and high priest, is never questioned. Zechariah followed Haggai in giving his prophetic authority in support of the reestablished province of Yehud. He held a realistic, pragmatic viewpoint as he tried to assist his people in the difficult transition back to "normalcy."

But the normalcy of the Second Temple was not the same as that of the First Temple. The premonarchic pattern of dual leadership in civil and religious affairs gained new meaning and cogency in the postexilic era. The two prophets Haggai and Zechariah faced the challenge of assuring their audience of the traditional authority and present feasibility of the dual pattern of leadership.

At the same time, the temple still lay in ruins. Haggai and Zechariah together provided that crucial measure of support for the enterprise of rebuilding that tipped the balance in favor of temple restoration being achieved. The people heeded the words of Haggai and set about their task of rebuilding the temple. Since Haggai and Zechariah overlap in their ministries, and since Zechariah presupposes that temple work had already recommenced, Haggai's exhortations had apparently brought about the building efforts. Whereas Haggai is largely concerned with the reluctance of the people, because of their preoccupation with personal over national affairs, to respond to the Persian mandate, Zechariah addresses the meaning and symbolism of the temple as a legitimate and legitimizing expression of the new pattern of dyarchic leadership that accompanied the temple project. For Zechariah the national focus of Yehud has already been transformed, or revitalized, by the initiation of work on the temple, which he relates to the lessons of the past as evident in the destruction and exile of Judah. It is the progress on the rebuilding of the temple that inspires Zechariah to reflect on the world around him and to advise people how to operate within it.

Part One (Zech 1:1–6), which overlaps in time with Haggai, expresses Zechariah's only reservations about his compatriots. Otherwise, his main focus is to clarify in visions and oracles the contemporary world and to articulate a hopeful view of the future. That world is painted with literary artistry and prophetic authority. The prophet's audience is transported into a visionary state in which the temple and its chief appurtenances signify and legitimize aspects of the existing world order. Like so many of his predecessors, the prophet is an individual of great political acumen; he has correctly perceived the stability and staying power of Persian dominion. Only the Second Vision reflects a concern for potentially negative manifestations of Persian rule.

For Zechariah the key to the establishment of a largely ecclesiastical system of community autonomy under Persian rule is the restoration of the sacred temple in Jerusalem. Without a dynastic power in Yehud, this enterprise ran counter to the pattern of the centuries of the Davidic monarchy in Judah and to the general integration of temple and palace in the political states of the ancient world. Could Yehud countenance a temple without a king? Could internal rule be legitimate, resting on the temple and its leadership alone, without the historically predominant monarchic component of national life? Zechariah provides an affirmative answer to these questions. Chap. 3 offers divine sanction for the expanded powers of the high priest. Chap. 4 and also the Crowning (6:9–15), the final oracular scene of Part Two, justify the presence of a civil leader of the royal line and at the same time interpret how the monarchic kingdom is to be realized only at some eschatological moment. Part Three of Zechariah (chaps. 7–8), which bears the latest chronological marker of the entire Haggai-Zechariah 1–8 corpus, presupposes a Jerusalem ecclesiastical power in full control (7:3), despite the fact, which we know from biblical as well as from archaeological sources, that civil governors continued to function throughout the restoration period.

In terms of religious affairs, Zechariah is concerned with the presence of foreign cults and influence (Sixth Vision) and insists that Persian hegemony must not threaten Yahweh's supremacy. But in his eschatological expectations, he is broad-minded in his view of the role of foreign nations (8:23).

As for Haggai, Zechariah's ground of theological retrospection is the authoritative Law of the Covenant (Fifth Vision) and the influential words of the earlier prophets, to whom he repeatedly refers (e.g., 7:7, 12). Persian efforts to organize the provinces and to encourage local religious leaders to collect and codify their laws, especially during the reign of Darius I (522–486 B.C.E.), clearly had a great effect on Zechariah and his contemporaries. Zechariah's persistent mention of what appears to be a written corpus suggests that the Primary History (Genesis through 2 Kings) together with a prophetic corpus already constituted a body of sacred writings. Indeed, the impetus to combine Zechariah 1–8 with Haggai could well have arisen in part from Darius' policies in this regard. The composite work, perhaps intended to be presented to the people in time for the temple rededication ceremony, thus expressed the ideological basis for the Second Commonwealth. It would have been appropriate to have had it recited at the dedication of the Second Temple, the institutional center of developing Jewish life.

D. Features of the Three Parts

1. Zechariah, Part One (1:1–6). When seen as a part of the compendious work of Haggai-Zechariah 1–8, these six verses emerge as a transitional piece that connects the two sections of Haggai with the two subsequent sections of Zechariah. By echoing some of his language and by referring to his effectiveness in bringing about a change in the stance of the community with respect to temple building, Zech 1:1–6 exhibits an awareness of Haggai's prophecies.

The mixture of genres in Part One—narration with retrospection along with oracular material—accords with the style of Haggai; and the insertion of oracular statements into 1:1–6 has the same general character as the use of oracles elsewhere in Haggai-Zechariah 1–8. However, the layering of oracles in this section is particularly dense, with an intricate series of quotes-within-quotes in just a few verses. No fewer than five, and perhaps six, quotations appear; and they are layered as well as consec-

utive. This complex arrangement represents several converging influences: Zechariah's sensitivity to previous prophetic activity; the nature of prophecy as the mediated word of God; the growing authority of traditional materials; and perhaps also the highly developed epistolary style of the Persian empire, with its reports of conversations held by government officials.

2. Zechariah, Part Two (1:7–6:15). First Zechariah presents in this section a carefully arranged sequence of eight visions, which together exhibit a number of important characteristics. First, the visions are organized into three subsets. There are three visions in front (nos. 1–3), three visions at the end (nos. 5–7), and two visions in the middle (Vestment Scene plus vision 4):

Vision 1: Horses Patrolling the Earth
Vision 2: The Four Horns and the Four Smiths
Vision 3: The Man with the Measuring Cord
Prophetic Vision: Joshua and the Priestly Vestments
Vision 4: The Lampstand and the Two Olive Trees
Vision 5: The Flying Scroll
Vision 6: The Ephah
Vision 7: The Four Chariots

Second, this sequence is justified and enriched by the fact that there are correspondences and correlations of content and structure between the first three visions and the last three. These connections include subject matter (e.g., the horses of visions 1 and 7), internal structure (e.g., two parts each to visions 2 and 6 and direct inclusion of oracular material in visions 3 and 5), and language. These general correspondences are accompanied by other specific ones, found in each pair of visions though different for each.

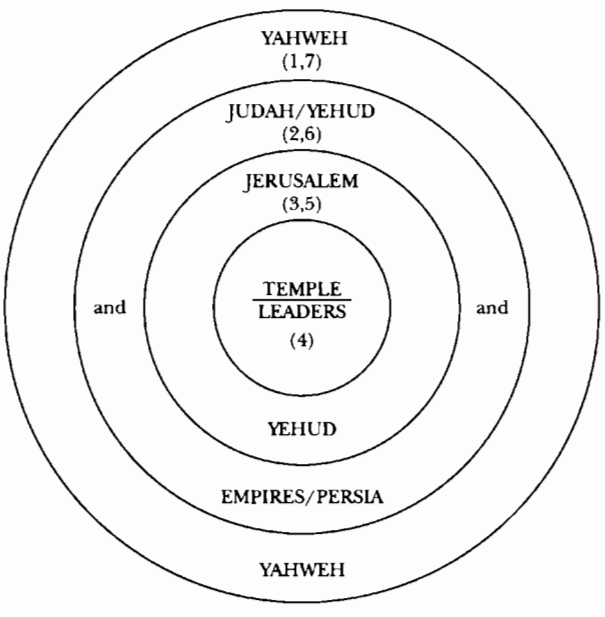
Third, the correspondences between the individual units of the first and third subsets are organized in inverse order, with the first and last visions complementing each other, the same for the second and sixth, and also for the third and fifth. The correlations can be established on stylistic grounds for the first three and last three visions. This has the effect of establishing the central pair as a complementary set, although the stylistic correspondences between those two are absent; stylistic contrast (see below), in fact, characterizes the relationship of the central two visions.

Fourth, the stylistic correlations between the first and third subsets are accompanied by thematic relationships. In particular, the scope of one member of the paired visions is comparable to that of the other member. Figure 2 shows in two ways the purview of the visions. The outer two have a universal dimension, dealing as they do with Yahweh's worldwide scrutiny (vision 1) and power (vision 7). The middle two (visions 2 and 6) are international in scope in that they are concerned with Judah/Yehud and the imperial powers (Assyria, Babylon, and/or Persia) that determined her destiny in the 7th and 6th centuries. The inner two narrow to a national focus, examining Yehud's territory (vision 3) and self-rule (vision 5). As a result of this progressively smaller field of interest, the central subset emerges with the temple in Jerusalem as the center of the prophet's universe. The overall structure, in spatial terms, can be conceived of as a series of superimposed circles (see Fig. ZEC.01) with Yahweh and the whole world as the largest circle, and the temple and the leadership of Yehud at the center. Such an arrangement implies that the smaller circles are inseparable from the larger ones that contain them. Jerusalem at the center is part of Yehud, of the international community of nations, and of the cosmos as ordered by Yahweh.

Fifth, all the above features relate to the existence of a centerpiece: the intricate structure of the visionary sequence has the effect of drawing attention to the central set, the Vestment Scene and the Fourth, or Lampstand, Vision. The prophet's ultimate concern, we learn from this arrangement, lies with the temple and the leadership in Jerusalem. In this sense, the full visionary set can properly be called Zechariah's "Temple Visions." Although only the central two visions deal explicitly with the temple, the fact that the center is an integral part of a carefully constructed whole indicates that the entire sequence emerges from the prophet's acute awareness of the conceptual and political problems surrounding the reorganization of the postexilic community and the reconstruction of that community's institutional core.

All of these characteristics of the eight visions have been presented using a system of numbers whereby the first three are called visions 1, 2, and 3 and the last three are designated visions 5, 6, and 7. In the center are the Fourth Vision and an unnumbered one. In a sense this enumeration is arbitrary, since the prophet himself did not number his visions. However, analysis of 3:1–7 reveals enough (five) distinct characteristics of that passage to warrant its being excluded from the numbered sequence.

Interspersed with the visions are a number of oracles.



ZEC.01. Purview of the eight visions in Zech 1:7–6:15.
1, UNIVERSAL: God's omniscience
2, INTERNATIONAL: Judah, the empires
3, NATIONAL: Jerusalem's territory
7, UNIVERSAL: God's omnipotence
6, INTERNATIONAL: Yehud, Persia
5, NATIONAL: self-rule of Yehud
Prophetic vision + *4*, JERUSALEM: leadership, temple

Although it would be convenient to separate the oracles and consider them as a discrete component of Part Two, their integral relationship with the visionary units invalidates such a separation. The oracles are incorporated into the visions in several ways. In some cases they have been worked into the very fabric of a vision, as in the First, Third, and Fifth Visions. In other places they appear to be more self-contained units, as in the Expansion of the First Three Visions (2:10–17 [RSV 2:6–13]), the Supplementary Oracle of Chap. 3 (3:8–10), the Zerubbabel Insertion of the Fourth Vision (4:6b–10a), and the oracular portion of the final Crowning Scene (6:9–15) of Part Two.

In these latter instances the words "expansion," "supplement," and "insertion" are to be understood appropriately. These terms are not meant to indicate a separate origin or identity for the material so designated. All of the oracular sections not already incorporated into the actual visions are nonetheless integral to the visionary sequence. The ideas expressed by the oracles are based upon and also amplify themes found in the visions with which they are associated. In other words, vision and oracles complement and supplement each other. They are alternate modes of prophetic communication, employed in tandem by the prophet. Each is peculiarly suited to an aspect of his message, and so the message is communicated in the two modes. But the message is incomplete without the mutuality of these two forms of prophetic language.

The convergence, or more accurately the merger, of vision and oracle in First Zechariah is analogous to, and perhaps also functionally related to, the close relationship of poetry and prose in Haggai-Zechariah 1–8. The language for conveying a visionary experience is normally the prose of narration, whereas the language for communicating an oracle is often poetry. The former describes an indirect communication of the divine will, through the symbolic meaning of objects or persons; and the latter communicates, as only poetry can, the prophet's direct experience of God's word. Since Zechariah's prophetic activity involves both vision and direct "auditions" of Yahweh's word, vision and oracle, narrative and poetic language, are intertwined through the rich and varied expressions of First Zechariah's prophetic consciousness. The presentation of the visions takes on its characteristic dialogic character because of the role of the Interpreting Angel; but that feature should not deflect us from perceiving the basic narrative structure of those visions.

3. Zechariah, Part Three (7:1–8:23). Chaps. 7 and 8 of the book of Zechariah form a distinct literary unit in the organization of Zechariah. Although composed of four sub-units, these two chaps. exhibit an overall integrity as one of the three major sections of First Zechariah. In addition, their special relationship to the material in Haggai forms a framework for Haggai-Zechariah 1–8 and indicates that Zechariah 1–8 together with the two chaps. of Haggai constitute a composite work.

The independence of chaps. 7 and 8 as a literary whole within Zechariah is apparent first and foremost on stylistic grounds. The use of formulaic clauses or phrases at the outset of this section sets it apart from the rest of Zechariah 1–8. The chief and most obvious example of this is the use of the date formula, which introduces the ensuing prophetic materials in relationship to the regnal year of the Persian emperor. The date formulas create three sections, of which this is the third. While this feature in and of itself might not be sufficient to justify such a division, it is accompanied by an oracular formula ("The word of Yahweh came . . ."), which likewise is found in Zechariah 1:1 and 1:7. This formula is rather awkward in its present position within the chronological heading, a fact which suggests that it has been inserted there in order to reinforce the impression, already created by the date formula, that Zechariah 7–8 stands as a section distinct from 1:1–7 and 1:8–6:15. Furthermore, Part Three contains no visions and in that way is distinct from Part Two; and it does contain extensive oracular passages and so differs from the terse narration with retrospective that dominates Part One.

The two chapters contain diverse kinds of prophetic and oracular materials that have been shaped into a unit as the result of the event that, according to the information supplied at the beginning of chap. 7, occasioned the prophetic utterance in the first place. A delegation from Bethel came to the temple with a question about fasting. The query provoked a series of retrospectives and oracles, which culminate in an eschatological vision that transforms the original question about fasting into an opportunity to depict the future of Israel and of all the nations. Yet it is the delegation's arrival and query that frame and underlie the prophetic words. The internal stimulus for the prophetic activity recorded in Part Three is accompanied by external conditions implied by the date of this section. All the other dates given in Haggai and Zechariah are in the second year of Darius' reign. Part Three is attributed to the fourth year. The temple building project was the stimulus for the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah 1–6; and now, two years later, another development in Yehud within the Persian Empire provoked Zechariah's final prophetic outburst.

Part Three itself can be divided into four segments or sub-units on the basis of both content and stylistic features. The latter includes the use of an introductory statement signifying the transmission of a divine message. The formula "The word of Yahweh came (to Zechariah)" occurs as such or with minor variations four times in chaps. 7–8, and each of those occurrences marks a new unit of material. Several features within the units so formed further suggest the integrity of those units. For example, the second unit (Further Retrospection on Divine Justice) begins in 7:7 with a question containing the word "proclaim"; it draws to a close in 7:13 with a sentence featuring "Thus . . . proclaimed." The response to the initial question has been brought to its conclusion, and an appended oracle (v 12b–14) develops from the second part of the "Thus . . . proclaimed" statement and serves as a coda to the second sub-unit. For the third and fourth sub-units, the separate oracles within each are distinguished by the use of another formula (in addition to the initial transmission formula noted above) marking the actual delivery of the divine message. "Thus spoke Yahweh of Hosts" introduces the ten (seven in 8:1–17, three in 8:18–23) oracular pronouncements of these units in every case except one (8:3), which lacks only "of Hosts."

These literary features of the sub-units are accompanied by differences in content. The Introduction (7:1–6) pro-

vides the setting of time and place, the people involved, and the situation ostensibly responsible for evoking the subsequent collection of prophetic utterances. The next three sub-units follow a time sequence. Further Retrospection on Divine Justice (7:7–14) moves backward from the prophet's day to the preexilic period and then to the trauma of destruction and dispersion. Zion and Judah Restored (8:1–17) has a chronological orientation that includes the prophet's immediate past, his present, and the imminent future. An eschatological perspective perhaps also colors some of the seven oracles, but they can for the most part be seen as referring primarily to the prophet's own historical period. Finally, Judah and the Nations (8:18–23) looks to the eschatological future. Furthermore, building upon the situation described in the Introduction to Part Three, the prophet expands the demographic focus of interest from Jerusalem to all of Yehud, to the neighboring Palestinian peoples, and—by way of simultaneous climax to Zechariah 7–8, to Zechariah 1–8, and to Haggai-Zechariah 1–8—to all the nations of the world. Zechariah's message ends on a resoundingly universalistic note.

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For additional bibliography, see Meyers and Meyers 1987: lxxiii–xcv.

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ZECHARIAH 9–14

Because many scholars believe that chaps. 9–14 of the book of Zechariah were not written by the same person who wrote chaps. 1–8, but by a Second (or Deutero-) Zechariah, it is necessary to examine these latter chaps. as a unit.

A. Authorship, Date, and Literary Unity
  1. History of Research
  2. Recent Studies
B. Oracle One (Zechariah 9–11)
C. Another Oracle (Zechariah 12–14)

A. Authorship, Date and Literary Unity

Questions regarding the very existence of Deutero-Zechariah, much less its date of origin and authorship are best approached from the perspective of earlier scholarly efforts.

1. History of Research. Discussions of the authorship of Zechariah 9–14 initially arose from reflection upon Matt 27:9–10, which refers to Zechariah 11:12–13 and imputes authorship of these verses to Jeremiah. The issue for earlier interpreters was not so much one of higher criticism as it was the relative authority of the gospel of Matthew over against the book of Zechariah. And, as the definitive review of the research by Otzen demonstrates, it was the same issue, the so-called conflict between the Testaments, which sparked post-Renaissance debate upon the unity of Zechariah. This was first clearly evident in the work of Joseph Mede (1653), who contended that Zechariah 9–11 was written by Jeremiah, whereas Zechariah 12–14 might be attributed to Zechariah. In little more than one century after the publication of Mede's work, the issues of literary unity and date were joined in critical discussions. In 1785, William Newcombe distinguished Zechariah 9–11 as preexilic, material which he deemed similar to much in Hosea, from Zechariah 12–14, which he dated after the death of Josiah. Newcombe's position, that Zechariah 9–14 comprised two distinct parts, was advanced by Bertholdt (1812–19), who argued that Zechariah son of Jeberechiah (Isa 8:2) was the author of Zechariah 9–11 and that these three chapters had been linked to Zechariah 1–8 because of the authors' identical names. (For Bertholdt, Zechariah 12:1–13:6 and 13:7–14:21 made up yet further components of the book, both dating to the late preexilic period.) H. Ewald (1840) proposed a reordering of Deutero-Zechariah to make Bertholdt's case even stronger. Ewald maintained that Zechariah 13:7–9 belonged originally after 11:7, since 13:7–9 and 11:4–17 both share the notion of indicting bad shepherds. Such a rearrangement allowed for an apparent coherent indictment of Israel's preexilic leaders to fall exclusively in Zechariah 9–11; whereas Zechariah 12–14, without 13:7–9, was eschatological in orientation and, therefore, later in date. The consensus on the dating of Zechariah 9–11 to the preexilic period and of Zechariah 12–14 to a later period began to break fundamentally with the challenges of Eichhorn (1823–24) and Stade (1881–82). Eichhorn theorized that Zechariah 9–10 stemmed from no earlier a time than that of Alexander the Great and that 13:7–14:21 probably derived from the Maccabean period. Stade advanced this argument for a late date of composition and maintained that Deutero-Zechariah was essentially one literary unit, rather than a variety of snippets from various dates in the Hellenistic period. For Stade, Deutero-Zechariah was a literary piece composed soon after the death of Alexander the Great.

With Stade's hypothesis, the basic options for interpreting Deutero-Zechariah were, more or less, complete: literary unity vs. literary diversity and preexilic vs. postexilic dates. These various conclusions in large measure mirrored the differing methods used by scholars; that is to

say, some focused on literary style whereas others raised essentially historical questions.

Methodological diversity and remarkable variety in conclusions has continued in the twentieth century. For example, Elliger (*The Twelve* ATD) continued the impulse of Eichhorn by linking Zechariah 9:1–8 with the year 332 B.C.E. Standard introductions to the Hebrew Bible have, however, suggested something like a scholarly consensus: Zechariah 9–11 and 12–14 are separate booklets, each with its own complex literary history. Zechariah 9–11, which may include some preexilic material, achieved its final form in the Persian period, whereas chaps. 12–14 derive from the Hellenistic period.

2. Recent Studies. Diverse methods continue to provide differing ways of understanding Deutero-Zechariah, such that it has become difficult indeed to speak of scholarly consensus. Since 1960 there have appeared five studies, each of which uses a discrete or explicit combination of methods, arriving at conclusions not readily integrated with one another. Lamarche (1961) advocated the use of a literary structuralist method. He discerned an architectonic structure in Zechariah 9–14. Twelve primary units combined to form two entities of six units each: 9:1–8; 9:9–10; 9:11–10:1; 10:2–3a; 10:3b–11:3; 11:4–17 and 12:1–9; 12:10–13:1; 13:2–6; 13:7–9; 14:1–15; 14:16–21. Parallelism and chiasm relate the constituent units to each other in a complex way. A pronounced development of thought occurs throughout the six chapters which make up Deutero-Zechariah, a development which arises out of four primary themes: foreign nations, idols and false prophets, war and victory of Israel, and king and shepherd. Lamarche proposed to date the composition to ca. 500–480 B.C.E.

Otzen (1964) published not only a thorough review of the research but also a volume that focused upon historical-critical inquiry. He identified several units that derived from distinctive historical contexts: Zechariah 9–10, from Judahite circles in the Josianic period; Zechariah 11, from just before the fall of Judah; Zechariah 12–13 (12:2–13:1; 13:2–6; 13:7–9), which are early exilic, and Zechariah 14, which is late postexilic. Otzen's study did more than identify points of historical origin since he treated as well the matters of literary structure and tradition history, the former in dialogue with Lamarche's work when appropriate.

Saebø (1969a) used the form-critical method and identified thirteen primary rhetorical units, the compilation and recasting of which involved a complex process (e.g., the creation of Zechariah 9:1–8). Saebø's approach, as did Otzen's, allowed for the development of the literary history, whereas Lamarche's did not.

In an influential study on the origins of apocalypticism within Israel, Hanson (1975) devoted one chapter to Deutero-Zechariah and advocated the use of three methods: typological prosodic analysis, form criticism, and tradition history. The application of these methods allowed Hanson to identify six units in the text (9:1–17; 10:1–12; 11:1–3; 11:4–17 and 13:7–9; 12:1–13:6; 14:1–21) and to establish a chronology for them; Zechariah 9:1–17, the earliest text, dates to the mid-sixth century, whereas Zechariah 14, the latest, derives from a period no later than 425 B.C.E. The use of form criticism enabled Hanson to place the Deutero-Zechariah rhetoric within the context of the history of Israelite literature (for example, the use of certain martial hymns) and tradition history enabled him not only to address the use of ANE mythological patterns in Deutero-Zechariah but also to treat the more general issue of the transition from prophetic to apocalyptic eschatology.

Childs *(IOTS)* has used canonical criticism to raise questions and answers different from all the above-mentioned studies. These questions are essentially twofold: what is the canonical (not simply literary) shape of Zechariah 9–14, and what is the relation of Zechariah 9:14 to Zechariah 1–8? Using form critical insights as part of his work, he answers the second question by suggesting that "the effect [of Zechariah 9–14] is to expand, develop, and sharpen the theological pattern of the end time which had begun to emerge in Proto-Zechariah" (p. 483). Whereas Zechariah 1–8 focused on the hope of a second exodus, this time from Babylon, that would constitute the end time, Zechariah 9–14 distinguishes between this new exodus and the anticipated final events. Statements about the canonical shape of Zechariah 9–14 cannot be answered apart from statements about the overall shape of the entire book. However, Zechariah 9–14 does introduce a new note, one "which distinguishes between the return from exile and the coming of the end time" (p. 483).

Methodological pluralism has, in the case of Zechariah 9–14, led to radically diverse assessments of the book. Because of this as-yet-unresolved diversity, the best current approach to the contents of the book is to take our methodological clues from the text itself, since there can be little argument that for the final redactor the book comprises two "oracles": Zechariah 9–11 and 12–14. (Zechariah 9:1; 12:1 and Mal 1:1 each begin with the word *massa'*, "oracle.")

B. Oracle One (Zechariah 9–11)

Zechariah 9 begins with oracles against foreign nations, a feature shared by the book of Amos. As is the case with the Amos oracles, in our literature, the states are those of Syria-Palestine: Philistia, Phoenicia, and Syria. Also similar to Amos, the cities within these territories are mentioned prominently, Yahweh's defeat of these nations and cities will enable him to be perceived as a guardian of his "house."

In Zechariah 9:9–13, Yahweh's role as military victor enables him to be construed as king; a royal procession into Jerusalem is envisioned. This kingship will secure peace for Israel and universal dominion for Yahweh (vv 9–10). Moreover, good news may be proclaimed to Jerusalem; its captives will be freed (vv 11–12). Those so liberated will function gloriously as Yahweh's military subalterns (v 13). Nonetheless, it is Yahweh who will perform the necessary military feats (v 14). As a result, those whom he is protecting will drink the blood of those who have been slain (v 15). Such victory will result in fertility and prosperity for the people, here construed as Yahweh's flock (vv 16–17).

In Zechariah 10, the tone shifts. Moreover, one senses less literary cohesion than in the foregoing chapter. In striking the note of fertility, Zechariah 10:1 establishes a link with the last verse of the previous chapter (v 17). Zechariah 10:2 comprises a judgment oracle, linking improper intermediation with current woe expressed in met-

aphoric terms: the people depicted as a flock without a shepherd. The key word "shepherd" joins 10:2 to 10:3. Although it seems clear that the term "shepherd" refers to the leader, it is not easy to determine whether the leader is Israelite or foreign. Zechariah 10:3–12 appears as an integrated poem which, apart from the indictment in v 3, provides words of weal, especially geographic restoration (vv 6, 8–11) and military victory (4–5, 7), though the foe is ill defined.

Zechariah 11 commences with what appears to be another standard oracle against a nation, here Phoenicia, spoken of as Lebanon. However, imperative rhetoric with an abundance of literary personifications predominate, for example, "O, cypress." What appears as a call to obedience quickly and ironically becomes a call to self-destruction: "Open your doors . . . that the fires may devour your cedars" (v 1). Zechariah 11:1–3 is filled with tree imagery: cedar, cypress, glorious tree, oak, forest, jungle. These symbols of verdure are consistent with the notion of fertility broached in 9:17–10:1. Here, however, the destruction rather than the commencement of fertility is at issue. The direct discourse in Zechariah 10:1 and 11:1–3, as well as the motif of fertility, create an *inclusio:* 10:1 with 11:3.

The remainder of Zechariah 11, save the woe oracle, v 17, is prosaic in style. Moreover, there is considerable scholarly sentiment in favor of linking Zechariah 13:7–9 with 11:4–17 since both texts condemn shepherds (and this despite the fact that 13:7–9 has a more consistent poetic form than does 11:4–16). Zechariah 11:4–16 is, formally, an autobiographical narrative, though the identity of the individual being described is unclear. Someone is charged with the task of being a shepherd over a doomed flock. Improper gain leads to doom for the "sheep." An individual performed this task (11:7–8) and then rejected it (11:9), since the flock was ultimately destined to die. The termination of the role of the shepherd is recounted in 11:10–14, which details the attendant ritual destruction of the symbols of office. Then, Yahweh again challenges an individual to be shepherd, though this time apparently without success (11:15–16). Within the context of this appeal, the author broaches the image of yet another shepherd, one who destroys. The role of the shepherd is ambiguous, though this metaphor typically refers to the royal office in the ANE. In the postexilic era, the metaphor might refer either to a civil or a religious leader. The tone of this chapter is decidedly negative in its references to both the leader and the people. The woe oracle in 11:17 repeats the notion of a worthless shepherd (so 11:15) and introduces curses upon this figure.

Zechariah 13:7–9 also focuses on punishment of the shepherd; here, however, it is Yahweh's or "my shepherd." But, as with 11:6–9, there is a strong sense of solidarity between the sheep/people and the shepherd/leader and the suffering they all will undergo. In Zechariah 13:8–9, there is provision for a remnant, a group that Yahweh will refine out of the population and that Yahweh will call, following the covenant formulary, "my people." Without these verses, Zechariah 11, as it caps off the first oracle, is negative in its implications; woe overshadows weal.

C. Another Oracle (Zechariah 12–14)

The editorial introduction specifies that this section is a "word of the Lord concerning Israel," unlike the case with Zechariah 9–11, an oracle against foreign nations. It is not surprising, therefore, that with chap. 12 literary style and theme change markedly. Prose overtakes poetry. Moreover, the connective tissue provided by the phrase "on that day" makes the composition appear atomistic. (That phrase appears in Zechariah 12:3, 4, 6, 8 [2x], 9, 11; 13:1, 2, 4; 14:4, 6, 8, 9, 13, and 20.) Despite these features which distinguish chaps. 12–14 from chaps. 9–11, this oracle does begin in a way similar to the first one, namely, by setting the international or cosmic context for what Yahweh is doing. There will be conflict between Yahwist and non-Yahwist (Zech 12:2a, 3, 4). The text includes stock images of judgment, including siege by many nations, to reinforce the severity of punishment that Judah will incur. Moreover, there will be intra-Israelite conflict (12:2b; this verse may be corrupt). The site of this conflict will be Jerusalem, though there is a competing tradition in which Judah suffers the same fate as does Jerusalem.

In 12:5–9, the author seems intent on articulating the special place Zion/Jerusalem and its inhabitants will have: Yahweh will glorify Jerusalem and its inhabitants. In addition, "the house of David" receives special and ambiguous mention. The house of David may not be exalted over Judah, but it will be like God. This section expresses a revised version of the Zion and David tradition, as that tradition is attested in Isaiah and Psalms.

In Zechariah 12:10–13:1, attention shifts to the Davidic house, its past sin and future possibilities. These verses are words of weal, presumably to the Davidides of the postexilic era. However, such promising words are conditioned by the persecution in which they (Davidides) have been involved (Zech 12:10). Moreover, this sin engendered by the Davidides will result in radical lamentation (12:11–14), not only by the Davidic house but by the entire ruling elite, including both priestly and royal elements.

With Zech 13:2–6, the author addresses a new topic—prophecy. One senses here a claim that prophecy in the preclassical or classical model is a thing of the past. If someone claims to be a prophet, "his father and mother who bore him, will say to him, 'You shall not live.' " If Zech 12:10–13:1 strikes a note of continuity with earlier Israelite traditions by allowing for a positive view of the Davidic house, then Zech 13:2–6 strikes a note of discontinuity by disallowing the possibility of prophetic performance.

In the final section, Zech 14:1–21, motifs already broached in Deutero-Zechariah recur, but in a more intense or cataclysmic manner. Many interpreters define this as a chapter more apocalyptic in its orientation. There is also considerable reference to earlier prophetic literature. As with 12:1–13:6, the material appears fragmented because of the prominence of the phrase "on that day." And again the Zion tradition is adduced, namely, foreign nations will come up against Jerusalem and Yahweh will defend his city. In this attack on Jerusalem, Yahwists will suffer (14:2). Moreover, Yahweh's theophany will involve not only defeat of the enemy but also fundamental disturbance of the natural order (14:2–6). The appearance of Yahweh will also engender living waters, which will lead in turn to marvelous fertility (14:8). All of this results from Yahweh's manifestation as divine warrior, a role that allows him in turn to be acclaimed as king. (In Zechariah 14, the Davidide apparently has no royal role.) The royal city will

remain exalted even as "the whole land" recedes, literally, in significance (14:10).

In Zech 14:12–15, the topic reverts to Yahweh's decimation of enemy peoples. Language from Israel's holy war traditions (v 13) as well as more general curse rhetoric (vv 12, 15) predominates in a way that direct language of military combat does not. Intra-Israelite conflict occurs as it had in Zech 12:1. After this ritual cosmic conflict, there is to be an enforced peace. Peace will occur within the context of pilgrimage to Jerusalem and cosmic celebration there of the Feast of Booths. A general threat of drought for those who do not celebrate this festival is provided as is a more specific threat of plague against Egypt. Finally, 14:20–21 underlines the ritual character of the ceremony and eventual resolution. The feast will occur at the temple and with the appropriate ritual paraphernalia. The booklet's concluding verse, 14:21, emphasizes that the requisite ritual purity for the celebration will be achieved.

Important themes which occur in both "oracles" include: (1) the prominence of military conflict, especially with Yahweh as warrior and against foreign nations; (2) criticism of a community's leaders, whether foreign or domestic; (3) future weal for Jerusalem and on behalf of some of Yahweh's venerators; and (4) the anticipation of a future which is very good but not utopian (especially Zech 14:17–19). Despite considerable formal diversity in Zechariah 9–14, there appears to be some thematic unity. Readers discover two versions of a cataclysm which they may construe as having a fundamentally positive outcome for some, although certainly not all, Israelites, and, especially for the city of Jerusalem. Zechariah 9–11 is colored by doom, and Zechariah 12–14 by promise. (For further discussion, see commentaries in TOTC, SB, HAT, CAT, CBC, ATD, and KAT.)

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ZECHER (PERSON) [Heb *zeker*]. See ZECHARIAH (PERSON).

ZEDAD (PLACE) [Heb *ṣĕdād*]. Part of the line of the N boundary of Israel as described in Numbers 34:8 (from the Priestly source). The boundary extends from the Great Sea to Mount Hor to the entrance of Hamath and the end of the boundary is Zedad (v 8), but v 9 continues the boundary to Ziphron and ends at Hazar-enan. Ezek 47:13 provides another description of the N side of the inheritance of Israel, which passes from the Great Sea by way of Hethlon to the entrance of Hamath and on to Zedad (v 15) and continues to Berothah, Sibraim (on the border between Damascus and Hamath) to Hazer-hatticon on the border of Hauran.

The Great Sea is usually thought to be the Mediterranean Sea, from which the boundary passes to Zedad in N Syria. Zimmerli (*Ezekiel 2* Hermeneia, 528–30), however, points out several variant opinions. Noth draws the line from the headwaters of the Jordan River, curving E into Syria or N Transjordan and then curving back to the E shore of the Sea of Galilee. This is the border of the tribe of Dan. For Noth (*Numbers* OTL, 249–50), the location of Zedad is uncertain, but presumably it is somewhere near the sources of the Jordan River. The Samaritan and LXX have Zerad, located at Kh. Serada in Marj ʿAyun, W of the Hasbany branch of the Jordan and N of ʿAbil. This identification would compel us to draw the ideal boundary along the Qasmiyeh Valley and E to Hermon, much too far S according to Elliger. He claims the description represents the N boundary in the time of David. The correct Zedad is Zadad (M.R. 330420) E of the road from Damascus to Aleppo via Homs, in the vicinity of Riblah, as pointed out earlier by Robinson (1841: 461, App. 171). Eichrodt (*Ezekiel* OTL, 589) describes Zedad as SE of Homs on the way from Riblah to Palmyra, 62 miles N of Damascus. He identifies Hamath with Hamath on the Orontes (Hama, 30 miles N of Homs, 115 miles N of Damascus). He was concerned that Damascus was not in Israelite territory, so he suggested that one might emend the text to Zerada, SW of Mount Hermon, as in the Samaritan version.

While the boundary descriptions may have some reflection in reality, as in the time of David, e.g., 2 Sam 24:1–9, they seem to be more of an ideal than a reality (Simons *GTTOT*, 98). Thus the inclusion of Damascus is not really a problem in locating Zedad or other sites. Zedad is on the edge of the desert, while Hazar-enan is the last oasis in the Syrian desert as one travels toward Tadmor (Palmyra). Cooke (*Ezekiel* ICC, 525) suggested that the Priestly writer (ca. 550 B.C.E.) idealized the past in Numbers, while Ezekiel idealized the future.

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ZEDEKIAH (PERSON) [Heb *ṣidqîyāh; ṣidqîyāhû*]. Meaning "Yah (or Yahu) is my righteousness," namely, "Yahweh is my right (He helped me to obtain my right)," or "Yahweh is my salvation" (*HALAT*, 944; *TPNAH*, 75, 358).

1. Son of Chenaanah; a prophet who promised Ahab victory against the Arameans at Ramoth-gilead (1 Kgs 22:1–28; 2 Chr 18:1–27). Ahab wishes to reconquer the city and asks Jehoshaphat king of Judah if he will help. Jehoshaphat agrees but suggests first seeking divine counsel by means of an oracle (cf. 1 Sam 23:1–5). Ahab gathers the four hundred prophets together, and they prophesy before the two kings in the *gōren,* here an open public place at the gate of Samaria (Gray *1 and 2 Kings* OTL, 450). While they are chanting a prophecy of victory, Zedekiah, about whom nothing else is known, apparently emerges from their midst and performs a symbolic act. He puts horns of iron on his head, indicating great power, and prophesies the destruction of the Arameans (cf. Deut 33:17; Jer 28:13–14). Zedekiah's prophecy, however, conflicts with that of Micaiah, who is summoned at Jehoshaphat's urging. Micaiah foretells disaster, including the death of Ahab, and attributes the false prophecy of victory to Yahweh's putting a lying spirit in the mouth of the king's prophets (cf. 1 Sam 16:14; Job 1). This divinely inspired power of prophecy lures the king to his destruction (Gray *1 and 2 Kings* OTL, 452–53). Zedekiah now strikes Micaiah on the cheek, so disclosing his anger and frustration. But each prophet believed Yahweh had inspired them both. See MICAIAH.

2. Son of Hananiah, a state official of Judah under King Jehoiakim (Jer 36:12). He was sitting with the other high officials when Micaiah reported on Jeremiah's oracles which Baruch had been reading aloud in the temple. Baruch was then asked to read the oracles to the assembled officials (vv 13–15).

3. Son of Maaseiah and contemporary of the prophet Jeremiah, who accused Zedekiah of prophesying falsely among the people in Babylon (Jer 29:21–23). He seems to have been one of several prophets against whom Jeremiah (Jer 29:8–9) makes the standard charges of prophesying a lie, dreaming dreams, deceiving the community, and not being sent by Yahweh (Carroll 1981: 190–91). Zedekiah is also condemned for immorality in committing adultery, and therefore Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon will kill him (v 22). No doubt he was involved in some political offense such as encouraging the people to revolt. He and Ahab son of Kolaiah were executed by roasting in the fire, which was a punishment used in Babylon over a long period (Thompson *Jeremiah* NICOT, 549; see Hammurabi laws 25, 110, 157 [ANET, 167, 170, 172]; Dan 3:6).

4. The last reigning king of Judah (ca. 597–586 B.C.), the uncle and successor of Jehoiachin; he died in Babylonian captivity. His given name was Mattaniah (2 Kgs 24:17).

Zedekiah was twenty-one years old on his accession, and he reigned eleven years in Jerusalem (2 Kgs 24:18; 2 Chr 36:11). His mother was Hamutal, daughter of Jeremiah of Libnah (2 Kgs 24:18). He was Jehoiachin's uncle (2 Kgs 24:17) and a younger brother of Jehoahaz and Jehoiakim. 2 Chr 36:10 calls him Jehoiachin's brother, but this should be understood in the sense of "relative," for the genealogical list in 1 Chr 3:15 makes him the third son of Josiah.

Zedekiah succeeded at a difficult time. In 597 B.C. Nebuchadrezzar had deported Jehoiachin and most of the leading citizens to Babylon (2 Kgs 24:15–16). As a result the new king lacked experienced advisers. The prophet Jeremiah compared those who remained in Judah to rotten figs, unfit for eating, and saw the future as lying with the exiles, whom he likened to the most tasty figs (Jeremiah 24). Zedekiah is portrayed in the book of Jeremiah as too weak to do what he knows is right: three times during the Babylonian siege Zedekiah approaches Jeremiah (Jer 37:1–10, 16–21; 38:14–28), but faced with the opposition of officials, courtiers, and people, the king feels unable to follow the prophet's advice and to surrender to Nebuchadrezzar. Jeremiah nowhere condemns Zedekiah, but he does denounce his advisers. The king, in fact, saves the prophet's life, though he cannot spare him imprisonment.

Kings and Chronicles say little about Zedekiah's reign until the siege of Jerusalem. The Babylonian Chronicle (Wiseman 1956) shows that Nebuchadrezzar had difficulty in subjecting Syria and Palestine. In 595 B.C. a revolt broke out in Babylonia (Garelli and Nikiprowetzky 1974: 153) and was put down with much loss of life. The Chronicle features a gap after Nebuchadrezzar assembles his army to march to Syria in December 594. This rebellion forms the background to Hananiah's words spoken "in the fourth year" (Jer 28:1). Hananiah proclaimed that God had broken the yoke of the king of Babylon and would bring back the exiles, including Jehoiachin, within two years. The "fourth year" is generally understood to refer to that of Zedekiah's reign, i.e., 594–593. Sarna (1978), however, argues that the reference is to the sabbatical cycle designating 597 and harmonizing with Jer 27:1, which places the same event *bĕrē'šît mamleket yĕhôyāqîm,* translated, "in the beginning of Zedekiah's reign," reading with nearly all scholars "Zedekiah" for "Jehoiakim." Another possibility is to translate "after the completion of Jehoiakim's reign," avoiding the emendation as well as the contradiction with Jer 28:1, and forming a link with Jeremiah 26 which deals with Jehoiakim's reign.

Egypt seems to have been a factor in the opposition to Babylon. Neco II died in 595 B.C. to be succeeded by Psammetichus II, and a number of W nations now banded together to rebel. Jer 27:1–11 shows envoys from Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Sidon coming to try and persuade Zedekiah to revolt against the king of Babylon. They failed in this endeavor, partly perhaps due to the attitude of Jeremiah, but also relevant may be the Judean mission to Babylon in the fourth year of Zedekiah (29:3; 51:59), which no doubt confirmed the king in his refusal to rebel at this time. Finally, however, he did rebel against the king of Babylon (2 Kgs 24:20), no doubt after making due preparations (Ezek 17:15).

There is evidence for military cooperation between Egypt and Judah in 593, and the following year Psammetichus II organized a triumphal visit to Palestine (Greenberg *Ezekiel 1–20* AB, 13). The pharaoh died in early 589 and was at once succeeded by Hophra (= Apries). It is against this background that Zedekiah's rebellion should be considered. According to Ezek 17:15, it is Zedekiah's government that takes the initiative in sending an embassy to Egypt and that breaks the alliance with Babylon. Ammon joins the coalition (Ezek 21:20), as does Phoenicia.

Nebuchadrezzar quickly marched to the West and established his headquarters at Riblah on the Orontes (2 Kgs 25:6, 20). He subdued Phoenicia, besieged Tyre, and sent his troops to reduce the Judean fortresses. Ezekiel has

preserved a tradition of Nebuchadrezzar's indecision regarding his plan of campaign (Ezek 21:26–27—Eng vv 21–22). After consulting the oracles, he sent an army to attack Jersualem. He himself remained at Riblah (2 Kgs 25:6, 20).

The account of the siege and fall of Jerusalem in 2 Kgs 25:1–21 is paralleled in Jer 39:1–10; 52:4–30 (cf. 2 Chr 36:13–21). The date of the siege is a vexed question and Fensham (1982: 56–57) counsels leaving the whole issue open. According to 2 Kgs 25:1 and Jer 52:4 (cf. 39:1) the siege began in the ninth year of Zedekiah's reign, in the tenth month, on the tenth day of the month; that is, on January 15th of either 588 (Kutsch 1974) or 586 (Malamat 1975; Vogt 1975) the walls were breached and the city fell. Zech 8:19 mentions that the "fast of the fourth (month)" and the "fast of the tenth (month)" were kept in later times, no doubt in memory of these two events.

The siege was interrupted when news came of an Egyptian advance (Jer 37:5). It is possible that this was in response to an appeal by Zedekiah, perhaps reflected in Lachish letter 3 (lines 13–16) which reports that Coniah, the commander of the Judean army, went to Egypt (*BHI*, 330; *TSSI* 1: 38). The Babylonians successfully countered this threat (cf. Ezek 29:1–16; 30:20–26; 31:1–18), though details of what happened are lacking. The siege was then resumed.

It is in this context that we must understand the oracle of Jeremiah accusing the rulers and people of perfidy (Jer 24:8–22). Zedekiah had entered into an agreement with the people of Jerusalem to free their Hebrew slaves, most probably in connection with the sabbatical law of Deuteronomy 15 (Sarna 1973). After the Babylonians withdrew to meet the Egyptian army, those who had been freed were again enslaved.

When the walls of the city were breached, famine had already brought the inhabitants to desperate straits (2 Kgs 25:3). Lamentations 4 portrays the horrors of the siege. Zedekiah tried to escape by fleeing toward the Arabah, the arid steppe region E of Jerusalem (Jer 39:4; cf. 2 Kgs 25:4–5; Jer 52:7–8) but was overtaken and captured by the Babylonians near Jericho (Gray *1 and 2 Kings* OTL, 765; James *1 and 2 Kings* NCBC, 642–43). Ezekiel describes Zedekiah's flight in graphic terms (12:12), while Obadiah reproaches the Edomites for handing fugitives over to the Babylonians (chap. 14).

Zedekiah was taken to the king of Babylon at Riblah, where sentence was passed upon him for breaking his covenant oath (cf. Ezek 17:11–21). His sons were killed in front of him and he himself was blinded, the ineluctable consequences of breaking the oath of allegiance (Deist 1971); he was then taken in chains to Babylon and put in prison. According to the LXX of Jer 52:11 he was confined in the "house of the mill," where he would have had to perform the degrading task of grinding with a hand-mill (van der Toorn 1986). He died in captivity. The prophecies of Jeremiah (34:2–5) and Ezekiel (12:13) were fulfilled.

There are some apparent discrepancies with regard to the dates in the biblical records. Jer 52:28 dates the first deportation in the seventh year of Nebuchadrezzar, while 2 Kgs 24:12 assigns the exile of King Jehoiachin and his officials to the eighth year. The Babylonian Chronicle seems to support Jeremiah, but it is likely that the Chronicle is simply relating all the events connected with the campaign in Judah to the seventh regnal year, which allows him to begin the eighth year, like the other years, with a new campaign (Vogt 1975: 225–28). 2 Chr 36:10 suggests that Jehoiachin's deposition and Zedekiah's accession took place in the eighth year. Jer 52:29 dates the second deportation to Nebuchadrezzar's eighteenth year, whereas 2 Kgs 25:8 dates it to his nineteenth year. It is possible that Jeremiah's deportation of 832 persons refers to those captured before the fall of the city, as it were its first fruits (Vogt 1975: 223–24).

Zedekiah was in a difficult position. Nebuchadrezzar appointed him king, but many believed that Jehoiachin would soon return and resume his rightful position as king of Judah (cf. Jer 28:4). Jehoiachin himself no doubt bore such a hope (Jer 22:27). Jeremiah, however, emphasized that God had rejected Jehoiachin who would never return (22:27). Yet Ezekiel dated his prophecies according to the exile of Jehoiachin (8:1, 20:1 etc.) and not the reign of Zedekiah. Even the Babylonians allowed Jehoiachin the rank of king (2 Kgs 25:28).

The Bible portrays Zedekiah as a weak ruler who "did not humble himself before Jeremiah the prophet" (2 Chr 36:12), that is, did not repent and so led God to forgive and restore (Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 416, 225). As a result, he brought ruin to Jerusalem and Judah. He appears to have been pro-Babylonian and anti-Egyptian but failed to follow Jeremiah's advice and yield to Nebuchadrezzar. The Deuteronomistic historian passes judgment on the king in the standard formula, "He did what was evil in the sight of Yahweh" (2 Kgs 24:19).

5. An otherwise unknown son of king Jehoiakim (1 Chr 3:16).

6. A signatory to Ezra's covenant and probably an official acting in an unstated capacity (Neh 10:1 [Heb 10:2]).

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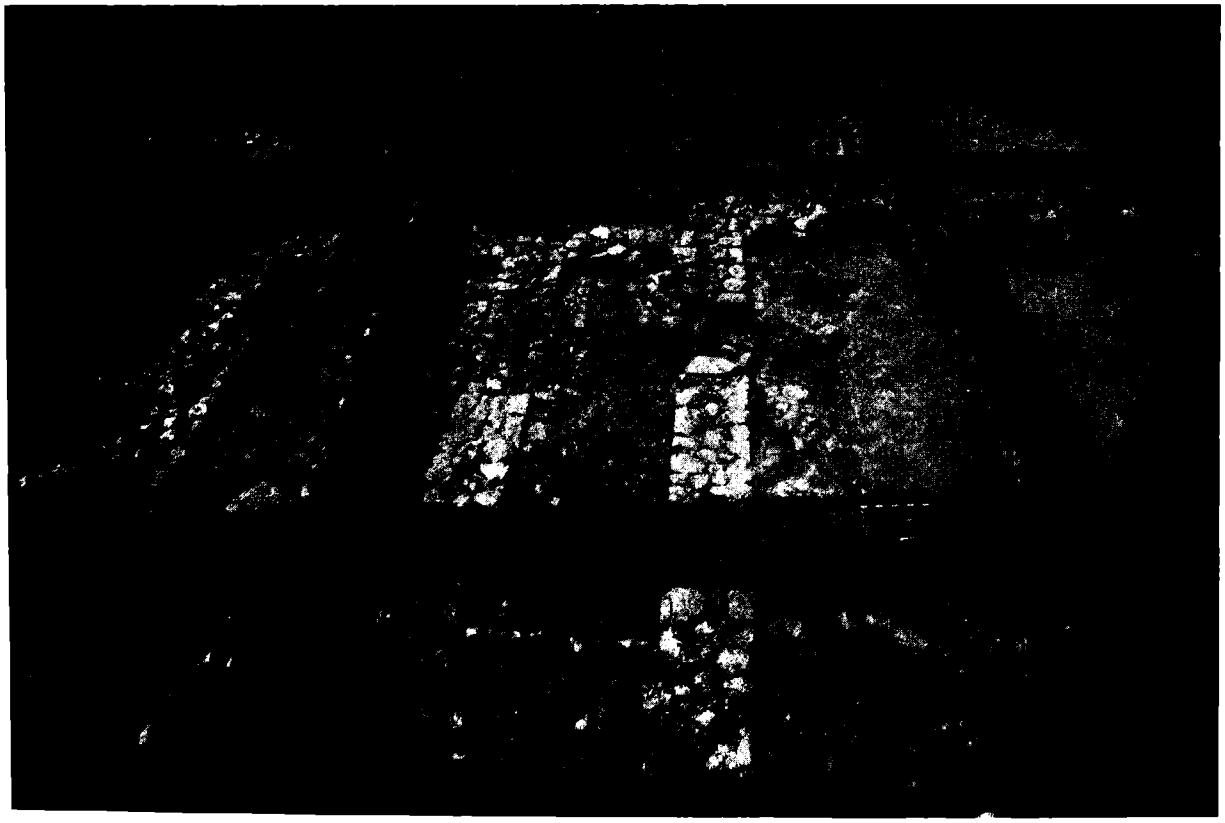
ZEEB (PERSON) [Heb *zĕʾēb*]. One of the "princes of Midian" captured and killed during Gideon's war against the Midianites. See OREB AND ZEEB.

ZEIRAQOUN, KHIRBET (M.R. 239222). An Early Bronze Age site located about 12 km NE of Irbid and about 2.5 km SSE of Tell el-Mughayyir. The site sits on a plateau cut out of the fertile agricultural plain S of Wadi el-Yarmouk by two valleys, the Wadi eš-Šellale and Wadi Rahub.

N. Glueck surveyed the area from 1939–47, and again from 1963–65. Later S. Mittmann conducted an intensive survey which initiated the joint excavation project of Tell el-Mughayyir and Khirbet Zeiraqoun. In 1984 and 1985, excavations were directed at both sites by S. Mittmann and M. Ibrahim.

The area of Khirbet Zeiraqoun (ca. 400 × 300 m) is clearly delimited by the surrounding fortification wall. The area has fortunately remained uninhabited since the EB, which has made investigation much easier. The city wall is ca. 7 m thick and has been exposed for a distance of ca. 30 m. It is strengthened by a bastion at one point, making the defensive mass up to 15 m thick. The construction of the wall is characterized by parallel running seams. Across the wall are a series of niches, perpendicular to the length of the wall and irregularly spaced, in which beams were apparently inserted to reinforce the construction. The wall was used in two main settlement phases that are indicated by two compacted floors in which were small stones. The wall clearly belongs to the EB III, but earlier dates still need to be confirmed, although there is some evidence of Chalcolithic occupation.

Excavations in the inner area of the upper city revealed a stone-built circular platform which clearly seems to be an altar some 7 m in diameter. See Fig. ZEI.01. Its design, size, and date (EB III) correspond to altar 4017 from Megiddo. Cf. Fig. MEG.02. The altar, with steps from the E leading to the top, is located on the W edge of a court. S of the altar is a diagonal wall connecting the altar with a broadroom building which has an anteroom opening onto a court. In the anteroom, as in the main room, low benches of plastered stones border the base of each wall. Found within these rooms were a large, hemispherical stone basin and a rectangular stone platter. Within the broadroom was found a large amount of EB III pottery along with KHIRBET KERAK WARE. In this area was found also a



ZEI.01. Temple complex at Khirbet ez-Zeragôn, showing the temple (left) and round altar (top right)—EB III. *(Courtesy of M. Ibrahim)*

complex of squares ca. 30 × 20 m. According to the ceramic evidence, the wall-like and pavement-like constructions belong to the EB IV.

Three stepped shafts lead to the water table from inside the town; these would attest to the site's importance during the EB Age. One of these shafts measures some 100 m deep, and descends to the base of Wadi eš-Šellale.

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ZELA (PLACE) [Heb *ṣēlaʿ*]. The name of a city in Benjamin. According to 2 Sam 21:14, it was the location of the ancestral tomb of the Saulides. It is likely that some of the patrimonial estates of the house of Saul and perhaps the clan of Matri lay within the city's limits.

In the Benjaminite city-list in Josh 18:21–28, the place name Zela ha-eleph, "ox-rib," appears (v 28) in a subgrouping of fourteen cities (vv 25–28). In order to obtain fourteen place-names from the list, one must construe Ha-eleph as a separate site. However, the names Gib'ath and Kiriath grammatically appear to form a single site name, and they too must be counted individually to yield fourteen towns. It seems preferable to recognize two compound names within the group of twelve towns and to suggest that the summary phrase "fourteen cities with their villages" was a later editorial addition based on a misunderstanding of the elements in the older list. LXX a and b preserve different recensions of the list, including names not attested in the Hebrew, and both summarize the final count as thirteen. The former reads Zela-ha'eleph as a single entry, while the latter reads Selekan, and has no entry corresponding to ha-eleph. The city almost certainly is identical with Benjaminite Zela in 2 Sam 21:14.

It has been suggested that another variant of the name occurs in 1 Sam 10:2 in the form *Zelzah*. However, the grammatical construction of the verse favors an adverbial meaning for the phrase *bṣlṣḥ*, rather than representing a place-name introduced by the preposition "in." See ZELZAH.

The site of Zela is unknown. On the basis of presumed preservation of the ancient name, two identifications have been proposed: (1) Kh. Sh'ab Salah, just S of Ramallah (Conder 1877: 38); and (2) Kh. es-Salah, immediately NE of Lifta, at the juncture of Wadi Beit Haninna and Wadi es-Somar (Dalman 1930: 61). The latter is the favored choice. Neither has been included in a published archaeological survey to date.

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ZELEK (PERSON) [Heb *ṣeleq*]. Mentioned only in 2 Sam 23:37 (= 1 Chr 11:39), twenty-seventh in the list of "the Thirty," David's corps of military elite *(hagibbōrîm)*. See DAVID'S CHAMPIONS. Zelek is identified as an Ammonite, perhaps one of many professional mercenaries attracted to David. Zelek's name stands in the latter portion of the list among non-Israelite entries, perhaps reflecting lower rank as well. It is possible that he should also be linked with the name Naharai/Horai(?) the Beerothite, as a weapon-bearer of Joab (McCarter *II Samuel* AB, 494, following the Kethib, *nôšēʾê*, in v 37).

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ZELOPHEHAD (PERSON) [Heb *ṣēlopēhād*]. The son of Hepher, the son of Gilead, the son of Machir, the son of Manasseh, of the tribe of Manasseh (Num 26:33; 27:1, 7; 36:2, 6, 10–11; Josh 17:3; 1 Chr 7:15). Zelophehad died along with the old generation in the wilderness leaving five daughters but no male heirs. In the case which his daughters, Mahlah, Noah, Hoglah, Milcah and Tirzah, presented regarding their legal right to their father's inheritance, they specified that their father did not die because he was among Korah's followers; rather he died because of his own sin (Num 27:2–4). Their request for the inheritance was granted and it became the occasion for the establishment of a new law regarding female inheritance in cases where a man dies without male heirs (Num 27:8–11). However, in order that the property continue in Zelophehad's name and tribe, it was further specified that the daughters must marry within their father's tribe (Num 36:1–11).

The regulations that grew out of the case of Zelophehad's daughters likely did not repeal the principle of levirate marriage (Deut 25:5–10). Weingreen (1966) suggests that the daughters' protestation of their father's innocence was a necessary part of legal procedure, a demonstration to the court that no legal impediment stood in the way of the transfer of property to Zelophehad's legal heirs. Moreover, he posits that the protestation testifies to an ancient law not recorded in the Pentateuch about the property of a person convicted of treason.

Although attempts have been made to cast light on the mysteries surrounding both the name and figure of Zelophehad (Lemaire 1972), he remains an enigmatic figure. Research into questions about the literary and theological purposes of the narratives about Zelophehad's daughters has proved more fruitful (Olson 1985; Budd *Numbers* WBC).

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ZELZAH (PLACE) [Heb *ṣelṣaḥ*]. A dubious place name occurring only once, in 1 Sam 10:2. Samuel predicts that Saul, while en route to his own home, will meet two men by Rachel's tomb at the border of Benjamin *bṣlṣḥ*, "at Zelzah," who will inform him that his father's asses have been found. The meeting constitutes the first stage of a three-part predictive sign by which Saul is to be reassured that his secret anointing is indeed the will of Yahweh. As frequently noted, the locale for the meeting is pinpointed very specifically by reference to the landmark tomb and its situation at the border of Benjamin, so that the appearance of the phrase *bṣlṣḥ*, which appears to function as another geographical indicator, is unnecessary and probably secondary (i.e., Budde *Samuel* KHC, 66; Smith *Samuel* ICC, 69; Driver *Samuel* 1913: 78; Stoebe *Samuelis* KAT,1, 197). In addition, the quadriconsonantal root yields a non-Semitic-sounding place name. Such concerns did not prevent the translators of the Syriac version and Targum Jonathan from following the MT's construal of the phrase as the preposition *bĕ* + Zelzah, a place name. If original, the phrase would best be interpreted as a temporal indicator or as a prepositional phrase describing action by the two men.

The Greek text renders the Hebrew phrase in three ways in its various manuscript traditions. Vaticanus reads *hallomenous megala,* "leaping greatly," presuming a Hebrew text reading *sōlēḥim* for *hallomenous* and either *rbm* or *mgl/ mᶜl* for *megala,* depending upon whether the translator rendered the underlying Hebrew according to meaning or by transliterating the Hebrew consonants and adding vowels that would yield a familiar Greek word. The Latin translation of the LXX in the Polyglot Bible follows this rendering in its translation, *salientes granditer.* The term *megala* does not occur elsewhere in the LXX in an adverbial sense; and the root *ṣlḥ* cannot express the idea of leaping unless followed by the preposition *ᶜal* and then only in a metaphorical sense; so the rendering seems to be a guess at interpretation by the translators.

The second rendering is found in the manuscripts of the Church Father Lucian (ca. A.D. 300), who augments the first rendering by adding an initial *mesēmbrias,* "at noon," after "in Benjamin." The same reading is reflected in the Vulgate's *in meridie.* Lucian's version appears to present two variant renderings of the underlying Hebrew text, since *mesēmbrias* presumes a Hebrew consonantal phrase *bṣl ṣḥ,* "in glowing shade" (i.e., Driver *Samuel* 1913: 78; Tsevat 1962: 111) or *bṣhrym,* "at noon" (i.e., Dhorme *Samuel* EBib, 83; McCarter *I Samuel* AB, 171).

The third rendering, *en Selo en Bakalath,* appears to be a transcription of an underlying Hebrew consonantal phrase rather than an attempt at translation. It would seem to presume a Hebrew text of *bṣlh bbklt.* This rendering precedes the first one, *hallomenous megala,* in certain mss. Three variant forms occur in various mss: *en Selom Bakala, en Selom Bakallath,* and *en Selo smaakalath.*

A number of attempts to reconstruct a plausible Hebrew consonantal text that would make sense in the established context have been made, highlighting the uncertainty of the original text and its meaning. Maintaining the MT consonants intact, one proposal suggests that the phrase reads "at Zelzah," reflecting a place name whose identity has been lost (Keil and Delitzsch 1872: 97; Klein *1 Samuel* WBC, 91). A second reads *bĕṣēl ṣaḥ,* "in scorching shade," deriving the substantive *ṣaḥ* from the root *ṣḥḥ* and translating "cloudless clear atmosphere" in the sense of scorching heat rather than of the sometimes presumed hot wind (Zimolong 1938: 175–76; for a slight variation, see Hertzberg *Samuel* OTL, 77). A third proposal favors the adoption of *bĕᶜēt soḥōrayim* "around noon," following the second variant reading attested in Lucian (i.e., Dhorme *Samuel* EBib, 83), while a fourth views the MT phrase to be a corruption of an original *bĕṣēlāᶜ,* reflecting the burial place of Kish (2 Sam 21:14) and entering v 2 as a scribal gloss (i.e., Smith *Samuel* ICC, 67; Miller 1974: 159–60). A fifth alters the final *ḥet* to a *lamed* and adds a *mem,* reading *bĕṣelṣēlîm,* "with cymbals" or "with music" (Cappell 1689).

A sixth proposal alters the initial *bêt* to an *ᶜayin* and the second *ṣade* to a *śin* to reconstruct the original text as *ᶜēṣel śīaḥ,* "near a bush" (Caspar *Samuel* KAT, 111). A seventh, reconstructing a Hebrew text *ṣlḥy rbm* from the first Greek rendering, suggests that the resulting Hebrew text itself is a corruption of an original Hebrew consonantal text *ṣdym bkm,* "awaiting you impatiently," referring to Saul's father and his fellow townspeople's anxiously awaiting the return of Saul and his companion (Dalman 1929: 354). An eighth similarly proposes that the MT and Greek text both reflect a corrupted underlying Hebrew text but restores it as *ṣōpîm lĕkā,* "looking out for you," referring back to the two men (Budde *Samuel* KHC, 66). A ninth proposal links the phrase to the verbal expression used in vv 6 and 10, *ṣālaḥ ᶜal,* "take possession," or "rush upon," and suggests that it was intended to indicate that the two men Saul would encounter were divinely possessed (Ackroyd *1 Samuel* CBC, 82). A tenth proposal reconstructs an underlying Hebrew text *bṣlᶜm bmqlwt,* "in their limping on staffs," from the first and third Greek renderings (McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 171).

Finally, an eleventh suggests that the third Greek rendering transliterates an original Hebrew *bṣlh bᶜlh,* "at Silo of Baᶜalah," and that the resulting phrase is a geographical indicator referring to a hamlet in the neighborhood of Kiriath-jearim. Baᶜalah is an alternate name for Kiriath-jearim in Josh 15:9 and 1 Chr 13:6, the reported onetime home of the ark. The pilgrim Theodosius (ca. A.D. 530) refers to a site called Silona, where the ark of the Lord had been located (Tsevat 1962: 112, 114–15). In this case, the phrase would best be taken as a secondary gloss meant to clarify the location of Rachel's tomb in light of Gen 35:16–21.

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DIANA V. EDELMAN

ZEMARAIM (PLACE) [Heb *ṣĕmārayim*]. **1.** A town appearing in the list of cities belonging to the E part of Benjamin (Josh 18:21–24), possibly identifiable with Ras et-Taḥuneh (M.R. 170147; *LBHG,* 385; cf. *HGB,* 401). Shishak's campaign list in the Amon temple at Karnak also mentions this town (*CTAED,* 204).

2. A mountain in the hill country of Ephraim where Abijah of Judah met Jeroboam I of Israel in battle (2 Chr 13:4). The outcome of the battle was that Judah annexed part of S Ephraim.

The town Zemaraim and the mountain Zemaraim could be identified as the same location if one explains that the once Ephraimite Mt. Zemaraim was annexed and thereafter reckoned as part of a Judahite administrative district (as described by Josh 18:21–24), either by Abijah after his victory against Jeroboam I (Cross and Wright 1956: 222–23) or by Josiah through his annexation of territory from the Assyrian province of Samaria (Noth *Josua* HAT, 111–12).

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WESLEY I. TOEWS

ZEMARITES [Heb *ṣĕmārî*]. A people descending from Canaan, son of Ham and grandson of Noah (Gen 10:18; 1 Chr 1:16). They are associated in these genealogies with peoples who are found elsewhere in the OT among the native, pre-Israelite inhabitants of the land of Israel (Deut 7:1; Josh 3:10; 24:11). They were dispossessed under Joshua and during the settlement period. In Akkadian texts there are several references to a city of Ṣimir, Ṣimiri, or Ṣimirra, while the Amarna Tablets from Egypt refer to Ṣumur. All place it in Syria. Tiglath-pileser I (ca. 1116–1078 B.C.) refers to the city as lying S of Arvad. An exact identification of the site has not been made; but a location between Arvad and Tripoli, the area of the later Phoenicians, fits the evidence. See also *EncMiqr* 6: 740–42.

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DAVID W. BAKER

ZEMER (PLACE) [Heb *ṣemer*]. A city on the coast of Phoenicia near the mouth of the Elutheros river (Nahr el-Kebir) at the site of the modern town of Sumra, located between Arvad and Tripoli, just N of the Syrian-Lebanese border. Zemer was conquered by Thutmose III of Egypt in the 15th century B.C. but was lost in the Amarna period. Seti I captured it again later in the 14th century B.C. During the Assyrian supremacy it, like other Phoenician cities, became tributary to Tiglath-pileser III and those who succeeded him. It is possibly this city that is referred to by the conjectural rendering Zemer [Heb *ṣemer*] in Ezek 27:8, RSV, where the Masoretic Text reads *ṣôr,* "Tyre." Zemer was inhabited by one of the Hamite tribes, who are represented in the genealogical tables as "sons of Canaan" (Gen 10:18; 1 Chr 1:16). The men of Zemer were noted for their skilled service as pilots on the Tyrian ships (Ezek 27:8).

RAY L. ROTH

ZEMIRAH (PERSON) [Heb *zĕmîrâ*]. A Benjaminite, son of Becher (1 Chr 7:8). Nowhere else are the sons of Becher listed. The genealogical list found here bearing Benjamin's name follows Issachar. Normally Zebulun, who is missing from this list, follows Issachar. Another Benjaminite genealogical list occurs later in its normal sequence (1 Chronicles 8). This second list does not list Becher as a son of Benjamin or consequently Zemirah. Genesis 46 is the only other place Becher the Benjaminite is mentioned, and there the families are not mentioned. If Benjamin has mistakenly replaced Zebulun in this list, then Becher would be a son of Zebulun, and Zemirah would be a Zebulunite rather than a Benjaminite. Noth (*IPN,* 242) and BHS read the fem. ending and thus *zĕmaryāh* with LXX^{AL}.

TOM WAYNE WILLETT

ZENAN (PLACE) [Heb *ṣĕnān*]. A town situated in the Shephelah, or lowlands, of Judah (Josh 15:37), within the same district as Lachish. This settlement is listed among the towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:21–62). The theory that this list is derived from an administrative roster compiled under the Judean monarchy (Alt 1925) has been widely accepted, although controversy continues over the precise makeup of the districts, the proper context of the town lists of Benjamin and Dan, and the period of the Monarchy to which the original roster belongs (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 64–72). It may be the same place as Zaanan, which appears in Mic 1:11 along with several other lowland towns in the prophet's lament over the fate of Judah and Jerusalem. Although ancient Zenan is surely to be found in the general vicinity of Lachish, no more precise identification can be offered at the present time.

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ZENAS (PERSON) [Gk *Zēnas*]. A Christian, identified as a lawyer, whom "Paul" urged Titus to speed on his way from Crete along with Apollos (Titus 3:13). The name

Zenas is Greek, a contraction of *Zēnodōros,* "gift of God." Zenas is described as a *nomikos,* meaning "learned in the law," or "lawyer," although it is not clear whether he was an expert in Jewish law (e.g., a scribe or rabbi versed in the Torah), Roman law, or Greek law. Three different reasons can be given to explain his identification by the author of Titus as lawyer: (1) simply to distinguish him from another person of the same name; (2) to show that "Paul" was free from prison when the letter was written and no longer needed Zenas' services; (3) to demonstrate that the Church of the author's day attracted to itself individuals with this status (from an earlier period, cf. Erastus, the city treasurer, Rom 16:23).

It is often assumed that Zenas and Apollos, who is named with him, were with "Paul" when the letter was written and that these two delivered the letter, after which they were to be sent on their way (back to Paul?). It has also been inferred from Zenas' association with Apollos that he, like Apollos, was a Christian preacher. In sending the two men back, Titus is instructed to "see that they lack nothing" (3:13). They were to be provided with whatever provisions they needed for the journey.

According to post-NT tradition (the Greek Menologies), the first bishop of Diospolis (Lydda) in Palestine was Zenas, who wrote a letter to Titus; but this letter was most likely attributed to that bishop from the reference to the Zenas named in Titus 3:13. Also, in the *Acts of Paul* 3.2 a certain Zenon is named as a son of Onesiphorus (cf. 2 Tim 1:16; 4:19), thus leading some commentators to see a possible connection between him and the Zenas mentioned in Titus 3:13 (Dibelius and Conzelmann *The Pastoral Epistles* Hermeneia, 153).

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JOHN GILLMAN

ZEPHANIAH (PERSON) [Heb *ṣĕpanyāh, ṣĕpanyāhû*]. **1.** A Kohathite and ancestor of the levitical singer Heman (1 Chr 6:21—Eng 6:36). He is the son of Tahath (6:22—Eng 6:37; cf., however, 1 Chr 6:9—Eng 6:24, where Uriel is named as the son of Tahath).

2. A prophet during the reign of Josiah (640–609 B.C.E.). He is identified as son of Cushi, son of Gedaliah, son of Amariah, son of Hezekiah (Zeph 1:1). This extended genealogy is exceptional. Although Jer 36:14 is comparable (cf. also Bar 1:1), it is to be noted that this verse is very possibly to be emended to read "Jehudi son of Nethaniah *and* Shelemiah son of Cushi." In the case of Zephaniah's father, it is not clear whether the designation "Cushi" (Heb *kûšî*) represents a proper name or the gentilic form. If the gentilic form ("the Cushite") is intended, this alternative does not necessarily signify that Zephaniah's father was of foreign descent. However, it is possible that the extended genealogy does reflect a concern to avoid any possible misunderstanding occasioned by the name of Zephaniah's father and seeks to demonstrate that the prophet was in fact of native descent. It is improbable that the Hezekiah named as Zephaniah's great-grandfather was the Judean king by that name, although the possibility cannot be ruled out on chronological grounds. Apart from what is stated in the superscription, the book of Zephaniah provides no further information relating to the person of the prophet. It is apparent that Zephaniah exercised his prophetic ministry in Jerusalem. A bulla which dates from the early 6th century and which is inscribed *lyrmyhw bn ṣpnyhw bn nby[?]* has been found at Lachish (see Seybold 1985: 64–65; and inscription no. 31 in Hestrin et al. 1972: 25 [Eng], 36 [Heb]). Although certain identification is impossible, the inscription may refer to the prophet Zephaniah. If this is the case, Zephaniah was the father of Jeremiah (the owner of the seal), who appears to have been a member of a prophetic guild. See also ZEPHANIAH, BOOK OF.

3. "Second priest" of Jerusalem (next in rank to Seraiah) and one of the royal officials put to death in Riblah by the Babylonians in 587/586 B.C.E. (Jer 52:24–27; 2 Kgs 25:18–21). He was preceded in this office by Jehoiada (Jer 29:26). As the son of Maaseiah (Jer 21:1; 37:3), Zephaniah may have been a cousin of the prophet Jeremiah (cf. Jer 32:7; 35:4). On two occasions Zephaniah was a member of a deputation sent by Zedekiah to consult Jeremiah (Jer 21:1; 37:3; some scholars believe 21:1–7 and 37:3–10 to be different accounts of the same event). Zephaniah's responsibilities included the maintenance of order in the temple (Jer 29:24–27; cf. Jer 20:1–2). In a letter written by the exiled prophet Shemaiah, Zephaniah is reprimanded for not having rebuked Jeremiah (Jer 29:27; the LXX has a different reading in 36:27). However, rather than punishing Jeremiah, Zephaniah is reported to have read to Jeremiah the letter which he received from Shemaiah (Jer 29:29).

4. The father of Josiah, to whose house Zechariah was commanded to take the gold and silver received from the exiles Heldai, Tobijah, and Jedaiah (Zech 6:10, 14). Possibly he is to be identified with #3 above. In 6:14 Josiah's name has been replaced by *ḥēn* (RSV reads "Josiah" with the Syriac and 6:10). It has been proposed that the word *lĕ ḥēn* in 6:14 may be an administrative title (cf. Neo-Assyrian *laḫḫinu* and Aram *lḥn*) and that Josiah was a temple steward in charge of cultic apparel (Demsky 1981). It is to be noted that some commentators and translations favor a reading of 6:10 which would include Josiah, son of Zephaniah, among those who returned from Exile bearing gold and silver (e.g., NEB).

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ZEPHANIAH, APOCALYPSE OF. An early Jewish text describing the cosmic journey of a righteous soul accompanied by an angelic guide who interprets the seer's visions of torment, heavenly intercession, and final judg-

ment. Only fragments of this work have survived. The largest extant portion of text is a Coptic ms in the Achmimic dialect which was found in the White Monastery of Shenoute near modern Sohâg in Upper Egypt. Separate leaves of the manuscript were purchased by European scholars between 1881 and 1888 and published together with a much smaller fragment in the Sahidic dialect by G. Steindorff in 1899. Prior to that time, our only knowledge of an ancient *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* was a brief quotation by Clement of Alexandria (*Str.* 5.11.77) and mention in three early Christian lists of apocryphal writings.

The anonymous *Catalogue of the Sixty Canonical Books* included a work entitled the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah.* The *Synopsis scripturae sacrae* of Pseudo-Athanasius and the stichometry appended to the chronography of Nicephorus also list an apocryphal book attributed to Zephaniah. The latter source assigns it a length of 600 stichoi. There is little reason to doubt the traditional opinion that all three citations refer to the work that Clement quotes. That quotation describes

> And a spirit took me and brought me up into the fifth heaven. And I saw angels who are called "lords," and the diadem was set upon them in the Holy Spirit, and the throne of each of them was sevenfold more (brilliant) than the light of the rising sun. (And they were) dwelling in the temples of salvation and singing hymns to the ineffable most high God. (*Str.* 5.11.77)

The fragment which is preserved in Sahidic is about three times the length of Clement's quotation, and it contains the very important notice that "Truly, I, Zephaniah, saw these things in my vision." That is the only internal evidence in any of the surviving fragments that the seer was Zephaniah. The Sahidic fragment is closely related to the longer Achmimic text, although it does not contain any of the episodes described in the surviving Achmimic text. The Sahidic fragment employs such exact parallels in literary expression that it may be identified as part of the same text, possibly fitting somewhere within a lacuna of the Achmimic manuscript, or else as part of a slightly expanded Sahidic recension. In any case those two Coptic fragments can be regarded as part of the same *Apoc.Zeph.*

The relationship of Clement's quotation to the Coptic fragments is more problematic. The quotation does not match any episode in the Coptic fragments nor does it share any characteristic phrases. Carl Schmidt, who assumed that the Coptic text was part of the *Apoc.Zeph.* cited in the stichometry, was of the opinion that the Achmimic fragment contained only about one-fourth of the complete work. If that is true, there would be plenty of room to include a trip to the fifth heaven. If, on the other hand, the Achmimic fragment is virtually complete, such an inclusion would not be possible. Because of the literary genre, it is difficult to determine how complete the Coptic text may be. That difficulty can best be described on the basis of a relatively detailed outline of the content of the text.

The beginning of the Achmimic text is missing. It now starts with a fragmentary description of a funeral, followed by a cosmic journey on which the seer is led by an angelic guide. The journey provides visions from six different locations before the seer crosses a river to reach the land where Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Enoch, Elijah, and David reside. In that place four additional visions are each accompanied by a trumpet blast. After the fourth blast, the incomplete text breaks off in the middle of a sentence.

Within that framework, the series of visions described during the journey include:

(1) Scenes from above Jerusalem, where the seer observes men and women going about their daily tasks unaware of the tenuous nature of human life, which hangs "like a drop of water suspended from a bucket." The scene ends with a glimpse of tormented souls and the seer's plea for God to have compassion on them. (2) Scenes from the top of Mt. Seir, where the seer learns that recording angels continually accompany men. Angels of the Lord record their good deeds and angels of the Accuser write down their sins. (3) A vision of ugly angels, who bear the souls of ungodly men and circulate for three days in the air before casting the souls into eternal punishment. (4) A brief vision of a beautiful heavenly city. (5) Scenes of a fiery sea and Hades, where the seer is confronted by an ugly threatening angel, but delivered by the good angel, Ermiel. While there, the seer is shown two manuscripts, one containing his sins and one relating his good works. The description of the second manuscript is incomplete because at least two pages of the Coptic text are missing at that point. (6) The ms resumes with a fragmentary scene from the crossing of a river between Hades and the land of the patriarchs. The seer is praised and given an angelic garment which enables him to understand the language of the angels and join them in prayer.

The four trumpet scenes include: (1) a vision in which the seer is declared triumphant and sees the six Old Testament heroes mentioned above. (2) A vision of Hades and tormented souls. (3) A vision of the patriarchs and all of the righteous performing intercessory prayer for those in torment. (4) A trumpet blast which precedes a description of God's coming wrath.

As the synopsis shows, the surviving text contains a number of separate visions loosely bound together by the motif of travel or of trumpet blasts. There are abrupt changes of subject. After contemplating the fleeting nature of all human life, the seer suddenly intercedes with God on behalf of the tormented. On top of Mt. Seir, the seer learns that angels record both the good and evil deeds of men, and then he travels to Hades, a place of judgment, where he confronts his own two recorded manuscripts. Between Mt. Seir and Hades, however, are two less connected visions: a fleeting glance at ungodly souls about to be cast into eternal punishment and a very brief vision of a heavenly city. After arriving at the land of the blessed patriarchs, the seer once again sees Hades, but now it is a place of torment. The seer is delivered from scenes of torment in two places, the beautiful city and the land of the patriarchs, but the reader is left to guess how those good regions are related.

Abrupt shift of scene, digression, and repetition are characteristic features of many of the ancient pseudepigrapha, particularly apocalyptic writings such as *1 Enoch, 2 Enoch, 3 Baruch,* and the *Apocalypse of Paul.* Each contains similar accounts of seers who are guided on a cosmic

journey by an angelic guide. In the composition of such works, anonymous authors, editors, and copyists freely expanded and abbreviated existing episodes or inserted new visions until each account of the heavenly journey received its final editing. The *Apoc.Zeph.* bears marks of the same sort of evolution. In working with episodic literature of that type, scholars are unable to reconstruct what may have preceded or followed the portion of text contained in the Achmimic fragment. Consequently, it is possible but not demonstrable that the episode in the fifth heaven described by Clement belongs to the same apocalypse as the Achmimic fragment. For contrasting opinions, see Himmelfarb (1983: 157) and Wintermute (*OTP* 1: 498–501).

The date of the *Apoc.Zeph.* cannot be determined precisely, but the fact that the author alluded to the story of Susanna would date it later than the circulation of the Greek additions to the book of Daniel. If the quotation in Clement belongs to the same apocalypse, the text must be dated long enough before the writing of his *Stromata* to have gained credence as an authentic apocalypse. A similar early date would seem to be called for by Himmelfarb, who suggests that the source of Clement's quotation might be "a reworking . . . of an earlier Zephaniah Apocalypse now preserved in Coptic" (1983: 158). Recent research tends to support a date between 75 B.C. and A.D. 150.

The provenance cannot be fixed with certainty, but a case can be made for Alexandria. The general opinion is that the text was originally composed in Greek. The writer notes as an ethical failure "a day when I did not turn to the sons of Israel," a comment which suggests the enticement of a Diaspora Jew. A citation by Clement makes it clear that some version of the apocalypse was known in Alexandria, and the existence of both Sahidic and Achmimic fragments demonstrates its continued widespread use in the later Coptic church in Egypt. If the text was composed by a Jew living in Alexandria, however, it should be dated before the destruction of the Jewish quarter in A.D. 117.

Although the *Apoc.Zeph.* is fragmentary, it is an exceptionally important witness to Jewish views of angelology, intercessory prayer, afterlife, and the ethical bases for judgment of the dead. The angelology is moderately dualistic. There are beautiful angels who assist the righteous and ugly angels who are sent to terrify sinners. The "Accuser" is the most important ugly angel, but there is nothing to suggest that he operates in opposition to God as either a fallen angel or chief of demons. His role is similar to that of Satan in the book of Zechariah. All souls are judged by a very sensitive code of ethics. It was recorded as sin when the seer failed to fast, pray, or visit the sick, widows, and orphans. Souls are tormented for sins of bribery, usury, and apostasy, but the patriarchs and righteous souls continually intercede for those in torment. The journey of the seer follows the route of a righteous soul past a judgment in Hades to an afterlife of praise, prayer, and intercession in the land of the patriarchs and righteous.

The text shares several interesting literary images with the NT. It contains a proverbial saying which describes the transitory nature of life by observing two men on a road, two women working at a millstone, and two people in one bed. Matt 24:40–41 and Luke 17:34–35 employ the same vignette to describe the sudden end of the present age. The seer was rebuked when he worshipped the splendor of an angel whom he mistook for the Lord Almighty. A similar scene appears at Rev 19:10. The seer's description of the angel Ermiel is based on a figure appearing in Dan 10:11–15. That description was modified by omitting notice of a "body of beryl," comparing the radiance of his face to the sun, and identifying the figure as one responsible for those imprisoned in the abyss and Hades. The same details appear as part of the description of the risen Christ, who has "the keys of Death and Hades" at Rev 1:13–18. It would appear that the description of Christ is partially based on a traditional Jewish model of a benevolent angel who delivered justified souls from the dead.

The most significant subsequent influence of the *Apoc.Zeph.* is its use by the author of the *Apocalypse of Paul.* All versions of that work exhibit some familiarity with the *Apoc.Zeph.* but the Coptic version has the most extended literary parallels, providing a further indication of the continued popularity of that apocalypse in Egypt.

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ZEPHANIAH, BOOK OF. The ninth book of the Twelve Minor Prophets of the OT, containing the oracles of the prophet Zephaniah. Zephaniah was a Judahite prophet active during the reign of Josiah (640–609 B.C.E.), probably before the reforms undertaken by Josiah as a result of the declining power of Assyria. Attempts to locate Zephaniah later, in the reigns of Jehoiakim or Zedekiah, have not generally won assent. The Josianic date for Zephaniah is consistent with the Deuteronomistic features of the text: e.g., "the host of heaven" in 1:4 (cf. Deut 4:19; 17:3; 2 Kgs 17:10; 21:3; Jer 8:2), worship "on the rooftops" in 1:5 (cf. 2 Kgs 23:12; Jer 19:13; 32:29), and the futility curse in 1:13 (cf. Deut 28:30).

In addition to locating Zephaniah's prophetic activity in the reign of Josiah, the editorial heading of the book (1:1) provides the prophet with a four-generation genealogy that traces Zephaniah's lineage back to Hezekiah. While most scholars have regarded as unprovable Zephaniah's descent from the 8th-century reforming king Hezekiah of Judah, Wilson (1980: 279–80), emphasizing the unusual character of the abnormally long genealogy, has argued for the royal descent of Zephaniah, a prophet who called for reform from within the political and religious establishment.

Zephaniah is firmly in the prophetic tradition of the great Judahite prophets of the 8th century, such as Isaiah (cf. Zeph 3:1–3; and Isa 1:21–23) and Micah (cf. Zeph 3:3–5; Mic 3:1–12); and Zephaniah's theme of the exalta-

tion of Zion (3:14–18), to which the nations will bring tribute (3:10), reminds one of Isa 2:2–4 (= Mic 4:1–4). Zephaniah also shares features and concerns with his contemporary Jeremiah and with the 6th-century prophets Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah; among these shared features is apocalyptic eschatology (1:2–3, 7–8, 14–18), a development of late preexilic prophecy that flourished in the prophetic writings of the Exile.

A. The Unity and Authenticity of Zephaniah

The unity and authenticity of this book have been a subject of some debate. An older tradition of historical-critical scholarship analyzed the book as composed of a core from the prophet Zephaniah supplemented by more or less extensive additions and glosses. An extreme form of this view saw only chap. 1 and 2:12–15 as authentic material by the prophet of the Josianic era, with the rest of the book assigned to the exilic or postexilic eras. Current study tends to assign the greater part of the book to the 7th-century prophet Zephaniah, recognizing that the book may have been expanded in the exilic and postexilic periods, in such passages as, e.g., 2:8–11 (in which the oracles against Moab and Ammon are believed by some commentators to reflect the era and conditions of the Exile) and 3:14–20 (considered by many to be a postexilic addition; but see below).

B. The Text of Zephaniah

While the Masoretic Text (MT) of Zephaniah is generally without difficulties, there are a number of passages that contain obscurities (e.g., 1:2, 14; 2:1–2; 3:17–19). Further textual data are now available from the Dead Sea Scrolls: two fragmentary pesharim (commentaries) on Zephaniah from Qumran Cave 1 (1QpZeph 1:18–2:2) and Cave 4 (4QpZeph 1:12–13) and a scroll of the Minor Prophets from Murabaʿat, dating from ca. 100 C.E., containing most of Zephaniah (1:1; 1:11–3:6; 3:8–20) in a textual tradition very close to the MT.

The Septuagint (LXX) of Zephaniah has been studied exhaustively by Gerleman (1942), who concluded that the LXX *Vorlage* of the consonantal text of Zephaniah, while not identical to the MT, stood very close to it, despite variants due to scribal errors, omissions, glosses, different word divisions and vocalizations, and a few instances of possible tendentious translations, e.g., in 2:11, where the Hebrew *ʾĕlōhê hāʾāreṣ* ("the gods of the earth") was translated as *tous theous tōn ethnōn tēs gēs* ("the gods *of the peoples* of the earth") under the influence of Jewish monotheism. Finally, a Greek translation of the twelve Minor Prophets from the 1st century C.E., discovered at Naḥal Ḥever (8 Ḥev XII gr) contains fragments of Zephaniah (1:1–4, 13–17; 2:9–10; 3:6–7). The importance of this discovery for LXX textual studies has been demonstrated by D. Barthélemy (1963; for the Zephaniah fragments, see 163–78).

C. The Structure and Contents of Zephaniah

The structure of the book of Zephaniah follows the familiar prophetic pattern of oracles of disaster and judgment (1:2–3:8), followed by oracles of salvation (3:9–20). The book begins with an apocalyptic picture of universal world judgment (1:2–3) which will fall first upon Judah and Jerusalem (1:4–2:3). This picture is followed by a series of oracles against the nations (2:4–15), a traditional prophetic speech form. In Zephaniah 3, there is a repetition of the pattern of divine judgment on Jerusalem (3:1–5) and on the nations (3:6–8), followed chiastically by promises of salvation to the nations (3:9–10) and to Zion (3:11–20).

1. Zeph 1:1–6. The editorial heading is followed by an apocalyptic picture of universal judgment (1:2–3) in which annihilation will be the fate of "human and beast, birds of the heavens and fish of the sea"; this series of four is the same as that which occurs in Gen 1:20–26 but in reverse order (fish, birds, beasts, and humans). The inversion in Zephaniah is probably meant to describe God's act of judgment as an act of "anti-creation" (Hos 4:1–3; Jer 4:23–26). The conclusion of the gloss in 1:3 ("I will cut off humankind from upon the face of the earth") is similar to such Deuteronomistic passages as Deut 6:15; 1 Kgs 9:7; 13:34 (cf. Amos 9:8).

In 1:4–6 the perspective shifts from world annihilation to the divine punishment of Judah and Jerusalem for idolatrous practices; these idolatrous cults condemned by Zephaniah were abolished by Josiah (2 Kgs 23:12–13). For the extending of God's hand as a gesture indicating divine punishment, see Ezek 14:13; 25:13, 16, where it is paired with "cut off" as in Zeph 1:4. Verse 5 contains further Deuteronomistic language, as was pointed out above.

2. Zeph 1:7–13. In this section the theme of the "day of Yahweh" is introduced; here as in Amos 5:18–20, it is a day of national punishment (of Israel for Amos, of Judah for Zephaniah). On that day God will prepare a great sacrificial feast, in which will be slaughtered the cosmopolitan, assimilated officials who offended God by their foreign cults and by filling the royal palace (or the temple) with goods gotten by violence and deceit (cf. Jer 5:27). For a similar description of the Day of Yahweh see Isa 34:1–8.

The districts mentioned in vv 10–11 were new Jerusalem suburbs from the time of Hezekiah or Manasseh (2 Kgs 22:14 [= 2 Chr 34:22]; 2 Chr 32:5; 33:14; Neh 11:9; 12:39). The punishment of the complacent and indifferent (v 12) is a futility curse (cf. Amos 5:11). Zeph 1:4–12 are a vivid portrayal of Jerusalem before Josiah's reforms.

3. Zeph 1:14–2:3. In 1:14–18 the apocalyptic Day of Yahweh reappears; this time divine punishment is not described as God's great sacrifice of those who worshipped other gods, but as God's warfare against Judah (Isa 13:9–13; Joel 3:1–5). Concluding this section is an exhortation to the "poor of the earth" to avert God's wrath by "seeking Yahweh"; the failure to do so in 1:6 brought divine judgment.

4. Zeph 2:4–15. This section contains a series of oracles against the nations, a standard element in prophecy (Amos 1–2; Isaiah 13–23; Jeremiah 46–51). In Zephaniah these oracles provide the theological basis for Josiah's program of political expansion in the era which saw the waning of Assyria's might. This expansion by Josiah first extended to the Philistine pentapolis (less Gath, as in Amos 1:6–8, which perhaps had already been destroyed—Amos 6:2). In a series of double entendres, the Philistine cities are personified as women whose fates will be abandonment, spinsterhood, divorce, and barrenness.

The "Cretans" (RSV CHERETHITES) appear nine other times in the OT (1 Sam 30:14; 2 Sam 8:18; 15:18;

20:7, 23; 1 Kgs 1:38, 44; 1 Chr 18:17; Ezek 25:16) as mercenaries who may have come to Canaan along with the Philistines, whose traditional place of origin was Crete (Caphtor: Jer 47:4; Amos 9:7). Zephaniah declares that their coastland will be uninhabited, fit only for pasturage (Isa 17:1–2; 27:10; 32:14; Ezek 25:5).

The theme of the "remnant" appears in 2:7, as it will again in 2:9 and 3:12–13. It is not an innovation of Zephaniah since it was used by the preexilic prophets. In Amos, the survival of only a remnant underlines the almost complete annihilation of Israel (3:12; 5:13, 15). Isaiah speaks rather of a purified, repentant remnant that survives the catastrophe (10:20–22; 11:11, 16; 28:5). In Zeph 2:7 "the remnant of the house of Judah" takes possession of land previously held by Cretans, Moabites, and Ammonites. In 3:12–13 the remnant of Israel is described as "a people humble and lowly who take refuge in the name of Yahweh"—the same people as those addressed in 2:3 as "the humble of the land" who may find shelter on the day of Yahweh's wrath. This remnant of the lowly and humble will survive the calamities of the Day of Yahweh, and their survival will make possible a reformed and renewed people beyond the divine judgment of sinful Judah.

Like the Cretans in 2:5–7 and Nineveh in 2:13–15, Ammon and Moab (2:8–11) are addressed with traditional curses: they shall be without inhabitant (2:5), land fit only for pasturage (2:6–7), like Sodom and Gomorrah (2:9), the dwelling place of wild animals (2:14, 15), an object of horror to passersby (2:15). For similar curses see Isa 13:19–22; 34:11, 13–15; Jer 18:16; 19:48; 49:17–18; 50:13, 39–40; 51:37. The curse in 2:9 (a wasteland of weeds and salt pits) has two noteworthy extrabiblical parallels in an 8th-century Aramaic treaty (Sefire, *KAI* 1: 222) and in the 7th-century Akkadian annals of Assurbanipal (*LAR* 2: 310).

In 2:11 Yahweh's superiority over "all the gods of the earth" brings about submission and worship from the nations who served these gods. In 2:12 the Cushites (Ethiopians) are destroyed by the sword of Yahweh (Isa 34:5–6; Jer 47:6; Ezek 21:8–10). In the oracle against Assyria (2:13–15), Yahweh again stretches out his hand (as in 1:4) in judgment. Using the traditional curse formulas described above, Yahweh turns Nineveh into a desert waste and a lair of wild beasts that make the passerby shudder.

5. Zeph 3:1–5. The series of oracles against the nations in 2:4–15 is followed by an oracle of judgment against Jerusalem. This sequence of oracles against the nations climaxing in an oracle against Judah's principal city may derive from Amos 1–2, wherein the prophet closes his invective against Israel's former vassals (1:3–2:3) with oracles against Judah (2:4–5) and Israel (2:6–16). The judgment pronounced against Jerusalem in Zeph 3:1–5 recalls a similar passage in Isa 1:21–26, where the leaders of Judah (princes, judges, and counselors) are denounced for their dishonesty and corruption. Similar denunciations are found elsewhere in prophetic literature (Mic 3:1–7, 9–11). The instance of this traditional form in Zephaniah is especially interesting in that it served as the model and prototype of Ezek 22:25–28.

There is an effective contrast between the "princes in her midst" in 3:3 and "Yahweh in her midst" in 3:5. The "violence" of the priests in 3:4 recalls the "violence" in 1:9, and this link may identify "the house of their Master" in 1:9 as the temple.

6. Zeph 3:6–8. In this section we hear the words of Yahweh, whose judgment of the other nations was to serve Judah as a warning of its fate if it did not engage in self-correction and reform (3:7). The first two verbs in 3:6 ("cut off" and "are laid waste") are key words that effectively summarize the judgment pronounced against Judah and Jerusalem in chap. 1 (where the same verb "cut off" occurs in vv 3 and 4), and the doom foreseen for the nations in chap. 2 (where the verb "lay waste" or the related noun occurs in vv 4, 9, 13, and 15). The cities devastated by Yahweh are described traditionally as being turned into uninhabited and untraversable wastes (Jer 2:6; 50:12–13). The concluding v 8 returns to apocalyptic language in its picture of God's judgment coming upon the whole world (1:3–4, 18). And as Zeph 3:1–4 is the prototype for Ezek 22:25–28, so likewise Zeph 3:8 is the source for Ezek 22:31.

7. Zeph 3:9–13. The picture of the divine judgment upon Jerusalem and all the nations in 3:1–8 is followed in 3:9 by a picture of purified nations invoking and serving Yahweh (as promised in 2:11). The conversion of the gentiles and their bringing of tribute to Yahweh are motifs present in Deutero-Isaiah (45:14–17; 49:6; 60:5, 6, 11).

In 3:11–12 Zephaniah pairs Yahweh's removal of the proud "from your midst" with the placing of a humble remnant "in your midst" (for the antonyms "proud" and "humble" cf. Prov 16:19). In 3:13 the humble remnant will follow Yahweh in doing no wrong (cf. 3:5) and in turning away from deceit (cf. 1:9). The conclusion of v 13 looks forward to a peaceful Judah engaging once again in undisturbed shepherding of flocks; the words of judgment on the Cretans in 2:6–7 have become words of blessing for Judah.

8. Zeph 3:14–20. The concluding verses of Zephaniah provide two pictures of joy: the joy of Israel in its redemption by Yahweh (3:14–16) and Yahweh's joy in his people (3:17–18). The joy of Israel over Yahweh in its midst is found in Isa 12:6 and Zech 2:14–16, and the joy of Yahweh in his people is a motif found in such late texts as Isa 62:4–5 and 65:18–19.

The relationship between these two descriptions of joy is evident in the chiastic arrangement of 3:14–17: "Sing joyfully . . . shout for joy . . . rejoice and exult" (A); "the king of Israel" (B); "Yahweh in your midst" (C); "Do not fear any further evil" (D); "Fear not" (D); "Yahweh your God in your midst" (C); "a warrior who will save" (B); "He will be joyful . . . with gladness . . . he will rejoice . . . with joyful song" (A).

The contacts of Zeph 3:14–17 with exilic and postexilic texts have led many scholars to consider the concluding verses of Zephaniah to be a late addition to the text (similar to the view that Amos 9:12–15 is a late addition to the prophetic book). However, the similarity of Zeph 3:14–17 to the preexilic psalms celebrating Yahweh's enthronement (Psalms 47, 95, and 97, where Yahweh is worshipped as king in the midst of his joyful people) makes such a late dating of the conclusion of Zephaniah less certain.

In 3:18, Yahweh's removal of disaster from Israel forms an inclusion with the removal of all things from the face

of the earth in 1:2–3. As elsewhere in Zephaniah, words of judgment are transformed into words of consolation and grace (as in Zeph 2:6–7 and 3:13). The same literary device is present in 3:19, where Yahweh's promise to assemble for salvation the lame and the outcast (cf. Mic 3:11) recalls and reverses his assembly of the nations for judgment in 3:8 (cf. Mic 4:6–7; and Jer 31:7–8). Zeph 3:20 brings the book to an end by repeating motifs and vocabulary from 3:19: the gathering and the giving of praise and renown in 19 are repeated in 20; and "in all the earth" in 19 is complemented by "among all the people of the earth" in 20.

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JOHN S. KSELMAN

ZEPHATH (PLACE) [Heb *ṣēpat*]. One of the Canaanite sites in the region of the Negeb which had not been captured during the original Israelite conquest under Joshua. It was subsequently taken by the allied forces of Simeon and Judah (Judg 1:17). According to the biblical account, the site was renamed Hormah (Heb *ḥrm* "destruction") by the Israelites because it had been destroyed. An alternative account of the naming of Hormah is found in Num 21:3, where it is placed in the vicinity of Arad. Since Zephat was originally a Canaanite name for a town largely destroyed by Israel, it is not surprising that the name is not found elsewhere in the Bible.

The LXX reads *sephek* in Judges 1:17, possibly related to *ḏpk*, which was included in a topographical list of Shishak I from Karnak (Kallai *HGB*, 352–53); but the evidence for this reading and for the subsequent identification is not compelling. An identification of Zephath/Hormah with Tel Masos (M.R. 146069; Kempinsky *EAEHL* 3, 816–19; *RAB*, 114), while not proven, appears to fit the biblical and archaeological evidence.

DAVID W. BAKER

ZEPHATHAH (PLACE) [Heb *ṣēpatâ*]. A valley near Mareshah (Tell Sandahannah [M.R. 140111], about 1 mile S of Beit Jibrin [Eleutheropolis, M.R. 140112]), where Asa fought Zerah, the Ethiopian, and his raiding party (2 Chr 14:9—Eng 14:10). According to the LXX, the battle took place N of Mareshah. If Zephathah is a place name, as the Hebrew suggests, it can probably be identified with *Wâdī eṣ-Ṣāfiyeh* (Robinson 1841: 31).

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TOM WAYNE WILLETT

ZEPHO (PERSON) [Heb *ṣēpô*]. Var. ZEPHI. The third son of Eliphaz and a grandson of Esau (Gen 36:11, 15; 1 Chr 1:36 *[ṣēpî]*). He was one of the "tribal leaders" (Heb *ʾallûpîm*) of Edom (Gen 36:15), and as such his name probably represents a clan within the Edomite tribe of Eliphaz. The name can be derived either from Heb **ṣpw/y* "clear, pure," or more likely from Heb **ṣpy*, "to see, behold," and is perhaps a shortened form of a theophoric personal name ("God's beholding").

ULRICH HÜBNER

ZEPHON (PERSON) [Heb *ṣēpôn*]. Var. ZIPHION. ZEPHONITE. The first of seven sons of Gad listed in the second census taken by Moses in the wilderness (Num 26:15). He is the ancestor of the tribe of the Zephonites. In the related genealogy in Genesis 46 (Gen 46:16), and also in *Jub.* 44:20, his name is given as Ziphion. There is no manuscript evidence to support Zephon or Ziphion as the preferred reading. Rather, these seem to be alternate renderings of the same name.

CHRISTINA DE GROOT VAN HOUTEN

ZEPHONITES [Heb *ṣēpônî*]. See ZIPHION.

ZER (PLACE) [Heb *ṣēr*]. According to the RSV, one of the fortified cities of Naphtali (Josh 19:35). However, the appearance of Zer alongside Ziddim is problematic, and raises the possibility that MT *ṣr* here may refer to Tyre (Heb *ṣr; ṣôr*). See also ZIDDIM.

RAFAEL FRANKEL

ZERAH (PERSON) [Heb *zeraḥ*]. ZERAHITES. The name means "dusk," or more likely, is a shortened form of *zĕraḥyāh* or **zĕraḥʾēl*, "Yahweh [God] has risen [like the morning-sun]." The name belongs to various persons and clans mentioned in the OT. Names from the root **ZRḤ* are attested in Amorite, Canaanite, ancient S Arabian, and

ancient N Arabian (Weippert 1971: 252; Harding 1971: 251f.).

1. One of the five subtribes of Judah, allegedly descended from Judah's daughter-in-law and concubine Tamar (Gen 38:30; also Gen 46:12; Num 26:20; 1 Chr 2:4, 6). In Joshua 7 (referred to in Josh 22:20), the fate of Achan from the clan of Zerah serves as a warning to those who disregard the ban *(herem)*. According to 1 Chr 27:11, 13 Hushah and Netophah (Kh. Bedd Fālūḥ; M.R. 171119; Kob 1978) belonged to this clan; Zerahites were among the inhabitants of Jerusalem (1 Chr 9:6; Neh 11:24).

2. A clan of the tribe of Simeon (Num 26:13; 1 Chr 4:24). In Gen 46:10, Zohar is listed instead of Zerah. It is not necessary to decide which one of these two contradictory statements is correct. After Simeon and Levi were dispersed in the course of a conflict with the city of Shechem (Genesis 34; 49:5–7), the tribe of Simeon disappeared from the historical record. The references to this tribe (except Genesis 34; 49:5–7) are highly doubtful (Donner 1984: 130f.; Mittmann 1977: 217–19).

3. A levitical clan (1 Chr 6:6, 26). It is impossible to say whether or not this clan derived from the Judahite clan (see #1 above). Clearly, however, the majority of the later Levites were the offspring of the priesthoods of local sanctuaries abolished in the course of cultic reforms emanating from Jerusalem in the 7th to the 5th centuries B.C., rather than the descendants of the lost (and half-mythical) tribe of Levi in Genesis 34 (Donner 1984: 352f.).

4. A subtribe of Reuel, second largest of the three Edomite tribes (Gen 36:13, 17; 1 Chr 1:37). It is even conceivable that the Judahite clan (#1 above) had emerged out of this Edomite tribe and had crossed from the E side of the Wâdī Arabah before it joined Judah. The name of this tribe has survived into the classical, Islamic, and modern periods as the name of the town Udhruḥ (M.R. 207971) in S Jordan, 9 km E of Petra (Knauf and Maʿani 1987); this location may indicate the general territory of this tribe.

5. The father of Jobab, the second ruler of the Edomite King List (Gen 36:33; 1 Chr 1:44). This Zerah may have been a historical person; however, no further reference to him is known. Alternatively, the filiation could indicate the tribal background of this ruler (Knauf 1985: 246).

6. An Ethiopian (Heb *kûšî*) who appears to have been the leader of an Arab tribe (2 Chr 14:8—Eng 14:9; cf. Cushan in Hab 3:7 and perhaps "Cushite" in Num 12:1; Knauf 1988). He cannot have been a ruler of the "Ethiopic" (Cushitic) dynasty in Egypt. Zerah is attested as a name of ancient Arabs (see above); but it cannot possibly be the name of an Egyptian ruler, since ancient Egyptian had no phoneme that was rendered as z by any ancient Semitic language. The account in 2 Chr 14:8–14 is unhistorical (Welten 1973: 129–40); it may reflect a skirmish with bedouin in the vicinity of Mareshah sometime in the postexilic period, as indicated by the nature of the booty (v 14).

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

ZERAHIAH (PERSON) [Heb *zĕraḥyāh*]. A personal name formed by adding the theophoric element *yāh* to the Heb verb *zrḥ*, which means "to rise" (BDB, 280) and "to flash up" or "to shine forth" (KB, 267) as of the sun or of light. The verb is used in Deut 33:2 *(wēzāraḥ)* and in Isa 60:2 *(yizraḥ)* with Yahweh as its subject, thus picturing the deity, as Noth (*IPN*, 184) suggests, as a bringer of success and joy. Interpretations of the name include "Yahweh will arise/shine" (BDB, 280), "Yahweh has shone forth" (*ISBE* 4: 1192), "Yah has dawned" (*HBD*, 1162; *EncBib* 4: 5411). Noth (*IPN*, 184 n. 1) invites a comparison with the S. Arabic name *drḥʾl*, as does Mauch (*IDB* 4: 954) with the Akkadian *Za-ar-hi-ilu*. Two individuals in the Hebrew Bible bear this name.

1. A descendant of Aaron through Eleazar, and the son of Uzzi and father of Meraioth. Zerahiah (1 Chr 5:32—Eng 6:6; LXX Codex Vaticanus *Zaraia*, Alexandrinus *Zaraias* [first] and *Zarias* [second]) is the seventh-named generation in a genealogy of preexilic "sons of Aaron" (5:29b–41—Eng 6:3b–15) which Braun (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 83) says is part of the most extensive and the latest priestly line in the OT. He is listed seventh (1 Chr 6:36—Eng 6:51; LXX *Zaraia*) in a shorter genealogy of "sons of Aaron" (6:35–38—Eng 6:50–53). In a third genealogy (Ezra 7:1–5) which provides Ezra with Aaronite lineage, probably collaterally (Clines *Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther* NCBC, 59; Blenkinsopp *Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 136), Zerahiah (v 4; LXX *Zaraia*) appears in the position of seventh generation from Aaron. This third list appears defective (Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 91) and/or selective (Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 136) when compared with the first genealogy. The Greek name *Zaraia* also appears in the LXX Codex Alexandrinus (but not Vaticanus) of 1 Esdr 8:2.

2. A member of the "sons of Pahath-moab" whose son Eliehoenai was among those who went up from Babylonia with Ezra (Ezra 8:4; 1 Esdr 8:31). Zerahiah's (*Zareia* LXX^{B}; *Zaraia* LXX^{A} = Ezra 8:4; *Zaraia* = 1 Esdr 8:31) son was accompanied by 200 males from his family.

RODNEY H. SHEARER

ZERAIAH (PERSON) [Gk *Zaraias*]. An alternate form of the name ZEBADIAH.

ZERDAIAH (PERSON) [Gk *Zerdaias*]. A descendant of Zamoth and one of the returned exiles who married a foreign woman during the era of Ezra's mission (1 Esdr 9:28). In the parallel text of Ezra 10:27, the name Aziza appears in the position Zerdaiah holds in 1 Esdr 9:28. For the discussion, see AZIZA.

JEFFREY A. FAGER

ZERED, BROOK OF (PLACE) [Heb *naḥal zered*]. VALLEY OF ZERED. The wadi and valley that the Israelites crossed, ending their 40 years of sojourn in the wilderness (Deut 2:13–14). The Bible elsewhere suggests that it was located S of Moabite territory and the Arnon river (Wadi Mujib). Thus, most scholars identify the Zered with the Wadi Ḥasa, which empties into the Arabah Valley near the SE end of the Dead Sea, and consider its 35-mile-long canyon—with its span of 3.5 to 4 miles—to have been the ancient boundary between Moab and Edom.

A number of other biblical references are often associated with this wadi, including Isaiah's reference to the "Brook of the Willows" *(naḥal hāʿărābîm)* in his oracle against Moab (15:7). Amos' reference to the "Brook of the Arabah" *(naḥal hāʿărābâ)* probably also refers to the Zered as the southernmost limit of Israelite territory (note the poetic parallelism with "the entrance to Hamath" as the northernmost limit). The reference to "this dry streambed" *(hannaḥal hazzeh)* in conjunction with the Israelites' circuitous seven-day march (i.e., around the S tip of the Dead Sea) against Moab (2 Kgs 3:16) probably also alludes to the Zered.

GARY A. HERION

ZEREDAH (PLACE) [Heb *ṣĕrēdâ*]. **1.** The hometown of Jeroboam, who revolted unsuccessfully against Solomon, but who later became king of the N kingdom of Israel in a successful revolt against Solomon's son, Rehoboam. 1 Kgs 11:26 identifies Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, as an Ephraimite of Zeredah and as a servant of Solomon, whose mother's name was Zeruah (leprous), a widow. Jeroboam was in charge of the forced labor of the house of Joseph (1 Kgs 11:28), i.e., Ephraim and Manasseh (or Israel? all of the traditional ten tribes). The LXX inserts after 12:24 that while Jeroboam was in charge of the labor gangs, he built Sarira in the hill country of Ephraim, raised a force of 300 chariots, fortified the City of David, and aspired to the kingdom—a slight expansion on the MT reading that he "lifted up his hand against the king" (1 Kgs 11:27).

Thus Zeredah (= Sarira), probably Jeroboam's birthplace, instead of Shechem (cf. 1 Kgs 12:25) was the place of both the unsuccessful earlier revolt against Solomon (11:26) and the later successful revolt against Rehoboam (12:16). It is not impossible that Zeredah is an alternate name for Shechem, but its name may be reflected in ʾAin Seridah adjacent to Deir Ghassaneh (M.R. 159161; Pritchard 1987: 254), 15 miles SW of Shechem (Aharoni *LBHG*, 123; Wright *WHAB*, 64, map IX) in the center of Ephraim's territory. The designation of Nebat, Jeroboam's father, as an Ephraimite would seem to locate the place in this tribal area.

The name of Jeroboam's mother in the LXX (3 Kgdms 12:24b) is Sarira, and she is called a harlot. Commentators have wondered if she is called leprous (Zeruah, MT) or a whore (LXX) as a libelous jibe at Jeroboam. Perhaps Zeruah and Sarira are wordplays indicating that Zeredah is not a place but a symbol or metaphor of Jeroboam or of the contempt in which he was held by orthodox writers. The MT has "from the zeredah" in 1 Kgs 11:26, and the definite article would add to the suggestion that the word is a noun and not a proper name.

2. A site in the plain of the Jordan usually identified with Zarethan. The Zeredah spelling is used in 2 Chr 4:17, which parallels 1 Kgs 7:46, where the spelling is Zarethan (Heb *ṣārtān*). It is also taken as the equivalent of Zererah (Heb *ṣĕrērâ*) in Judg 7:22. The KJV follows the MT in 2 Chr 4:17 and spells it "Zeredathah." The ending may be a locative. The identity of Zeredah depends, of course, on the location of the Solomon/Hiram bronze-working area in the Jordan Valley. The *kikkar* is the plain, circle, or territory of the Jordan River valley (1 Kgs 7:46; 2 Chr 4:17); and Succoth and Zarethan are where they are usually located (these two sites are usually identified with Tell Deir ʿAlla [M.R. 208178] and Tell es-Saʿidiyeh [M.R. 204186] respectively). See ZARETHAN.

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HENRY O. THOMPSON

ZERERAH (PLACE) [Heb *ṣĕrērâ*]. A site mentioned in the path of the Midianite flight from Gideon. After Gideon's surprise night attack on the camp of the Midianites, the army fled as far as Beth-shittah toward Zererah (MT *ṣĕrērātâ*), as far as the border of Abel-meholah by Tabbath. Most scholars understand Zererah to be a variant spelling of Zeredah (1 Kgs 11:26; Zeredah in 2 Chr 4:17)—20 Hebrew manuscripts read *ṣĕrērātâ* in both Judg 7:22 and 1 Kgs 11:26. Both are usually seen as variants of Zarethan (Josh 3:16; 1 Kgs 4:12; 7:46).

One could assume the Midianites fled to the site of Zererah as some scholars suggest; but the text says they fled as far as Beth-shittah, which is toward or in the direction of Zererah. The location of Beth-shittah is unknown. Soggin (*Judges* ET, OTL) notes an Arab village, Shattah, *west* of Beth-shan, but adds that Zererah may be a locality beyond the Jordan. Smick (1973: 81) claims that Zererah was at the site of one of the fords of the Jordan River. Boling (*Judges* AB, 48, map 2) suggests Beth-shittah was up the Wadi Kufrinje E of Tell es-Saʿidiyeh, i.e., E of Zarethan. Zarethan might also be Tell Abu Hamad on the lower Jabbok, while Tell es-Saʿidiyeh may be biblical Zaphon (Aharoni *LBHG*, 313). Pritchard identifies Saʿidiyeh with Zaphon (1987: 230, 251; the first end map shows Zaphon on the Wadi Kufrinje and Zarethan S of the Jabbok and S of Deir ʿAlla; pp. 96–97 identify Zarethan with Tell es-Saʿidiyeh and Zaphon with Tell Qos on the Wadi Rajib, both N of Deir ʿAlla; Pritchard [1985: 3] and Tubb [1986] have both indicated that there is insufficient evidence to conclude with what biblical site Saʿidiyeh may be identified).

Smick (1973: 105 n. 70) recognizes that Zererah may be the correct reading. If so, he suggests the place may be 3.5

miles S of Saʿidiyeh and S of the Wadi Rajib near Tell el-Mazar (M.R. 207181) and that the name "Zererah" may be preserved in the name of the nearby town of Darar (just a mile N of Deir ʿAlla). Darar is 890 feet above the river at sea level on an E scarp of the Jordan Valley.

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HENRY O. THOMPSON

ZERESH (PERSON) [Heb *zereš*]. The wife of Haman in the story of Esther (Esth 5:10, 14; 6:13). She is portrayed as one of the chief advisers to her husband. In Esth 5:14 she, along with certain friends, advises Haman to obtain royal consent for the execution of his archenemy, Mordecai. As Paton notes, this is reminiscent of the story told by classical authors about the Persian queen Amestris, who asked her husband King Xerxes to kill her rival (*Esther* ICC, 240; cf. Herodotus 9.10; Plut. *Art.* 14, 17, 23).

In Esth 6:13 Zeresh and the same certain friends, now called, "wise ones," again counsel Haman. They warn him that he will not prevail in his struggle with Mordecai but that he will surely fall before him because Mordecai is a Jew. Several scholars have noted that most likely here, the author puts his own theology into the mouths of Haman's advisers. To the author, OT traditions such as Exod 17:16; Num 24:20; 1 Sam 15:2ff.; 2 Sam 1:8–16; etc., had established long before that the house of Saul, to which Mordecai is linked (Esth 2:5), would win out over the house of Agag, the Amalekite with which Haman is associated (Esth 3:1, 10; 8:5; 9:10, 24). Thus Zeresh and Haman's wise friends are portrayed as echoing these OT traditions in a prophetic way (Clines 1984: 43–44; *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* NCBC, 309–10; Berg 1979: 103–4; Moore *Esther* AB, 66).

Paton feels *zereš* is the Heb equivalent of Pers *zara*, "gold" or Old Bactrian *zarš*, "desirous," (*Esther* ICC, 70). Gehman links it to Avestan *zaršayamna*, "the joyful one," or perhaps "the one with ruffled hair" (1924: 327). Others have claimed that *zareš* is a corruption of *kiriša*, the name of an Elamite goddess, or *siris*, the Babylonian wine goddess (Paton *Esther* ICC, 70, 89).

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JOHN M. WIEBE

ZERETH (PERSON) [Heb *şeret*]. The son of Asshur and his wife Helah (1 Chr 4:7).

H. C. LO

ZERETH-SHAHAR (PLACE) [Heb *şeret haššaḥar*]. A Moabite town in the region dominated by Heshbon and given by Moses to the tribe of Reuben on the E side of the Jordan river (Josh 13:19). The definite article in the Hebrew causes the LXX to split the place into two towns, Serada and Sior (Gk *Serada kai Sior*) on top of Mt. Emak. Emak is a transliteration of the Heb word *valley* (*ʿemek*). Codex Vaticanus confuses matters further with reference to Zion on Mt. Enab. The text of Joshua indicates a location on a "mountain" in the middle of the valley. Kallai (*HGB*, 441) speculates that this mountain refers to a ridge which rises slowly to Heshbon on the plain of Madeba.

Boling and Wright (*Joshua* AB, 342–43) locate the town at *ʾel-Zarat* (M.R. 203111) near (Mount?) ʿAttarus (Ataroth) and directly above the E shore of the Dead Sea. The traditional identification of the site with the hot springs known to Arabs as *ez-Zāra* is based on speculation in 1854 (Seetzen) and 1874 (Tristam) that Zereth-Shahar was near Callirrhoe and the wâdī Zerqa Maʿin (Strobel 1977). They found merely the ruins of an old fort with broken basalt columns near an "old Roman or Jewish road." From this description we should conclude that the site is thoroughly unknown today.

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PAUL NIMRAH FRANKYLN

ZERI (PERSON) [Heb *şĕrî*]. One of the sons of Jeduthun who were appointed to prophesy with musical instruments under the direction of their father and the king (1 Chr 25:3). When the lots are cast to determine duties (1 Chr 25:9–31), the name Izri (1 Chr 25:11) appears where the name Zeri would be expected, suggesting that the two names are variants. For further discussion, see IZRI.

J. CLINTON MCCANN, JR.

ZEROR (PERSON) [Heb *şĕrôr*]. The great-grandfather of Saul ben Kish, the first king of Israel; likewise, the father of Abiel and the son of Becorath (1 Sam 9:1). Three variant forms of the name are found in the LXX: Sara in LXX^{L}, Sared in $LXX^{D\text{-}A}$, and Ared in LXX^{B}. The first lacks the final *reš* of the MT; the second and third have read the final consonant as a *reš* instead of a *dalet*, while the third has read the initial *ṣadē* as an *ʿayin*. The name probably means "flint" (Noth *IPN*, 225).

Zeror appears only once in the Hebrew Bible, in the genealogy given for Saul in the introductory verse of the old folktale underlying 1 Sam 9:1–10:16. The author of the story has opened his account using the literary convention of the seven-generation ancestry to emphasize that Saul was destined to greatness from birth (Sasson 1978: 185; contra McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 168; for details, see APHIAH).

Zeror's absence from the Saulide genealogy in 1 Chr 8:33–40 and 9:39–44 can be explained in three ways. One approach would be to use anthropological models to suggest that the two genealogies represent a change in the ranking of the extended Saulide family branches for dynastic succession, a change that led to the elimination of Zeror when he no longer served a useful function for

asserting lineage prominence (indirectly, Flanagan 1981: 59). A second approach would be to identify Zeror with Zur in 1 Chr 8:30 and 9:36 by postulating a loss of the second *reš* from the name (Demsky 1971: 17). Since Zur appears as one of ten sons, and the brother of Kish instead of his grandfather as in 1 Sam 9:1, one would have to assume a change in ranking as well, as in the first approach. A third approach would be to suggest that the name was deliberately dropped by the Chronicler along with Abiel, Becorath, and Aphiah to allow him to graft the Saulide family tree onto the postexilic genealogy of the clans resettling Gibeon. See NER.

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DIANA V. EDELMAN

ZEROR, TEL (M.R. 147203). A 12-acre mound, formed of two summits connected by a saddle, and situated near an ancient fork of the Harerah River in the Sharon Plain. The mound was excavated in 1964–66 and in 1974 by a Japanese-Israeli team directed by K. Ohata. Twenty-one occupational levels were discerned, dated from the MB I to the late Middle Ages.

The site was first settled in the MB I, to which the earliest four strata were assigned. Two superimposed systems of fortifications were exposed, consisting of brick walls built upon artificial earth embankments with a moat and an earthenwork counterscarp at the base. A large tower or city gate was also partially exposed. The site was abandoned at the end of the period and was left uninhabited during MB II–LB I (ca. 1800–1500 B.C.).

In the LB II, Zeror was an unwalled town and a center for commerce and industry. A building of palatial dimensions was uncovered on the S summit. Remains of smelting furnaces, bellows nozzles, and clay crucibles, as well as copper slag, give ample evidence for a metallurgical industry. There was an abundance of Cypriot pottery associated with the metallurgical installations. The cemetery, located on a low knoll outside the town limits, had its first interments in this period. During the LB, Zeror was probably a Cypriot colony of coppersmiths and merchants, who obtained copper ingots from their homeland and traded their finished products with the local population.

No signs of destruction were observed in the last LB stratum. The 12th-century settlers cut pits and silos into the deserted remains of the previous levels. The material culture of these settlers resembles in every aspect the culture of the small contemporary settlements found in the adjacent hill country, generally attributed to the Israelite settlement.

In the 11th century, the S summit of the mound was fortified by a casemate wall, and burials in the cemetery resumed. The cist graves were built of stones and covered with large slabs. There were several interments in each cist, suggesting a family sepulcher. The burial offerings included weapons, copper bowls, figurines, and rich pottery assemblages. Among the unique finds were oil lamps with closed nozzles, without comparison in this period. It has been suggested that 11th-century Tel Zeror was a S outpost of Dor, 20 km to the N.

Under the kingdom of Israel the same pattern continued. The S summit was again surrounded with a wall, while the other parts of the mound were left unfortified. The wall was only 1 m thick and was reinforced with inner buttresses, placed at regular intervals. The houses were built according to the typical four-room house plan of the Iron Age. A cistern dug at the base of the fort supplied water to the town. A bowl, bearing an inscription in Aramaic characters, read: . . . *B*ʾ *L*ʾ*LSMK* (". . . bʾa belonging[?] to Elsamak"). The fort and the village at the foot of the tell suffered several destructions during the 10th–8th centuries B.C. Iron Age Tel Zeror came to an end in the 8th century, probably as a result of the Assyrian conquest of the kingdom of Israel.

Small farmsteads and lookout posts continued to exist on the S summit during the Persian, Hellenistic, and Early Roman periods. The site was deserted forever in the Byzantine period, and only the S summit was inhabited again in the late Middle Ages (Mamluk period).

The question of the identification of Tel Zeror remains unsolved. Mazar (i.e., Maisler) has suggested *ḏ-r-r*, #115 in Thutmose's list, while Aharoni (*LBHG*, 166–68, 188 n.85) preferred *m-k-t-r* (Migdal), #71 of the same list.

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MOSHE KOCHAVI

ZERUAH (PERSON) [Heb *ṣĕrûʿâ*]. Mother of Jeroboam, the first king of N Israel, and widow of Nebat, an Ephraimite (1 Kgs 11:26). Zeruah's name occurs in a genealogical note introducing Jeroboam, a "servant of Solomon," who later becomes king of Israel (1 Kings 12). While the identity of the king's mother is a common feature in Judean regnal formulas, it is missing from those of Israelite kings. Thus, the identification of Zeruah in 1 Kgs 11:26 is a rare reference to an Israelite king's mother.

In a variant version of Jeroboam's origin—1 Kgs 12:24 (LXX)—Jeroboam's mother is Sarira, a "harlot." The name "Sarira" (lit. "leper") along with the epithet "harlot" may signify an attempt to vilify the house of Jeroboam.

LINDA S. SCHEARING

ZERUBBABEL (PERSON) [Heb *zĕrubbābel*]. A Babylonian Jew who journeyed to Palestine after the Exile (Ezra 2:2) and served as governor of Judah under Darius I (522–

486 B.C.). His name is probably derived from Akk *zēr-bābili*, "seed of Babylon."

A. Ancestry

Zerubbabel was of the line of David. Although the Bible typically designates him the son of Shealtiel (Ezra 3:2, 8; 5:2; Neh 12:1; Hag 1:1, 12, 14; 2:2, 23), 1 Chr 3:19 lists Pedaiah as Zerubbabel's father. Scholars have generally offered two possible solutions to this discrepancy. Some have suggested Shealtiel died childless and Pedaiah his brother fathered Zerubbabel, who then became the legal son of Shealtiel according to the principle of levirate marriage (Deut 25:5–10). Others have proposed that the text of Chronicles contains an error in transmission or refers to another individual by the same name.

Scholars have also debated the relationship between Zerubbabel and Sheshbazzar (Ezra 1:8). Some have contended that the two names refer to the same person (cf., e.g., Ezra 1:8; Josephus *Ant* 11.1.3 §13–14) since both are designated "governor of Judah" (Ezra 5:14; Hag 1:1) and both receive credit for laying the foundation of the Second Temple (Ezra 3:8–10; 5:16). Against this identification, others have cited (1) Ezra 5:14–16, which seems to distinguish the two men, and (2) the unlikelihood of a Jew, especially a Jew of the royal house, bearing two Babylonian names. Other interpreters have proposed that Sheshbazzar was the Shenazzar of 1 Chr 3:18, and was therefore Zerubbabel's uncle; but although the names are similar, the identification must remain uncertain. Still another suggestion, and probably the simplest, is that Sheshbazzar began the work on the temple's foundation and Zerubbabel finished it; and, consequently, both received credit for the task in the biblical record.

B. Historical Background

The fall of Jerusalem to the Babylonians in 586 B.C. had resulted in the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple and the deportation of much of the Jewish population to Babylon. After the Persians conquered Babylon in 539 B.C., the decree of Cyrus in the first year of his reign gave the Jews the opportunity to return home and rebuild their city and temple with the full support of the Persian government (Ezra 1:1–4). This action of Cyrus regarding the Jews illustrates his general policy of tolerance toward subject peoples, a policy he no doubt intended to help promote and maintain good will in his empire. The decree opened the door to an exciting new era of Jewish history, an era in which Zerubbabel played a prominent role.

C. Zerubbabel's Role

Along with Jeshua, the high priest, and many princes of Judah, Zerubbabel led the first group of returnees back to Judah to begin the rebuilding process. (On Zerubbabel's relationship to Sheshbazzar, see above.) His title, "governor" (Hag 1:1, 14; 2:2, 21), refers to the head of a satrap or small province, and demonstrates the significance of Zerubbabel's role in the eyes of both the Persians and the biblical writers. Zerubbabel functioned as the local political leader of the Jewish people, while Jeshua ("Joshua" in Haggai-Zechariah) served as their spiritual leader.

Under Zerubbabel's leadership the people began restoring Jerusalem soon after their arrival. Jeshua, assisted by the other priests, established the altar of burnt offerings according to the law of Moses, and reinstituted the morning and evening offerings and other sacrifices (Ezra 3:2–6). Then in the second year after the return, in the second month, extensive work on the temple began as a united effort of political and spiritual leadership; and the temple's foundation was soon laid and dedicated about 536 B.C. amid great celebration (Ezra 3:8–13).

But work on the temple did not continue smoothly. Opposition arose from Judah's enemies, who initially offered to assist the Jews on the temple project. When Zerubbabel and the Jewish leaders rejected their offer, they proceeded to harass and frustrate the Jews so much that temple work soon slowed to a standstill. Conditions remained that way throughout the rest of the reign of Cyrus and all the days of his son Cambyses II (529–522 B.C.) until Darius I came to power in 522 B.C. (Ezra 4:1–5, 24).

Early in the reign of Darius, matters came to a head. The prophets Haggai and Zechariah, convinced the time had come to rebuild God's house, challenged the people's apathetic attitude and urged Zerubbabel, Jeshua, and the others to revive the work and complete the temple (Ezra 5:1–2; Haggai; Zech 4:6–9). The words of these prophets brought about a renewed interest in the work, an interest noted by Tattenai, governor of Syria, who investigated the matter to discover who had authorized the rebuilding of the temple. When Zerubbabel and the Jewish leadership informed him they were acting under Persian authority, Tattenai sent a letter to Darius to verify the truth of their statement (Ezra 5:3–17).

When Darius received the letter from Tattenai, he ordered a search of the royal archives, a search that uncovered Cyrus' decree on behalf of the Jews (Ezra 6:1–5). The king sent a reply to Tattenai informing him of the decree and confirming Zerubbabel's authority to continue the work. Furthermore, Darius commanded that the costs of the work be covered with funds from the royal treasury and warned against hindering the Jews in any way (Ezra 6:6–12).

The decree of Darius no doubt fanned the prophetic flames lit by Haggai and Zechariah; and work on the temple resumed, again under the leadership of Zerubbabel and Jeshua (cf. Sir 49:11–12). In the sixth year of Darius (516 B.C.), the temple was completed and its personnel appointed to their tasks, an accomplishment the people celebrated with great joy (Ezra 6:15–18). About a month later, all Judah gathered together in Jerusalem to observe the Passover and celebrate the Feast of Unleavened Bread around their finished temple (Ezra 6:19–22).

Zerubbabel's connection with the line of David may have fueled messianic hopes in Judah. The prophet Haggai spoke of a coming day of God's judgment against heaven and earth, when God would make Zerubbabel his signet ring, a chosen instrument for a special purpose (Hag 2:20–23; cf. Sir 49:11). Some interpreters have understood the prophet Zechariah as echoing this theme; but although Zechariah mentions Zerubbabel as God's instrument for completing the temple (Zech 4:6–9), the eschatological dimension of Zechariah's prophecy focuses more on Jeshua ("Joshua" in Zech 3:1–10; 6:9–15).

Following the accounts of the completion of the temple,

Zerubbabel disappears from the biblical record, except for three NT verses that include him in the genealogy of Jesus Christ (Matt 1:12, 13; Luke 3:27), but make no further comment about him. What happened to him is unknown. Some scholars have proposed that Zerubbabel fell into disfavor with Persian authorities and was then either deposed, taken to Persia, imprisoned, and/or put to death. Such theories, however, are based upon arguments from silence. Simply because a person is not mentioned after a certain time, we cannot conclude that this indicates his death or removal from office. Zerubbabel is probably not mentioned in the biblical narratives after the completion of the temple because he no longer played a role in the biblical writer's overall purpose.

The apocryphal work of 1 Esdras (3:1–5:6; cf. Jos. *Ant* 11.3) recounted how Zerubbabel won the right to rebuild Jerusalem after proving himself the wisest of the king's bodyguards. Rabbinic tradition held Zerubbabel in high regard, and the 6th-century A.D. *Seder ʿOlam Zuṭa* suggested that, after completing the temple, Zerubbabel returned to Babylon to occupy a place of prominence.

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BRYAN E. BEYER

ZERUIAH (PERSON) [Heb *ṣĕrûyāh*]. The name "Zeruiah" is compounded from the elements *ṣŏrî* (an aromatic tree, either mastic or balsam) and *yāh* (the short form of Yahweh). Thus, Zeruiah means something like "the balsam of Yahweh" or "the mastic of Yahweh." The name "Zeruiah" is applied exclusively to the sister of David who was also the mother of three of his chief retainers: Joab, Abishai, and Asahel (1 Chr 2:16; 2 Sam 17:25), the infamous "sons of Zeruiah."

D. G. SCHLEY

ZERVANISM. Zervanism (or Zurvanism) takes its name from Zurvan, the personified conception of time among the ancient Iranians. Zervanism was not an independent religion and formed no community of its own but appeared as a theological current within Zoroastrianism, which expressed itself particularly in cosmogonic and cosmological thought. Unlike the Mazdeans, who worshipped Ahura Mazda as the supreme deity, Zurvanites can be defined as those who instead put Zurvan in that position. The practical value of such a distinction is, however, considerably weakened by the fact that only a few sources explicitly state that Zurvan was the highest god.

Zervanism took shape in W Iran and was especially associated with the magi. From the late Achaemenid period (404–331 B.C.) down to the fall of the Sassanian Empire in the 7th century A.D., the official forms of Iranian religion were strongly influenced by Zurvanite concepts.

According to the principal myth of Zervanism, attested mainly in Christian polemical sources of the 5th century A.D., there existed in the very beginning one almighty deity named Zurvan. He made sacrifices for a period of a thousand years in order to have a son who would be the creator of heaven and earth. When the thousand years had passed, doubt occurred in his mind as to the efficacy of his sacrifice. At that moment two sons were conceived, Ahura Mazda from the sacrifice and Ahriman from the doubt. Having promised rulership to the firstborn, Zurvan reluctantly gave it to Ahriman, who cunningly succeeded in piercing the womb before his brother. Then, when Ahura Mazda appeared, Zurvan immediately recognized him as the son for whom he had offered sacrifice. Ahura Mazda is made overlord, and all that he creates is good and truthful. Ahriman receives kingship for 9,000 years, and his creatures are all evil and false. After that period, however, Ahura Mazda will rule in total power for eternity.

Zervanism thus relegates the primordial opposition between the Good and Evil characteristic of genuine Zoroastrianism to a 2d stage in the development of cosmic history, thereby introducing to the dualistic heritage a monistic framework, which was of no less importance to the Zurvanites than to the Mazdeans.

The image of the god Zurvan is complex. On the one hand, he appears as an otiose high-god with clear pantheistic traits who has left the creation of the world to his son Ahura Mazda. On the other, he is invoked as a more active deity (cf. personal names like *Zurvāndāt* "given by Zurvan") who also manifests himself through different hypostases. These are grouped in tetrads in which Zurvan himself appears as the fourth entity or is made up by the totality of the four aspects or elements without his being named explicitly. The best-known tetrad *ašōqar, frašōqar, zarōqar,* and *zurwān,* has been preserved only in Syriac texts but clearly reflects Avestan cult epithets (cf. Yašt 14:28). The first three epithets have been interpreted as "making virile," "making resplendent," and "making old," and have been taken to refer to the three stages of man's life; youth, maturity, and old age. This interpretation is not undisputed, however. The idea of Zurvan as a tetramorphous god of time and fate seems also to underlie the Zoroastrian concept of a world history of 12,000 years subdivided into four periods of 3000 years each.

Other aspects of Zervanism are little known. A tendency for misogyny can be discerned in some Zurvanite myths preserved in the Pahlavi texts, and the depreciation of women may have been a distinctive feature of Zervanism.

The origins of Zervanism can ultimately be traced back to Indo-Iranian speculations on time and sacrifice, but Zervanism as we know it developed into a distinct phenomenon only through the encounter of the Iranians with the high cultures of the ancient Near East in the 7th to the 5th centuries B.C.

From the viewpoint of the history of religions, one should notice that Zervanism was the branch of Zoroastrianism which provided the background for Manichaeism and the Mysteries of Mithras and which exerted considerable influence on Judaism in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

In spite of the efforts made by qualified researchers in the 20th century, Zervanism is still incompletely known, and several problems remain to be solved. The usefulness of distinguishing specific Zurvanite elements outside the range of cosmogony and cosmology must be seriously questioned. The relationship between Zurvanites and Mazdeans within the history of Zoroastrianism needs to be elucidated in more detail. Last, but not least, the intricate question of how to interpret the evidence of the Pahlavi texts requires further discussion. See also ZOROASTER, ZOROASTRIANISM.

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ANDERS HULTGÅRD

ZETA. The sixth letter of the Greek alphabet.

ZETHAM (PERSON) [Heb *zētām*]. A Levite in the Gershonite division of temple bureaucrats and a son of Ladan (1 Chr 23:8). The name appears to be related to *zayît*, "olive tree," although complete assurance on this matter is elusive. In 1 Chr 23:8 he is noted as having two brothers, Jehiel and Joel. 1 Chr 26:22, however, seems to indicate that Zetham was the son of Jehiel. The latter text is ambiguous. One option of interpretation is to read 1 Chr 26:22 as implying that Jehiel's son, who is not named in the text, as well as Zetham and Joel, his brothers, were treasurers in the temple. One must also reckon with the possibilities that 1 Chr 23:8 and 26:22 preserve two different traditions of who Zetham's father was or that the text has suffered in transmission.

JAMES M. KENNEDY

ZETHAN (PERSON) [Heb *zêtān*]. A Benjaminite, and grandson of Jediael, son of Benjamin (1 Chr 7:10). This is the only place Jediael is listed as son of Benjamin. The genealogical list found here bearing Benjamin's name follows Issachar. Normally Zebulun, who is missing from this list, follows Issachar. Another Benjaminite genealogical list occurs later in its normal sequence (1 Chronicles 8). This second list does not list Jediael as a son of Benjamin or consequently Zethan. If Benjamin has mistakenly replaced Zebulun in this list, then Jediael would be a son of Zebulun, and Zethan would be a Zebulunite rather than a Benjaminite. According to Noth (*IPN,* 230) the name probably means "olive keeper."

TOM WAYNE WILLETT

ZETHAR (PERSON) [Heb *zētar*]. See MEHUMAN.

ZEUS, FRIEND OF STRANGERS. See GERIZIM, MOUNT.

ZEUS, TEMPLE OF. See OLYMPIAN ZEUS, TEMPLE OF.

ZIA (PERSON) [Heb *zîaʿ*]. A Gadite, who was one of the ten (or eleven; see SHAPHAT) sons of Abihail (1 Chr 5:12–13). His name is formed from the root *zwʿ* and probably meant "the trembler" (Noth *IPN,* 242).

Zia and his kinsmen lived opposite the Reubenites in "Bashan as far as Salecah" and "in Gilead, in Bashan . . . and in all the pasture lands of Sharon to their limits" (1 Chr 5:11, 17). Although Num 13:24–28 assigns Gilead to Gad, it mentions neither Bashan, which is too far N, nor Sharon, which is too far W. It may be that the reference in 1 Chronicles 5 to Bashan reflects confusion about the N boundary of Gad or about the limits of Bashan (cf. Deut 3:10). The inclusion of Sharon within Gad's territory finds support in the Mesha inscription (line 13; *ANET,* 320), which refers to a city or region by that name in Transjordan.

The claim (1 Chr 5:17) that Zia and the other sons of Abihail were enrolled "in the days of Jotham . . . and . . . Jeroboam" poses a problem since the kings' reigns were separated by several years (unless Jotham's co-regency with his father Azariah/Uzziah is counted).

Neither Zia nor the others named in the Chronicler's genealogy for Gad (1 Chr 5:11–17) appear in other lists of Gadites (Gen 46:16; Num 26:15–18; 1 Chr 12:9–16—Eng 12:8–15).

M. PATRICK GRAHAM

ZIBA (PERSON) [Heb *ṣîbāʾ*]. Servant/steward of the house of Saul during the early reign of David mentioned in 2 Sam 9:3–4, 9ff.; 16:1–4; and 19:17, 24–29.

There is a question as to the exact nature of his status. In 9:2 he is referred to as *ʿebed,* "servant," of the "house of Saul." In other places, however, he is termed *nʿr šaʾûl,* literally "the lad of Saul" (9:9), and *naʿar mĕpîbōšet,* literally "the lad of Mephibosheth" (16:1). McCarter (*2 Samuel* AB) argues that while the term *naʿar* usually refers to ordinary house servants, the scope of the authority given this individual in 9:9 suggests that he was most probably a "steward" of Saul's. Additional evidence is found in 19:18, when Ziba is referred to as *naʿar bēt.*

There are three different narratives regarding Ziba. The portrayal of this character in them is multifaceted. The first narrative is rather neutral. He is introduced as a trusted servant of Saul's who was intimately aware of the situation of the members of the royal family (9:2–3). He is also portrayed as a capable administrator, given the charge he has to administer all the lands of Saul's household and to fund Mephibosheth (9:10). Similarly, he is portrayed as a successful business person, given the size of his own household (9:10b). Finally, he is portrayed as one who willingly transfers his loyalty from his former master, Saul, to David (9:11).

The second and third narratives are conflicting in their portrayal of him. In 16:1–4 he is seen as one who is completely loyal to David, in that he conveys much-needed supplies to the king on his flight from Jerusalem and he also informs the king of the impending treason of his master, Mephibosheth. The result of this behavior is that he is greatly rewarded in that he is given complete control over Saul's lands.

In the third narrative complex, 19:17b–18, 24–30, he is portrayed as one who is totally solicitous of the king, while also as one who is duplicitous. The results of this narrative lead to his losing half of the gains of the lands garnered in the second narrative. Thus, one is not sure whether to see Ziba as only an opportunist or as "one after David's own heart"!

RANDALL C. BAILEY

ZIBEON (PERSON) [Heb *ṣibʿôn*]. **1.** A clan name in the genealogy of Seir the Horite in Gen 36:20, 24, 29. Zibeon is listed as the third of four sons of Seir in these passages as well as in the parallel genealogy in 1 Chr 1:38, 40. He was the father of two sons, Aiah and Amah, and served as a clan chief over the Horites in the region of Edom. These clans are not to be confused with the Hurrians but rather represent the original inhabitants (perhaps as cave dwellers) of the region of Edom. They were subsequently displaced by the encroaching "sons of Esau" (Deut 2:12–22). The conquest of the Horite clans is paralleled in the text by the conquest of Canaan by the tribes of Israel.

2. A Hivite, perhaps a Hurrian living in Palestine, whose granddaughter, Oholibamah, daughter of his son Anah (KJV incorrectly reads "his daughter Anah"), was married to Esau. Wilson (1977: 176–77) suggests that the combining of Esau's genealogy with the Horite genealogy of Gen 36:20–30 is a misinterpretation by the author. It may also be due to a confusion between Horite and Hivite (see North 1973: 58–61). Thus Gen 36:2–3 is a "literary composition" compiled in parallel with Gen 36:9–19; 26:34; and 28:9. It follows the pattern of having first a Hittite, and then a Hivite wife, regardless of the names.

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VICTOR H. MATTHEWS

ZIBIA (PERSON) [Heb *ṣibyāʾ*]. A Benjaminite, son of Shaharaim by Hodesh (1 Chr 8:9). According to 1 Chr 8:28, Zibia was one of the Benjaminites who dwelt in Jerusalem. The fem. form of this name (Zibiah) can be found in 2 Kgs 12:2 and 2 Chr 24:1, which speaks of the mother of Jehoash (Joash).

TOM WAYNE WILLETT

ZIBIAH (PERSON) [Heb *ṣibyāhû*]. Mother of Joash, king of Judah (2 Kgs 12:2—Eng 12:1 = 2 Chr 24:1). Zibiah's name occurs in the regnal formula of her son. Because she was from Beer-sheba, her marriage to the house of Judah may indicate the latter's attempt to gain support from the Negeb tribes bordering Edom. See also JOASH; QUEEN.

LINDA S. SCHEARING

ZICHRI (PERSON) [Heb *zikrî*]. Twelve different persons in the Hebrew Bible are known to have had this name: one Reubenite, one Judahite, one Ephraimite, four Benjaminites, and perhaps as many as five Levites. In the LXX tradition the name is given either as *zechrei/zachrei* (Codex Vaticanus) or *zechri* (Codex Alexandrinus), except as noted below.

1. A Levite, the son of Izhar, the son of Kohath, and brother of Korah and Nepheg, and thus first cousin of Aaron, Moses, and Miriam (Exod 6:16, 18, 20–21; Num 26:59). The name appears in a genealogy (Exod 6:14–25) dealing with Israel's first three sons (Reuben, Simeon, and especially Levi) embedded in the midst of a Priestly (P) narrative on the commissioning of Moses and Aaron (Exod 6:2–7:7). The point of the listing is to underscore the tribal and family ties (Exod 6:16–25) of both Moses and Aaron (Exod 6:13, 26–27), while giving respectful but brief deference to Israel's firstborn (Exod 6:14) and secondborn (Exod 6:15).

2. A Benjaminite, the son of Shimei (1 Chr 8:19, 21). He is said to have had eight brothers (1 Chr 8:19–21). His father, Shimei (KJV Shimhi), is probably identical with the person named "Shema" in 1 Chr 8:13, who together with his brother Beriah is credited with having led the Benjaminite families dwelling at Aijalon in driving out the inhabitants of Gath (1 Chr 8:13), an event otherwise unknown.

3. A Benjaminite, the son of Shashak (1 Chr 8:23, 25). He had ten brothers, whose names are given in 1 Chr 8:22–25. His name occurs as "Zabdi" in the Syriac Bible.

4. A Benjaminite, the son of Jeroham (1 Chr 8:27). This Jeroham is perhaps the same person as "Jeremoth" mentioned in 1 Chr 8:14. The names of his five brothers are supplied in 1 Chr 8:26–27. His name (cf. also ## 2 and 3 above) is found in a listing of heads of Benjaminite families who, according to 1 Chr 8:28, were living in Jerusalem in the postexilic period. However, this verse may have been imposed and repeated in its present position from 1 Chr 9:34, on material originally supportive of contemporary postexilic Benjaminite locations outside Jerusalem.

5. A Levite, the son of Asaph, and distant ancestor of Mattaniah (1 Chr 9:15). His name occurs in connection with a list of specific Levites (1 Chr 9:14–16) within a larger register of principal groups (1 Chr 9:4–33) said to have been resident in Jerusalem after the return from

Exile (1 Chr 9:2–3, 34). In the Synoptic parallel to be found in the book of Nehemiah, the corresponding name is "Zabdi," a person further described as the ancestor of Mattaniah, the leader who regularly began the thanksgiving in prayer (Neh 11:17). The name "Zaccur," mentioned in 1 Chr 25:2, 10 and Neh 12:35, may represent still another textual variant on the name.

6. A Levite descended from Eliezer, the son of Moses, from Kohath through Amram (1 Chr 26:25; 23:6, 12–13, 15, 17). His family was important to the Chronicler as one of a number of families which King David by tradition once authorized to be in charge of the disposition of gifts dedicated for the maintenance of the temple (1 Chr 26:26–28).

7. A Reubenite, the father of Eliezer, who was chief officer over his tribe (1 Chr 27:16). The positioning of his name points to a probable connection with the census reportedly undertaken in the time of David and Joab (1 Chr 27:23–24). As the portrayal of David's role in this census appears in a more positive light in comparison with that given by the Chronicler in 1 Chronicles 21, the verses involved may reflect some secondary, editorial revisioning in support of David.

8. A Judahite, the father of Amasiah, who, according to the Chronicler, willingly offered himself for service to Yahweh (cf. Judg 5:9), together with a sizable force of warriors (2 Chr 17:16), in the reign of Jehoshaphat (ca. 873–849 B.C.E.). The mention here of military security was part of the Chronicler's programmatic effort to show his postexilic audience that Yahweh never fails to reward faithfulness.

9. Perhaps a Levite, the father of Elishaphat (2 Chr 23:1), who was one of five captains enlisted by the priest Jehoiada to help overthrow Athaliah in the 7th year of her reign (ca. 837 B.C.E.). In the parallel verse in 2 Kgs 11:4, in place of the names of the five captains, reference is made only to "the captains of the Carites and of the guards." The Chronicler's version of the story attempts to remove any suggestion that non-Levites had once entered the sacrosanct precincts of the temple. In Israel's past the Levites had often exercised a quasi-military function (Spenser 1984: 270). In the absence of a native military presence in the postexilic period, it was not unusual for the Chronicler to want to underscore the legitimacy and potential of such cultic personnel for the preservation of the postexilic sacrosanctity of the temple (Dillard *2 Chronicles* WBC, 180). The LXX mss reflect a variety of spellings of this name: *zacharia* (Vaticanus), *zacharias* (Alexandrinus), and *zechri* (Lucian recension).

10. A valiant Ephraimite in King Pekah's (ca. 737–732 B.C.E.) army who, according to the Chronicler, killed a royal prince and two high royal officials of King Ahaz (ca. 735–715 B.C.E.) of Judah (2 Chr 28:7). The Chronicler uses this person to illustrate the principle of divine retribution at work in the lives of such wicked persons as King Ahaz. The illustrative unit involved (2 Chr 8:5–15) is a supplement unique to the Chronicler, without parallel in 2 Kgs 16. In fact, 2 Kgs 16:5–6 = Isa 7:1 would seem to contradict the Chronicler's claim about Ahaz' defeat and losses. Here also the LXX mss exhibit a number of variant spellings of the name under consideration: *ezekrei* (Vaticanus), *ezechri* (Alexandrinus), and *zacharias* (Lucian recension).

11. A Benjaminite, the father of Joel, who was an overseer, resident in Jerusalem in the time of Nehemiah (Neh 11:9). He is linked with those individuals of Benjamin and Judah (Neh 11:4) whom the people blessed since they were willing to forgo living in the Judean towns outside Jerusalem to live in the holy city itself (Neh 11:1–3). His name is missing in the corresponding synoptic section in 1 Chr 9:7–9 (= Neh 11:7–9).

12. A levitical priest who was head over the priestly course of Abijah (NEB Abiah), the eighth course of priests (see 1 Chr 24:10; Neh 12:4; 10:8—Eng 10:7), in the days of the high priest Joiakim (Neh 12:17). Joiakim was the high priest (ca. 520–445 B.C.E.) who succeeded Jeshua (Neh 12:10), the contemporary of Zerubbabel (Neh 12:1). The name is contained in a list (Neh 12:12–21) basically updating an earlier list in the same chapter (Neh 12:1–7). In the Lucian recension of the LXX, the name is given as *zacharias*. In the NT period another Zechariah (Gk *zacharias;* KJV Zacharias), the husband of Elizabeth and father of John the Baptist (Luke 1:5, 57, 59–63), belonged to this same priestly course.

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ROGER W. UITTI

ZIDDIM (PLACE) [Heb *ṣiddîm*]. According to the RSV of Josh 19:35, one of the fortified cities of Naphtali, listed immediately before Zer (MT *ṣr*). These two cities are listed immediately after the unusual introductory phrase "and fortified cities" (Heb *wĕʿārê miḇṣār*). The Talmud explains: "Ziddim Kefar Hitayya, Zer adjoining" (*y. Meq.* 1:1:70a). Abel accepts this identification, placing Ziddim at Hattin el-Qadim near Hittin (M.R. 192245) and Zer in the vicinity; he also connects the place name Zer to the personal name Jezer, the son of Naphtali (Gen 46:24; *GP*: 1, 457, 460–61, Map 3).

However, the construction of the Hebrew phrase in Josh 19:35 is unusual. Ziddim is prefixed by *he* (the definite article), while Zer lacks the conjunctive *waw* usual in the town lists in Joshua. Saarisalo (1927: 128 n. 1) suggested that Ziddim and Zer do not represent names of towns, and Alt (1927: 72 n. 2) proposed that the whole opening phrase is a corrupted form of "from the fortress of Tyre to Great Sidon" (cf. Josh 19:28, 29). In the LXX, Josh 19:35 reads: "and the fortified cities of the Tyrians, Tyre and . . ." Aharoni (1957: 80) suggests that wording is a result of dittography, the letters *ṣadê* and *reš* appearing three times in the presumed Vorlage, while Ahituv (*EncMiqr* 6:765) sees it as an attempt to interpret the difficult text. Kochavi (1984: 68), however, proposes that the LXX represents the original text, reflecting an otherwise undocumented strong Tyrian influence in upper Galilee as also evidenced by archaeological finds such as those from Mt. Adir. See also GALILEE (PRE-HELLENIS-

TIC). If this is correct, there were no cities by the name of Ziddim and Zer.

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RAFAEL FRANKEL

ZIHA (PERSON) [Heb *ṣîyhā'*]. An overseer of the Nethinim, the temple officers (Neh 11:21). The chronologies in other passages list the sons of Ziha as comprising a part of the Nethinim (Ezra 2:43; Neh 7:46). There is a possibility that Ziha (Neh 11:21) is an eponym of a family of the Nethinim. Williamson (*Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC) points out that this verse was an addition to the genealogy of priests and Levites (Nehemiah 11). Thus, Ziha may be a name used to represent overseers of the temple officers. See NETHINIM.

GARY C. AUGUSTIN

ZIKLAG (PLACE) [Heb *ṣîqlag, ṣiqlag*]. A town in the transition zone between the N Negeb and the S Shephelah, initially assigned to the tribal territory of Simeon (Josh 19:5) but later incorporated into the Negeb province of Judah (Josh 15:31). It is also mentioned by the editor of 1 Chronicles as one of the towns occupied by the descendants of Simeon (1 Chr 4:30). The differences between the list in 1 Chronicles and that in Josh 19:1–9 seem to be merely editorial in nature, suggesting that both are derived from a single document describing the territory of Simeon sometime early in the period of the Monarchy, presumably before Simeon was consolidated with the tribe of Judah (Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 25–31). The inclusion of Ziklag in the list of Josh 15:21–62 obviously reflects the situation after the territory of Simeon had been absorbed by the tribe of Judah. The theory that the list of Josh 15:21–62 is derived from an administrative roster compiled under the Judean monarchy (Alt 1925) has been widely accepted, although controversy continues over the precise makeup of the districts, the proper context of the town lists of Benjamin and Dan, and the period of the Monarchy to which the original roster belongs (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 64–72). Even though it was assigned to the territory of Simeon, during the reign of Saul Ziklag had come under Philistine control. In exile among the Philistines, David was given Ziklag by Achish, Philistine king of Gath, as a reward for his presumed loyalty (1 Sam 27:6). David and his band used Ziklag as their base of operations in a campaign against various groups who threatened the S borders of Judah. 1 Chr 12:1–8 relate that warriors from Benjamin, presumably unhappy with Saul's increasing incompetence, buttressed the strength of David's band based at Ziklag. Upon his return from the Philistine muster at Aphek, where he had been released from any obligation to join the Philistine attack on the Israelites, David found that Ziklag had been ransacked and burned by a band of marauding Amalekites (1 Sam 30:1–3). After rescuing their captive wives and children, David and his men returned to Ziklag (1 Sam 30:26), where news of the defeat of the Israelites and the death of Saul at the hands of the Philistines soon arrived (2 Sam 1:1–9). 1 Sam 27:6 suggests that Ziklag remained under Judean control from David's time down to the end of the Monarchy, and Neh 11:28 informs us that it was among the towns of Judah resettled by those returning from the Babylonian Exile.

Ziklag has often been identified with Tell el-Khuweilfeh (Tel Halif; M.R. 137087), a large mound approximately 15 km NE of Beer-sheba (eg., *IDB* 4: 957). However, its geographical position raises some difficulty with this identification since it appears to lie within the territory of Judah rather than that of the Philistines (*ISBE* 4: 1196). It would seem that an Iron Age site further to the W, more within the area of Philistine domination, would be a better candidate. One mound which fits this description (Oren 1982) is Tell esh-Sharia (M.R. 119088), along the Naḥal Gerar approximately 25 km SE of Gaza and 17 km due W of Tell el-Khuweilfeh. Strata of the appropriate periods for historical Ziklag have been uncovered in recent excavations, including indications of a substantial Philistine presence in the later part of the Iron I period (Oren 1982: 163; see further below). Continuing work at these sites, and other nearby Iron Age mounds, will no doubt clarify our picture of this region during the early part of the Iron Age.

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WADE R. KOTTER

Many scholars, following Press (1955: 806–7; cf. Mazar 1975: 114, n. 12; Aharoni *LBHG;* Kallai 1967; Rainey *IDBSup,* 984–85; Na'aman 1980; and Seger 1988), identify Ziklag with Tell esh-Shari'a (M.R. 119088; also known as Tel Sera'). Tell esh-Shari'a is situated in the NW Negeb, midway between Beer-sheba and Gaza. The mound rises on the N bank of Naḥal Gerar (Wadi esh-Shari'a) near several perennial springs. The mound is horseshoe in shape with steep slopes on all but the W side, where apparently the city gate was located. The area of the summit is some 4–5 acres, and it rises 168 m above sea level, and the accumulation of occupational debris may reach 10–12 m.

Six seasons of excavations were conducted at Tell esh-Shari'a (1972–1982) under the direction of E. D. Oren. These have revealed occupational remains from the Chalcolithic to the early Islamic periods. Excavations focused on two major areas: A in the southeast corner and D on the north edge of the tell, as well as area B in the southwest corner and R on the south bank of Naḥal Gerar (see the following table).

Stratum	Era	Areas
I	Byzantine Period (4th–6th centuries C.E.)	D, R
II	Hellenistic-Roman Period (2d century B.C.E.–1st century C.E.)	A, B, D, R
III	Persian Period (5th–4th centuries B.C.E.)	A, B, C, D
IV	Iron Age IIC–III (7th–6th centuries B.C.E.)	A, D
V	Iron Age IIC (7th century B.C.E.)	A, C, D
VI	Iron Age IIB (8th century B.C.E.)	A, D
VII	Iron Age IC–IIA (10th–9th centuries B.C.E.)	A, B, D
VIII	Iron Age I (12th–11th centuries B.C.E.)	A, B
IX	LB IIB–Iron Age IA (early 12th century B.C.E.)	A
X	LB IIB (13th century B.C.E.)	A
XI	LB IIA (14th century B.C.E.)	A
XII	MB III–LB IA (17th–15th centuries B.C.E.)	A, B
XIII	Chalcolithic–Early Bronze I, IV	A

A. Bronze Age Settlements (Strata XII–IX)

Excavations at Tell esh-Shari^{c}a demonstrated that the successive MB and LB Age settlements developed uninterruptedly from the earliest, stratum XII, of the MB III in the 17th century B.C.E. until the destruction of stratum IX of the LB IIB in the mid-12th century B.C.E. The earliest Canaanite town was established in MB III; and is represented by a well-preserved monumental structure, most likely a palace, that occupied the SE corner of the tell and was erected on a massive platform, more than 1 m high. The excavated section consisted of a large courtyard enclosed on two sides by a series of small chambers resembling in plan the "courtyard Palace" at Tell el-Ajjul. Four phases (stratum XII 1–4) of rebuilding were recorded in the palace, the topmost of which was assigned to the late LB I (15th century B.C.E.). It is noteworthy that, unlike many other MB settlements in Canaan, Tell esh-Shari^{c}a did not produce evidence of destruction at the end of the MB or a gap of occupation during the early LB.

Strata XI–IX of LB II are represented in area A by well-organized administrative and cult structures. The architectural remains in stratum XI of the 14th century B.C.E. consisted of a large structure on stone foundations and a wide open courtyard. The latter is pitted with *favissae* that were full of animal bones intermixed with rich collections of pottery vessels, such as bowls on high pedestals, perforated cylindrical stands, and Cypriot imports. The area immediately above the courtyard and *favissae* is occupied in the next stratum (X) by a large structure, Building 1118, and a circular mudbrick granary nearby. The main hall of Building 1118, identified as a Canaanite sanctuary, is furnished with plastered benches and a small plastered platform fronted by a stone-built basin. The three successive floors of stratum X and the associated *favissae* were packed with pottery vessels intermixed with charcoal and sacrificial animal bones. The collection included Egyptian alabaster vases, ivory inlays, cylinder seals, and scarabs, as well as numerous Mycenaean and Cypriot imports.

Immediately N of the sanctuary a well-preserved structure, Building 906, which has been identified as a governor's residency, was excavated. See Fig. ZIK.01. Three structural phases (stratum IX 1–3) were distinguished. Building 906 was originally square in plan, 25 × 25 m, including a central courtyard with column bases and small chambers on three sides; and it was roofed over with cedar beams. The building came to an end by a wholesale fire that resulted in the collapse of the upper story. Building 906 yielded a large collection of pottery, faience, and alabaster vases. The most intriguing find was a group of eleven bowls and ostraca inscribed with Egyptian hieratic of the late New Kingdom. These texts deal with large measures of grain, presumably taxes paid to the local temple or fort; and they shed new light on the tax system in Canaan under Egyptian rule. One of the inscriptions reads "Year 20 + x" most likely of Rameses III. The destruction debris of stratum VI at Lachish yielded similar hieratic inscriptions mentioning "Year 4" and "Year 10." The discovery of some bronze objects in stratum VI inscribed with the cartouches of Ramesses confirmed our observations and implies that the destruction of Canaanite Lachish, like that of Tell esh-Shari^{c}a, occurred in the mid-12th century B.C.E., after the death of Rameses III. The destruction of stratum IX and its residency at Tell esh-Shari^{c}a may be ascribed to a group of Sea Peoples or to a raiding party of nomads (Amalekites?) from the Negeb.

ZIK.01. Section of governor's residency at Ziklag—Strata IX 1–3, LB III. *(Courtesy of E. D. Oren)*

ZIK.02. Jug from Ziklag inscribed *lyrm*, "belonging to Yaram." *(Courtesy of E. D. Oren)*

B. Iron Age and Persian Period (Strata VIII–III)

The early Iron Age Philistine settlement, stratum VIII, of the 12th–11th centuries B.C.E. is represented by three phases of rebuilding, the latest of which was followed closely, with no destruction or gap in occupation, by the Israelite stratum VII of Iron Age IC–IIA in the 10th–9th centuries B.C.E. The cultural continuity is manifested by both architectural and ceramic tradition, testifying to the occupation of the city throughout the Iron Age I–II periods by a strong Philistine element of the population.

Stratum VII in the 10th–9th centuries witnessed the most intensive Iron Age building activity, marked by four or five phases of rebuilding and a considerable accumulation of debris. Area A is represented by well-planned four-room type houses consisting of a rectangular courtyard flanked by small rooms on two sides. The courtyard is divided in the middle by a row of pillars with one section nicely paved and the other furnished with cooking and baking installations. Two small chambers probably served as staircases leading to the second story of the house. In area D and partly under the "Assyrian Fort" of stratum V were excavated the impressive remains of ashlar buildings (stratum VI) that once flanked a street. The lower courses of the mudbrick wall were lined on the outer face with nicely squared *kurkar* blocks which were drafted with flat margins and laid in alternating headers and stretchers. The mudbrick walls of these buildings were erected directly on the foundations of earlier structures with a similar ground plan. The pottery repertoire from these buildings suggests that sometime in the 9th century B.C.E. the walls were razed to the foundation level and new structures of ashlar facing were erected. The ashlar buildings were destroyed in the 8th century by a tremendous fire that left behind masses of charred beams, baked brick, and cracked ashlar blocks.

Stratum V of the 7th century B.C.E. is represented by two large fortified structures that guarded the SE and NE approaches to the Iron Age town. The one in area A was badly destroyed by a brick-lined silo and storage pits of stratum III. Excavations in area D unearthed the remains of a massively built citadel that consisted of long and narrow basement halls and was enclosed by a 4-m-thick wall. The brick-lined floors of the halls were scattered with an assortment of objects including some unique finds. A socketed crescent-shaped bronze standard of Assyrian type, symbolizing the moon-god Sin, was found in the N

hall next to a heavy iron chain, which was ca. 1 m long and on one end of which were four pitchforklike prongs. The latter was perhaps used as a grappling device for climbing walls. The central hall produced a large socketed bronze spearhead which is closely paralleled on Neo-Assyrian reliefs and N Syrian orthostats. The floor debris yielded fragments of delicate Assyrian palace ware, a faience statuette of the Egyptian goddess Sekhmet, and a long Aramaic ostracon listing commodities, such as silver, olives, and aloes, and personal names including those of S Arabic origin. One of the pottery vessels was inscribed with the word *lyrm* ("belonging to Yaram"). See Fig. ZIK.02.

Excavations in the spacious open courtyard of the citadel yielded evidence for iron-working installations, most likely for military purposes, such as iron slag, crucibles, clay pipes for bellows, as well as an intact smithy for repairing iron implements and weapons. The late 7th-century B.C.E. date for the destruction of the citadel, probably during a military campaign of the Saite dynasty, is confirmed by Archaic Greek imports found in refuse pits which were cut into the walls and floors of the citadel (stratum IV). The presence of Assyrian type bronzes and Assyrian Palace Ware suggested that the citadel, like nearby Tell Jemmeh, had been occupied for some time, or perhaps had been constructed by the Assyrian military administration in S Philistia.

The architectural remains of the Persian period (5th–4th centuries B.C.E.) consisted of two superimposed houses of the courtyard type. In area A a well-preserved brick-lined grain silo, some 5 m across, came to light. Identical structures were recorded at neighboring Tell Jemmeh. These structures yielded numerous imported Greek vessels, bronze Greek fibulae and terra-cottas, as well as a number of Aramaic ostraca.

C. Roman and Byzantine Settlements

During the Roman period the town evidently moved down the plain on the S bank of Naḥal Gerar (area R), and the summit of the mound was only sporadically occupied. On the tell were exposed the remains of a large structure (stratum II), perhaps a villa, which was protected by a massive stone wall and watchtower. The floor of the inner building was found heaped with fragments of painted wall plaster decorated with geometric and floral designs as well as Nabatean, Roman, and Aretine wares. Some fragmentary walls associated with Hellenistic ceramics imply a short-lived occupation during the 2d to 1st centuries B.C.E.

Remains of a large structure, probably a Byzantine church or monastery, were recorded on the summit of the tell where a fragmentary mosaic floor was discovered by chance in the early 1950s. In area R a well-preserved bathhouse was partly excavated. It consisted of a hypocaust with red brick arched niches and clay pipes built in the walls, as well as a system of stone-lined channels for drainage. The pottery repertoire from this building provides a 5th–6th century C.E. date for the latest use of the bathhouse.

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ELIEZER D. OREN

ZILLAH (PERSON) [Heb *ṣillāh*]. Second wife of Lamech in the line of Cain, mother of Tubal-cain and of Naamah (Gen 4:19–22). Along with Lamech's other wife, Adah, Zillah was the addressee of Lamech's song of vengeance (Gen 4:23). See LAMECH. To understand the name, it is possible to compare the Hebrew *ṣēl,* "shadow, shade," or *ṣll,* "to shrill, tinkle." If the former meaning is the original, then it may carry the sense of refreshment or of "dark"; if the latter meaning is correct, then the context invites the meaning of "a shrill war cry" or of "a cymbal," the latter with possible reference to the beauty of the voice (Gabriel 1959: 416). If Adah refers to the Hebrew word for ornament and Zillah to the word for tinkling cymbal *(ṣilṣûl),* then there is a word pair similar to that in Cant 2:14 (Cassuto 1961: 234). Stamm (1967: 337) regards the name as of unclear meaning. Forms of personal names with the same root may occur in the Hebrew Bible in *haṣṣĕlelpōnî* (a feminine name in 1 Chr 4:3; Sawyer 1986: 159; but cf. *IPN,* 241), and in *bĕṣal'ēl* (Exod 31:2 et al.; *IPN,* 152; *EncMiqr* 6: 733). The root *ṣll,* "shade, protection," appears in personal names of the W Semitic world in Old Akkadian (Gelb 1957: 243–44; Gevirtz 1963: 25–26) and Amorite (Gelb et al. 1980: 34, 365). While occurrences of *ṣillu* are common in Akkadian names of various periods (Tallqvist 1914: 303), the W Semitic element is attested in the early 2d millennium B.C. in personal names.

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RICHARD S. HESS

ZILLETHAI (PERSON) [Heb *ṣilletay*]. The name of two different persons mentioned in the OT.

1. A Benjaminite, descendant of Shimei, who headed a family that lived in Jerusalem (1 Chr 8:20). Braun considers the statement that these families lived in Jerusalem (1 Chr 8:28) as applying to the entire genealogy of Benjaminites in 1 Chr 8:1–28 and, therefore, as a contradiction of the statements in 1 Chr 8:6, 8, 12, 13 placing various segments of the genealogy in other locations (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 126). The statement in 8:28, however, probably applies only to the immediately preceding names. Williamson argues that one should distinguish between the history of the various families and the locality in which they lived at the time the genealogy was recorded (*1–2 Chronicles* NCBC, 85). Since Jerusalem lay on the border between Judah and Benjamin, it is not surprising to find Benjaminites residing there.

2. A member of the tribe of Manasseh who allied himself with David during his time at Ziklag (1 Chr 12:20). Williamson (109) notes that since David had accompanied the Philistines at least as far as Aphek near the border of Manasseh, it is quite credible that men of Manasseh would have defected to him at this time (1 Sam 29:11; 1 Chr 12:19).

RAYMOND B. DILLARD

ZILPAH (PERSON) [Heb *zilpâ*]. The maid of Leah and the concubine of Jacob. When Jacob married Leah, Laban gave Zilpah to his daughter Leah (Gen 29:24). After Leah had stopped bearing children to Jacob, Leah gave Zilpah to Jacob as a concubine (Gen 30:9) in the same way that her sister Rachel had given her maid Bilhah to Jacob (Gen 30:3). Zilpah conceived two sons by Jacob: Gad and Asher (Gen 30:10–13; 35:26). The sons of Zilpah became shepherds, and they tended the flock of their father (Gen 37:2). When Jacob and his family migrated to Egypt at the time of the great famine in the land of Canaan, sixteen descendants of Zilpah are listed among the seventy people who went to Egypt (Gen 46:18). Among these were Gad and his seven children (Gen 46:16) and Asher and his four sons, his daughter, and his two grandchildren, the sons of Beriah (Gen 46:17).

Speiser (*Genesis* AB, 227) attempted to relate Laban's giving Zilpah to Leah with Hurrian marriage practices as attested in the Nuzi tablets. Speiser said it was customary among the upper-class citizens in Hurrian society to give a personal slave girl to the bride at the occasion of her marriage. However, this view has been strongly disputed by Frankena (1972) and by Van Seters (1969: 394) because the giving of a maid to a bride was a common practice in ancient Mesopotamia.

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CLAUDE F. MARIOTTINI

ZIMMAH (PERSON) [Heb *zimmâ*]. A Gershonite Levite, son of Jahath and father of Joah (1 Chr 6:5, 27—Eng 6:20, 42). The name "Zimmah" appears related to a root *zmm*, "to purpose, devise." The *he* on the end probably alludes to the theophoric element. 1 Chronicles portrays Zimmah as the fifth generation from Levi, but 2 Chr 29:12 indicates he was the father of a contemporary of Hezekiah. Regarding the period of time in which he lived, the latter is probably the historically accurate of the two notices. Concerning 1 Chr 6:5, 27—Eng 6:20, 42 the possibility exists that the redactor of Chronicles places Zimmah and his son Joah in as close a relation to Levi as possible in order to provide and enhance legitimacy for Joah's role in 2 Chronicles 29. Another possibility is that the list in 1 Chronicles 6 derives from a fragmentary source which omitted names.

JAMES M. KENNEDY

ZIMRAN (PERSON) [Heb *zimrān*]. A clan name mentioned in the genealogy of Abraham and his wife Keturah in Gen 25:2 and in the parallel genealogical list in 1 Chr 1:32. Zimran is described as the first of Keturah's six sons. No clear regional identification has been made with this name, although the clan was most likely among those living on the fringes of the Negeb and in N Arabia. As Skinner (*Genesis* ICC, 350) notes, the connection with Zabram (Ptolemy 6.7.5), placing them W of Mecca, is too far S. Their very obscurity was used by the biblical author(s) to stand in stark contrast with the importance of the descendants of Isaac, Abraham's son by Sarah. Even those of Ishmael have a slightly better position within the scheme of Israelite history than that of these Arabian tribes.

VICTOR H. MATTHEWS

ZIMRI (PERSON) [Heb *zimrî*]. **1.** The eldest son of Zerah and grandson of Judah and Tamar, according to the Chronicler's genealogy in 1 Chr 2:6. The name is given as Zabdi in the earlier source, Josh 7:1, 17–18. The change from the original Zabdi to the Chronicler's Zimri was likely due to two factors. Orthographically, both the *bet/mem* interchange (both labials) and the *dalet/reš* interchange (similar appearance) would easily lead to confusion. Secondly, the Chronicler's attention to temple music is evident in this passage. As brothers of Zimri he lists Ethan and Heman, elsewhere associated with Israel's temple music (Psalms 88–89). Such interest likely influenced reading the name as Zimri since the name would be related to the singing of cultic music (*zamar/mizmor*). In relating the name as "Zimri" the chronicler thus associates later temple music with all three of these brothers. The confusion between "Zabdi" and "Zimri" is further reflected in the LXX reading of "Zambri" at Joshua 7. According to Joshua 7 Zimri/

Zabdi's son was Achan, whose family was destroyed in the Valley of Achor (so the name "Achan" is given as "Achar" in 1 Chr 2:7) because of his illicit confiscation of the banned goods.

2. Zimri, son of Salu, was a Simeonite leader ("head of a father's house") who during the wilderness wanderings broke faith with God by bringing a Midianite princess named Cozbi into his family home (Num 25:6–18). This act of personal infidelity followed upon the heels of the people's "apostasy at Peor" and the ensuing divine judgment, which included both execution of the offenders as well as widespread plague. Whether Zimri engaged Cozbi for purposes of marriage, for some form of cultic prostitution, or for purposes of divining an end to the plague is unclear. In its present form the story, a part of the P narrative, serves to legitimate the Zadokite priesthood (v 13), which in the postexilic period traced its ancestry back to Aaron through Phinehas. As such, Phinehas is the "hero" of the story, who smote both Zimri and Cozbi for their indiscretion (contra Ps 106:30–31, which does not yet know of the tradition concerning Zimri and Cozbi, and which speaks in general terms of Phinehas' "interposition"). That the name "Zimri" is given so late in the story has suggested to some that the names were added only at a late stage as an attack upon those who claimed descent from this Zimri.

3. The name Zimri is given in the Saulide genealogy in 1 Chr 8:36 (= 9:42) in descending order as follows:

> Jeiel, Gibeon/Ner (contrast 8:29–30, 33; 9:39; in 9:36 Ner is listed as Gibeon's son, i.e., Kish's brother), Kish, Saul, Jonathan, Meribbaal, Micah, Ahaz, Jehoaddah (given as Jarah in 9:42), Zimri, Moza, Binea, Raphah (given as Rephaiah in 9:43), Eleasah, Azel. . . .

The redundancy of the lists in 8:29–40 and 9:35–44, as well as the confusion of whether Ner is Kish's father or brother, suggests that the lists have undergone considerable editorial revision. Many assume that the former genealogy is dependent upon the latter. Saul's genealogy in vv 33–38 was probably prompted by the mention of Kish in v 30 and, together with the doublet in chap. 9, provides a bridge to the narrative of Saul at Gilboa in chap. 10. The present form of the genealogies is certainly exilic, as evidenced by the 14 generations which follow Saul. This genealogical tradition is in conflict with the statement in 1 Chr 10:6 that the entire Saulide house perished. The account in the Deuteronomistic History, however, allows that the house was continued through the line of Jonathan's son Mephibosheth (= Meribbaal), though even here there is confusion, as is attested by 2 Sam 9:3; 19:24; and especially 21:7–8.

4. The king of Israel ca. 876 B.C.E., who came to the throne by means of a coup and who committed suicide in the midst of a second coup after reigning only seven days (1 Kgs 16:8–20). During an initial phase of extreme instability in the Israelite royal house, there was a rapid succession of coups and countercoups as various military leaders attempted to consolidate power in the wake of the demise of Judean suzerainty and tumultuous international intrigue. The house of Jeroboam (Jeroboam and Nadab) was overthrown by Baasha, perhaps in an effort by Baasha to divert energies away from foreign engagements against the Philistines to focus upon consolidating power against Judah. Baasha had a long rule, marked by continuous border skirmishes against Judah. His son, Elah, was not able to consolidate power, and after only two years was killed in a coup led by Zimri, one of his chariot commanders. Zimri did so without the support of the army, which proved to be his downfall. Omri, the commander of the army, was invested with popular support and laid siege to the capital city, Tirzah, where Zimri sought refuge. Seeing that the situation was lost, Zimri burned the citadel down upon himself. After a brief period Omri was able to consolidate his royal control and established the longest-lived and most powerful dynastic house in Israel's history.

The very name of Zimri became a slur which could be used against one's adversary, as used by Jezebel against Jehu during his coup (2 Kgs 9:31). In referring to Jehu as a "Zimri," Jezebel may have been referring to any of several different facts. Unlike Baasha, who assassinated Nadab in the midst of battle (1 Kgs 15:27), Zimri did his treacherous work behind the curtain of domestic tranquillity, when such violence was least expected. Elah was drunk in a private home in Tirzah when Zimri, presumably entering as a friend, struck him down. Zimri likely did so with the help of Elah's chief steward, Arza, who likely was "assisting" Elah into his stupor. To be a "Zimri," then, may have connoted someone who conducts his treachery behind the screen of supposed goodwill and with the help of insiders who ply the victim with hospitality until he is incapable of defending himself. Thus the appropriateness of Jezebel's question when she asks Jehu, her own "Zimri," if he is coming "in peace." Such is the way "Zimris" always come!

ROD R. HUTTON

ZIMRI (PLACE) [Heb *zimrî*]. The name "Zimri" occurs in a list of nations which, according to the prophet Jeremiah, Yahweh plans to destroy (Jer 25:25). The kingdom of Zimri is otherwise completely unknown; the LXX omits any mention of its name. Bright (*Jeremiah* AB, 161) suggests that Zimri is an error for Zimki, and that Zimki is an "atbash" for Elam. An atbash is "a cipher by which letters of one name, counted from the beginning of the alphabet, are exchanged for corresponding letters counted from the end" (ibid.).

SIDNIE ANN WHITE

ZIN, WILDERNESS OF (PLACE) [Heb *midbar ṣin*]. A desert region and perhaps a place located in the Negeb on the S border of Canaan wherein was situated Kadesh-barnea (Num 13:21; 20:1; 27:14; 33:36; 34:3–4; Deut 32:51; Josh 15:1, 3). The itinerary in Num 33:36 lists it as the area of the stopping place after Ezion-geber and associates the Wilderness of Zin with Kadesh. This same area is referred to as the Wilderness of Kadesh in Ps 29:8. It is thus part of "that great and terrible wilderness" (Deut 1:19; 8:15) and is one of the seven wildernesses (Shur, Etham, Sin, Sinai, Paran, Zin, and Kadesh) crossed by Moses and the Israelites in the Exodus.

It is mentioned in the episode of the spies who "spied out the land from the wilderness of Zin to Rehob" (Num

13:21) and in connection with the death of Miriam at Kadesh (Num 20:1). It is also the setting of the episode at "the waters of Meribah of Kadesh in the wilderness of Zin" in which Moses failed to sanctify the Lord before Israel and was punished by not being permitted to enter the promised land (Num 27:14; Deut 32:51).

The Wilderness of Zin is not to be confused with the Wilderness of Sin. There is no distinction made in the LXX or the Vg between Heb *ṣin* and *sîn*, both of which are rendered "Sin" (but see Num 34:4; and Josh 15:3, where MT *ṣinâ*, "to Zin," is rendered "Senna" in both LXX and Vg). Modern English translations uniformly render the distinction Zin and Sin.

Zin and the Wilderness of Zin are prominent landmarks in the descriptions of the boundaries of the tribe of Judah in Num 34:3–4: "your south side shall be from the wilderness of Zin along the side of Edom, and your southern boundary shall be from the end of the Salt Sea on the east; and your boundary shall turn south of the ascent of Akrabbim, and cross to Zin, and its end shall be south of Kadesh-barnea." A similar description is found in Josh 15:1, 3. In both Num 34:4 and Josh 15:3 the name "Zin" occurs with the locative *h-* in a context that suggests a distinction between Zin and the Wilderness of Zin. Some have interpreted these passages as evidence that there was a specific place, located between Kadesh and the ascent of Akrabbim, named Zin from which the wilderness derived its name (*GTTOT*, 136).

The location of Kadesh-barnea at Tell el-ʿAin el-Qudeirat (M.R. 096006) first suggested by Woolley and Lawrence in their survey of the area (Woolley and Lawrence 1914–15: 62–71) has gained general acceptance (*EAEHL* 3: 697–98) and provides a specific landmark from which the boundaries of this area can be determined. See also KADESH-BARNEA. The E border of the Wilderness of Zin is Edom, and it extends to the W at least to Kadesh-barnea and possibly beyond. The border on the N is approximately a straight line from the southern end of the Dead Sea through Beer-sheba to Gaza (*GTTOT*, 247–51), while the border on the S is the Wilderness of Paran. Kadesh is said to have been located in the Wilderness of Paran as well as the Wilderness of Zin in the episode of sending out the spies (Num 13:3, 26), and the fact that it is variously located in both wildernesses may indicate that it was on the border of the two areas. See PARAN. A detailed description of this area can be found in Woolley and Lawrence 1914–15 and *GTTOT*, 247–51.

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DAVID R. SEELY

ZINA (PERSON) [Heb *zînāʾ*]. See ZIZAH.

ZION (PLACE) [Heb *ṣiyyôn*]. An ancient name for various parts of Jerusalem, of Judah and all the land, and also a metaphor for the people of God, at various periods, from biblical times to the modern period. See ZION TRADITIONS.

A. Origin and Meaning of the Name

The exact meaning of the name is uncertain. Various proposals as to etymon of the word include: (1) the Heb *ṣāwāh*, "to erect" (i.e., a structure), or *ṣâyāh*, "to be dry" (because of the dryness of Jerusalem; cf. Isa 41:18, "parched ground"); (2) the Hurrian *seya*, "brook," "river," suggesting the Gihon spring just below the City of David; (3) the Arabic *ṣahweh*, "hillcrest," "ridge," i.e., the location of the city; *Ṣahyūn* (= "Zion" and the comparable Syr root *Ṣĕhyûn*, from which the Ar form may have developed); or possibly, the most plausible, *ṣâna*, "protect," from a hypothetical etymon **ṣiyan*, "fortress." This etymon is related to the Heb root *ṣnn* found in the derived form *ṣinnâ*, "(large) shield." These Arabic etyma would suggest that Zion was a fortress located on a ridge.

Among the many references to Zion are (1) "the sons of Zion" (once, Lam 4:2); (2) the "Daughters of Zion" (one time, Cant 3:11); (3) "the Daughter of Zion" (many times in the OT and twice in the NT); (4) "the Virgin Daughter of Zion" (three times, 2 Kgs 19:21; Isa 37:22; Lam 2:13); (5) Mt. Zion (a number of times); (6) Zion (many times) or O Zion (six times). Although not used as frequently as the name Jerusalem (760 times), Zion is a very common appellative for Jerusalem and God's people. Zion sometimes is used metaphorically, such as the spiritual "Mount Zion . . . the Heavenly Jerusalem, the city of the living God" (Heb 12:22).

B. Zion in the Bible

Most often Zion refers to parts of the city of Jerusalem and its environs or the country of which the city is the capital. Frequently, Zion even represents the inhabitants of Jerusalem or the whole country. Sometimes physical features connected with Zion are stressed. The praise of God is to be made in the "gates" of the Daughter of Zion (Ps 9:14), that "stronghold" which has "watchtowers" (Mic 4:8) and whose "wall" the Lord determined to destroy (Lam 2:8). Mt. Zion experiences "dew" falling on it as the dew falls on Mt. Hermon (Ps 133:3). See Smith 1907: 134–69; Simons 1952: 60–64; Kenyon 1967: 187–93; Finegan 1969: 147–52.

When David captured Jerusalem at the beginning of the Monarchy, the city was called "the fortress of Zion," "the City of David" (2 Sam 5:7; 1 Chr 11:5). At that time, it was only a small fortified city on the SE ridge S of what would subsequently become the Temple Mount. 1 Kgs 8:1 (= 2 Chr 5:2) relates how Solomon subsequently brought up from Zion, the City of David, the ark of the covenant to the new Zion, the Temple Mount.

The temple is therefore also called Zion, Mt. Zion, or the holy hill of Zion. The divine King of Israel is frequently spoken of as dwelling there. God, the Lord, is said to be enthroned in Zion (Ps 9:11); it (the temple) is his dwelling place (Ps 76:2), his holy hill (Joel 3:17, cf. the glory of God on the tabernacle, Exod 40:34). The Lord Almighty, is dwelling on Mt. Zion (Isa 8:18). God shines forth from Zion (Ps 50:2), the place where his Name dwells (Isa 18:7). It is from Zion that a deliverer/redeemer will come forth (Rom 11:26a [= Isa 59:20a]). This deliverer is the Son of whom God speaks, "I have installed my King on Zion, my holy hill" (Ps 2:6). He is that one whom God has laid as the cornerstone in Zion (Isa 28:16 [= Rom

9:33; 1 Pet 2:6]). In the future, it is from Mt. Zion that the Lord will rule over men forever (Mic 4:7); the Lord Almighty will reign on Mt. Zion, even in Jerusalem (Isa 24:23). Furthermore, it is at the temple of the divine king that aliens such as Moab are instructed to bring lambs as tribute to the mount (the temple) of the Daughter of Zion (Isa 16:1). Also, when the Assyrian army advances against Jerusalem, Isaiah describes how that the enemy will defy the mount (the temple hill, or Jerusalem including the temple hill) of the Daughter of Zion (Isa 10:32).

Frequently the term "Zion" is used for Jerusalem, the city, or the people who inhabit it. The good news of the gospel is to be proclaimed to Zion, the people of Jerusalem (Isa 40:9; 52:7). Later this is expanded in Rom 10:15 to include the whole world. Making Zion prosper is equated with building up the walls of Jerusalem (Ps 51:18); furthermore, bringing judgment against Zion is also bringing judgment against Jerusalem (Isa 10:12). The Lord's roaring from Zion is the same as his thundering from Jerusalem (Joel 3:16). The bloodshed practiced in Zion is explained as an illustration of wickedness of Jerusalem (Mic 3:10); the result of this wickedness will be that "Zion will be plowed like a field, Jerusalem will become a heap of rubble" (Mic 3:12).

Often the term "Daughter of Zion" describes the inhabitants of Jerusalem. Only once is the plural Daughters of Zion used (Cant 3:11). On occasion these inhabitants are called the Virgin Daughter of Zion, indicating their presumed chaste nature as children of God. The Virgin Daughter of Zion, the Daughter of Jerusalem, will mock Sennacherib, king of Assyria, as he approaches with his army (2 Kgs 19:21 [= Isa 37:22]). Although condemning Jerusalem for her sin, the Lord still reminds her that she is the Virgin Daughter of Zion (Lam 2:13). The Lord provides the blessing of his salvation to the daughter of Zion by sending to Jerusalem his king (Zech 9:9 [= Matt 21:5; John 12:15; cf. Isa 62:11]). In the NT, the fulfillment of this blessing is seen in Jesus as he rides among the crowds into Jerusalem on a donkey (cf. Zeph 3:14; Zech 2:10). Zion, the holy city of Jerusalem, which was viewed as the captive Daughter of Zion (Isa 52:1–2), is called upon to awake. But the Lord's punishment for sin is the lot of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the Daughter of Zion (Lam 2:8). In her rebellion, "the Daughter of Zion is left like a shelter in a vineyard" (Isa 1:8); and because of her sin, the splendor has departed from her (Lam 1:6). The Lord has covered her with his anger (Lam 2:1) and poured out his wrath on her (Lam 2:4). Writhing like a woman in labor, the Daughter of Zion will go to Babylon into Exile (Mic 4:10). For further discussion, see ZION, DAUGHTER OF.

Sometimes Zion refers to the tribe or land of Judah, or to the whole of Israel. In his electing process, God chose the tribe of Judah, Mt. Zion, whom he loved (Ps 78:68). They, Mt. Zion, are the tribe of God's inheritance (Ps 74:2); Mt. Zion, including the villages of Judah, rejoices because of God's righteous acts (Ps 48:11). On occasion, Zion includes all the land of Israel. Captive Israel is brought back to (the land of) Zion (Ps 126:1); after the Babylonian Captivity, the people of Israel will turn their faces toward Zion (Jer 50:5).

Sometimes the metaphorical dimension of Zion is stressed. "Those who trust in the Lord are like Mount Zion" (Ps 125:1). Believers are told that they have come to Mt. Zion, the heavenly Jerusalem, the city of the living God (Heb 12:22). Prophetically, the Lord has sent his king to Zion, his holy hill (Zech 9:9 [= Matt 21:5; John 12:15]) and there placed him on the throne (Ps 2:6). He has laid his cornerstone in Zion (Isa 28:16 [= Rom 9:33; 1 Pet 2:6]), and, in the future, the Lamb will stand on Mt. Zion with the 144,000 (Rev 14:1).

C. Zion in the Byzantine and Early Church Age

By the 4th century A.D., the name "Zion" had been transferred in Christian usage from Jerusalem's SE ridge to its SW ridge. This is an understandable change for two reasons. First, this part of the city was the least destroyed by Titus in A.D. 70. Second, even after Hadrian's suppression of the Second Jewish Revolt (A.D. 132–35), it provided the Christians a place to worship not far from the crucifixion site. The Bordeaux Pilgrim (A.D. 333) definitely calls the W hill Sion (CChr Series Latina CLXXV, 16) and Epiphanius (d. A.D. 392) also makes that identification. He makes reference to the existence of a small church there in Hadrian's time that commemorates the place where the disciples had gathered on the day of Pentecost. This same place also came to be identified as the place of the Lord's Supper. This church eventually was replaced by a large basilica named, Holy Mount Zion, the Mother of All Churches (which is pictured in the Madeba Mosaic map, ca. A.D. 575). Later, the SW ridge became the location for the tomb of David (Mare 1987: 224–25, 233–36) as well as the Cenacle (the place of the Lord's Supper). Thus there continued until modern times a confusion between the Davidic Zion, located both on the SE hill and the Temple Mount, and the Christian Mt. Zion on the SW hill. Even today the SW hill is called Mt. Zion and the gate of the S side of the wall, the Zion Gate.

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ZION GOSPEL EDITION. The name given by Schmidtke to a group of Greek NT gospel mss (first identified by Bousset 1894: 132–35) which, after each gospel, or, in some cases, only after certain gospels, all have the same colophon: "Gospel according to (name); having been written and checked against the ancient copies reserved in Jerusalem on the holy mountain; in (#) *stichoi* (lines) and (#) *kephalaioi* (chapters)." Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech.* 16.4; Migne *PG* 33, 924) tells of a church standing on Mt. Zion in the mid-4th century; Schmidtke assumed that the "ancient copies" were located there. In their margin, some of the mss contain variant readings in marginal scholia introduced by the words *to Ioudaïkon*—"the Jewish (gospel)," which has led scholars to connect the scholia with the lost Judeo-Christian gospel tradition.

The "Jerusalem colophon" is found in mss 039, 20, 117, 153, 157, 164, 215, 262, 300, 376, 428, 565, 566, 686, 718, 728, 748, 754, 892, 899, 901, 922, 980, 1032, 1071, 1118, 1121, 1124, 1187, 1198, 1355, 1422, 1521, 1545, 1555, 1682, 2145, and 2245, all dating from the 9th to the 13th centuries. Their text is generally Antiochene, indicating that the archetype was probably deposited there after its collation in Jerusalem. Two of these mss (566 and 899) contain scholia with variants from *to Ioudaïkon;* another ms (1424) has additional scholia introduced by the same formula but lacks the colophon. The scholia in ms 566 are at Matt 4:5; 16:17; 18:22; and 26:74. (The last two of these scholia are given as the standard canonical reading in mss 4 and 273.) Manuscript 899 gives two of the scholia found in ms 566 (Matt 18:22; and 26:74), as well as an additional scholion at Matt 12:40. Although it lacks the "Jerusalem colophon," ms 1424 contains the scholia at Matt 16:17 and 26:74, as well as eight additional scholia, all introduced by *to Ioudaïkon:* Matt 5:22; 7:5; 10:16; 11:12; 11:25; 15:5; 16:2; and 27:65. In addition, this ms gives two further scholia at Matt 2:21 and 6:13 which, although not introduced by the *to Ioudaïkon* formula, probably come from the same source as the other scholia, according to Schmidtke.

Examples of the scholion are: at Matt 4:5; "*to Ioudaïkon:* has not 'into the holy city' but 'to Jerusalem' "; at Matt 11:25: "*to Ioudaïkon:* 'I thank thee,' " omitting "Father" *ante* "I" and substituting *eucharistō* for *exomologoumai.* Strikingly, many of the scholia can be paralleled from much earlier Christian literature, invariably connected with the lost Judeo-Christian gospels: the *Gospel of the Hebrews,* the *Gospel of the Ebionites,* or the *Gospel of the Nazoraeans.* For example, the first scholion given above (Matt 4:5) agrees with the reading of the Liège Harmony ("to Jerusalem"), itself dependent upon Tatian's 2d-century *Diatessaron,* which harmonized not just the four canonical gospels, but also a fifth, Judeo-Christian source. The second scholion (Matt 11:25) agrees in its omission of "Father" with the 2d-century writer Marcion (per Tertullian, *adv. Marc.* 4.25.1) and with the 4th-century Vetus Latina ms *a,* which contains numerous readings from the Judeo-Christian gospel tradition, such as the light in the Jordan at Jesus' baptism. Furthermore, it is significant that all of the scholia are attached to Matthew; for the gospel(s) written in "Hebrew letters" used by Judeo-Christian groups are variously called the "authentic text of Matthew" (Jerome, in *Matt.* 12.13; cf. also *de vir. ill.* 3) or "Matthew which is not complete but falsified and distorted" (Epiphanius, *haer.* 30.13.1; cf. also 29.9.4). The parallels with other Judeo-Christian traditions and this association with Matthew are what led scholars to conclude that the variants come from one of the now-lost Judeo-Christian gospels named above. Schmidtke (1911) assigned the readings to the *Gospel of the Nazoraeans,* and Vielhauer (1963) has followed him. However, one must remember that this attribution is tentative; for we cannot be certain from which—if any—of the Judeo-Christian gospels the scholia derive; indeed, they may come from more than one source. Acknowledging this difficulty and recognizing that the scholia appear only in the 9th century, one must not underestimate their value; for the fact that virtually all of the scholia can be paralleled from much earlier sources connected with the Judeo-Christian gospel tradition argues decisively for their antiquity and authenticity.

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ZION TRADITIONS. Meaning: theology and traditions connected with the term "Zion."

A. The Meaning of "Zion"
B. The Theology of Zion
  1. Enthronement after Victory
  2. The Election of Zion and David
  3. Visions of Peace
C. History of the Zion Traditions
  1. Israelite Antecedents
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  3. Zion in the Monarchy and the Second Temple Period
  4. Zion in Christianity and Rabbinic Judaism

A. The Meaning of "Zion"

In its biblical usage, the term "Zion" has at least four meanings. The word seems, first, to have been the name of a fortress in Jerusalem during the period just before David captured the city from the Jebusites. It was he who changed the name "the stronghold of Zion" to "the City of David" (2 Sam 5:7, 9). The likelihood is that the earliest biblical usage of the term was in reference to the ridge in the SE section of Jerusalem which lies between the Wadi Kidron and the Tyropoeon Valley. David's son and successor Solomon expanded Jerusalem to the NW, building his great temple of YHWH, the God of Israel, upon a hill that came to be known as "Mount Zion" (e.g., Ps 78:68–69). Indeed, as we shall soon see, the biblical Zion traditions are usually tightly associated with the theology of the temple. It is thus this second meaning, the use of "Zion" to designate the Temple Mount, that is most relevant to our discussion. From the second derives the third meaning: by a process of metonymy "Zion" came to refer to Jerusalem itself, that is, to the entire temple city. Thus, Lamentations uses "Fair Zion" (e.g., JPSV [1985]) and "Jerusalem" interchangeably (e.g., Lam 2:6–8). "Fair Zion" is simply the poignant personification of the great temple city; a sharp distinction between the traditions of Zion and those of Jerusalem cannot be sustained. By a further use of metonymy, Zion, like Jerusalem, came to refer to the people Israel and not just their temple mountain and city, so that Second Isaiah reports YHWH to "[h]ave said to Zion: 'You are My people!' " (Isa 51:16; JPSV), and Zechariah can apostrophize thus: "O Zion, you who dwell in Fair Babylon!" (Zech 2:11; JPSV). This last citation, from about 520 B.C.E., shows how much the term "Zion" changed—or,

rather, grew—in the half millennium from the time Israel first used it. Once the name of a ridge in pre-Davidic Jerusalem, it had now become a designation for the people of Israel themselves, though without having shed its spatial reference. Since the fates of the Temple Mount, of Jerusalem, and of the whole house of Israel were inextricably intertwined in the temple theology, it stands to reason that the same term could come to refer to any and all of the three.

Today "Mount Zion" is the name of a hill in Jerusalem on which are found structures that are purported to be David's tomb and the upper room in which Jesus is reported to have eaten his Last Supper. It must be noted that the identification of this hill with the biblical Zion is post-biblical, in fact Byzantine. Rather, the Mount Zion of the Bible is the Temple Mount *(har habbayit)*, at the foot of which one finds today the Western Wall and atop which sits a spectacular mosque, the Dome of the Rock.

B. The Theology of Zion

The larger significance of the biblical term "Zion" lies not in the domain of topography but in that of theology.

1. Enthronement after Victory. The term evokes a whole range of concepts having to do with the kingship, might, justice, and faithfulness of YHWH and the security and beatitude of those privileged to lodge in his sacred mountain in humility and faith and to witness his (re)enthronement upon it. These "Zion traditions" lurk behind dozens of passages in the Hebrew Bible but are especially evident in Psalms and Isaiah. In the former book they are most pronounced in Psalms 2, 46, 48, 65, 76, 84, 87, 95–99, 110, 122, 125, 128, and 132. In Isaiah the Zion traditions are prominent in 8:5–10; 17:12–14; 24:21–23; 25:6–12; 26:1–7; 30:27–33; 33:5–6, 14–24; 37:33–38, 60–62; and 65:17–25. In most of these passages, Zion is explicitly mentioned; but even in those in which it is not, the theological concepts associated with it are in abundant evidence.

A sense of those traditions can be gained from Psalm 48 (JPSV), a representative song of Zion. The term "song of Zion," though of biblical origin (Ps 137:3), is, of course, misleading, since if there can be only one subject of this and kindred poems, it is clear that the subject is not Zion, but YHWH. Psalm 48 begins and ends with the praise of him who is "great," "much acclaimed," and the worshipping community's "God forever." But the place at which this message of the incomparability, invincibility, and faithfulness of God has been made known is not extraneous. Rather, Zion is "his holy mountain," and for good reason, as it is "fair-crested, joy of all the earth," and the "summit of Zaphon" (v 3). This last word is known from Canaanite poems of the LB Age to have been the mountain abode of Baal, the great god of the thunderstorm, whose martial exploits constitute the subject of some Canaanite epics (Sarna *EncBib* 6: 747–49). Canaanite Zaphon lay somewhere to the N of Israel, as can be learned from the fact that the same word came to mean "north" in Hebrew. The application to Zion of the name of Baal's mountain suggests a large degree of continuity between Israel and Canaan, though it does not constitute proof that the Jebusites had already identified Zion with Zaphon (Roberts 1973: 336).

It is not altogether clear that "the great king" of whom Zion is the city (v 3) is YHWH rather than David, his chosen vice-regent and adopted son; but this identification makes less difference here than in other streams of biblical tradition; for in the Jerusalem theology the sovereignty of YHWH and that of David cannot usually be disengaged. Still, the likelihood is that the kingship celebrated in Psalm 48 is YHWH's. As is common in the Hebrew Bible and the rest of the ANE, this kingship is thought to rest upon a victory; the victory demonstrates the would-be king's overwhelming might and establishes his suzerain claim upon those whom he has rescued. In our psalm, the enemy YHWH overcomes is a coalition of unspecified kings who seem to be undone by the mere sight of the battlements of the great temple city (vv 5–9). It is this effortless victory over these unnamed adversaries that grounds YHWH's claim to suzerainty—he is "the great king"—and proves him "a haven" to those who shelter within Zion's sacred precincts. It is not that the great triumph happens to occur at Zion, as if it could just as easily occur elsewhere. Rather, as v 9 makes clear, Zion provides vivid visual testimony to these theological affirmations of the invincibility, sovereignty, and reliability of YHWH, God of Israel. Mount Zion and its structures are the geographical and architectural equivalent of a theophany. They provide direct visual evidence for certain key points of theology. This is the reason that the worshipping community (perhaps a group of pilgrims) is instructed in vv 13–14 to make a careful tour of Zion, noting all its towers, ramparts, and citadels. These are to the eye what the stories of his mighty acts are to the ear: "what we heard we have now witnessed" (v 9).

One of these key points of theology is God's "beneficence" (*ṣedeq*, v 11). The association of this term with the joy and exultation of Zion and the towns of the Judean countryside suggests a more specific meaning. Joy is, of course, often associated with enthronement (Ollenburger 1987: 33–35), just as inauguration days are festive occasions now. Given the connection of Zion with enthronement, it is not surprising that joy, in turn, should be a prominent feature of the Zion tradition and that the mount itself could be termed "joy of all the earth" (v 2). But in the ANE it was not unusual for a king upon his accession or the anniversary of it to give his subjects a very tangible cause for joy by issuing a decree that would cancel debts, release prisoners, repatriate prisoners of war, and the like. Weinfeld has shown that the expression *ṣedeq ûmišpāṭ*, usually rendered as "justice and righteousness" (or something similar), is, in fact, a technical term for this sort of decree (biblical law routinized these instrumentalities of redemption through the institutions of the Sabbatical and jubilee years and the Sabbath itself; e.g., Leviticus 25; Weinfeld 1985; Levenson 1988: 100–106). Thus the "beneficence" *(ṣedeq)* of Ps 48:11 is to be associated with the "judgments" *(mišpāṭîm)* of the following verse. The two words are a hendiadys that has been separated. Between them lies the consequence of the easements to which they refer, the joy of Zion and exultation of Judah.

Whether the attack narrated in Psalm 48 actually happened or not, the enemies in it are historical, a coalition of kings, and not some natural force. A distinction between historical and natural enemies, however, would be artificial when applied to the Zion traditions. In another song of

Zion, Psalm 46, the potential sources of fear fall into both categories. The mountains topple into the sea—creation itself is undone—and "nations rage," but the worshippers remain serene, secure in the knowledge that God is in his holy city and will rescue it by daybreak, even from the historical/natural cataclysm that rages outside its walls (Ps 46:2–8). Similarly, Psalm 65, which begins with the praise of God in Zion (v 2), speaks of him as the one:

> 7who by His power fixed the mountains firmly,
> who is girded with might,
> 8who stills the raging seas,
> the raging waves,
> and tumultuous peoples (Ps 65:7–8; JPSV)

The serenity of those privileged to dwell in Zion derives from their faith in the power of YHWH to master all assaults upon him (and them), whether from raw nature or from the rebellious human heart. The enthronement of YHWH signifies his unassailable mastery over all else, his establishment of order in nature, and his unshakable fidelity to those who seek and have no hope but him. The drama of YHWH's (re)enthronement on Zion is a representation both of the cosmogonic events that have come to be called "creation" and of the great lesson of the history of redemption—that YHWH shall not fail to deliver his faithful allies. The safety of those who dwell in the city of God as the "waters rage and foam" and "kingdoms topple" (Ps 46:4, 7; JPSV) recalls Israel's successful crossing of the sea and the drowning of pharaoh's troops in hot pursuit (Exodus 14–15). Though the Zion traditions do not touch upon the redemption from Egypt and are less historically particular than those of the Exodus, to set the two complexes of tradition into opposition, as is often done, is to miss the high degree of theological congruity between them (Levenson 1987: 185–217).

In contrast to the angry, chaotic waters mentioned in Pss 46:3–4 and 65:7–8, we also hear mentioned "a river whose streams gladden God's city" (Ps 46:5; JPSV), which may be synonymous with "[t]he gently flowing waters of Siloam" of Isa 8:6 (JPSV). The latter refers to a conduit, expanded in the 8th century B.C.E. into a tunnel, which brought water from the spring of Gihon into the city of Jerusalem. By making such an identification, however, we may be missing the old Canaanite roots and deep mythical character of the river of the gladdening streams. The vision of the new order of things in Ezekiel 40–48 includes a spring arising from the temple itself and flowing into the Dead Sea, which it will then miraculously desalinize (Ezek 47:1–12; cf. Zech 14:8; Joel 4:18). Ultimately, this imagery and that of Ps 46:5 probably derive from the description in Canaanite sources of the abode of the great god El "at the sources of the two rivers,/In the midst of the fountains of the double-deep" (Cross *CMHE,* 36–38). In all likelihood, the biblical Zion traditions conflate elements of the myths of El and of Baal (Roberts 1973: 336). YHWH, the God enthroned on Zion, is indebted to both of these Canaanite deities but identical to neither and different from both in important respects.

2. The Election of Zion and David. The image of Zion that emerges from the literature examined so far is that of an enchanted mountain on which the victory of YHWH over all adversaries and in defense of those faithful to him is consummated, celebrated, and perhaps even reenacted. Other passages, however, see Zion's uniqueness as owing to election: YHWH has *chosen* it as the site of his royal palace, the temple, the place where he finds rest (Pss 78:68–69; 132:13; cf. 1 Kgs 8:44, 48; 11:13, 32, 36; 14:21; 2 Kgs 21:7; 23:27; Zech 1:17; 2:16; 3:2). Ollenburger argues that the election of Zion "is to be understood predominantly in a cultic sense and is probably dependent upon the Deuteronomic doctrine of cult centralization in which the cultic site of [YHWH's] choice . . . is restricted to Jerusalem" (Ollenburger 1987: 61). It is surely the case that the absence of any language of chosenness in so many of the poems that reflect the Zion traditions casts doubt upon the claim that those traditions were always grounded in election. But it is also doubtful that the Deuteronomistic school innovated the idea of YHWH's choice of Zion, for in two poems that seem to be pre-Deuteronomic, the election of Zion is explicit (Pss 78:68–69; 132:13). It is telling that in both these instances YHWH's choice of Zion is conjoined to his choice of David (Pss 78:70–72; 132:11–12, 17–18). Though the evidence is in any event slight, it is probable that the idea in the royal theology that the house of David was chosen for kingship is the mother of the idea of Zion's election. Going even further, Roberts once saw the Davidic theology as the very source of the Zion traditions, so that the defeat of YHWH's enemies at Zion reflects a revolt by vassals of Judah against their Davidic suzerain (Roberts 1973). Though this theory nicely fits the image in Psalm 2, in which YHWH reiterates his support for his afflicted vassal installed on Mt. Zion (v 5), it does not fit many other exemplars of the Zion tradition, which generally lack all mention of David. It bears mention that the victory of the god against an assault by foreign peoples has ample mythological antecedents in both Mesopotamia and Canaan (Stolz 1970: 72–101), and this has led Roberts to modify his thinking (1982: 102–3). It is unnecessary to search for precise historical events behind the reflection of this old motif in the Zion traditions.

Though the traditions of Zion cannot be subsumed into those of David in the Jerusalem cultus, the union of the two traditions in poems like Psalms 2 and 132 is hardly surprising. In both pieces, David serves as YHWH's viceregent, the terrestrial manifestation of God's governance of the world, his vicar in the sanguinary realm of politics (cf. Psalm 110). In this high royal theology, one cannot speak of the enthronement of the one sovereign apart from the other. Indeed, in Psalm 89 (in which Zion is not mentioned), YHWH's creation of the world finds completion in his commissioning of David, into whose keeping he commits the malevolent forces of chaos (v 26; Levenson 1988: 111–17). Since Zion is in some of the literature the locus of creation, that is, of YHWH's mastering and taming the pernicious forces of disorder, and since the human king on occasion plays a key role in that cosmogonic drama, it follows that the Zion and the David traditions would connect, as they in fact have in Psalms 2, 110, and 132.

3. Visions of Peace. The paradoxical consequence of YHWH's great victory at his holy city is an end to the weapons of war and the inauguration of a reign of peace:

[9]Come and see what the LORD has done,
how He has wrought desolation on the earth.
[10]He puts a stop to wars throughout the earth,
breaking the bow, snapping the spear,
consigning wagons to the flames.
[11]"Desist! Realize that I am God!
I dominate the nations;
I dominate the earth." (Ps 46:10–11; JPSV;
cf. Ps 76:4; Ezek 39:9–10)

The basis of this vision of peace is not pacifism, but rather the limitless scope of YHWH's triumph: his victory over the nations, his dominance over the world ensures that weapons will be futile. The recognition of YHWH's lordship is the basis of universal peace.

In Isa 2:2–4 (paralleled in Mic 4:1–4), the exaltation of Zion over all other mountains results in a joyful pilgrimage of the nations to the source of divine instruction *(tôrâ)*. Instead of a battle, we hear of YHWH's successful arbitration between the nations:

And they shall beat their swords into plowpoints
And their spears into pruning hooks:
Nation shall not take up
Sword against nation;
Never again shall they train for war. (Isa 2:4)

The idea of peace is prominent in the traditions of Zion/Jerusalem, in part because the last three consonants of the holy city's name *(šlm)* appear to have been understood as related to the word for peace *(šālôm;* e.g., Ps 122:6–8). The deeper reason, however, has to do with God's protection of his temple city and its status as a visible symbol of the futility of wars and weapons when they are directed against the master of all that is. It is through acknowledging the invincibility of the God of Israel, symbolized by the exaltation of his Temple Mount, that the war-weary nations at long last find peace (Wildberger 1957).

The protection and peace that Zion symbolized and manifested were thought to be available even in the absence of the eschatological glorification of the mountain that Isa 2:2–4 envisions. Individual worshippers longed for admittance to the mountain of YHWH and the temple atop it; some even expressed a wish to spend their lives there (e.g., Pss 23:6; 27:4). The conditions for admittance were a prominent feature of the "entrance liturgies" (e.g., Psalms 15; 24; Isa 33:14–16). Only those could be admitted who lived a blameless and upright life, avoiding slander, fraud, interest taking, and bribes, upholding oaths and honoring those who, like themselves, revere YHWH:

Such a one shall dwell in lofty security,
With inaccessible cliffs for his stronghold,
With his food supplied
And his drink assured (Isa 33:16; JPSV)

Delekat reconstructs a more limited context for these criteria of admission, connecting them with the use of holy sites as places of asylum (e.g., Exod 21:12–14; Num 35:9–34; Deut 19:1–12; 1 Kgs 1:50–53; 2:28–35; Delekat 1967: esp. 166–76). If this connection is correct, then the entrance liturgies served a precise legal function: they distinguished those who were deserving of asylum from those who were not. In the case of a homicide without malice aforethought, admission to the temple complex could mean the difference between life and death at the hands of his victim's blood avenger. Perhaps this is what lies behind the psalmist's statement that YHWH "spread[s] a table before me in full view of my enemies" (Ps 23:5; JPSV) and that he is "chased" *(rdp)* only by goodness and love while he dwells in the temple (v 6). The safety of the hunted individual within the sacred precincts of the temple is the correlative of the inviolability of Zion from attacking kings in compositions such as Psalms 2, 46, and 48. The connection of Zion's inviolability with old provisions of law again argues against an origin of the motif in a specific historical event.

C. History of the Zion Traditions

1. Israelite Antecedents. The history of the Zion traditions is difficult to trace because the dates of so many of its key texts are uncertain. One of its sources almost surely lies in the traditions of the ark, the full name of which seems to have been "the ark of the covenant of the LORD of Hosts enthroned on the cherubim" (1 Sam 4:4; cf. 2 Sam 6:2; JPSV). The expression "LORD of hosts" becomes prominent in the Jerusalem cult. Psalm 24, for example, celebrates the triumphant entry of the "LORD of hosts," identified with the "King of glory" *(kābôd,* v 10; JPSV) into his holy mountain. *Kābôd* is another term associated with the ark. After its capture by the Philistines in the 11th century B.C.E., the daughter-in-law of the high priest of Shiloh names her son Ichabod *(ʾî-kābôd;* literally "no glory") because "the glory [*kābôd*] has departed from Israel" (1 Sam 4:21; JPSV). The idea of YHWH as enthroned on the cherubim was also an important item of the Jerusalem cultus (see Isa 37:14–16; and esp. Ps 99:1–3). Though this evidence is more exiguous than we would like, it does suggest strongly that one antecedent of the Zion traditions lay in the ark traditions, especially as they developed at Shiloh just before the emergence of the monarchy (Mettinger 1982: 19–37; Ollenburger 1987: 37–43).

2. Canaanite Antecedents. The Shilonite ark traditions cannot, however, explain the sense of Zion as an enchanted *place,* the inviolable mountain home of YHWH. One antecedent of this important aspect of the Zion tradition would seem to lie in certain traditions of Mt. Sinai, which were transferred to Zion (Levenson 1987: 89–92). It is possible that this transference was aided by a mythology of Zion already held by the Jebusites, from whom David took the mountain stronghold (Rowley 1939; Hayes 1963: 423–24). Proponents of the Jebusite origin of the Zion traditions point especially to Gen 14:18–19, in which Abram gives a tenth of his booty to Melchizedek, priest-king of Salem (i.e., Jerusalem; see Ps 76:3). Evidently an etiology of the Israelite tithe, this passage would seem to imply considerable continuity between the pre-Israelite and the Israelite priesthoods of Jerusalem. The obscure mention of Melchizedek in Ps 110:4 seems to speak to the same point. More convincing is David's purchase of the threshing floor of Araunah the Jebusite for an altar after the apparition of the angel of YHWH at that spot (2 Sam 24:15–25). If the cultus of Jerusalem in the early Monarchy was influ-

enced by Jebusite traditions, it is entirely possible that those elements in the Zion tradition that seem to lack secure rooting in old Israelite tradition came in from this Canaanite source. It is likely that the tendency in the Hebrew Bible, especially the psalms, to describe YHWH as a rock, crag, stronghold, and the like was influenced by the very topography of Jerusalem (e.g., Ps 71:3; see also Ps 125:2). Unfortunately, the paucity and ambiguity of the evidence prevent the indebtedness of the Zion tradition to pre-Israelite Jerusalem from moving beyond conjecture.

3. Zion in the Monarchy and the Second Temple Period. With David's conquest of Jerusalem and accession to the throne of the united kingdom of Judah and Israel and then Solomon's construction of the state temple, the traditions of Zion undoubtedly became an essential component of Israel's religious tradition. The partial union of the Zion and the David traditions mentioned earlier probably goes back to this period, though it is important to remember that either tradition could be articulated independently, without allusion to the other. Zion as a symbol of the people of Israel's national honor derives from the conception of the mountain as the place in which the human king, who is the viceroy of the divine king, sits enthroned, effortlessly subduing rebellious vassals, just as his divine suzerain and adoptive father subdues the kingdoms that assault his sacred mountain (e.g., Psalms 2; 110). As the royal shrine first of the united monarchy and then of Judah alone after the schism, the temple atop Zion would have become a site for pilgrimage (see, e.g., Psalms 84; 122), an institution that would have become more important as Judean kings such as Hezekiah and Josiah attempted to centralize sacrifice in Jerusalem (2 Chronicles 30; 2 Kgs 23:1–27). During the former's reign in the latter part of the 8th century B.C.E., Zion traditions seem to have come to the fore through the preaching of the prophet Isaiah (Hayes and Irvine 1987: 54–56; Levenson 1987: 156–65). It has, however, been argued that the Zion theology in Isaiah is a later interpolation and that the idea of Zion's inviolability developed after the failure of the Assyrian king Sennacherib to depose Hezekiah in 701 B.C.E. (Clements 1980: 72–89). Such radical literary-critical surgery is not necessary. The traditions of the Holy One of Israel enthroned in majesty in his unassailable mountain temple need not be ascribed to later tradents. They fit comfortably into Isaiah's worldview.

After the fall of Judah and the torching of the temple in 587 B.C.E., Zion became a poignant symbol of national disgrace, of the contradiction between the great royal city of promise and memory and the pitiful ruins of the present era. The widowed lady of Lamentations, "Fair Zion," is a personification of the chosen nation in the agony of its rejection by God (e.g., Lam 1:1–11). The direction is reversed, however, after the Exile, as Third Isaiah envisions the remarriage of the spurned nation, the return of her lost children, a pilgrimage of foreign nations and their kings, once her tormentors but now bent on doing her homage (Isaiah 60–62). All this results from the new victory of her husband and deliverer, as he again comes in glory, to be enthroned as of old (Isaiah 60–62). Though Wanke sees the Zion theology generally as postexilic (1966), demonstrably postexilic literature such as Third Isaiah is markedly different from the Zion psalms and more complex. Ps 137:3 shows that the songs of Zion were a known quantity before the Exile.

4. Zion in Christianity and Rabbinic Judaism. In the NT, the Zion traditions as outlined here are not to be found, though much of their characteristic spirituality persists under different symbols. As Cohn notes, "the increasingly Gentile composition of the predominantly diasporic 'church' was bound to loosen attachments to a place few had known" (Cohn 1981: 77). The tendency in early Christianity was thus to spiritualize and delocalize the traditions of the Hebrew Bible in a way that left scant room for the old ideas of sacred space. Paul's allegory in Gal 4:22–26, for example, is predicated upon a stark dichotomy of the earthly and the heavenly Jerusalem. The former is identified with the Jews and slavery, the latter with the Church and freedom. The distinction between the two Jerusalems is known in the rabbinic tradition as well, except that, as Talmon points out, "the idea of the celestial Jerusalem as it was conceived by Jewish thinkers, and even by mystic fancy never lost its touch with down-to-earth reality" (1971: 309), as it often did in Christian allegory and the spirituality that it expressed. Though the rabbinic tradition evolved the practice and study of torah into a religion fit for Diaspora, it continued to pray for the restoration of Zion and the return of Jewry to its sacred homeland. It is no wonder that in modern times the Zion traditions have provided the name of a powerful movement for Jewish survival and renewal, "Zionism."

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JON D. LEVENSON

ZION, DAUGHTER OF [Heb *bat-ṣiyyôn*]. A poetic personification of the city of Jerusalem and its inhabitants. This expression, more properly translated "Daughter Zion" (Stinespring 1965), occurs 26 times in the OT, all in poetic contexts. The plural, *bĕnôt-ṣiyyôn,* occurs four times, also in poetic contexts but always referring specifically to female inhabitants of the city, a literal signification which does not ever fit the singular form of the phrase, which therefore must be understood as figurative.

The expression probably originated to symbolize the nationalistic traditions of Judah, epitomized by its capital city. Zion is technically the name of the pre-Davidic fortified hill of Jerusalem but occurs frequently, especially in poetry, as a synonym for the city as a whole. The "Daughter Zion" expression accounts for about 25 percent of its total appearances in the OT. The expression "daughter of Jerusalem" (always in the singular; 2 Kgs 19:21 = Isa 37:22; Mic 4:8; Zeph 3:14; Lam 2:18; and Zech 9:9), occurs only in association with "Daughter Zion" and may be regarded as a virtually synonymous phrase.

The people represented by the expression *bat-ṣiyyôn* have a home, a place from which they derive identity. That place is Zion, the city of the Lord. The holy city is both a meeting point for God and people and a center, a point of stability, around which the human community revolves.

Why is that holy city personified as a daughter? Partially, because such a practice was common in the Hebrew language. Not just Jerusalem, but Tyre (Ps 45:13—Eng 45:12), Babylon (e.g., Ps 137:8), and Tarshish (Isa 23:10) were so described. The reasons behind that practice, however, are not entirely clear. Perhaps cities were thought of as daughters—subordinate offspring—of a nation as a whole. Perhaps the Hebrew predisposition to use feminine nouns for abstract or collective concepts is at work here. Or perhaps the reason is more subtle. While sons are thought to represent the adventuresome spirit of a society, constantly pressing beyond established boundaries at the outmost part (the circumference) of the community, female children are associated with stability, with nurturing the community at its very center. While the stereotypical male spirit lies in conquest, the stereotypical female spirit lies in culture. Accordingly, the expression *bat-ṣiyyôn* is not used to refer to the Hebrew people in their wilderness wanderings or in their territorial conquests in Canaan during the period of the Judges. Rather, the expression refers to the Hebrews as a settled people, a centered and stable people whose life and culture revolved around the divine-human encounter focused on the holy city, Jerusalem.

A comparison with Greek traditions about Athens, the "holy city" of the divine daughter Athena, suggests that one may understand the femininity of Zion not merely in terms of the city as being the mother of its inhabitants (the traditional explanation for the personification), but also (and perhaps rather) in terms of the city as divine daugher. As such, the city is the quintessence of civilization and culture, of a stable lifestyle, of permanent relationships. It is also the particular recipient of divine favor and, conversely on occasion, of divine wrath and punishment.

Precisely half of the occurrences of Daughter Zion imagery in the OT reflect dignity, joy, favor, and exaltation. Typical is this passage from Zephaniah (3:14, RSV):

> Sing aloud, O daughter of Zion (sic);
> Shout, O Israel!
> Rejoice and exult with all your heart,
> O daughter of Jerusalem!

(Additional references include Isa 16:1; 52:2; 62:11; Mic 4:13; Jer 6:2; Lam 4:22; Zech 2:14—Eng 2:10; and Ps 9:15–Eng 9:14.)

The remaining half of the occurrences cite the city as the object of wrath, mortification, and destruction—a pitiful image indeed, made poignant by the fact that the expression itself probably originated to depict the city and her people in victorious, secure prosperity. Here, then, in Lam 2:13 (RSV), is found ironic reversal, the downfall of what has been cherished, refined, and cultured:

> What can I say for you, to what compare you,
> O daughter of Jerusalem?
> What can I liken to you, that I may comfort you,
> O virgin daughter of Zion?
> For vast as the sea is your ruin;
> Who can restore you?

(Additional references include Isa 1:8; 10:32; Mic 1:13; 4:10; Jer 6:23; Lam 1:6, 2:1, 4, 8, 10, 13.)

The expression *bat-ṣiyyôn,* "Daughter Zion," is more than simply the personification of a group of people. Rather, it is an image of the unity between place and people within which divine favor and civilization create a setting of stability and home. To see the beauty of that setting defaced is, therefore, to the ancient poet comparable to seeing a beloved and cherished young woman in anguish (Jer 4:31):

> For I heard a cry as of a woman in travail,
> anguish as of one bringing forth her first child,
> the cry of the daughter of Zion (sic) gasping for breath,
> stretching out her hands,
> "Woe is me! I am fainting before murderers."

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ELAINE R. FOLLIS

ZIOR (PLACE) [Heb *ṣîʿōr*]. A town situated in the central hill country of Judah (Josh 15:54), within the same district as Hebron. The only reference to this settlement occurs in the list of towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:21–62). The theory that this list is derived from an administrative roster compiled under the Judean monarchy (Alt 1925) has been widely accepted, although controversy continues over the precise makeup of the districts, the proper context of the town lists of Benjamin and Dan, and the period of the Monarchy to which the original roster belongs (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 64–72). Although modern Sair, about 8 km NNE of Hebron, bears

some similarity in name to ancient Zior, it is located too far to the N to be an acceptable candidate (Boling and Wright, *Joshua* AB, 389). The ancient site is surely to be found in closer proximity to Hebron.

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WADE R. KOTTER

ZIPH (PERSON) [Heb *zîp*]. **1.** A grandson (?) of Caleb and therefore probably the name of a prominent Calebite family in Judah (1 Chr 2:43). The wording of this list is problematic, and the MT and LXX differ over the name of Ziph's father; consequently, the genealogical relationship between "Ziph" and "Maresha" is confusing (see Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 11).

2. The son of Jehallelel, who is listed in a genealogy of Calebites (1 Chr 4:16). This Ziph was therefore the name of a prominent Judean family, although it is unclear what relationship this name has with Ziph #1 above or with the several Judean places named ZIPH. In all probability this genealogical list (1 Chr 4:16–20) is preexilic, since it includes Ziph and Eshtemoa, both of which lay outside Judean territory in the time of Nehemiah (Myers, p. 29).

GARY A. HERION

ZIPH (PLACE) [Heb *zîp*]. ZIPHITES. **1.** A city of Judah which lay in the administrative district to the SE of Hebron, the district which also contained Maon, Carmel, and Juttah (Josh 15:55). Eusebius noted a village by this name to the E of Hebron. However, the two sites which today bear the ancient name, Tell Zîf and its neighbor Khirbet Zîf, are situated about 7 km to the SSE of Hebron.

Tell Zîf (M.R. 162048) is generally accepted as the biblical site. It stands on the edge of the Judean desert, which falls away steeply to the E. No systematic excavations have taken place at the site, but a Jewish ossuary with a bilingual inscription in Greek and Aramaic was recovered from one of the tombs (Rahmani 1972).

When David was alienated from Saul, he gathered a small army of 600 men and fled into the desert. Much of this time was spent in the "Wilderness of Ziph," the desolate area to the E of the city; and Jonathan visited him there (1 Sam 23:14–16). The citizens of the city, however, were loyal to Saul and sent word to him at Gibeah that David was hiding in the area (1 Sam 23:19–24; 26:1). Saul came to Ziph to pursue David (1 Sam 26:2); but David refused to harm Saul when the king's guards fell asleep, leaving Saul unprotected (1 Sam 26:6–25). Memory of David's perilous time in the Wilderness of Ziph gave rise to the superscription of Psalm 54.

According to 2 Chr 11:8 Ziph was one of the cities fortified by Solomon's son Rehoboam. Recently it has been suggested that the list of cities in 2 Chr 11:6–10 should be redated to the time of Hezekiah and that the list represents the attempts of the latter to meet the impending threat of Assyria (Na'aman 1986).

2. A city of Judah in the district of the S Negeb near the border with Edom (Josh 15:24). Questions have been raised about its existence on both literary and archaeological grounds. In the LXX, the name of Ziph is either missing or confused. A Khirbet ez-Zeifeh has been reported SW of Kurnub (MR 156048), but its history of occupation is unknown.

3. One of the four places named in the royal-stamp jar handles. It is generally equated with Ziph # 1 above. See STAMPS, ROYAL JAR HANDLE.

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H. DARRELL LANCE

ZIPHAH (PERSON) [Heb *ziphâ*]. Son of Jehallelel in the genealogy of Judah (1 Chr 4:16). It has been observed that this name is a feminine form of Ziph, which precedes it. The suggestion has been made that Ziphah is a dittography of Ziph (Curtis *Chronicles* ICC).

H. C. Lo

ZIPHION (PERSON) [Heb *ṣiphyôn*]. ZEPHONITES. The oldest son of Gad (Gen 46:16). He was the grandson of Jacob and Zilpah, the maid whom Laban gave to his daughter Leah on the occasion of Leah's marriage to Jacob (Gen 29:24). Ziphion's name is included in the record of Jacob's family which descended with him to Egypt at the invitation of Joseph at the time of a great famine in the land of Canaan (Gen 46:8–27). In the Sam. Pent. and the LXX the name Ziphion appears as Zephon. This reading agrees with the second census list of the clans of Gad in Num 26:15, where Zephon appears as the son of Gad and the ancestral leader of the Zephonites, one of the Gadite clans. Ziphion's name does not appear in the genealogical list of the other clans of Gad mentioned in 1 Chr 5:11–17.

CLAUDE F. MARIOTTINI

ZIPHRON (PLACE) [Heb *ziphrôn*]. The exact location of this place is not known but is described as a marker for one of the boundaries of the area of Canaan (Num 34:9). The text reveals that it is situated between Zebad and Hazar-enan.

JEFFREY K. LOTT

ZIPPOR (PERSON) [Heb *ṣippôr*]. The father of Balak, the king of Moab during the days of Moses (Num 22:2, 4, 10, 16; Josh 24:9; Judg 11:25). It was Zippor's son, Balak, who contracted with Balaam, the son of Beor, to curse the Israelites during their residency in the plains of Moab (Numbers 22–24). The tradition in Josh 24:9 suggests that Balak ben Zippor summoned Balaam in the wake of a military standoff. Balak attacked Israel and then sent for Balaam. However, the rhetorical question in Judg 11:25 suggests that there was no military confrontation between Balak and Israel. This latter view is supported by the full

narrative in Numbers 22–24, which only hints at possible military confrontation (e.g., 22:6, 11; 24:17) but which also suggests that no such conflict preceded Balaam's oracular activity.

Whether Balak, son of Zippor, is a fictitious eponym symbolizing the region of *el-belqa* or is a historical figure based upon a petty city-king is impossible to determine since no records exist to confirm that there was a "royal house of Moab" in these early days of Moab's rising national identity.

ROD R. HUTTON

ZIPPORAH (PERSON) [Heb *ṣippōrâ*]. The Midianite woman who emerges briefly from the shadows of her father (Reuel/Jethro) and husband (Moses) to act as savior in a mysterious and dangerous situation (Exod 4:24–26). Exod 2:16–22 present Zipporah as the daughter of the Midianite priest Reuel (called Jethro in the rest of the book of Exodus). She was given in marriage to Moses, and the two became parents of Gershom and Eliezer. Zipporah wards off a divine attack which presumably occurred as she and Gershom accompanied Moses on his return to Egypt from Midian. The tradition of Exod 18:1–9, however, suggests that Zipporah stayed with Jethro during the events surrounding the Exodus, only to be reunited with Moses when he and the Israelites approached the Wilderness of Sinai.

That Zipporah is cast in a saving role is one of the few certainties about the intractable narrative of Exod 4:24–26. She averts a divine attack by performing a threefold ritual: she cuts off her son's foreskin, touches his feet (genitals?), and pronounces the words, "Surely you are a bridegroom of blood (*ḥătan dāmîm*) to me!" (v 25). The verse is laden with difficulties. First, the referent of the pronoun "his" is uncertain. In supplying the antecedent "Moses," the RSV adopts the view of many commentators. Second, many assume that Zipporah's words are directed to Moses, although that too is uncertain. Third, the expression *ḥătan dāmîm* is enigmatic (see *TDOT* 5: 270–77). The fact that the narrator of v 26b attempted to explain the expression suggests that it was ambiguous even at some stage of textual composition. Finally, the biblical writer does not explain how Zipporah knew what to do in this threatening situation and how she came to adopt a male role in performing the circumcision of her son. Other problems and proposed solutions connected with the meaning of Exod 4:24–26 are discussed by Childs (*Exodus* OTL); Kaplan (1981); Houtman (1983); and Robinson (1986).

Zipporah is relegated to a peripheral role by the writers of Exod 2:16–22 and 18:1–9. Exod 2:16–22 is a bethrothal type scene, the standard features of which are outlined by Culley (1976: 41–43). Zipporah is mentioned by name only in being identified as the daughter given to Moses by her father, the real point of the narrative being the relationship between Moses and his father-in-law, as Coats (1973) and Fuchs (1987) have shown. Likewise, in Exod 18:1–9 Zipporah and her sons altogether disappear from the narrative at the point of the family's reunion after the Exodus, indicating that the significant "family" here consists of Moses and Jethro.

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RITA J. BURNS

ZIV [Heb *zîw*]. The second month of the Canaanite calendar, roughly corresponding to April and May. See CALENDARS (ANCIENT ISRAELITE AND EARLY JEWISH).

ZIZ, ASCENT OF (PLACE) [Heb *maʿălēh haṣṣîṣ*]. A mountain pass used by a coalition of Moabites, Ammonites, and Meunites to attack Jerusalem during the reign of Jehoshaphat (2 Chr 20:16). The context suggests that the pass was a strategic link between Jerusalem and En-gedi on the W shore of the Dead Sea (2 Chr 20:2), and that the end of the wadi (Heb *naḥal*) associated with this ascent lay E of the Wilderness of Jeruel (v 16) in the vicinity of Tekoa. The Ascent of Ziz has often been associated generally with the Wadi Ḥaṣaṣa (Naḥal Ḥaṣeṣôn) that drains the hills 8 miles SE of Tekoa into the Dead Sea about 6 miles N of En-gedi. Thus it has been suggested that MT *ḥṣyṣ* may be the corruption of an original **ḥṣyṣ*, "Ascent of Ḥaṣîṣ" (*IDB* 4: 961). However, more recently the Ascent of Ziz has been associated quite specifically with a military road constructed during the Israelite monarchic period and winding up into the cliffs outside En-gedi. The course of the road winds for more than a mile covering a distance of less than half a mile "as the crow flies"; it thus reduces the 45 percent gradient of the cliffs to 19.5 percent (the road's gradient; Harel 1967, but note that the compass indicator on related fig. 3 appears to be pointing *south*, not north as indicated!).

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GARY A. HERION

ZIZA (PERSON) [Heb *zîzâ*']. **1.** The son of King Rehoboam of Judah (ca. 922–915 B.C.E.) and Maacah (KJV Maachah), the daughter of (NEB "granddaughter") of Absalom, and the brother of Abijah, Attai, and Shelomith (2 Chr 11:20). His name occurs in a subsection (2 Chr 11:18–23) of the Chronicler's presentation of the reign of Rehoboam (2 Chr 10:1–12:16), whose initial obedience to Yahweh's word, in contrast to the idolatrous activities of

Jeroboam I (ca. 922–901 B.C.E.), the rival king of Israel, brought Yahweh's corresponding blessing on the womb and family (see also 1 Chr 3:1–9; 14:2–7; 25:4–5; 26:4–5; 2 Chr 13:21). This son of Rehoboam, in fact, was one of 88 children in all (28 sons and 60 daughters), the children of 18 wives and 60 concubines (2 Chr 11:21b). It is added that Ziza's mother, Maacah, was the favored wife of Rehoboam (1 Chr 11:21a) and that Ziza's eldest brother, Abijah, was designated the crown prince (1 Chr 11:22) and eventually did succeed his father as king of Judah (2 Chr 12:16). Elsewhere, in the RSV, the name of the mother of Ziza's brother is given as "Micaiah (KJV Michaiah; NEB Maacah) the daughter of Uriel of Gibeah" (2 Chr 13:2) and also as "Maacah (KJV Maachah) the daughter (NEB 'granddaughter') of Abishalom" (in the Synoptic parallel in 1 Kgs 15:2). While it is clear that Asa succeeded Abijah (1 Kings 15 = Abijam), his father, as king (2 Chr 13:23—Eng 14:1; 1 Kgs 15:8), it is perplexing to read further on in the RSV that Asa's "mother" was a woman named "Maacah (KJV Maachah) the daughter (NEB 'granddaughter') of Abishalom" (1 Kgs 15:10; 15:13 = 2 Chr 15:16), thus making her a wife of Ziza's brother Abijah! For clarification, see MAACAH (PERSON).

2. A Simeonite, the son of Shiphi (1 Chr 4:37). He is named as one of the 13 princes of the tribe of Simeon who, in the days of King Hezekiah (ca. 715–687/686 B.C.E.), migrated "to the entrance of Gedor," or as often amended on the basis of the LXX, "to the entrance of Gerar," because of overpopulation and the need for additional pastureland (1 Chr 4:34–41). Ziza's importance to this list of princes is perhaps indicated in the fact that his name is the last one given and the only name whose genealogy is traced back five generations, to his distant ancestor Shemaiah. This interest in the tribe of Simeon, in a day when the tribe had long ceased to be a viable political entity, was part of the Chronicler's postexilic agenda of promiting an all-inclusive Israel.

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ROGER W. UITTI

ZIZAH (PERSON) [Heb *zîzâ*]. Var. ZINA. Zizah is named in 1 Chr 23:10–11 as the second of four sons of Shimei of the levitical line of Gershom (v 6; but written Gershon in v 7). The variant Zina (Heb *zînâ*) in v 10 is not supported by the LXX *(Ziza)* or Vg *(Ziza)*. According to Rudolph (*Chronikbücher*, HAT, 152–55) the list in which this name is included is part of a subsequent expansion of the Chronicler's work and thus represents the arrangement of levitical temple service at a time later than the Chronicler. Williamson (*Chronicles* NCBC, 158–61) agrees that the list represents an arrangement contemporaneous with its composition but contends that it was "an originally independent piece" incorporated by the Chronicler himself.

J. S. ROGERS

ZOAN (PLACE) [Heb *ṣō'an*]. Major Egyptian city of the 1st millennium B.C., situated in the 14th township of Lower Egypt on the lower Tanitic branch of the Nile in the E Delta, 29 miles S of the Mediterranean (Baines and Malak 1980; Num 13:22; Ps 78:12). The various renderings of the name in other languages include: Eg *D'nt*, Akk *Ṣa'nu*, and Gk *Tanis* (Romer in *LÄ* 6: 194–209). Excavation of the site was begun by A. Mariette (1850s) and W. M. F. Petrie (1883–86) and P. Montet (1929–51) and is being pursued currently by the Institute français d'archáologie orientale under J. Yoyotte and P. Brissaud. Although the district "Field of the Storm (*D'*, whence *D'nt*)" is known from the middle of the 13th century B.C., Zo'an the town is first mentioned in the 23d year of Ramesses XI of the 20th Dyn. (ca. 1183 B.C.). It is the residence of Smendes, the officer assigned to the administration of Lower Egypt. When Ramesses died (childless?) and Smendes succeeded him as founder of the 21st Dyn. (ca. 1176–931 B.C.), Zo'an became the official residence, replacing the old Ramesside capital, Pi-Ramesses, 30 km to the S (See Montet 1941). As Pi-Ramesses declined and was abandoned (thanks perhaps to a shifting of the Nile branch which deprived its harbor of water), its monumental buildings and installations were dismantled and the masonry shipped N to build Zo'an. Even statues and steles which had once adorned Pi-Ramesses now came to rest in the new city. So many blocks mentioning Ramesses II, Merneptah, and even kings of the 13th through 15th Dyns. ended up at the new city that early excavators, such as P. Montet, mistakenly identified Zo'an with Pi-Ramesses and Avaris, an identification now universally abandoned (cf. Num 13:22 for a similar mistake).

The first great builder to turn the small provincial town into a monumental city was Psusennes I (Montet 1951), son and successor of Smendes. He laid out the enclosure and built the temple of Amon, which was enlarged by Siamun (984–965). Zo'an was dedicated to the Theban Triad, Amon, Mut, and Khonsu, whose temples formed the central enceinte of the city; and "high priest of Amon" became a formal title of the kings of the 21st Dyn. While maintaining friendly relations with the family of Herihor which held the office of (true) high priest of Amon at Thebes, the 21st Dyn. severed mortuary ties with the S city and now preferred burial within the enclosure of Amon at Zo'an. Excavation has recovered several royal interments at the site, some intact with silver coffins and gold jewelry, including those of Psusennes I (1050–1000), Osorkon II (873–844, Montet 1947), and Sheshonk III (819–767, Montet 1960).

The Libyan 22d Dyn., founded by Sheshonk I (931), maintained the city as a residence and, from 873, built extensively at the site (cf. 1 Kgs 14:25). With the last king of the dynasty, Zo'an's political primary lapsed (ca. 725 B.C.), as Sais and Napata became the power centers in the Nile Valley for the next two centuries. Nevertheless, the pharaonic administration continued from time to time tc raise new buildings or enlarge the old in the city from the Saite period to the end of Ptolemaic rule; and the city continued prosperous into Roman times (see Montet 1952, 1966).

The Hebrews became familiar with Zo'an during the period of the Monarchy, when it was the Egyptian capital (Isa 19:11, 13; 30:4; Ezek 30:14); one tradition localized the confrontation between Moses and Pharaoh in the "Field of Zoan" (Ps 78:12, 43).

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DONALD B. REDFORD

ZOAR (PLACE) [Heb *ṣōʿar*]. A city marking the southernmost point of the Valley of Jordan (or the Valley of Jericho) in Gen 13:10 and Deut 34:3. According to Gen 14:2, 8 the unnamed "king of Bela, that is, Zoar" was a member of a coalition of five kings which was defeated by Chedorlaomer and his allies. Since the other five kings are called by their names, it is probable that "king of Bela, that is, Zoar" originally read "Bela, king of Zoar" (Albright 1921: 70). *Belaʿ* means "swallowed" or "destroyed" and belongs to the type of "speaking names" borne by his four allies. (*Pal. Tgs.* and *Tg. Ps-J.* explained Bela as "the city that swallows its inhabitants.") Bela as a royal name is attested in Gen 36:22 as that of the first king of Edom, a region that included Zoar. It is possible that an editor reversed the sequence of names in the passage in question in order to harmonize it with Gen 19:20–22, according to which Zoar received its name only after the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. Lot begged the two angels who had led him out of the doomed Sodom to spare the nearby town—which was but "a little thing" *(miṣʿār)*—so that he would be able to reach it before the disaster struck. His request was granted; therefore the town was called Zoar (from the root *ṣʿr*, originally *ṣġr*, "to be small"). This is an etiological story to explain the contrast between the desolate nature of the W shore of the Dead Sea, especially of Jebel Usdum (see SODOM AND GOMORRAH), and the immediately adjacent lush oasis of Zoar.

It was supposed that Zoar appears in two Amarna Letters from Palestine as ^{uru}*Zu-uḫ-ra*, EA 334:3, and ^{uru}*Zu-uḫ-ru*, EA 335:3 (in which *zu* could be read *ṣú*); see *GP* 2: 466. However, the contents of EA 335 indicate that the city in question was located in W Judea, near Lakiši (Lachish) and Muḫrašti (Moresheth). It may rather correspond to Zior (*ṣîʿor*; Josh 15:54), in the district of Hebron, probably to the W of it.

Zoar is mentioned in two poems describing a catastrophic invasion of Moab by an unnamed enemy (probably the Babylonians), which form the chapters of Isaiah 15–16 and Jeremiah 48 but were composed toward the middle of the 6th century B.C. In Isa 15:5, fugitives from Moab flee to Zoar; in Jer 48:4 (emended in RSV following LXX), Zoar is the farthest point where the cry of the Moabites is heard; in v 34, it appears in a similar context. Did it belong to Moab? Its role as a place of refuge for fleeing Moabites (Isa 15:5), and its identification with a site on the S bank of the border stream Zered (see below), speak for its belonging to Edom. It was also located near the border of the kingdom of Judah. Zair *(*ṣāʿir*, loc. *ṣeʿîrāh)* in 2 Kgs 8:21, where King Joram fought the Edomite revolt, may represent the same place.

In the Hellenistic period, Zoar, along with all of Edom, passed into the hands of the Nabateans. At that time, it was known under the Aramaic form of it name, *Zōʿar* (from *zʿr* "to be small"). Alexander Jannaeus conquered it, among other places, from the Nabateans; but Hyrcanus II retroceded them (Joseph. *Ant* 13.15.4 §397: *Zoara;* 14.1.4 §18: *Zōara*). After the annexation of the Nabatean kingdom by Rome (A.D. 106), Zoar belonged to the province of Arabia (*Zoara,* Ptol. *Geog.* 5.17.5, in Arabia Petraea), then to its S part that was renamed *Palaestina Tertia* by Diocletian (*Zoara,* Not. dign. or. 34:26; *Zōora,* Hierocles 721:7; Georgius Cyprius 1051). On the 6th-century mosaic map of Palestine from Medeba, the city appears under the double designation *Balak* (LXX form of Bela) and *Zoora* and is shown as a middle-sized (three-towered) fortress surrounded by palm trees, situated near the southern tip of the Dead Sea, on the S bank of a stream corresponding to Zered. To the crusaders of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the place was known as Segor (as in Vg) or Palmaria.

In the Middle Ages, under the Arabs, the city was called both *Ṣuġar* and *Zuġar,* and experienced a period of great prosperity. The Dead Sea was called the Sea of Zuġar. It became a major commercial center and the principal city of the province of aš-Šarâh (ancient Edom). Its surroundings, which combined hot climate with abundance of water from perennial brooks and springs, were famous for their fertility. It exported dates, date syrup, indigo, sugar, and balm. (The data of medieval Arab geographers are conveniently collected in le Strange 1890: 286–92; cf. also *GP* 2: 466–68). The city was later abandoned, and little of it is visible on the surface.

The information on Zoar provided by the Bible, Josephus *JW* 4.8.4 §482, and the Medeba Map, is corroborated by Dimmašqi: 213 (quoted in le Strange 1890: 292), who specifies that "Zuġar lies in the district of aṣ-Ṣâfîyah in the Ġawr (or el-Ghôr, the Rift Valley)." A Jordanian village on the S bank of Wâdī Ḥasâ (Zered), ca. 3 km from the shore of the Dead Sea, is still called Ṣâfî, and the area E of it, Ġôr eṣ-Ṣâfî. 1.5 km to the SE of Ṣâfî, where the Zered is joined by a perennial brook from the W, there rises a hillock (perhaps a tell) with ruins of a Byzantine fort, generally assumed to correspond to the Roman-Byzantine Zoara/Zoora (see Glueck 1935: 7–10; 1937: 20–21; Map I/12 in the *Atlas of Israel*). The surrounding area contains traces of Bronze Age, Nabatean, Roman-Byzantine, and medieval Arab settlements. Excavations may yet disclose the biblical and postbiblical city of Zoar.

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ZOBAH (PLACE) [Heb *ṣôbâ*]. Also called Aram-Zobah (*ʾărām ṣôbâ/ṣôbāʾ*), this was the name of a powerful Aramean kingdom of southern Syria during the 11th century B.C.E. Zobah, under its king, Hadadezer, came into conflict with the new kingdom of Israel under David. Most scholars now locate Zobah in the N Biqaʿ valley of modern Lebanon, extending E of the Anti-lebanon range to the N of Damascus and into the plain of Homs (Malamat 1963: 3–4).

The only substantial source of information preserved about this state is in the Hebrew Bible. Accounts of three conflicts between Zobah and Israel are found in 2 Sam 8:3–8 (= 1 Chr 18:3–8) and 2 Sam 10:1–19 (= 1 Chr 19:1–19). Zobah is also mentioned in 1 Sam 14:47, where it is listed as one of the nations with which Saul did battle during his reign. However, it is not clear how reliable this latter source is (Pitard 1987: 90).

The accounts in 2 Samuel/1 Chronicles suggest that Zobah was the dominant state in central and S Syria during the latter part of the 11th century and that it was the center of a small empire that encompassed most of the minor states surrounding it. Some scholars (cf. Malamat *POTT*, 141–42) have suggested that the empire controlled by Hadadezer, the only king of Zobah actually attested in our sources, extended as far N as Pethor (Pitru), in the region of Carchemish in N Syria; 2 Sam 8:3 and 10:16 indeed suggest a wide influence by Zobah in N Syria. However, caution is in order when speculating about the extent of Zobah's actual political control since 2 Sam 8:10 indicates that the important kingdom of Hamath, directly N of Zobah, was not under Zobah's domination during the time of Hadadezer's reign. Whatever Zobah's position was in the N, the evidence seems clear from our sources that it dominated most of S Syria and perhaps parts of Transjordan, including Ammon.

That the leading state of the area would eventually come into conflict with the expanding young kingdom of Israel is not surprising. It appears that the event that led to the opening of hostilities between the two was the intervention by Zobah in a conflict that arose between Israel and Ammon (2 Sam 10:1–19). According to 10:6, Ammon "hired" several armies to join them in battle against Israel, including Zobah, Beth Rehob, Maacah, and Tob. It seems likely, however, that Ammon was a vassal of Zobah (or was offering to become one in exchange for protection) and that Hadadezer decided to use this opportunity to deal with the new threat to his empire. Beth Rehob, Maacah, and Tob were also probably part of Hadadezer's empire (cf. 2 Sam 10:19).

The first battle (2 Sam 10:9–14), in which Joab divided his forces and fought the Aramean and Ammonite armies separately, seems to have been a standoff since all sides withdrew after the battle (10:14). Hadadezer then regrouped his forces, adding fresh troops; and David himself led the Israelite army to the site of Helam (location unknown), where the Israelites defeated Hadadezer's army (10:15–19). At this point several of Hadadezer's vassals astutely switched their allegiance to David.

There has been some question as to whether the battle described in 2 Sam 8:3–8 was a distinct one or whether this passage is simply a different account of the battle of Helam. Most likely it is an account of a separate encounter between the two nations, and this battle took place after those described in 2 Samuel 10 (Pitard 1987: 93). Although the circumstances which led to this battle are not clear (8:3 is obscure as to who was on his way to the Euphrates, David or Hadadezer), the battle seems to have taken place in Hadadezer's territory; and it was a decisive victory for David, who captured much of Zobah's chariotry and plundered two of Hadadezer's cities.

From this time on, Zobah lost its political influence. During the 10th century, Damascus became the dominant power in S Syria, and Zobah seems to have become a part of Aram-Damascus' territory. See ARAM (PLACE). When Aram-Damascus was eventually defeated by the Assyrians (732 B.C.E.) and incorporated into the Assyrian Empire, the area that it had controlled was divided into provinces. One of those provinces is called *ṣubatu*, presumably the area of Zobah (Forrer 1920: 62–63). References to this district have been found in documents from the reigns of Sargon II, Sennacherib, and Asshurbanipal (see Parpola 1970: 325).

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WAYNE T. PITARD

ZOBEBAH (PERSON) [Heb *ṣōbēbâ*]. The son of Koz (1 Chr 4:8) in the genealogy of Judah. It is interesting to note that the name is preceded by the definite article in the Hebrew text. This element is not represented in the LXX as well as modern translations. Myers, however, construes the definite article as part of the name (*Chronicles* AB).

H. C. Lo

ZOHAR (PERSON) [Heb *ṣōḥăr*]. **1.** The father of Ephron the Hittite (Gen 23:8; 25:9). Zohar's son Ephron sold a field which contained the cave of Machpelah to Abraham so that Abraham could bury his wife Sarah. Hoffner (1969: 32) has shown that the names of persons called "Hittites" in the OT are almost all good Semitic names, e.g., Ephron, Gen 23:8; Judith et al., Gen 26:34; Ahimelech, 1 Sam 26:6; etc. Zohar is also a good Semitic name from *ṣḥr* meaning "tawny." Therefore, it is most likely that Zohar was part of a group of Canaanites living in the hills near Hebron during the time of Abraham and not a Hittite from Anatolia. See also *POTT*, 197–228.

2. One of the sons of Simeon (Gen 46:10; Exod 6:15). In Num 26:13 and 1 Chr 4:24 he is called Zerah and is the founder of a family of the tribe of Simeon called Zerahites. For possible relationships between the lists in Genesis 46 and Number 26, see Noth *Numbers* OTL, 203 and Budd *Numbers* WBC, 290.

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JAMES C. MOYER

ZOHELETH, STONE OF. See SERPENT'S STONE.

ZOHETH (PERSON) [Heb *zôḥēt*]. An individual of the tribe of Judah, the son of Ishi (1 Chr 4:20).

DAVID CHANNING SMITH

ZOLDERA (PLACE). See LYSTRA.

ZOOLOGY (FAUNA). This article surveys what is known about fauna, especially domestic fauna, in the ANE, and particularly in ancient Palestine from the EB Age to the Greco-Roman period. Gathered together here are all entries on fauna and animal-related topics, which in other Bible dictionaries are usually separately titled. In addition, the orientation of the article is radically different.

First, in consideration of the limited space allocated for the article, most of the discussion is devoted to those animals which have played a significant role in the cultural history of the Near East. These are primarily the domestic animals. The heading "Zoology" is thus something of a misnomer, since a great many animals are largely or totally ignored. For comprehensive zoological descriptions of Palestine/Israel, the reader is referred to the works of Tristram (*SWP* 7) and Bodenheimer (1935; 1960).

Second, the purpose of this article is not to illustrate or explain the biblical text, but rather to give the reader a better understanding of one aspect of the day-to-day world in which people lived during the biblical period, especially as this is recoverable from archaeological excavations. Biblical texts are accordingly cited only where they contribute to that understanding. Literary topoi involving animals as a rule are not discussed.

The scope of the discussion devoted to each animal is therefore not limited to what the Bible happens to say about that animal, as has so often been the case in treatments of "biblical" fauna. The purpose of the article is to present a basic historical and biological profile of each animal, the latter emphasizing those features which made it useful to humans. Wherever archaeological data on the use of an animal exist, these are discussed, along with anthropological models and comparative studies which may help to explain the archaeology. In a few cases, such as the horse harness, the camel saddle, and the plow, brief discussions of technology relevant to the exploitation of an animal are given as well.

One of the most exciting developments in archaeology of the last twenty or so years is the realization that the systematic study of animal bones from a site provides invaluable insight into the economic and cultural life of its inhabitants. Some of this literature is discussed in the text. Additional references are included in the bibliography. At the end of the article, the reader will also find an index of studies on fauna from sites in Israel and selected sites in Jordan. Unless referred to in the paper, studies on Stone Age sites were generally not included in the index, since their date lies too far outside the time frame of this survey. For comparative purposes, however, Chalcolithic and EB sites were included.

Perhaps the most important function of the article is to guide readers to sources for further reading. The bibliography is therefore fairly comprehensive. Most of the articles and books listed there were consulted for the preparation of this article. A few additional entries are included for the sake of completeness.

Since both the Hebrew Bible and the NT are treated in this dictionary, the scope of this article might legitimately have extended to the Greco-Roman world as well. However, the discussion of domestic fauna and their use in Greece and Rome would have meant an even larger article. So, practical necessity forces the writer to exclude most of this material. Some use is made of classical texts on agriculture and animal husbandry, and occasional references to other classical texts may be included for comparative purposes.

This entry is divided into three major parts. The first part focuses on background issues, such as the environmental aspects of animal habitats in biblical lands, animal domestication, and recent methods designed to increase our knowledge of animals and how they were utilized in antiquity. The second part, constituting the bulk of this entry, provides profiles of specific animals. The animals discussed are grouped according to modern zoological categories. In its third major part, this entry concludes with two appendices: one listing the animals mentioned in the Bible, along with the corresponding Hebrew name and its various Semitic cognates (with some brief philological notes provided); and the other indexing studies on faunal remains discovered in selected sites in Israel and Jordan.

BACKGROUND ISSUES AND METHODS

A. Environmental Zones and Their Animal Inhabitants
B. Animals and Early Human Society
   1. Hunting and Its Cultural Legacy
   2. Domestication
   3. The "Secondary Products Revolution"
   4. Effects of Domestication
C. Animal Bore Archaeology
   1. Relative Frequency of Species
   2. Slaughtering Schedule
   3. Butchering Technique

A. Environmental Zones and Their Animal Inhabitants

One of the most important factors in the cultural and political history of ancient Palestine was that it was a bridge between the Hittite and Mesopotamian empires in the north and west and that of Egypt in the south. In ecological terms, too, Palestine is a meeting place of different zones: the Palearctic, the Irano-Turanian, the Tropical, and the Saharo-Arabian, each with its own characteristic climate, flora, and fauna.

The *Palearctic region* in Israel extends N and S along the moist hill country of the Levant as far S as the Negeb desert. Annual rainfall in this region may be as much as

1000 mm (39 in) or more. There are two reasons, a dry summer (May through October) and a wet winter (November through April). See also PALESTINE, CLIMATE OF. The flora of this zone, like that of other Mediterranean countries, was originally, dominated by oak forest or maquis. See also FLORA. Typical wild fauna include the wild boar *(Sus scrofa)*, roe deer *(Capreolus capreolus)*, brown bear *(Ursus arctos)*, weasels *(Mustela nivalis)*, and shrews *(Crocidura russula, Crocidura leucodon)*. Israel/Palestine is the most southernmost limit of the range of many palearctic species.

The *Irano-Turanian* zone is a semi-arid steppe separating the Mediterranean environment from the desert. It extends in a strip along either side of the Jordan River from the Sea of Galilee in the N to the Dead Sea in the S. In contrast to the Mediterranean region, which was once covered by oak forest, and where horticulture can be practiced without irrigation, trees do not grow naturally in the steppe. Its climax plant is the shrub *Zysiphus lotus*. Within this region, however, are pockets of tropical vegetation, which thrive around natural springs and along the banks of the Jordan River. These are no doubt relicts of a much larger tropical zone which flourished in the area in prehistoric times. Typical Irano-Turanian fauna include the goitered gazelle *(Gazella subgutturosa)*, Iranian fallow deer *(Dama dama mesopotamica)*, and the Asiatic mouflon *(Ovis orientalis)*, the ancestor of modern domestic sheep.

The *Tropical Zone* is restricted to pockets of land around desert springs and to the marshy areas along the Jordan River. Israel's marshlands also once included 15 km^2 of swamp in the Huleh Valley, most of which was drained in the 1950s. Animal and particularly bird life in these marshes is rich because they are an important stopping place for migratory birds, as well as home for local waterfowl. Tropical fauna species were entirely restricted to these pockets of marshland. The hippopotamus, for example, appears to have survived in some marshlands until at least the Iron Age. Hippopotamus bones have been found in the Iron Age strata (XII–XI) at Tell Qasileh (Haas 1953; Davis 1985). According to Davis, one of the bones, a metacarpus, shows signs of cut marks, suggesting that the animal was slaughtered for meat. Hippopotamus bones are also reported to have been found at Aphek and Dan.

Another marshland species was the crocodile, which inhabited the marshes of the Nahal Tanninim (wadi ez-Zerka) N of Caesarea (Buchanan 1920; Masterman 1921; Fast 1959). Just N of Caesarea was a place called Crocodilon Polis (Strabo, *Geog.* 16.27; Pliny, *HN* 6.17). Several dead crocodiles purportedly from the Nahal Tanninim were purchased by Europeans in the last decade of the 19th century.

The *Saharo-Arabian* zone is hot and arid with less than 50 mm (2 in) of rainfall per year. Actually, when annual rainfall is this low, it is not the upper limit, but the lower which is decisive in determining the nature of local flora. In Eilat, it is not unusual for a year to pass with no rainfall at all. Native fauna include various species of gazelle *(Gazella dorcas, Gazella gazella)*, the lesser Egyptian gerbil *(Gerbillus gerbillus)*, the jerboa *(Jaculus jaculus)*, the golden spring mouse *(Acomys russatus)*, and the sand rat *(Psammomys obessus)*. In most historical periods, the desert zone has been of only marginal cultural significance. Animal life of the desert accordingly receives short shrift in this article. From a zoological point of view, however, it is among the most interesting environmental zones. Before we conclude this section on environment, therefore, we must take a brief look at the animal life of this region.

The heat and aridity of the desert pose two significant challenges to animal life: maintaining an acceptable body temperature, and preventing dehydration (Schmidt-Nielsen 1964; Schmidt-Nielsen and Schmidt-Nielsen 1952; Evenari et al. 1982). Desert animals adapt to these environmental challenges in different ways, depending on their size. With their large surface-to-mass ratio, small animals are much more liable than large animals to rapid rises in temperature when exposed to heat and radiant energy. Given their limited water resources, it would be far more costly for them to eliminate excess heat by evaporating sweat than it is for large animals with smaller surface-to-mass ratios. For example, a mouse weighing 100 g would have to expand 15% of its body weight in water to avoid overheating, as against 1% for a camel and 1.5% for man (Evenari et al. 1982: 315). Most small animals (rodents, insects, mollusks, birds, and reptiles), therefore, do not sweat to cool themselves, nor do they even have sweat glands; consequently, they protect themselves from the heat by burrowing. This convenient option is not open to large animals. Often unable to find much shelter from the sun or the heat, they respond by sweating, which hastens the rate at which heat is eliminated from the surface of the body. This extra cooling is needed because large animals have more mass to cool but relatively less surface area through which excess heat can escape than do small animals. However, because of their size, large animals are also able to absorb a greater amount of heat before their body temperature rises. The temperature of a 10 kg (22 lb) animal exposed to daytime desert heat will rise 5°C (9°F) in half an hour, while that of, say, a 500 kg (1100 lb) camel will take over seven hours to reach the same point (Hillel 1982: 59).

Desert animals may thus be divided into two groups, depending on how they regulate heat and water. The first group comprises small animals which do not expend water for heat regulation. The second group includes large land animals, which must sweat in order to eliminate heat. To this second category belong the ungulates (camels, sheep, goats, and gazelle) and the larger carnivores. Within each of these two groups there is an additional subdivision between those animals which obtain sufficient water from their food alone and those which must drink extra water. Each of these groups is more fully considered below.

Since they do not sweat, desert rodents survive by burrowing underground, an act that insulates them from the heat of the sun. A burrow 20 cm (7.8 in) underground may be as much as 20°C (36°F) cooler than the surface, and similarly warmer at night. Since small animals cannot survive continuous temperatures in excess of 45°C (113°F), and since daytime ground-surface temperatures may rise as high as 60–70°C (140–160°F), this insulating difference is vital. Burrowing is the necessary concomitant of the rodent's small size because small animals are especially vulnerable to big fluctuations in temperature.

Burrowing also protects an animal from dehydration, for the relative humidity of the burrow may be as high as

90%, as against 10% or less on the surface. Dry foods stored in this humid environment absorb moisture from the soil. According to Evenari, Shanan, and Tadmor (1982: 317), for example, seeds of the spiny zilla *(Zilla spinosa)* stored in the burrow of the fat jird *(Meriones arassus)* at a relative humidity of 60% contained 23–26% more water than the same seeds outside the burrow. Water thus derived, combined with water produced by the metabolism of carbohydrates and fats, is usually sufficient to meet the requirements of many rodents. These species thrive on dry foods without access to drinking water or even green vegetation (see further Schmidt-Nielsen and Schmidt-Nielsen 1952: 137–47). Carnivorous rodents, of course, derive needed water from the bodies of their prey, which ordinarily contain 60–70% water by weight.

Among all desert-dwelling animals, water losses are held to a minimum. Waste products such as urea and excess electrolytes are often expelled in concentrated form, and feces are relatively dry. For example, the urea concentration in the feces of the golden spring mouse is about five times greater than that in human feces, and the electrolyte concentration six times greater (Evenari et al. 1982: 315). The jerboa's urea and electrolyte concentrations are respectively about four and three times more concentrated than man's. These values are not untypical of Israel's desert rodents in general. The feces of the desert rat contain less than 40% water by weight. Values for some larger species are given in the following table.

Table 1
Percentage of Water in Feces

	Feed	% Water by Weight
Camel	Hay and dates, no water	43%
Camel	Hay and dates, daily water	52%
Donkey	Hay and dates, daily water	64%
Man	Mixed Diet	66%
Cow	Pasture	85%

Source: Schmidt-Nielsen 1964: 61

As regards waste products, one advantage of plant- as opposed to meat (i.e., protein)-rich diets is that less urea (a by-product of protein metabolism) is produced in the first place.

Birds, like rodents, have no sweat glands, and therefore do not dissipate excess heat through perspiration. Instead, water is evaporated from their lungs during respiration. This respiratory cooling is accelerated by panting, which has been found to have certain advantages over sweating as a means of evaporative cooling. Experiments on dogs, which also cool themselves in this manner, and humans, who sweat, show that the latter are much more liable to dehydration, because they will drink only as much water as is necessary to maintain a constant concentration of chloride in the blood. The absolute amount of chloride, however, steadily falls as salt is lost in sweat. Not only are humans thus susceptible to dehydration, but the drop in the relative percent of electrolytes in the blood is also potentially fatal. In panting, however, no salt is lost. A dog will therefore drink enough water to regain its original body weight. Panting, while thus conserving body salts, is also quite adequate to dissipate excess body heat. This has been experimentally verified in the case of the black raven of the Negeb *(Corvus corax ruficolis)*. Birds, like reptiles, limit their water losses by expelling highly concentrated waste products (uric acid and excess electrolytes) in the feces rather than in the urine. While carnivorous and omnivorous birds obtain sufficient water from their diet alone, graminivorous birds must drink water.

Birds are most active at night or in the morning and evening, when heat and radiant energy are less than at midday. Those that are active during the day escape some of the heat by hovering high above the ground. When stationary, they hold their wings away from the body in order to facilitate the elimination of body heat. Their feathers, like the fleece of sheep, also keep heat out. In one case, a gradient of 30°C (54°F) was reported between the outer feathers and the skin underneath (Evenari, et al. 1982: 319). The body temperature of birds is also higher than that of mammals, reducing the need for cooling in the first place.

Reptiles, like birds, cool themselves by respiration. Although cold blooded, even reptiles cannot tolerate excessive heat. Snakes in particular are vulnerable because they are in direct contact with the hot ground. Most desert snakes are carnivorous, and their food therefore contains enough water (at least 60–70% of body weight) to satisfy their needs.

Even mollusks, which are usually associated with moister climates, have adapted to life in the desert. Two species, the desert snail *(Eremina desertorum)* and the white desert snail *(Sphincterochyla boissierii)*, are commonly seen in the Negeb. On occasion, the former may cover dwarf bushes in considerable numbers. Water content of the snail body is typically between 60 and 90%, and may be reduced by as much as 65% of body weight without injuring the animal (Evanari et al. 1982: 323).

By way of comparison with animals native to the desert, a word may be said about how human beings fare in desert environments. Humans lack most of the special physiological adaptations found in desert natives. But, it turns out that not all of these adaptions would necessarily be advantagous. For instance, under desert conditions, the rate of sweating in human beings may be as high as 1.5 liters per *hour*. The minimum amount of water needed for proper urine formation, by contrast, is 500 ml per *day*. Little would be gained, therefore, even if the concentration of the urine could be doubled, since this form of water loss is an insigificant fraction of the amount of water daily expended in sweat (Schmidt-Nielsen and Schmidt-Nielsen 1952: 151).

Man's natural ability to rehydrate after severe water loss is limited in comparison with some other animals, especially the ungulates. Although a man's weight is ⅔ that of a donkey, after exertion he may nevertheless drink as little as ⅟₁₀th as much water in a short space of time, no matter how thirsty he is. Thus a human being requires several hours to rehydrate, whereas a dog may do so in half an hour, and camels and donkeys in a matter of minutes. Provided with adequate water and salt, however, humans function well in a desert climate. What humans lack in specific biological adaptation, they make up for in overall flexibility, which allows them to function in a variety of

environments. They can compensate for their biological shortcomings with respect to a given environment by behavioral changes (e.g., diet, settlement patterns, etc.) and technological innovation.

The climatic map of Palestine/Israel which underlies its ecological divisions has remained fairly stable in historical times, though there has been some fluctuation in the location of the border between the desert in the S and the arable land in the N. A northward shift in this border, for example, is thought to have been one of the factors in the decline of the EB city of Arad. The country's natural distribution of flora and fauna, however, has changed enormously since large-scale settlement of the area began in the EB Age. This is especially true of the temperate regions, where settlement has been most intense. New plants such as the vine have been introduced, and natives such as the olive have been domesticated (Stager 1985), while aboriginal vegetation such as oak forest has been cleared for cultivation. In view of its effect on wild fauna, the process of deforestation merits some discussion here.

In prehistoric times, the highlands of Transjordan and much of Cisjordan were covered by heavy oak or mixed oak/pistachio forest (cf. Baruch 1986; Gophna, Liphschitz, and Lev-Yadun 1987). While much of this was destroyed in historical times, remnants survived until as late as the 19th century (literature and details in Rowton 1965; 1967; Mikesell 1969; Gophna, Liphschitz, and Lev-Yadun 1986; 1987). Sometimes, the only traces of the trees are the place names they have left behind (Schumacher 1888: 15, 23; Kislev 1985). But the Bible itself makes it clear that large blocks of heavy forest still existed in the mid-1st millennium B.C.E. (Josh 17:14–18; 2 Sam 18:6–8; Isa 2:13; Ezek 27:6). Exactly how much is hard to say. One indication comes from studies of pollen (e.g., Baruch 1986), which show that by about 1000 B.C.E. the proportion of Tabor Oak *(Quercus ithaburensis)*, for example, had declined by approximately 67% and that of Evergreen Oak *(Quercus calliprinos)* by 33–50% from what they had been before intensive settlement in the area began in the EB Age. These declines correspond to increases in the proportion of the olive tree due to human cultivation. While these findings clearly indicate that a great deal of oak forest had been lost prior to the biblical period proper (i.e., the Iron Age), they also show that much of it remained. It was not until the Roman period that the loss of oak forest reached anything near completeness. (These results taken from the Galilee are said by Baruch [1989] to be indicative of samples he has taken elsewhere in the country.)

The extent of deforestation in a given period can also be roughly calculated by estimating the cumulative effect of human populations on primitive forest cover. At any given time, the extent of deforestation would have been equal to the amount of primitive forest cleared in earlier periods minus the amount of forest regenerated when settlements were abandoned. In Israel, the periods of greatest settlement activity are the EB II–III (Gophna 1984; Broshi and Gophna 1984), the MB II (Gophna 1984; Broshi and Gophna 1986), the Iron I–II (Shiloh 1980; Zertal 1986; Finkelstein, *AIS*), and the Roman-Byzantine period (Broshi 1979). The EB IV is thought to have been a period of less intensive settlement, in which pastoral nomadism was relatively more important than in periods of urban activity (Dever 1980). In the hill country, the LB Age is also a period of marked decline in terms both of the number of settlements and of their size (Gonen 1984; Zertal 1986; Finkelstein, *AIS*). These periods of decline in settlement activity are much longer than the recovery rate of oak forest, which is between 30 and 50 years (Gregg 1988: 123; Livneh 1981: 82), and would thus have allowed ample time for regrowth. Certain factors favored regrowth. The technology available to Bronze Age farmers for clearing forests left stumps and root systems capable of producing new growth sooner than would be the case from virgin soil (Gophna, Liphschitz, and Lev-Yadun 1986: 78; Rowton 1965: 379; also cf. Isa 11:1). What is more, the trees often anchor themselves in underlying bedrock, since the topsoil is not infrequently rather thin. This makes the extraction of root systems, which are capable of sending out new shoots, very difficult.

A preliminary estimate of the extent of deforestation due to human settlement has recently been done for the Sharon by Gophna, Liphschitz, and Lev-Yadun (1986), based on their study of settlement patterns in the central coastal plain. They estimated that even at the height of urban settlement in the area (the MB II), only about 25% of the forest cover had been lost. This estimate is probably too conservative, since continued grazing undoubtedly prevented complete recovery of the forest in some areas. Still, such studies give us a rough idea of how forest reserves were affected by human settlement patterns. When the results of the archaeological surveys of Ephraim and Manasseh are published in their entirety, it should be possible to make fairly reliable estimates of deforestation in the hill country.

These changes in flora have brought about changes in the distribution of animals. Forest dwellers, such as bear, wild boar, and various species of deer, have become less common or even extinct. But the most significant change in fauna has been, of course, the introduction and spread of domestic livestock. These processes are discussed in more detail below.

B. Animals and Early Human Society

1. Hunting and Its Cultural Legacy. For the last 10,000 years or so, man's closest association with animals has been with domestic species. Hunting has played an increasingly minor role in both the economic and the cultural spheres. Indeed, already in the great civilizations of antiquity, big game hunting at least had become little more than sport for the aristocracy. The only cultural significance was its role in royal ideology, whose purpose was to celebrate the martial prowess of the king. Royal hunting was highly ritualized in nature in the sense that as a behavior pattern it had lost its original function, and had been invested with new value as a purely symbolic activity. In the extreme case, no real hunting would even take place. The symbolic requirements of the ritual hunt could be satisfied if the king slew a token animal, such as a lion, which could be caught beforehand and bound so as to present no real danger (so the Abyssinian enthronement ritual described by Littmann and Krencker 1913:'37). The symbolic and propagandistic value of the ritual hunt is much in evidence in ancient Assyria (cf. Meissner 1911) and in Egypt. In

ancient Israel, the mythos of the king as intrepid hunter is not in evidence.

Of all the varieties of the hunt, only fishing and fowling were still widely pursued in historical times. Unlike big game hunting, these activittes were still relatively profitable and could be managed without the benefit of sophisiticated weapons or the use of horses. Whereas the bow and arrow were weapons characteristic of the aristocracy and symbolic of the king's far-reaching power, the tools of the ordinary hunter were nets and traps. While they were used to capture large game, such as gazelle, they were most commonly employed for catching fish and birds. It is to bird traps, for example, that the Hebrew terms for "trap," *môqēš* and *paḥ*, invariably refer (Gerleman 1946). The use of nets was among the oldest and most widespread hunting techniques. The snaring of birds and fish is frequently depicted in both Mesopotamian and Egyptian art. Indeed, the very word of "hunting" in Sumerian, NIGIN, is graphically represented by the ideogram for "net." But no matter how widely practiced, even those most common forms of hunting contributed only marginally to most ancient economies, all of which were dominated by the exploitation of domestic plants and animals.

The dependence of civilization on domestic animals, and the consequent decline of hunting as a way of life, are nevertheless comparatively recent events in the history of the human species. For something like 99% of our existence as a species, we have lived as hunters. It should therefore come as no surprise that certain of our most basic cultural institutions have their origins in our prehistoric association with the hunt.

Animal sacrifice, for instance, almost certainly originates in the hunt (Burkert 1983). Only a phenomenon as old and as basic as hunting can explain the ubiquity of animal sacrifice as *the* sacral act par excellence throughout the ancient world. Of course, sacrifice came to be interpreted in many different ways. On the underlying formal level, however, one finds striking similarities both between sacrificial rituals among widely disparate cultures, and between hunting rituals on the one hand and sacrificial rituals on the other (cf. Meuli 1946 and discussion in Burkert 1983: 12–16).

In Egypt, for example, the sacrificial bull was treated as a foe vanquished in the hunt (Moret 1908; Otto 1950; Eggebrecht 1973). The slaughtering ritual, as reconstructed by Otto, began with the lassoing *(śph)* of the wild bull. Lassoing was also used in the hunting of the other common sacrificial species, antelope, gazelle, and ibex, and is depicted already in predynastic rock drawings (Winkler 1937: figs. 17, 47, 56, 57, etc.; 1938–39; Pls. XV.1, XXIX.1). After being caught, the victim was fettered and slaughtered. In depictions of this stage of the ritual, a woman named "kite" *(dr.t)*, who stands next to the butcher, taunts the bull, "Your two lips have done that against you [i.e. your own cry has betrayed you to the hunter]. Does your mouth (still) open?" (Otto 1950: 168). Ms. Kite is thought to represent the carrion bird of the same name, which would have been a frequent sight on the hunt. Next, a courtier says to the statue receiving the offering, "I have fettered them [the victims] for you. I have brought you your enemy." He then addresses the victim, "Do not attack that god" [the recipient of the offering], probably referring to the fact that unlike most game animals the wild bull will charge the hunter.

Like the ritual of capture and killing, the choice of victim was determined by the tradition of the hunt. In Egypt, the preferred species for sacrifice continued to be those which were commonly hunted: wild cattle, antelope, gazelle, and ibex. The common domestic species, sheep and goats, were avoided (Barta 1963).

In the other great urban cultures of antiquity, however, it was not wild but domestic animals which were usually sacrificed. This fact would seem to belie any connection between hunting and sacrifice. But, sacrifice, like hunting itself in the wake of the Neolithic food revolution, was ritualized behavior. By Neolithic times, the ritual killing of animals had become an indispensable accompaniment to every sacred occasion or turning point in life, such as birth, purification, and death. Tradition, in other words, associated piety with the slaughter of animals. When domestic animals replaced wild game as human's principal source of meat, they also filled the role previously played by game in sacrifice.

Like the hunt, sacrifice or at least the sacrificial meal was typically a collective activity, providing occasion for kin to gather together for a meal of meat, a treat which came infrequently for all but the aristocracy. Sacrifice thus continued many of the social functions of the hunt. It reinforced kinship ties and regulated the distribution of precious animal resources.

2. Domestication. a. History and Traits. For a long while, prehistorians believed that the domestication of plants and animals evolved as hunter-gatherers realized that by farming they could produce larger amounts of food more reliably and with less labor than was possible by hunting. What gave this idea credibility was the assumption that the life of the hunter-gatherer was one of deprivation and unending exertion. But, recent studies of contemporary hunter-gatherer societies such as the !Kung Bushmen (Lee 1968; 1969; 1979) suggest that, left to themselves, these groups lead a relatively carefree life in which food is plentiful and easily acquired. Except for highly specialized hunters such as the Eskimo, who are subject to extreme climatic conditions and a limited variety of food resources, modern hunter-gatherers generally have access to a food base that is adequate and reliable, and they do not expend inordinate amounts of time in collecting it. The !Kung work week, for instance, which includes time spent in foraging and hunting for and preparing food, collecting firewood, and making and repairing tools, amounts to only about 42 hours a week (Lee 1979: 272–80). It is not without a certain delight in turning old preconceptions about this lifestyle on their head that Marshall Sahlins thus calls these people "the original affluent society."

It is the farmer's life, by contrast, that is difficult. He must not only prepare and plant his fields, harvest the crops, and tend his livestock, but also build pens to shelter the animals and fences to keep them out of the fields. Nowadays, it is therefore suggested by some that the switch-over to agriculture and the use of domestic livestock were forced upon hunter-gatherers by a combination of factors such as a lower density of game, climatic change, and a loss of habitable land (Harris 1977). According to this view, the ever-increasing scarcity of resources remains

perhaps the single most powerful force shaping human culture.

While scarcity no doubt shapes culture, there are other ways of looking at the process of domestication. It has been suggested, for example, that people might have started raising young animals that they captured or whose parents had been killed in the hunt. Another theory is that domestication was a natural consequence of mutual adaptation or co-evolution (cf. Clutton-Brock 1987). From the animal's viewpoint, it is argued, natural selection itself played a role in the process of domestication, because from an evolutionary perspective, domestication offered significant advantages to animals as well as humans (as the success of domestic animals demonstrates). Domestic animals enjoy among other things protection from predators, and are thus more likely to survive. It was therefore in an animal's interest to associate with humans. The closer its association, the greater its advantage over others of its species. Natural selection thus favored tame animal populations. According to this scenario, animals gradually gave up their aggressive and territorial traits, needed for survival in the wild, in return for protection and food. It would have been a modest step for humans to undertake to manage these animals, and so exploit them at will. Those species whose management ultimately proved most consistently profitable soon monopolized man's attention. No doubt there was experimentation with a number of species. An interesting example of a close man-animal relationship that did not end up in domestication is the fallow deer of prehistoric Cyprus. These animals were deliberately introduced by man, and intensively exploited. At Dhali-Agridhi, for example, fallow deer account for about 79% of the bones in the sample (Carter 1989; Croft 1989). Having once realized the benefits of keeping their own animals, people may have abandoned hunting long before economic necessity drove them to do so.

As the example from Dhali-Agridhi illustrates, the animals that humans hunted or even managed were not necessarily the ones that ended up being domesticated. Domestication in the fullest sense of the word was made possible by the fact that certain animals demonstrated an inherent predisposition to human control. One could say, therefore, that there is a certain inevitability about domestication, for given a sufficiently intimate association with the domestic-animals-to-be, people could scarcely have failed to notice their inherent susceptibility to human control.

The traits indicative of domesticability are the following. First, the social behavior of the animal must naturally be based on a hierarchy of dominant and submissive individuals, into which human beings can insert themselves as leader. Second, the animal must not be adapted for instant flight because such animals (e.g., the gazelle) will not breed freely if penned up or herded too closely together. Third, the animal must be easy to tend, that is, rather placid, flexible in its feeding habits, and naturally gregarious, so that herdsmen need expend a minimum of energy in keeping a herd together. Lastly, the animal must be responsive to human behavior—human commands, mood changes, facial expressions, etc. The best illustration of this sensitivity is the dog, which will imitate the smile on its owner's face or be frightened by an angry look (cf. further Clutton-Brock 1987: 15–16, 36).

Domestication, in its fullest sense, means that an animal's breeding, territory, and food supply are controlled by humans (Clutton-Brock 1987: 11, 21). *Populations* of animals managed in this way are said to be "domestic." One speaks of populations, because domestication involves more than the exploitation of an individual animal during its lifetime. The management of breeding enables humans to manipulate the characteristics of entire animal populations over generations through artificial selection. However, with certain animals, artificial selection offers no significant advantage. As a result of natural selection, some animals are already perfectly adapted to meet certain human needs. In such cases, breeding many as well be left to nature. Such animals are said to be "domesticated" rather than "domestic." They are tame *individuals* which are also dependent on humans, but whose breeding involves little or no selection. These "exploited captives" include the camel and the elephant.

The establishment of sedentary communities based on agriculture and animal husbandry has created still another type of human-animal relation, one stage further down the scale of intimacy from that of the domesticated animal. Known as commensalism, it is defined as a one-sided symbiosis between a passive, but dominant partner—in this case humans—and another species, which derives exclusive benefit from the relationship (cf. Tchernov 1984). The benefits accruing from this relationship include greater availability and dependability of the food supply, protection from predators, and a decrease in interspecific competition. The greater the degree of human sedentation, the greater the benefit to the commensal partner. Man's commonest commensal partners are the house mouse *(Mus musculus)*, the black rat *(Rattus rattus)*, the brown rat *(Rattus norvegicus)*, the sparrow *(Passer domesticus)*, and the *Columbidae*. In the latter case, commensalism led to actual domestication.

b. The Primary Domesticates. In view of the conditions which must be satisfied before an animal can be domesticated, it should come as no surprise that there are so few domesticates. The ones which shall concern us here are the common livestock species: sheep, goats, cattle, and pigs. After the dog, these were the first animals to be domesticated and remained the most important throughout antiquity.

Domestic sheep *(Ovis aries)* are the descendants of *Ovis orientalis*, the Asiatic mouflon, a dark, small-bodied, short-tailed sheep, still found in the mountainous zone from Asia Minor to S Iran. Domesticated sheep may have arrived in Palestine by way of trade with Anatolia, from which imports, such as obsidian, first appear in the Neolithic. The domestic goat *(Capra hircus)*, too, descends from a wild species, the bezoar *(Capra aegagrus)*, native to this region. It is therefore in this area that these two animals must first have been domesticated; and, indeed, the earliest paleozoological evidence for their domestication occurs here. Within this region, however, domestication may have arisen simultaneously and independently. The date of the domestication of sheep and goats is thought to have been sometime during the 9th millennium B.C.E. (Clutton-Brock

1987: 56), preceding the domestication of cattle by about 1500 years.

Cattle were domesticated later than sheep and goats because their size and often combative disposition presented would-be herdsmen with a much stiffer challenge. The wild ancestor of domestic cattle, the aurochs *(Bos primigenius),* stood about 2 m high and bore large, forward-facing horns. These formidable beasts were found throughout the prehistoric Near East, including regions such as Saudi Arabia, where today cattle are only infrequently found (Tchernov 1974: 240). They survived in remoter areas, such as N Mesopotamia, until at least 900 B.C.E.—long after the introduction of domestic cattle.

Domestic pigs all descend from a single wild species, *Sus scrofa,* despite some 19th and early 20th century claims to the contrary (Flannery 1983: 164). Signs of domestication, such as smaller dentition, first appear in the archaeological record between 6500 and 6000 B.C.E. at Jarmo in the Zagros mountains and perhaps a little earlier at Çayönü in S Turkey. In the Levant, dates for the introduction of domestic swing range from about 6000 B.C.E. at Tell Judaideh in the Antioch Plain to 5000 B.C.E. at Jericho. In Egypt, the earliest domestic specimens occur ca. 4000 B.C.E. At many sites, the appearance of domestic pigs is associated with the introduction of pottery. This raises the possibility that the practice of raising pigs spread along with the technology of pottery making. Such a scenario would also explain the late debut of the domestic pig at Jericho, where wild boar had been a major food item in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic (Clutton-Brock 1971). There may have been, however, multiple centers from which this knowledge spread, since cattle and pigs were being domesticated in Greece at least as early as 6200 B.C.E. (Flannery 1983: 182).

To conclude this section on domestication, we shall look at one of the earliest examples of the phenomenon in which the entire process is illustrated. The site in question is Tell Jericho, whose history of occupation spans the period during which the domestication of plants and animals began.

In the Pre-Pottery Neolithic A (PPN A), about 8000 B.C.E., domestic cereals (emmer wheat and hulled two-row barley) made their first appearance. Domestic animals were as yet unknown. The inhabitants of the village at this period, numbering perhaps about 2000, practiced simple agriculture and hunting. The importance of the latter is indicated by the large proportion of gazelle bones in the sample, along with bones of other wild species, such as the boar and the common fox (*Vulpes vulpes;* Clutton-Brock 1971). (For foxes as food animals, see also Turnbull and Reed [1974: 99] and Flannery [1969: 314].) Although it has been claimed that the gazelle at Jericho were tamed captives (Legge 1972), there is no evidence for this in the bones themselves (Clutton-Brock 1987) or in the proportion of juveniles (Ducos 1978). (For a general discussion of bone size and age distribution, see further below.) It is more likely that they were caught and killed in large numbers in nets, or in corrals or "kites" of the sort found further S in the Arabah, in the Sinai, in Transjordan, and in Syria (see below under Gazelle).

In the PPN B, the period associated with the domestication of animals, the make-up of the food supply is already different. The importance of gazelle, for example, has diminished. Gazelle now constitute only half as much (ca. 18%) of the meat supply as in the preceding period. While it is likely that cattle and goats were being domesticated in this period, this is difficult to prove because these earliest domesticates are all morphologically indistinct from their wild counterparts. That is, their bones are much larger than those of domestic cattle and goats from later periods, indicating that they have not long been domesticated. (More will be said below about the phenomenon of size reduction in domestic animals.) Some of these large animals may therefore have been wild aurochs and bezoar. Sheep are not certainly attested until the EB Age.

In the Bronze Age, the importance of gazelle continues to decline while that of goats increases. By the MB Age, gazelle contribute only 3.4% of the meat supply. The pig, whose contribution to the food supply during the EB Age had been fairly small, stages a comeback, albeit in domestic form. The effects of domestication are evident: these pigs are smaller than those of the Pre-Pottery period, and the proportion of juveniles—another indication of domestication—has increased (12.5% in the Pre-Pottery, 32.5% in the Bronze Age). Relatively speaking, however, the pig's contribution is still less than it was in the Pre-Pottery period because of the growing importance of domestic cattle, goats, and sheep.

3. The "Secondary Products Revolution." In recent years it has become fashionable in some circles to speak not of a single revolution in the use of animals, but of two. Proponents of this view argue that for a long time after their domestication domestic animals still appear to have been kept chiefly as sources of meat. Many of the activities which we associate with animal husbandry may only have became widespread as late as 4000–3500 B.C.E.—three or four thousand years after the advent of farming. These activities include the exploitation of livestock for milk, riding, traction, and pack transport. These developments collectively make up what Sherratt (1981; 1983) calls the "secondary products revolution." His arguments are in brief as follows.

The use of the scratch-plow drawn by oxen first appears in the iconographic record about 4000 B.C.E. at Uruk, though the invention of this technology may have preceded its appearance in art by some time. From the Near East, use of the plow spread to Europe, where it is attested by actual plow-marks in datable surfaces and by copper models of yoked oxen ca. 3700–3500 B.C.E. Also from the 4th millennium comes the first evidence for the use of equids as pack animals. Excavations in a tomb at Giv^{c}atayim, in Israel, uncovered a donkey figurine with containers on its back. The figure dates to the Ghassulian (Late Chalcolithic) period (Kaplan 1969: 31, and pl. VII). Another pack donkey figure was found in an EB I tomb at Tel Azor (Druks and Tsaferis 1970). As Sherratt notes, the Late Chalcolithic and EB periods witnessed a growth in the number of settlements in the Negeb and Sinai, due to the trade in copper, in which donkey transport played an essential role. Again, from the 4th millennium we have our first evidence from both iconography and faunal studies of the use of goats and cattle for milk, as well as of the development of woolly sheep by artificial selection. From

this point on, the use of wool is said increasingly to have replaced that of vegetable fiber such as linen.

Sherratt's concept of a "secondary products revolution" has drawn sharp criticism from some circles (e.g., Chapman 1983). One of its obvious defects is that the dates at which various innovations in animal husbandry are first attested constitute only a terminus ante quem. It cannot be ruled out that while archaeologically unattested, some of these innovations go back as far as animal domestication itself.

Still, there can be little doubt that the exploitation of animals for "secondary products" did in fact lag behind their use as a source of meat. For example, the amount and quality of the wool obtainable from hairy sheep would alone scarcely have justified the effort of keeping them. And, in fact, Mesopotamian and Egyptian art both show that hairy sheep continued to be raised even after woolly sheep had been introduced. Hairy sheep were obviously not then being kept principally for their wool and probably never had been. The issue is not whether the very earliest farmers used secondary products, but how significant their use was. These farmers may have collected wool shed by hairy sheep, but that is exploitation of a far different order than the deliberate breeding and selection of sheep for that purpose. The same distinction applies to the use of milk from cattle, sheep, and goats. The question in this case is whether it is likely that groups of humans still in the throes of the transition from hunting to farming would have valued milk or milk-products enough to make them a principal consideration in determining how to manage their herds.

There is also something more to be said about the first use of animals in intensive agriculture. While this event no doubt precedes its appearance in art by some time, it was probably not by millennia. Indirect evidence for this comes from the ʿUvda Valley, in the SE Negeb. Intensive agriculture based on animal labor begins in this area sometime during the 4th millennium B.C.E., as evidenced by the introduction of numerous circular threshing floors and large, subterranean granaries (Avner 1989). The circular form of the threshing floors indicates the use of tethered animals rather than human labor. Once again, the use of animals is associated with a 4th-millennium context. The development of agriculture in this marginal area no doubt lagged behind that of major cultural centers. But the lag-time involved was probably on the order of hundreds rather than thousands of years.

Some additional support for Sherratt's theory comes from the study of the timetable according to which animals were slaughtered. Theoretical models suggest that if there was a widespread trend at early sites toward the slaughtering of young animals, this would be evidence for an emphasis on meat rather than on milk or wool production. While a preference for adult animals could indicate either meat or milk production, an increasing dependence on adult animals over time would be evidence for a shift in emphasis to secondary products. In fact, this is precisely what one sees at Neolithic sites in the Deh Lurah Plain and the Kermanshar Valley, Iran (Flannery 1969; Davis 1984; Hesse 1978). At Shiqmim, a Chalcolithic site in the Negeb, over 50% of all male caprovines were slaughtered before they reached their first year of age, and over 50% of female goats were killed before age 2½, clearly indicating that goats of both sexes and male sheep were raised primarily for meat. Female sheep survived in greater numbers, indicating their use for wool (Grigson 1987). The pattern for EB Arad is similar (Lernau 1978).

While a shift toward the use of secondary products thus does seem to have occurred, it is difficult to determine exactly when this took place. In fact, it may have occurred at different times, depending on the product involved and the geographical location. Sherratt oversimplified the problem in lumping all of the secondary products together. Evidence for a change in herd management to accommodate milk and wool production exists as early as the 6th millennium in Iran, while in Palestine hairy sheep were still the dominant species as late as the EB II (Lernau 1978).

In addition to milk, wool, and traction, domestic livestock provided other less valuable resources, whose place in the domestic economy nevertheless should not be overlooked. Dung cakes, for example, were and still are an important fuel for the household hearth, especially in areas where firewood is scarce (cf. Moens and Wetterstrom 1988; Miller 1984). Another use of dung was as a tanning agent. In areas where oak trees were available, tanning was usually extracted from acorn cups, roots, and bark (cf. Parsons 1962: 214 n. 1; Mikesell 1961: 101–2), but in ancient Palestine the dung of dogs and pigs was also used (*b. Ber.* 25a).

4. Effects of Domestication. a. On the Animal. An animal's adaptation to the conditions of captivity produces certain anatomical changes. Some of these are rather superficial and are only apparent in the living specimen. Others are evident in the skeletal structure and the teeth, and are thus susceptible to archaeological analysis. In general, these changes are the same regardless of species. A term often used to describe them is "pedomorphism," the retention of juvenile features into adulthood. The mechanism which causes these changes to occur is still poorly understood. It may not be generic. For example, it has been suggested that these effects may be the result of arrested development caused by precocious sexual maturity, or by hormone changes resulting from changed environmental conditions (Boettger 1958: 20; Spurway 1955: 349). In any event, because some changes are relatively superficial, domestic animals which return to the wild quickly revert to a morphological state more like that of wild than of domestic species. An example of this is the feral pigs of New Zealand (cf. Newberry 1928: 217).

(1) Morphological Changes Apparent in Skeletal Remains. As a result of domestication, overall size is reduced in most species. One important exception is the horse, whose size has increased (Epstein 1962: 295). The size of the bones is therefore the primary criterion by which wild and domestic species are distinguished in faunal remains from archaeological excavations. At Jericho, for example, it is possible to illustrate the decreasing size of cattle over several millennia (Clutton-Brock 1971: 44–46). As a measure of size in this case, the width of the distal end of the metacarpal (forefoot) bones was used. In the Pre-Pottery period this figure ranges from 69–75 mm, in the Bronze Age from 54–65 mm, and in the Iron Age from 46–58 mm. Smaller bone size corresponds to smaller dentition.

Since teeth are generally better preserved than almost any other part of the skeleton, they are among the commonest measures of domestication in faunal samples.

While the chief effect of domestication noticeable in bone samples is a reduction in size, there are some other noteworthy changes. Among ungulates, for instance, hornlessness in females is also evidence of domestication. Since males cannot be distinguished from females in a bone sample, this characteristic manifests itself simply in a paucity of horn cores relative to what one might have expected from a wild sample of comparable size. In the case of goats there are also clear trends in the shape of the horns (Flannery 1965: 1254; Clutton-Brock 1971: 49–50). The wild goat has scimitar-like horns whose bony cores are diamond-shaped in cross section at the skull. The earliest domestic goats are also all of this type. By 6000 B.C.E., however, a twisted-horn variety with a flattened core appears at sites in N Mesopotamia and the Zagros and quickly spreads through this region. Elsewhere, the change is slower. In PPN B Jericho, the scimitar shape is overwhelmingly predominant. During the EB Age, the two types appear in about equal numbers. In the MB Age, however, it is the twisted-horn variety that predominates. The reason for the change in horn shape is as yet unclear. One explanation has it that the twisted horn, a rare aberration among wild goats, was artificially selected because goats with this characteristic could be distinguished more easily from their wild counterparts (Clutton-Brock 1971: 50). However, it may be that the change in horn formation is not in itself important, but points to a preference for some other feature associated with the twisted-horn type.

Apart from morphological changes in the bones and teeth, domestication may be indicated in a faunal sample by the presence of an abnormally large percentage of juveniles. In particular, this suggests that the animals were being raised for meat. On the other hand, juveniles are also easier to hunt, so this criterion must be used with caution (Ducos 1978).

(2) Changes Not Apparent in Skeletal Remains (in general see Clutton-Brock 1987: 22–25). The result of selective breeding, several morphological changes are not attested in skeletal remains. One of these is the lengthening of the ears, which is typical of most domestic animals except the horse. Another is the fat-tail of sheep, which in some breeds has grown to a length of several feet. Herodotus (3.113), for example, describes a breed of Arabian sheep whose tails were so long that they required special wagons to support them (cf. Anati 1968, discussed below under Sheep). Such breeds became possible only because of the protection afforded them by humans against natural enemies (Hilzheimer 1936). Third, the tails of other animals have also undergone considerable development. In horses, the hair of the mane and the tail is much longer than in wild horses, asses, and zebras. Also the hair of the mane falls to one side in all domestic breeds, whereas in their wild relatives it stands erect. In dogs and pigs, the curled tail is a mark of domestication.

Most morphological characteristics such as these, which distinguish specific *breeds* within a species, will not appear in the skeletal remains, since the selection of such features usually involves rather superficial changes. This makes it difficult to identify breeds within a faunal sample. Further, while different breeds no doubt existed, the production of well-defined breeds was open to a great deal of chance, since a proper understanding of genetic inheritance was lacking. In any event, in the absence of widely acknowledged and precise criteria for the identification of a breed, the perpetuation of a breed over many generations was in part a matter of chance. In a few cases, such as the Arabian horse, detailed pedigrees *were* kept (Clutton-Brock 1987: 33).

b. On Humans. In the process of domesticating animals, human beings were also changed. Domestication, in other words, is a process of reciprocal adaptation. For example, peoples with a long history of association with cattle, sheep, and goats have developed the ability to absorb lactose (milk sugar) even as adults (see further below under Goats). In some cases, the adaptation is almost wholly on the part of the human being. For example, the lifestyle of camel nomads is entirely determined by the capabilities and limitations of the camel, while the camel appears to have changed very little and is dependent on humans only in those areas where it is unable to obtain water by itself.

C. Animal Bone Archaeology

Given the paucity of detailed written information from antiquity about animals, we are often dependent on the archaeologist for what knowledge we have about the history of man's relationship with them. Where detailed written information exists, as in ancient Mesopotamia, it still does not give us a complete picture even of the common domestic animals, much less of those which were of little or no use to human beings. Unfortunately, it is only within roughly the last twenty years that the recovery and analysis of faunal remains has become a regular part of most excavations. There are some notable exceptions to this generalization, such as the University of Chicago's excavation at Tell Asmar, whose faunal remains were studied by Hilzheimer (1941). And, generally speaking, archaeologists of prehistory have done a better job of studying faunal remains than those of the historical periods, since the latter have been preoccupied with architectural remains and the reconstruction of pottery sequences.

Having at last come into their own as a vital element in archaeological excavations, faunal studies are now capable of providing insights into problems of primary interest to social historians. However, the value of faunal analysis is conditioned by the quality and size of the sample provided by the excavation itself. In older excavations, only the bones of large mammals were kept, if they were saved at all. The remains of smaller mammals, birds, fish, reptiles, and insects went largely undetected, since they are recoverable only when the excavated dirt is sifted through a series of fine mesh screens (cf. the figure in Caloi, Compagnoni, and Tosi 1978). The tiniest skeletal material, such as that of insects and mollusks, will pass through the finest screen. In order to recover this, archaeologists use a technique called a flotation, the basic idea of which is that organic remains have a lower specific gravity than inorganic and will float to the surface of a liquid where they can be retrieved, while the rest of the (inorganic) material will sink.

While the analysis of bones from archaeological excavations is of interest to zoologists, its essential purpose is to

aid the archaeologist in reconstructing aspects of human society. For this reason, faunal analysis is no longer simply a matter of identifying the species from which bones derive. Instead, it emphasizes those aspects of a bone sample which shed light on problems of culture and economy. These include the problems of domestication and "secondary products" discussed above. It is also possible to derive information from the bones about such aspects of animal use as the relative proportions of species (e.g., sheep and goats versus cattle), the slaughtering schedule, and details of butchering technique (Hesse and Wapnish 1985; Davis 1987a). The following synopsis is intended to give the non-specialist an overview of the methods used to extract information of this sort from bone samples.

1. Relative Frequency of Species. Like all statistical studies, bone counts of any sort presuppose that the sample is large enough to be statistically significant. The relative proportion of species is measured in several ways. Of these, one of the commonest and simplest is to compare and total number of bones from each species. However, there are several potential problems with frequencies based on simple bone counts of this sort. If, for instance, a sample contains 50% cattle parts from whole carcasses, and 50% horse parts consisting only of skulls, then in fact many more horses are represented than cattle, despite there being an equal number of fragments of each species (cf. Hesse and Wapnish 1985: 112). Account should therefore be taken not only of total number of fragments but also of uneven distribution of bone types.

A second difficulty with simple number counts is the likelihood that fragments from the same bone will be counted separately instead of as a single analytic unit. If all bones in the sample had been subjected to the same processes of destruction, this source of bias could perhaps be ignored. But, if the bones of some species had been preferentially broken, the number of bones counted in that group would be much higher than that of other groups in the sample, making it look as if those species were more common than they actually were. Finally, estimates of relative abundance may be skewed by the fact that the more bones a species has, the greater its share of the sample will be, and the more likely it is to be represented in the sample in the first place. Its importance may therefore be overestimated.

These biases can be corrected as follows (cf. Hesse and Wapnish 1985; Wapnish et al. 1977; Hesse and Perkins 1974). A skeleton contains a certain number of specimens of each bone type, e.g., 2 shoulder bones *(scapulae)*, 2 of each of the various fore- and hindleg bone types, etc. The total number of the element type is divided by its anatomical frequency to correct for the likelihood of recovering different bones from the same skeleton and for the fact that not all bones occur with the same anatomical frequency from one species to another. Bone types which according to this correction are over- or under-represented are eliminated. The arithmetic mean of the resulting list of frequencies is then calculated for each animal. By comparing the mean frequency of the various species, one arrives at a more reliable estimate of relative proportions in the sample.

Many zooarchaeologists still prefer to compare the minimum number of individuals (MNI) represented by the bones of the respective species (Watson 1979). The maximum MNI in a sample of bones of a given species is equal to the total number of bones of the most common bone type divided by the number of such boxes per individual. The bone type selected as the diagnostic is typically one of the large bones, since they are more likely to survive, and will therefore yield the greatest minimal number of individuals. The accuracy of the MNI can be increased by sorting the bones according to age and size and adding MNIs for each of the age and size groups (Bökönyi 1970). MNIs counted in this way will be higher than those based on a gross sample.

The drawback of this method is the inherent improbability of the resulting numbers in all but very large samples. The reason for this is that the bone type or element of bone type selected as the diagnostic may be over-represented in certain species as a result of cultural factors. For example, when an animal was butchered, those portions selected for meat may have been taken to one part of the site and those used for tools to another. Unless the bones of every species are utilized in the same way, and this is unlikely to have been the case, there may be significant variation in the relative proportions from one part of the site to another.

Other methods for estimating relative abundance are bone volume and bone weight. Since these are almost never used at sites in the Near East, the reader seeking additional information about them is referred to the technical literature (e.g., Hesse and Wapnish 1985).

2. Slaughtering Schedule. Several methods are used to determine the age at which animals were slaughtered. When an animal reaches a certain age, the ends of its long bones (epiphyses) fuse. The age at which this fusion occurs is more or less constant within a species and is therefore a diagnostic for determining the relative proportion of juveniles and adults in a sample. The age at which fusion takes place, while roughly uniform in a species, is nonetheless linked to factors such as sex and nutrition. Age at fusion is therefore best given as a range of values. Data for domestic livestock are found in Todd and Todd (1938) and Silver (1969). Since the epiphyses of various bones fuse at different ages, it is possible to compile a schedule of the proportion of animals slaughtered at various ages (cf. Payne 1973; Redding 1981).

A potential source of bias in this method is the fact that mature (fused) bones survive in greater numbers than immature (unfused) bones. Absolute numbers obtained in this way are therefore not entirely trustworthy. However, by comparing the porportion of fused bones at one age with those at another age it is still possible to draw general conclusions about patterns in the age at death.

Cognizance also must be taken of any differential deposition of bones at the site. Adults and juveniles, for example, may have been slaughtered at different parts of a site depending on the particular uses to which they were put. Males and females may similarly have been segregated. Differential deposition of this sort may obscure the true slaughtering patterns for the site as a whole.

Another method of determining age at death is the eruption sequence of the teeth (Ewbank et al. 1964). In order to distinguish the age of older animals whose complement of teeth is complete, tooth wear is examined. Wear

sequences are now available for sheep and goats, cattle, horses, and camels (Grant 1975; 1978; 1982; Deniz and Payne 1982; Crabtree 1982; Sisson and Grossman 1953; Rabagliati 1924; Payne 1973).

3. Butchering Technique. In addition to providing data on age at death, bones also indicate how animals were butchered. From cut marks on the bones, for example, one can observe precisely how an animal was skinned and dismembered. Additional information on the details of slaughtering is obtainable from the distribution of the bones. In the Palegawra cave in N Iraq, for example, onagers appear to have been the principal meat source. But their skulls appear infrequently among the bones, indicating that the animals must have been killed elsewhere and that only the meat-bearing portions were transported to the site (Turnbull and Reed 1974). This sort of differential deposition has been labelled the "Schlepp Effect" (Perkins, Daly, and Daly 1968).

ANIMAL PROFILES

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1. Domestic Species
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4. GOATS
5. CATTLE
6. PIGS
B. Equids
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9. Carnivores
10. DOGS
C. BIRDS
1. DOVES AND PIGEONS
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D. FISH
E. Mollusks
F. Arthropods and Insects
1. LOCUSTS
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G. Earthworms

A. Ungulates

1. Domestic Species. In primitive Mediterranean and ANE societies, whether urban or seminomadic, livestock was the principal form of useful wealth. The wealth of Homer's heroes, for example, is never related other than in terms of cattle, sheep, and goats, even if they own large tracts of land. If this is true of a sedentary society such as Homer's, it goes without saying that it characterizes pastoralist societies. Israel's ancestors, who according to the patriarchal narratives were tent-dwelling seminomads (Gen 13:3, 7, 18; 18:1, 10; 26:17; 35:21; 46:32, 34), are said to have possessed movable wealth, but no property (Gen 26:14). When Abraham wished to bury his wife Sarah, he first had to buy a plot of land (Genesis 23; also cf. Gen 33:19).

Among Near Eastern pastoralists, as among city-dwellers, livestock (cattle, sheep, and goats) functioned as a standard and even medium of exchange. The same is true of numerous pre-modern societies. Traces of such livestock currency are preserved in the business vocabulary of many languages. English "fee," for example, corresponds etymologically to German *Vieh*, "cattle," and from the Latin cognate *pecu*, "cattle," we derive *"pecuniary," "impecunious,"* etc. The Indian *rupee* comes from Sanskrit *rupa*, "cattle." Similarly, Hebrew *miqneh* means both "livestock" and "purchase." For the use of livestock as a medium of exchange in the Bible, see Gen 38:17. Even if the actual medium of transaction was silver, measured by weight (in shekels), the value of a thing might be calculated in terms of livestock (Gen 33:19; Josh 24:32; contrast Genesis 23). This was true of early Greece (cf. *Iliad* 2: 448–49; 6:236; 23:703, 885), and the Hittite empire as well. In the latter case, though payment was clearly made in silver, prices for livestock were calculated based on value relative to one sheep, where 1 sheep = 1 shekel of silver (Laws II §63ff., ed. Friedrich 1959; *ANET*, pp. 195–96, §178ff.).

a. Relative Value of Cattle, Sheep, and Goats. For certain periods, livestock prices are known for much of the Near East. Data on prices are to be found in economic documents (receipts, price lists, etc.), in legal texts, and occasionally in narratives. In Mesopotamia, where rich documentation exists from an early date, it is even possible to track prices over a long period. Comparative data are collected in Heltzer (1978).

From this material it emerges that prices are relatively uniform from one area to another and stable over time. The relative value of cattle and sheep was typically ten to one, cattle having a monetary value of ten shekels, sheep one (cf., e.g., Hittite Laws II §63–64, ed. Friedrich 1959; *ANET*, pp. 195–96, §178–79; for Nuzi, cf. Speiser 1960: 32). This ten-to-one ratio was recognized throughout the Near East in all periods, as well as in early Rome (Festus, *Epit.* 24). The goat cost two-thirds of a shekel (Hittite Laws II §64; *ANET*, p. 196, §179), because the woolly fleece, which accounted for the sheep's total value, brought a higher price than goat's hair (valued at one-fourth of a shekel, Hittite Laws II §71; *ANET*, p. 196, §185A).

b. Composition of Mixed Herds. It is possible to derive some information about the relative proportions of animals on the farm (ratio of sheep/goats to cattle) from numbers in lists of property or sacrifices scattered throughout the Bible. These data are compiled in the following tables.

Data on the proportion of sheep to goats is sparse. According to 1 Sam 25:2, sheep outnumber goats by three to one. According to an extra-biblical source, the ratio was 10.3 to 1 (Annals of Thutmose III, *ANET*, 237). Figures on the proportion of females to males are also hard to come by. According to Gen 32:15, however, there were about ten females for every male.

Data about the composition of herds are also now avail-

Table 2
Composition of Herds

Text	No. of Sheep/Goats	No. of Cattle	Relative Proportion
Job 1:3[a]	7,000	2 × 500	7 : 1
Num 31:31[b]	675,000	72,000	9.4 : 1
			Avg. 8.2 : 1

[a]The data here are assumed to be fictional and representative of what an Israelite writer thought were the typical proportions of an average herd.

[b]These figures represent the booty taken in the Israelite conquest of Midian. Again, their historical validity is dubious. But even as fictions they tell us something about what were thought to be proper proportions.

Table 3
Composition of Sacrificial Lists

Text	No. of Sheep/Goats	No. of Cattle	Relative Proportion
Gen 32:14–15	2(200 + 20)	40 + 10	8.8 : 1
Num 7:17 etc.[a]	3 × 5	2	7.5 : 1
1 Kgs 8:63	120,000	22,000	5.5 : 1
Ezra 6:17	200 + 400	100	6.0 : 1
Ezra 8:35	96 + 77 + 12	12	15.4 [8.0] : 1[b]
2 Chr 15:11[c]	7,000	700	10.0 : 1
2 Chr 29:33	3,000	600	5.0 : 1
2 Chr 30:24	7,000	1,000	7.0 : 1
	10,000	1,000	10.0 : 1
2 Chr 35:7–9	30,000	3,000	10.0 : 1
	2,600	300	8.7 : 1
	5,000	500	10.0 : 1
			Avg. 8.7 [8.0] : 1[d]

[a]Only the values of the *zebaḥ haśśĕlāmîm* are taken here. N.B.: no historical value is necessarily to be attached to any of these numbers or indeed to any of the events described. As in Table 1, they may at best illustrate only what was thought to be a proper proportion.

[b]The numbers 96, 77, and 12 are significant in their own right. In particular, 77 and 12 appear to have some symbolic importance, 12 indicating one animal per tribe, 77, like the number 7, indicating symbolic completeness. The 96 : 12 (8:1) ratio is more in line with what we find in other texts.

[c]The author of Chronicles appears frequently to use a 10 : 1 ratio as a rule of thumb.

[d]The ratio in brackets is based on a figure of 8 : 1 rather than of 15.4 : 1 for Ezra 8:35.

able from archaeological excavations. These figures are given in Table 4.

From the table, it is evident that in desert areas sheep and goats were raised in preference to cattle, on average by a little over 10:1. In the coastal plain, the ratio of caprovines to cattle was on the order of between 1:1 and 2:1. The difference between these two ratios is readily explained as a result both of the richer supply of fodder and of the moister climate. The hill country and Shephelah occupy a place somewhere between these two extremes. In the region, sheep and goats typically outnumber cattle by between 2:1 and 7:1.

It is difficult to know how representative these ratios are of actual proportions, since detailed comparative data for some areas are not available prior to the Israeli occupation of the West Bank in 1967. The results of the 1974 animal census of the West Bank have now been published in part by Finkelstein (*AIS*, 134). In general, the ratio of caprovines to cattle is everywhere much higher than in the archaeological samples considered above. This is no doubt due to the fact that mechanized farming has largely replaced the use of the ox-drawn plow. There would therefore be little purpose in dwelling on exact figures. Certain of the regional tendencies noted in the composition of ancient herds are nevertheless apparent even in the recent censuses. In the desert areas comprising the E portion of the country (those areas Finkelstein calls the "desert fringe" and the "central range"), caprovines far outnumber cattle, as they did in archaeological samples from the Negeb. Since agriculture in the desert zone is limited, but pasturage is abundant, the absolute number of sheep and goats is also very high. The E "desert fringe," for example, had almost as many caprovines as the "central range," despite the fact that it is one-third as large (for the definition of these areas, see Finkelstein, *AIS*). In the hill country, the relative proportion of caprovines to cattle varies by as much as a factor of 5, depending on local terrain. Where agriculture is intensive and the terrain moderate (as in the foothills [Shephelah], the N slopes, and the N central range), the proportion of cattle is greatest. Where the terrain is rugged (as in the S slopes), horticulture predominates, and the proportion of cattle decreases.

2. Animals as Food. a. Diet, Sacrifice, and Slaughter. Regardless of the place or period in question, diets in antiquity were predominantly vegetarian. The use of animal products was in large measure confined to milk curds and cheeses. Based on figures given in the Mishnah (*Ketub.* 5:8–9), Broshi (1986) has estimated that in Roman Palestine, for example, cereals constituted perhaps 50% of the caloric intake in the average Jewish diet, with wine, olive oil, legumes, and fruit making up the rest. Although precise figures are seldom given, studies of diet in other areas of the ancient world confirm that meat was not a common item in the average diet. For Mesopotamia, see Bottéro (1985), Ellison (1981; 1983; 1984), and Limet (1987); for Egypt, see Saffirio (1972), Darby et al. (1977); for Rome, see André (1961) and K. White (1976); and for Arabia, see Jacob (1897: 88–109) and Rodinson (*Ency. Islam* 2: 1057–72). Most people could afford to eat meat only on special occasions. Typically accompanying these was a sacrifice of some sort. Indeed, it was not uncommon for a single animal to provide both the sacrifice and the meal. Every use of meat thus became a sacral meal, and every act of animal slaughter a sacrifice.

The Bible makes this connection explicit. In Israelite priestly literature, sacrifice and slaughter were nearly synonymous. According to Leviticus 17, all animals of sacrificeable species (cattle, sheep, and goats) were to be slaughtered at the *mizbēaḥ* or "altar," literally "the place of sacrificial slaughter" *(zebaḥ)*. An unrelated literary text suggests that slaughter had once taken place on the altar itself (Gen 22:9–10). Whenever a person wished to eat beef or mutton, it would in theory have been necessary to take an animal to the sanctuary and to slaughter it there. A

Table 4
Composition of Herds Based on Faunal Analysis

Period	Site	Total No. of Bones All Species[a] MNI	Caprovines[b] No. MNI	Caprovines[b] % %	Ratio of Sheep to Goats[c]	Cattle No. MNI	Cattle % %	Ratio of Caprovines to Cattle[d]	Source
Chalcolithic		206	156	75.6		17	8.3	9.1	Angress 1959
	Beer-sheba	63	39	61.9		9	14.3	4.3	
		258	218	84.5	5.8[e]	27	10.5	8.0	Josien 1955
	Bir Abu Matar	32	22	68.8	2.7[e]	6	18.8	3.7	
		533	501	94.0	9.2	15	2.8	33.6	Josien 1955
	Bir es-Safadi	46	38	82.6	4.4	4	8.7	9.5	
	Shiqmim			ca. 90			ca. 10	ca. 9	Grigson 1987
EB	Arad (EB I)	383	345	91.3	2.1[g]	29	7.7	11.9[h]	Lernau 1978
	Arad (EB II[f])	1408	1244	89.9	1.4[g]	105	7.6	11.8[h]	Lernau 1978
Middle Bronze	Lachish (MB IIB–C)			75.0			15	5.0	Hellwing and Sadeh 1985
	Shiloh (MB IIB)	241	191	79.2		42	17.4	4.6	Hellwing and Sadeh 1985
	Shiloh (MB IIC)	443	373	84.1		56	12.6	6.7	Hellwing and Sadeh 1985
	Tell Aphek (MB IIA)	1129		49.4			33.5	1.5	Hellwing and Gophna 1984
	Tell Aphek (MB IIB–C)			52.6			29.6	1.8	Hellwing and Sadeh 1985
	Tell Jemmeh (MB IIB–C)	ca. 2500		72–83[i]	4		7–13[g]	6.4–10.3[i]	Wapnish and Hesse 1988
	Tell Masos (MB IIB–C)			87.5					Tchernov and Drori 1983
	Tell Michal (MB IIB)	110 19	49	44.5[j]		45	40.9[j]	1.1	Hellwing and Feig 1989
Late Bronze	Lachish			63.0			22.0	2.9	Hellwing and Sadeh 1985
	Shiloh	2332	2152	92.2		155	6.6	14.0	Hellwing and Sadeh 1985
	Tell Michal	641 44	289	45.0		258	40.2	1.1	Hellwing and Feig 1989

priest would then have flung its blood against the altar and burnt the fat covering the internal organs. In payment for his services, the officiating priest received the right shoulder *(šoq)*, while the priestly corps was awarded the breast *(hazeh)* as a sort of prebend. The owner got what was left. Game animals were not sacrificeable in Israel, and could therefore not be brought to the sanctuary (e.g., as captives, as was done in Egypt [see above]). The only rule regulating their slaughter was that the blood must be drained out on the ground and covered. Failure to observe these rules rendered one guilty of bloodshed, no less than if one had committed murder (Lev 17:4). Animals which had died a natural death, or which had been killed by wild beasts were (in theory at least) off-limits as food (Lev 22:8). The violation of this rule made one temporarily impure but did not carry the penalty of divine retribution.

Whether actual practice ever conformed to this legislation is open to doubt. It would certainly have been impracticable to have only one location where people could take their animals for slaughter. It is possible, therefore, that the text is simply a utopian agenda. Alternatively, one could argue that while the text of Leviticus 17 speaks only

Table 4 (continued)

Period	Site	Total No. of Bones All Species[a] MNI	Caprovines[b] No. MNI	Caprovines[b] % %	Ratio of Sheep to Goats[c]	Cattle No. MNI	Cattle % %	Ratio of Caprovines to Cattle[d]	Source
Iron Age	Beer-sheba (Strata IX–VI)	1303		77.5			12.5	6.2	Hellwing 1984
	Dan			52.0[k]			33.0[k]	1.6	Wapnish et al. 1977
	Heshbon	620	510	82.3		48	7.7	10.7	LaBianca 1973
	ʿIzbet Ṣarṭah[l]	1203	635 34	52.7 46.5		411 18	34.3 24.6	1.5[l] 1.9[l]	Hellwing and Adjeman 1986
	Lachish		 11	46.9		 11	48.3	1.0 1.0	Lernau 1975
	Lachish (Iron II)			67.5[m]			17.5[m]	3.9	Hellwing and Sadeh 1985
	Qasile (Iron I)		212			35[n]		6.1	Davis 1985
	Shiloh (Iron I)	1333	1000	75.0		306	22.9	3.3	Hellwing and Sadeh 1985
	Shiloh (Iron II)	148	99	66.8		41	27.7	2.4	Hellwing and Sadeh 1985
	Tell Masos (Iron I)			65.8			25.8	2.6	Tchernov and Drori 1983
	Tell Masos (Iron II)			42.8			7.3	5.9	Tchernov and Drori 1983
	Tell Michal (Iron II)	406	239	58.8		123	30.2	1.9	Hellwing and Feig 1989
	Tell Qiri	971	793	81.6	1.0	142	14.6	5.6	Davis 1987b
	Tell es-Saʿidiyeh (Iron II)			50.0			24.0	2.1	Martin 1988
Persian	Tell Michal	3281 194	1799			1136		1.6	Hellwing and Feig 1989
Hellenistic	Shiloh	100	62	62.0		32	32.0	1.9	Hellwing and Sadeh 1985
	Tell Michal	527 44	327	62.0		144	27.3	2.3	Hellwing and Feig 1989
Hasm.	Tell Michal	171 22	111			46		2.4	Hellwing and Feig 1989

of a single sanctuary, in fact it presupposes the existence of numerous local sanctuaries, whose prototype was the legendary Tabernacle. Multiple sanctuaries in fact existed until the Josianic reform, which restricted all cultic activity to the temple in Jerusalem.

The centralization of the cult forced a revision in the rules for animal slaughter, utopian or not. Both the reform and the new legislation are reflected in Deut 12:15. Since local sanctuaries had been done away with, people living long distances from the central sanctuary were allowed to slaughter animals wherever they wished, provided that they drained the carcass of its blood. It is explicitly said that domestic animals were now to be treated like wild game ("like gazelle and deer," v 15). Deuteronomy's legis-

Table 4 (continued)

Period	Site	Total No. of Bones All Species[a] MNI	Caprovines[b] No. MNI	Caprovines[b] % %	Ratio of Sheep to Goats[c]	Cattle No. MNI	Cattle % %	Ratio of Caprovines to Cattle[d]	Source
Roman	Dan			61.0	1.1		24.0	2.5	Wapnish et al. 1977
	Heshbon	597 46	471 11	78.9 23.9		 4		2.8	LaBianca and LaBianca 1976
	Qumran	492 57	408 46	82.9 80.7	1.0	69 10	14.0 18.0	5.9 4.5	Zeuner 1960
	Shiloh	135	97	71.8		30	22.2	3.2	Hellwing and Sadeh 1985
	Tell Michal	207 26	114			65		1.8	Hellwing and Feig 1989

[a]Where two figures are given for a site, the upper represents the total number of bones, the lower the minimum number of individuals. In the percentage columns, the upper and lower figures are respectively based on the number of bones and MNI.

[b]The total of all sheep and goats. Sheep and goat bones are often not distinguished from one another in faunal analysis. Even where they are, a large number of bone fragments usually remain, which are only identifiable as belonging to either sheep or goats. Hence the value of a combined category.

[c]The ratio of sheep to goats in the sample is typically based on a small fraction of bones definitely identifiable as belonging to either sheep or goats. Since the number of such bones is usually small, the resulting ratio must be taken with a grain of salt.

[d]Based on the respective percentages of caprovines and cattle.

[e]In the Negeb today, sheep outnumber goats by about three to one (Levy 1983).

[f]Values for the EB II represent totals for all four strata, since the respective proportions of cattle, sheep, and goats remain almost constant throughout this period.

[g]Davis (1976: 155) reports the following ratios. For EB I: 1.5 (Area T), 2.0 (Area K); for EB II (strata III–I): 1.0 (Area T), 1.2 (Area K).

[h]While MNIs are not given separately for the two periods, the total MNI from both periods is 80 for caprovines and 7 for cattle, giving a ratio of 11.4 to 1.

[i]The first value is simply based on the fraction of the total number of bones, the second on a comparison of the mean relative frequency of selected bone types of each species.

[j]Calculated according to the method outlined by Watson (1979).

[k]Based on a comparison of the mean relative frequency of selected bone types of each species.

[l]The data from Strata I–III are here combined. There is a noticeable trend toward the raising of sheep and goats at the expense of cattle. In III, the ratio of caprovines to cattle is 1.2; in II it is 2.0; and in I it is 2.5.

[m]Average of Strata V–IV.

[n]In Davis' opinion, the cattle bones are over-represented since sieving was not undertaken.

lation may be said to represent a step in the direction of the secularization of animal slaughter vis-à-vis the priestly corpus.

The only other restriction on the killing of animals was that newborns could not be sacrificed or, presumably, slaughtered for any purpose until they were at least eight days old (Exod 22:28–29; Lev 22:27). This eight-day waiting period is perhaps reminiscent of that required before a newborn boy could be circumcised (Gen 17:12). The rationale for this delay is not given, but may have had something to do with the ritual impurity attached to the process of birth. This is strongly suggested by the mention of circumcision in Lev 12:3 in connection with the week-long impurity of a woman who has given birth to a boy. Compare the week-long secondary contamination contracted by intercourse with the woman who has had an issue of blood (Lev 15:24).

The determination of the gender of the animal slaughtered was in part at least determined by economics. Only a few male animals are needed to ensure that reproduction takes place at an acceptable pace. In Mandate Palestine, for example, a single ram could fertilize 35 or more ewes. Since males give no milk, there was little purpose in maintaining them as adults. With this large reserve of slaughterable males, it is perhaps not surprising that male animals constituted the majority of sacrificial victims irrespective of species. In ancient Israel, males were *required* for the burnt offering (*ʿolâ*), the purgation offering (*ḥaṭṭāʾt*—if brought in behalf of the high priest, the people, or the leaders of the people) and the reparation offering (*ʾāšām*), as well as for the regular sacrifices described in Numbers 28–29. Females were required only in the private *ḥaṭṭāʾt*. Either male or female could be used for the *zebaḥ*.

While there is no explicit discussion of the method by which animals were slaughtered, it can be inferred from the terminology. The term for "slaughter" in biblical Hebrew is *šaḥaṭ*, which, like its Arabic cognate *šaḥaṭa*, literally

means "to cut the throat." This remains the way in which animals are slaughtered in both Judaism and Islam. When an animal was to be killed but not eaten or sacrificed, its neck was broken (Exod 34:20; Deut 21:4), indicating that no sacrificial connotation was attached to the act. The offering of a limb amputated from a live animal, a practice attested in Egyptian funerary rites (Weigall 1915: 10; Dondelinger 1979, pl. 6; Eggebrecht 1973: 55–61), was implicitly forbidden.

b. Food Prohibitions. The biblical dietary law (Leviticus 11; Deut 14:1–20) has elicited many different explanations. A convenient review of relevant scholarship to 1969 is found in Kornfeld (1969). Until a little over 20 years ago, scholarly opinion concerning the rationale of the dietary law was divided into two broad categories, which we may call the *religious* and the *hygienic*. Scholars of the first group typically held that certain animals were regarded as unclean because of their association with pagan worship (Elliger, *Leviticus* HAT, and many others). For criticism of this view, see Kornfeld (1969). Along a different tack, it was suggested that the motivation of Israel's food prohibitions was to inculcate respect for life by limiting the consumption of animal flesh (Milgrom 1963). This explanation ignores the fact that no restrictions are placed on the primary food-producing species. Proponents of the hygenic approach, on the other hand, maintained that the prohibitions were intended to identify health hazards. They pointed in particular to the fact that the pig is often a carrier of trichinosis (Albright, *YGC*, 177–78; cf. already Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed*, 3.48). This approach too, while still popular in some circles, can no longer be maintained. For criticism, see Harris (1977: 200; 1985: 160; Simoons 1961: 37ff.).

More recent discussions of the dietary law have sought to explain it in economic or sociological terms. Prominent among these are the studies of the American anthropologist Marvin Harris (1974; 1977; 1985), who maintains that Israel's food prohibitions were designed to ensure that people's tastes did not jeopardize their economic security. Certain animal foods were prohibited, Harris argues, because producing them had proved to be a waste of scarce resources (Harris 1985). At the heart of Harris' theory is his treatment of the pork prohibition. This is dealt with at length in the section on the pig (see below).

The other notable contribution to the study of the dietary law is the work of the British sociologist Mary Douglas (1966; 1975). Douglas believed that she had discovered in the biblical criteria for distinguishing clean and unclean animals an essential unity of motivation: clean animals had those essential morphological features judged to be proper to their respective habitats. Douglas identified the means of locomotion as the most crucial of these features. Thus, cattle were expected to go on four (cloven) hooves, birds to fly (rather than to walk), and fish to move by means of fins. The biblical classification regards as unclean "creatures which are anomalous, whether in living between two spheres or having defining features of another sphere, or lacking defining features" (Douglas 1975: 266).

Although it is a conceptual advance over its predecessors, Douglas' idea of an animal taxonomy based on the means of locomotion ultimately proves to be untenable (Firmage fc.). One brief example must suffice to illustrate why. In the case of the unclean birds, for example, there is nothing about their wings that is at all anomalous. In contrast, it is precisely the unclean quadruped's missing hoof or cleft in the hoof and the marine creature's lack of proper fins which make them "anomalous." Douglas emphasizes the fact that some unclean birds swim or dive in addition to flying. But, unlike fish, which can only swim, and land animals, which can only walk on the ground, *all* birds locomote in at least two ways, and all would, according to Douglas' logic, be unclean. Thus, neither in regard to their means of locomotion, nor in their movement between two environmental spheres can the unclean birds be called anomalous.

The key idea in Douglas' theory is that the boundaries dividing one animal taxon from another are like the boundaries that separate Israelites from non-Israelites, clean from unclean, holy from profane. And, indeed, there are similarities between the ways in which animals and people are classified. But Douglas missed the most important analogy of all, the one which in fact explains the dietary law. In its most elemental form, the analogy is the divine injunction with which the dietary law concludes, "You are to make yourselves holy and keep yourselves holy, because I am holy" (Lev 11:44). On the practical level, this meant that every aspect of life, including diet, should be scrutinized to see whether or not it conformed to this command. As far as diet was concerned, the problem facing Israel's priesthood was to decide on what basis foods should be judged proper or improper. Their solution was simply to compare what Israelites ate with what YHWH "ate." YHWH's "diet" was, of course, the sacrificial offerings (cf. the phrase *leḥem ʾelohîm;* Lev 21:6, 8, etc.; 22:25). YHWH's "table" was the altar (*šulḥān YHWH;* cf. Ezek 44:16; Mal 1:12). (On the anthropomorphic background of these terms, see Haran 1961.) The sacrificeable species, cattle, sheep, and goats, thus became the paradigm against which the "cleanness" of all other animals could be measured (Firmage fc.).

The criteria for the selection of clean quadrupeds (i.e., that clean animals must be ruminants and have cloven hooves) are a précis of this paradigm. These are the features which the priests judged to be both comprehensive and easily applicable. And, in fact, of the superficial features apparent (as they had to be) even to the most inexperienced observer, these are, zoologically speaking, very logical choices.

The criteria, then, were from the beginning an essential element of the dietary law. But, the priests needed no criteria to tell them that bears, lions, dogs, rodents, and countless other animals were different from the domestic livestock they offered to YHWH. The differences from the paradigm of clean animals were self-evident. The problem was that as a legal principle it was not enough simply to prohibit all animals that did not *look like* domestic livestock. Inevitably, there would have to be guidelines for deciding difficult cases (such as the camel and the pig) and guaranteeing consistency of application. Some sort of criteria were necessary if the prohibition was to be practicable. Our criteria are therefore those features which the priests believed could be most simply and unambiguously

applied by the layperson to whom the law is addressed (Lev 11:1).

According to Lev 11:3 all clean land animals satisfy two criteria: they have cloven hooves, and they are ruminants. The four outlawed species singled out for special mention in Lev 11:4–7 are there because they are anomalous in having only one of these required characteristics, but they are not the only ones excluded by these two criteria. Douglas failed to recognize that these two criteria alone suffice to exclude *all* land animals which are not cloven-hooved, including those species mentioned later in vv 26–30. In fact, the four species of vv 4–7 are the *only* ones commonly encountered in Israel's immediate environment which meet one but not both criteria. Within this tiny group, the pig has a special place, for it alone in the entire animal world known to Israel has cloven hooves but does not chew the cud. Of all prohibited quadrupeds, therefore, only the pig is excluded on the basis of the criterion of rumination. With this one exception, all unclean animals could have been excluded simply by the requirement that they have cloven hooves.

When it comes to fish, this model seems to shipwreck on the fact that there was no temple paradigm as in the previous case, for fish were not allowed on the altar, and there was therefore no reason for any fish to be declared unclean. In principle, all marine life would have been licit, for there was no potentially restrictive temple model that would have obliged the priests to exclude certain fish species as unclean. Nevertheless, some species were prohibited, because in lacking fins and scales they were regarded as snakes (see below under Fish). In other words, fins and scales were the criteria used to distinguish fish from snakes (so already Yerkes 1923–24). For further examples of the equation of fish and snakes, see Scheftelowitz 1911 and Lagercrantz 1953.

It might be objected that the absence of a food category from the temple paradigm would on the contrary have forced the priests to regard that category as unclean. But this clearly was not the case or else all fish would have been declared unclean. There are any number of other common food items (such as fruit, nuts, herbs, and vegetables) which are not included among the altar offerings. Further, items such as yeast and honey, which are specifically *prohibited* from being offered on the altar (Lev 2:11) are nevertheless allowed in the ordinary diet.

With regard to the birds, no theory can avoid being speculative since no criteria are given. However, it is widely held that the twenty unclean species and their subspecies (designated by *lĕmînēhû/-â/-ô*) are excluded because they are predatory or carrion birds. This explanation is found already in the *Letter of Aristeas* (146; *OTP* 2: 22). The Mishnah too gives it as the rationale: "A bird that seizes food in its claws is unclean; one which has an extra talon, a claw, and the skin of whose stomach can be pealed is clean" (*Hul.* 3:6). This explanation is credible, but requires more comment than is possible here (see, however, Firmage fc.). The important point is that birds, too, have a paradigm against which their fitness as food may be judged. That paradigm is of course defined by Israel's domestic birds, the pigeon and the dove, which are graminivorous.

Flying insects are dealt with as a subset of the birds, because they also have wings. Leviticus 11 classifies them as winged creatures of the swarming variety (*šereṣ hāʿôp*). As winged creatures, they presumably came under the paradigm of the pigeon and the dove. Yet the criterion specified in the biblical text has nothing to do with the one suggested for the preceding list of birds (i.e., diet). In the case of insects, however, their much more obvious physical dissimilarity with the paradigm would automatically have excluded them to begin with. They were as self-evidently different from the paradigmatic birds as lions, horses, and rats were from the cattle paradigm. Thus, in principle, all flying insects would be excluded from the diet, because they do not resemble the birds under whose paradigm they fall. (Crawling insects without wings would of course be excluded, with all other *šĕrāsîm*, on the basis of the domestic animal paradigm.) Therefore, in fact, Leviticus 11 states that "*all* swarming winged creatures which go on all fours shall be an abomination to you" (v 21). The law, however, makes an immediate concession, "But *these* you may eat from among all the winged swarmers which go on all fours—those with joints above the lower legs (or feet) which they use for leaping across the ground" (v 22). That the priests were concerned that the concession might be abused is evident in the fact that, uniquely in Leviticus 11, the *licit* species are specified by name (v 23). The reason for the concession is unknown.

To summarize, it has been suggested that in two categories, land animals and birds, the priests already had a general notion of what animals would be unclean because their dissimilarity to the sacrificial paradigm was obvious. In order to make this elemental observation practicable the priests drew up criteria which the layperson could be expected to apply without difficulty. Criteria for fish were added as a result of a secondary analogy with the land animals.

Of the criteria, the most singular is certainly that of chewing the cud. The reader will recall that the pig is the only animal excluded by this requirement that could not have been outlawed solely on the basis of the cloven-hoof criterion. It is therefore not unreasonable to suggest that when the criteria were first developed, the only basis of selection was whether the animal had cloven hooves or not. The fact that a second criterion was extrapolated from the sacrificial species solely in order to exclude the pig may indicate that, alone among the prohibited animals of Leviticus 11, the pig was already an unfavored species. This is the only demonstrable instance in the dietary law where the priests would seem to have accepted an ancient tabu (on this tabu, see Pig below).

c. Food Prohibitions in Egypt and Mesopotamia. Dietary restrictions are known in both Egypt and Mesopotamia as well as in Israel. In Egypt, certain foods, most of them animal products, were prohibited to specific sections of the populace (Montet 1950). Our knowledge about these prohibitions derives in the main from lists of prohibited items inscribed in the temples at Denderah, Edfu, and Kom Ombo. From these lists, it emerges that each nome had its own prohibition (*bwt*), the precise nature of which was determined by the local cult. Thus, for example, in areas where the chief deity was Hathor, who manifests herself in bovine form, the use of the cow as food was prohibited. At Tjebu, the capital of the tenth nome of

Upper Egypt, and at Tanis in the Delta, it was similarly forbidden to kill the hippopotamus, one of the animals mythologically associated with Seth, the principal local god in each case. In other parts of the country, however, the hippopotamus was actively hunted, not only because it threatened human life, but also *because* of its connection with Seth. It is noteworthy, therefore, that at Edfu itself, one of the cult centers of Horus, Seth's mythological rival, it was likewise forbidden to hunt the hippopotamus. The explanation of the prohibition in this case is apparently that the hunting of the hippopotamus was reserved for the priests, who would kill it as part of the ritual reenactment of the conflict between Horus and Seth.

As these and other examples show, Egypt's food prohibitions were restricted in several ways. First, they did not apply to the nation as a whole. Second, where dietary restrictions did apply, they typically dealt with only one species. As we shall see, the pattern of Egypt's dietary laws was in both these respects markedly different from that of ancient Israel. On the other hand, the two systems were similar in that the dietary prohibitions originated in cultic considerations.

While we are less well informed about Mesopotamian dietary restrictions, there seem to have been two different kinds of prohibition. The relevant terms are Sum *níg-gig*, "bad thing" (Akk *ikkibu;* see Hallo 1985; Klein and Sefati 1988) and Sum *azag* (KUG.DINGIR), "sacrosanct" (Akk *asakku*). Common in proverbial sayings, the first of these terms, in its earliest usage, covers acts of injustice, dishonesty, and bad manners; in later texts it also includes a variety of cultic infractions offensive to the gods, among which are some relating to diet. Diet, however, is far from being a central concern. *Ikkibu* corresponds to Hebrew *tôʿēbâ* (from **WʿB*, a root attested in the opposite meaning in Egyptian), which has the same range of application, including food (Deut 14:3). The Akkadian equivalent usually occurs in calendars listing the months and days when certain kinds of activities should be avoided. Again, dietary restrictions are among these but are not central. On the 7th day of the 7th month (Tasritu), for example, one should avoid embarking on a boat, crossing a river, jumping a ditch, eating pigeon or chicken, and so on (cf. Hallo 1985: 31). The motivation of most of these proscriptions is obscure. The second term, *asakku,* as the Sumerian ideogram suggests, originally referred to something set apart for the deity (DINGER). The idiom *asakkam akālum,* "to violate a tabu," suggests perhaps that which was reserved for the deity was or had often been a food offering (cf. Jer 2:3). In actual usage, however, food was not necessarily involved.

It is evident from the foregoing that there is no connection between the biblical and the Egyptian or Mesopotamian dietary prohibitions.

3. SHEEP. The native sheep of Israel is the fat-tailed Awassi, which is also the predominant species in Syria, Jordan, and Iraq. It is typically white with brown or black head and feet. Rams are usually horned, ewes hornless. Its height at the withers is around 68 cm in adult females and 75 cm in males (vital statistics unless otherwise noted are from Hirsch 1933). Body weight of a ewe at shearing time is between 30 and 50 kg (66–110 lb), 40–65 kg (90–145 lb) at summer's end; newborns weigh 3–6 kg (7–13 lb), and yearling weights vary between 25 and 40 kg (55–90 lb). Mature rams weigh from 60 to 90 kg (130–200 lb). The tail may weigh up to 15 kg (33 lb) in the female and 10 kg (22 lb) in the male (Evenari et al. 1982: 311; smaller figures in Hirsch 1933: 16).

Fat-tailed sheep were apparently being bred as early as the late 4th millennium B.C.E. in Mesopotamia. They are first depicted on a bowl of the Uruk III period (photograph in Zeuner 1963: 173), and on the "Standard of Ur" from the Early Dynastic III period (*ANEP* #304 central row, 3d figure from left, incorrectly identified in the notes as an oryx). The view that the fat tail is a product of domestication has been challenged by Anati on the basis of rock drawings of fat-tailed sheep from S Arabia, said to date to the early 2d or even 3d millennium B.C.E. (1968: 38). Anati's reason for thinking that these may represent wild individuals is that in several drawings (pls. I; IVA, B; VIIIB) the sheep are transfixed by a spear, indicating that they were hunted. Anati observes (1968: 40–41) that the concentration of fat in the tail may be a natural adaptation to desert life, much like the camel's hump (for discussion of the biology involved, see Camel below). The speared animals, however, may represent feral individuals (i.e., once-domestic escapees), especially since none of these particular drawings is very early. The decisive point against Anati's thesis is that the genus *Ovis* is absent from the wild fauna of this part of the world (Tchernov 1974: 244).

a. Wool Production. The coat of wild sheep, like that of deer and gazelle, consists of stiff, permanent, outer hairs (called the kemp) covering a short woolly underlayer, which grows during winter and is shed in summer. The outer hairs are produced by "primary" hair follicles, the underfur by smaller follicles located close to the primaries in groups of three to five (Flannery 1965: 1253–54). In domestic sheep, however, the number of secondary follicles per primary may be doubled. The advantages of the permanent woolly fleece of the domestic sheep, which requires shearing, are not only that there is more of it, but also that it can be quickly collected without any loss.

When wool is cleaned, much of the lanolin, which makes natural wool soft and water-resistant, is washed away. Not a little wool is also lost. Talmudic sources relate that in order to minimize these losses, some sheep were from birth wrapped in a cover which kept the wool clean and obviated the need for washing, producing what was called "Milat-wool" (Ben-David 1974: 130). The same practice is attested in Anatolia, at least as early as the 4th century B.C.E. (cf. Aristophanes, *Lys.* 732). In Mandate Palestine, rams produced an average of 2.25 kg (5.5 lb) annually, ewes 1.75 kg (4 lb), yearlings 1.4 kg (3.3 lb), and lambs 0.5 kg (1.1 lb; Hirsch 1933: 9). According to Talmudic sources, the first shearing produced as little as 215 g (0.5 lb) of wool per sheep (Ben-David 1974: 130).

Sheepshearing was often localized where the weaving and dyeing of cloth was performed. One such shearing center in Iron Age Israel was Timnah (Gen 38:12). Recent archaeological excavations on the site have uncovered numerous loom weights, indicative of the cloth industry. Early breeders paid little attention to the color of the fleece. But, with the growth of the purple dye industry,

the demand for white wool increased, since dye cannot be used on black, tan, or gray wool (Epstein 1962: 292).

b. Grazing and Water Requirements. During winter and spring, sheep and goats graze on the rich grass produced by the rains. In summer and early autumn, they feed on weeds, as well as stubble left over from the harvest. Late autumn and early winter are seasons of shortage, during which sheep subsist on the fat stored in their tails. Unlike cattle, sheep and goats move as they graze and are therefore better suited to the nomadic way of life. Having a higher tolerance to hot, arid climates than most other mammals, sheep and goats can endure long periods of temperatures in excess of 43° C (110° F). Sheep eliminate heat by sweating and by panting. At high temperatures, the respiration rate may increase tenfold (from 30 to 300 times per minute). When body temperature reaches 41° C (106° F), open-mouthed panting begins (Schmidt-Nielsen and Schmidt-Nielsen 1952: 154). They derive some benefit from the insulating effect of their fleece.

Like other ungulates, sheep can replenish water losses in short order. After five days without water, for example, a sheep may drink as much as 9 liters (2.5 gal U.S.) of water in a few seconds (Evenari et al. 1982: 311). In pasture, sheep can go for weeks without drinking. But, growth improves when they are allowed to drink daily or every other day. The Awassi fat-tailed sheep will graze 15–20 km (10–12 mi) from the waterhole.

c. Sheep as Milk Producers. Although their average yield is only about half that of goats (Dalman 1939: 189; Hirsch 1933: 8), sheep rank second only to goats as milk producers in the Near East. The yield of the fat-tailed Awassi sheep varies between 30 and 150 liters (8–40 gal) per annum (Hirsch 1933: 19; cf. Evenari et al. 1982: 311). The fat content of the milk is between 6 and 8% (Hirsch 1933: 19). Milking begins during February or March and continues for 3–4 months.

d. Reproductive Capacity and Slaughter Schedule (Hirsch 1933: 26). Female fertility among sheep is governed by pasture conditions. Estrus begins in June and continues until September, the months when females are in peak condition as a result of rich spring and summer grazing. Lambs are born from December to April, when fodder for the young is at a maximum. The gestation period is 152 days. In years of normal pasturage, new births total about 70% of the number of fertile ewes. Single births are normative. Weaning takes place at about two months, and young males are usually sold for slaughter at this time. Their weight at this age is between 15 and 25 kg (33–55 lb). Natural mortality rates among bedouin flocks are said to be between 15 and 20% in normal years, 40 and 50% in bad ones (Hirsch 1933: 24). Ewes typically bear their first lamb at two years of age and reproduce annually until seven. Unlike bull calves, rams are not often castrated. However, a few individuals may be castrated to function as leaders of the flock (bellwethers). These individuals are taken from their mothers at birth and raised by the shepherd.

4. GOATS. Israel's native goat, known in Arabic as the Maʿaz Jebali, is usually black, though gray and mixed colors also occur. Both sexes are bearded, but the beard of the male is longer than that of the female. Males are on average about 80 cm (31 in) high at the withers, females 69 cm (28 in). Body weight of bucks is from 60 to 90 kg (132–200 lb), while doe weigh from 30 to 55 kg (66–110 lb). Newborns weigh 1.5–3.0 kg (3.3–6.6 lb).

One of the trends observable in the breeding of goats is the changing shape of the horns (Flannery 1965: 1254). The wild goat has scimitar-shaped horns whose bony cores are diamond-shaped in cross section at the skull. The earliest domestic goats are all of this type. By 6000 B.C.E., however, a twisted-horn variety with a flattened core appears at sites in N Mesopotamia and the Zagros, and spreads quickly in this region. Elsewhere, the change is slower. In PPN B Jericho, the scimitar shape is overwhelmingly predominant. During the EB Age, the two types appear in about equal numbers. In the MB Age, however, it is the twisted-horn variety that predominates. The significance of this trend is as yet unclear. It may be that the change in horn formation is not in itself important, but points to a change in preference for some other feature associated with the twisted-horn type.

As indicated above, it is usually impossible to identify domestic breeds from bones alone. However, it is possible to say something about regional differences among domestic goats in Israel. Northern breeds appear to have been somewhat larger than those of the south (Wapnish et al. 1977: 37), much as today one distinguishes between the Negeb goat and the larger Baladi goat of the Galilee. These two Israeli species are in turn immediate in size between the large Syrian mountain goats and the Hejaz dwarf goats of the Arabian peninsula (Epstein 1946). Being adapted to life in a harsh mountain environment where food and water may be scarce, goats are perhaps the most versatile of domestic animals. As part of a mixed herd, they thus enable the pastoralist to make the fullest use of marginal land, for they will eat woody and thorny vegetation which sheep and cattle will not. Like sheep, goats are also naturally well adapted to the arid climate that characterizes much of the Near East. Pastoralists depend upon this adaptation as well. Bedouin goats can go for as long as two weeks without drinking and, like the camel, replenish lost water very quickly—as much as 40% of body weight within a few minutes (Hillel 1982: 61). Their ability to go for longer periods without water extends the distance they may be driven from the water hole, which in turn means additional grazing. A doubling of the radius from the water hole quadruples the grazing area. Where the carrying capacity of the land is low and water holes scarce, this additional grazing range is crucial.

The downside of grazing goats is that unless controlled they are capable of destroying the vegetation of an area. Thus, some early Greek colonial charters prohibited the grazing of goats where young trees were growing (Varro, *Rust.* 1.2.14–16). In some farming areas where arable land was scarce, goats were prohibited altogether (Robert 1949). Unfortunately, pastoralists have had little incentive to safeguard pastures from overgrazing. If the vegetation of one area is depleted, they, unlike the farmers, can simply move on to another. While ultimately dependent on the land, they have no personal investment in it.

Overgrazing by goats has also contributed to the decline of the forests by impeding or even halting regrowth. Saplings up to 12 feet are vulnerable to destruction by goats

(Gregg 1988: 123; see also the photo in Weitz 1974: 25). Where there is moderate grazing, the forest generally will not regain its former density or height, but will return to some sort of intermediate shrub form (maquis or garigue; Rowton 1965: 378; Mikesell 1961: 105ff.).

a. Goats as Milk Producers. In general, until very recently, goats rather than cattle were the primary suppliers of milk throughout the Near East. This is epitomized in the Talmudic saying, "The goat is for milking, the sheep for shearing, the hen for laying eggs, and the ox for plowing" (*b. Šabb.* 19b). The use of goats rather than cattle in milk production is also implicit in the biblical commandment not to boil a kid in its mother's milk (see below). It may be, as Haran (1979) suggests, that "kid" in this passage represents all young animals. Even so, it is the goat that is chosen as the paradigmatic milk-giving animal. Omitting the quantity of milk consumed by the kid, a goat's annual yield is between 50 and 250 liters (13–65 gal) but averages about 75 liters (20 gal; Hirsch 1933: 8), daily quantities falling between one and three liters. Lactation lasts for seven to eight months.

Close association with cattle and goats, and the necessity of exploiting the resources they provide, have led to an important adaptation in humans: the ability of adults to metabolize lactose from milk. Adaptation is indicated by the strong correlation between the ability of a population to absorb lactose on the one hand, and a tradition of pastoralism on the other, and conversely by the correlation between lactose malabsorption and the absence of pastoralism (cf. Simoons 1979; Harris 1985: 130–53).

Goat milk is richer in protein and fat, and easier to digest than cow's milk. Unimproved varieties of goat in the Near East today produce from 3–6 liters (0.75–1.5 gal) per day for up to six months a year.

b. Boiling a Kid in its Mother's Milk. Concern to protect the milk supply is thought by some to underlie the biblical commandment not to boil a kid in its mother's milk (Exod 23:19; 34:26; Deut 14:21). At least since the Mishnaic period (cf. *m. Hul.* 8:4), this injunction has been interpreted in Judaism as implying an extended restriction on contact between meat of any kind and milk, not only in cooking, but also in eating. So thorough-going is the segregation of the two in Jewish law, that separate sets of utensils must be used in the preparation and serving of meat and milk dishes. One finds similar restrictions among some pastoralist societies in contemporary Africa, whose concern is evidently that certain substances, such as meat, by contact with milk adversely affect its production. This led Frazer (1918: 150–54) to suggest the same rationale for the Israelite prohibition.

While by no means implausible, this interpretation has against it the fact that the rigorous separation of meat and milk as it appears in rabbinic Judaism seems to have been unknown to Israel's pastoralist ancestors (or at least to the writer who recounts their story [cf. Gen 18:8]). Indeed, there is some reason to suppose that the practice of their separation in fact does not antedate the 1st century C.E. First, Philo (ca. 20 B.C.E.–45 C.E.) seems to grant that meat may be boiled in milk provided that one does not violate the literal sense of the biblical commandment (*Virt* 144), which he takes to be that no young animal should be cooked in its own mother's milk. Second, notices of the separation of meat and milk are lacking in Second Temple literature, even where they might reasonably be expected (as in the *Letter of Aristeas*). Third, the separation of meat and milk as it is practiced in Africa is not known among pastoral tribes of the Near East. On the contrary, 19th and 20th century travellers frequently report that bedouin cook the flesh of young goats in milk (sources in Haran 1979).

According to Philo, Moses' intent in prohibiting the boiling of a kid in its mother's milk was to teach Israel that mercy and self-restraint should govern people's relations with animals no less than with each other (cf. *Virt* 125–44). A person may not satisfy his or her appetites with disregard for the feelings of animals, especially where mothers and their young are concerned. One was barred, for example, from sacrificing a newborn animal until it was at least eight days old (Exod 22:28–29; Lev 22:27). Nothing could be more brutal, Philo says, than to add to the mother's birth pangs the pain of being separated from her young immediately after giving birth, for it is at this time that her maternal instincts are strongest.

In other respects, too, the law called for self-restraint. It would be an act of unnatural excess, Philo argued, to cook a young animal in the very substance with which nature intended it to be sustained. In a similar vein, the law prohibits one from sacrificing an animal together with its young (Lev 22:28), since this would again involve an unnatural combination of that which gives life and that which receives it.

There is something to be said for each of these ideas. Biblical law does in fact prescribe that animals be humanely treated. This is most obvious in the commandment not to muzzle the ox during threshing (Deut 25:4). But, it is doubtful that Exod 22:28–29 and Lev 22:27 are similarly motivated (see above on Sacrifice and Slaughter). However, the connection between Lev 22:28 and the prohibition of cooking a kid in its mother's milk may be roughly correct. It is the sort of thing that is difficult to prove.

One other explanation of this prohibition must be mentioned, if only to be refuted. Since Maimonides' day, many scholars have suggested that the boiling of a kid in its mother's milk refers to some pagan practice which Israel is commanded to forsake. However, no example of such a rite has ever been cited. This explanation remains nothing more than scholarly speculation (for further discussion, see Haran 1979; Keel 1980).

c. Goat's Hair (Akk *saqqu;* Heb *śaq* > Gk *sakkos;* Lat *saccus* > Eng "sack, sackcloth"). In the Near East generally, the value of goat's hair was limited first by the fact that it was too coarse for use in most garments, and second by its black color (Isa 50:3; Rev 6:12), which prevented the use of dyes. The wearing of a goat-hair garment thus indicated either that one could afford nothing better, or that one was in mourning or doing penance. More typical uses included the manufacture of sacks (Gen 42:25; Lev 11:32) and tent fabric. Bedouin tents today are still made of this fabric. It is against this background that the use of *śaq* for the outer covering of the Israelite Tabernacle must be understood. In Mandate Palestine, the weight of the hair from an adult goat varied between 300 and 500 g (0.75–1.0 lb; Hirsch 1933: 60). Shearing takes place in May.

d. Reproductive Capacity and Slaughtering Schedule.

The gestation period is 5 months. In years of normal pasturage, the number of newborns is about 70% of the number of bearing females (Hirsch 1933: 8). First-time mothers usually give birth to a single kid. In subsequent births, however, twinning is normal. Weaning takes place at about two months, at which time a kid will weigh 10 to 15 kg (22–33 lb). Most male kids are slaughtered as yearlings, while doe are kept until age eight and are then slaughtered.

5. CATTLE. a. Physiology. Like most animals, mammals lack the enzymes needed to metabolize cellulose. But ruminants, such as cattle, sheep, and goats, have complex stomach consisting of four chambers. The first of these, the rumen, functions like a huge fermentation vat (Rogers 1958). In a large cow its capacity may be 160–200 liters (40–52 gal). Microorganisms in the rumen begin to break down the insoluble cellulose, from which they synthesize nutrients such as Vitamin B, amino acids, and proteins. These microbes in turn are digested by the animal in the last of its stomachs. In this way, ruminants are able to obtain proteins and vitamins even on protein-deficient diets, such as grass. As the microbes digest the carbohydrates formed by the breakdown of the cellulose, the by-products produce chiefly acetic acid (vinegar), the salt of which is absorbed directly from the rumen into the bloodstream and oxidized as a source of energy, much as humans use glucose. This first stage of digestion takes about 9 hours. Then, from the rumen, the partially digested food passes into the second stomach, from which it is regurgitated into the mouth as "cuds." After being chewed and swallowed again, the food passes through the first two stomachs and into the third, where water is squeezed from the pulp. In the fourth stomach, food is digested much as in the stomachs of other animals. The use of the rumen is a gradual process of adjustment (Rogers 1958). At birth, feeding on milk, the calf digests its food like non-ruminants. Its rumen is small and there are few microbes in it. This situation changes only once the young animal begins to eat grass.

b. Milk Production. As already noted, cattle were valued in antiquity less as milk providers than as sources of traction. The use of goats rather than cows as milk providers is also implicit in the biblical commandment not to boil a kid in its mother's milk (see above). (However, it might also be said that mention only of the goat reflects a cultural stage during which the Israelites were exclusively sheep and goat pastoralists.) Several factors may have contributed to the preferential treatment given to goats as providers of milk. Among these are the hardiness of the goat and its ability to make do on very marginal fodder, as well as the fact that in arid or even semi-arid climates a goat may in fact produce as much milk as a cow.

In unimproved breeds, getting a cow to let down her milk is not always a straightforward affair, as is evidenced by the many tricks used to get the milk flowing (in general see Amoroso and Jewell 1963). The Scythians, for example, are said to have employed two people to milk a cow: one would insert a hollow tube into the cow's vagina and blow air inside it while the other milked (Herodotus 4.2), the idea being that sexual stimulation facilitates release of the milk. The same technique was used in early modern Arabia (Bílek and Segert 1958: 185), in Europe, and is still practiced in much of Africa (Amoroso and Jewell 1963). The physiology of the milk-ejection reflex and its connection with sexual stimulation are now well understood. Stimulation of the breast during suckling and sexual arousal both cause the brain to release the hormone oxytocin, which in turn stimulates the contraction of the basket cells in the udder which contain the milk. This same hormone initiates contractions in the uterus.

Reflex though it is, the ejection of milk is not infrequently conditioned by other factors. That is, the mother associates letting down her milk with regular events, such as the suckling of her calf. Farmers can also exploit these associations. The cow learns to associate, for example, the presence of a certain milker, the sound of buckets, or a set time of day with the act of milking. The greater the regularity of the association, the easier milking will be. To facilitate the process, the calf may be tied near the mother or even to her leg (cf. *ANEP*, 100), or a substitute may be used in the calf's stead. If the calf has died, for example, its skin may be stuffed and placed next to the mother, or the milker may use it to disguise him- or herself. In modern Scotland, when a calf is born, the milkmaid covers her hands with blood from the birth and lets the cow lick them clean just as she does the calf. This is supposed to form a bond between milkmaid and cow like that between calf and mother (Spurway 1955: 352).

Lactation in a cow lasts perhaps 7–10 months, and the daily yield in unimproved varieties is around 4 liters (1 gal). A cow will lactate as long as she is capable of bearing offspring.

c. Reproductive Capacity and Slaughtering Schedule. A heifer is usually mated when she is between 15 and 27 months old. Each year thereafter, she will bear a calf, until about age 7. The gestation period is nine months. In rural Palestinian society today, cows are thought to cope with work in the field better than bulls. Most male calves are therefore slaughtered for meat (Turkowski 1969: 30). This practice has the additional advantage of conserving more of the cow's milk for human use.

Not all young males were slaughtered, however. A certain number not used for breeding were kept for drawing the plow. These were usually castrated in order to make them more tractable, and to promote the build-up of fat in the tissues. Following castration, the bones continue to grow in length but not in girth (Clutton-Brock 1987: 25). A castrated ox is therefore fatter and longer in the limb than a bull raised under the same conditions. Methods of castration included cutting, crushing, or cauterizing the testicles (cf. Aristotle, *Hist. An.* 510b3; Columella, *Rust.* 6.26). The biblical prohibition of offering certain kinds of blemished animals refer to the first two of these methods (Lev 22:24).

d. Oxen and Plow. As indicated above, oxen, not horses, were the principal draught animals in ancient agriculture, despite the fact that a horse can pull a given weight half again as far as an ox can in the same amount of time (L. White 1962: 62 citing earlier literature). A horse also has more endurance than an ox, and can work an additional hour or two per day. This greater efficiency was recognized by farmers in areas where horses were used in agriculture. In Slavic parts of 12th century Germany, for

example, land was measured according to how much could be worked by a pair of oxen or by one horse. On such a scale at least, a horse would be worth two oxen. Similarly, according to the Hittite Laws (II §63–65, ed. Friedrich 1959; *ANET*, pp. 195–96, §178–80), a plow horse (ANŠU.KUR.RA *tu-ri-ia-u-as*) is almost twice as valuable as an ox used for plowing (GUD.APIN.LAL) (the prices are 20 and 12 shekels respectively).

Prior to the introduction of the horse in European agriculture, one common measure of agricultural land had been the area that an eight-ox team could work (cf. L. White 1962: 52–53). In the modern Middle East, there is a similar method of land measurement, though only a single team of oxen is used. In modern Arabic, this unit of land, a *faddan* (about one acre), is the amount of land one "yoke" *(faddan)* of oxen can plow in a day (Turkowski 1969: 30). The same association is found in Isa 5:10, *ṣemed*, "yoke; measure of surface area."

The smaller number of oxen in the typical Palestinian term is indicative of the fact that in Europe a much heavier plow was needed to exploit denser alluvial soils. Unlike the scratch plow used until today throughout the Mediterranean, the European plow with its coulter, share, and moldboard not only cuts through turf, but also turns it over. To move such an apparatus through the soil required a much larger team. The two-oxen team seems to have been normative in the Levant throughout antiquity (cf. Pliny, *HN* 8.18 for Syria), though larger teams were known (1 Kgs 19:19). Because the scratch plow does not usually turn over the soil, a field must be plowed twice. In the hill country of Israel, the first plowing takes place in December, the second in January. The second time, the ground is cross plowed (i.e., in a direction at right angles with the first).

6. PIGS. a. Distribution of the Wild Pig. The distribution of the wild pig in antiquity was much as it is today, from Europe and North Africa in the W to China in the E. It is found in the Nile Valley, the Delta and the Fayyum, and throughout the Fertile Crescent from the Beer-sheba Basin to the Persian Gulf; within this range, it is most abundant in forest and marshland. Wild pigs are so abundant in the marshlands of S Iraq, for example, that they pose a significant threat to local agriculture as well as to human life (Thesiger 1983: *passim;* Maxwell 1957: 73). In the medieval period, wild pigs abounded in the lowlands of the Orontes and provided sport for hunters (Hitti 1929: 231, 251–52). According to al-Jāḥiẓ (*Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, 4.49), wild boar were in fact so common a feature of rural Syria that farmers allowed lions to roam their lands in order to keep pigs away.

Wild boar are abundant in Israel as well. They thrive in the wadis and remoter highland areas on either side of the Jordan River. They inhabit the Golan and parts of the Galilee, where they are hunted by kibbutzniks and Christian Arabs. Since these areas are still rather thinly populated, they constitute a kind of refuge for the pig. In earlier times, however, boar were to be found everywhere. Tristram (*SWP* 7:3) observed that the boar was abundant "in every part of the country . . . it extends into the bare wilderness, even where there is no cover, nor other food than the roots of desert bulbs." The southernmost extent of the wild pig's range in W Asia is roughly along a line extending from the N Arabah (Ilani 1983) in the E to Gaza in the W (Hart 1891: 233).

Wild pigs are not found today in the Arabian peninsula, nor have they been part of its natural fauna during historical times, although in the Neolithic period wild pigs were found in central Arabia (Tchernov 1974: 242). However, the Arabian climate then was wetter than it is today. In the period of desiccation which followed the Neolithic, the pig and other forest dwellers such as the fallow deer *(Dama dama mesopotamica)* and the Indian elephant *(Elephas maximus)* became extinct in this region. Other species, such as cattle, not well adapted to a desert environment, also appear increasingly uncommon. Around 2000 B.C., the pig was reintroduced into Central Arabia as a domestic species but never became a significant element in the economy.

b. Raising Pigs. Pigs are by nature omnivorous. The precise make-up of their diet in the wild will therefore depend on what is available in the environment. Common food items, however, include acorns, bulbs (e.g., *Urginea undulata* [Hart 1891: 233]), but also small invertebrates, snakes, and carrion. However, pigs are not well adapted to a grass (cellulose) diet since they are not ruminants.

Like their wild counterparts, domestic pigs thrive on almost any diet, except grass. The care of domestic pigs differs therefore altogether from that of sheep and goats. Whether or not a community raised pigs was determined in part by its way of life and in part by its environment. Although they are occasionally herded over long distances on their way to market (Diener and Robkin 1978: 498; Harris 1985: 114), pigs are not so well suited to transhumance (as are sheep and goats). While more versatile than is often supposed, pigs prefer to range in oak forests, where they feed on acorns, tubers, and grubs. In the E Mediterranean, they might also feed on the pods of the carob tree, which is native to the area (Luke 15:15–16; nowadays, it serves as pig fodder in Spain as well [Parsons 1962: 228]). But it would be difficult for entire communities to follow herds of pigs through the forests. Further, as previously noted, pigs are not well adapted to cellulose (e.g., grass) diets. Nor do they provide valuable secondary products, such as milk and wool. For these reasons, pigs are not found in communities where pastoral nomadism is the dominant way of life. Swineherding, as we find it in antiquity and the Middle Ages, is associated with settled communities.

Urban pigs would often be sent out each day in the care of a swineherd to forage in the forests or to grub in fields which were lying fallow (Columella, *Rust.* 7.9.9; Parsons 1962: 218; Hémardinquer 1979: 53–54). At night, the swineherd would bring them back to town. Incidentally, it was this practice, not some uncleanness attached to pigs that accounts for the swineherd's separate existence. It also explains Herodotus' remarks about swineherds in Egypt (2.47): he took the aversion to swineherds as support for his claim that pork was prohibited. All it indicates, however, is that urban folk found these rustic types just a little too dirty for comfort. It had nothing to do with pigs *per se*. Shepherds were treated with the same disdain (cf. Gen 46:34).

While their natural habitat is the oak forest, pigs also

thrive in urban environments, where there is an abundance of waste material on which they can feed. Before the advent of the modern meat industry, it was not uncommon in many parts of the world for an urban family to raise a pig or two at home on household refuse and agricultural waste. In the Mediterranean area, this waste is known to have included common items such as bran and olive pulp. Plautus (*Capt.* 4.2.28), for example, informs us that in Rome millers kept pigs which they fed on bran (cf. also Columella, *Rust.* 7.9.2). The same practice is attested in early modern France (Hémardinquer 1979: 54). Possible evidence for it also comes from ancient Mesopotamia: in Old Babylonian texts from Sippar a certain Marduk-dayyan is given ZIDḫulāṣu, "bran?" for pigs (Goetze 1948: 88–89, nos. 15.1 and 16.1).

Olive pulp is attested as pig food in early modern Languedoc (Hémardinquer 1979: 55) and contemporary Spain (Parsons 1962: 229). In rural Tunisia today, olive pulp is used to feed camels which drive the crushing apparatus (cf. Cato, *Agr.* 10–11, according to whom the proper equipment for an olive yard included a swine herd). Since over 80% of the olive may end up as waste (Ruppin 1920: 62; Eitam 1987: 26, 54 n. 27) this was potentially an enormous source of rich fodder.

Other abundant waste products which might have been used as pig fodder, though explicit statements to this effect are lacking, include chaff (cf. Grigson 1982: 301; Simoons 1961: 29) and grape pulp. Grape pulp *was* used in Roman Italy as supplementary cattle fodder (Cato, *Agr.* 25: Varro, *Rust.* 54).

Additionally, pigs were often allowed to roam the streets in search of whatever refuse they might find; this might well include (in addition to the items mentioned above) inedibles such as feces (cf. Maimonides, *Guide* 3.48) and carrion (cf. Grigson 1982: 299 and literature cited there). This practice of leaving pigs to fend for themselves is widely attested in ancient and medieval Europe (cf., e.g., Plautus *Capt.* 4.2.28ff. *[in publico]*). According to Evans (1906: 158ff.) pigs still wandered the streets of S Italy and Sicily in the early years of this century. Pigs running wild in the cities were often responsible for the death of little children, and were publicly tried and executed for their offenses. This problem elicited numerous civic ordinances banning pigs from the streets (Hémardinquer 1979: 53; Defoe 1987: 64). One can still see pigs scavenging in the streets of the poorer Christian areas and garbage dumps of modern Cairo. A possible reference to these street-wise pigs in the ANE occurs in the Hittite Law I §82, which speaks of the ŠAḪ *ḫi-la-an-na-aš*, "swine of the gate(?)" (Friedrich 1959: 44). The gate might be the location of the city garbage dump (Greenfield and Shaffer 1983: 125), or the site of a threshing floor where waste from the processing of grain would be available (1 Kgs 22:10; Ruth 3:2; in extra-biblical literature, cf. 2 Aqhat v. 6–7 [*ANET,* 15]). Hittite Law I §86 (*ANET,* 193) deals with the case of a pig which has run amuck in someone's property—perhaps another instance of the same phenomenon. That pigs scavenged inside the city limits may also be inferred from the two references to pigs in the Hittite Instructions for Temple Officials (Sturtevant and Bechtel 1935: 160, 14.60, 64; *ANET,* 209). In this text, the pig is linked with the dog, another scavenger, as a potential source of contamination of kitchen vessels. This suggests that, as in Europe, pigs may have been fed on kitchen midden. But the Instructions are also concerned about keeping pigs away from the entrance to the temple, which probably indicates that they were roaming the streets.

Explicit evidence for pigs scavenging in the streets comes from Babylonia. Describing his revenge on the murderers of Sennacherib, Esarhaddon says, "I fed their corpses, cut into small pieces, to dogs [and] pigs. . . . After I had performed this and (thus) made quiet . . . the hearts of the great gods . . . I removed the corpses whom the pestilence had felled, whose leftovers (after) the dogs and pigs had fed on them were obstructing the streets. . . ." (Rassam Cylinder iv. 65–82; *ANET,* 288). The scavenging of pigs in the streets is also indicated in the following popular maxim from about the same time as the events just described (*BWL,* 215, lines 13–14; on its background, cf. Lambert 1957–58: 189):

> The pig is unholy [. . .] bespattering his backside,
> Making the streets smell, polluting the houses.

Of course grain (in the Near East usually barley) was also fed to pigs, as attested in Old Babylonian tablets from Sippar (e.g., Goetze 1948: 90, no. 18) and Lagash (Bauer 1972: 169 [no. 41, IV.9–V.1], 177–78 [no. 42, V5.8–VII.2]). It is difficult to say in these cases whether grain was used simply as a dietary supplement prior to slaughtering or whether it formed a significant part of the pig's diet at all times. Either way, it is important to keep in mind that grain used to feed pigs need not have been fit for human consumption. Spoiled grain can also be used as fodder (Kridder and Carroll 1971: 10). The amount of grain spoilage in Iron Age Israel was perhaps between 10 and 25% (Finkelstein, *AIS,* 267 n. 21; Rosen 1986: 173).

The frequency and time of farrowing, and hence the slaughtering schedule for pigs, are perhaps more variable than those for cattle and caprovines. In the wild, two farrowings per year are typical (Lauwerier 1983). Gestation lasts just under four months. Litters are born from March to June, depending on the availability of acorns in the forest. Two farrowings a year also seem to have been the norm for domestic pigs, according to classical and early modern sources (cf. Varro, *Rust.* 2.4.7; additional sources in Lauwerier 1983). Litters may consist of as many as a dozen piglets. The young reach sexual maturity at 18 months. The natural lifespan is 15–20 years.

c. Pigs in Religious Ritual. Pigs played a prominent role only in certain kinds of sacrifice. Among the Hittites, young pigs and dogs were favored as symbolic victims in rites for the elimination of impurity (cf. discussion under Dogs below). An example of these rites is the "Ritual for the Elimination of Family Discord" (Rost 1953). The operator, an old woman (SALŠU.GI), took a young pig (SAḪ.TUR) and held it up before the quarreling parties then recited, "Look, it has become fat on plants and grain. As it will not see the sky or the other piglets hereafter, so these who are making the sacrifice shall not see the evil curse." Having said this, she swung the piglet between the parties. They then killed it and buried it along with an offering of bread and a libation of wine (ii.44–54). The ritual was clearly a composite of two different types of action. It was first a rite

of elimination by which an evil was transferred to something else, in this case an animal, and then destroyed or banished. Burial was one means of returning the animal to the underworld, whence impurity, disease, and magical spells were thought to arise. But it was also a propitiatory offering to the numinous powers of that world, hence the bread and wine.

Another of these Hittite rituals was one performed to eliminate plague in the army or in the land (Friedrich 1925). In this case, there was again a transfer to animals (rams), but instead of being "returned" to the underworld they were banished into foreign territory. An adult pig, a goat, and a ram were sacrificed to the deity believed to be responsible for the plague. Here the offering of the pig was purely propitiatory.

On the basis of the Hittite material, it would seem that the pig as sacrificial victim was closely associated with rituals of a chthonic character. This association was not limited to Anatolia. Among the Romans, pig sacrifices were associated with agricultural rites for the promotion of the harvest. Cato (*Agr.* 134.1) mentions that a pig was offered to Ceres before the harvest, when thinning a grove (*Agr.* 129), and before tilling the ground (*Agr.* 140). Similarly, when one wanted to purify the land, one made a sacrifice consisting of a piglet, a lamb, and a calf. The animals were led around the land to be purified, and prayers were offered to Mars (*Agr.* 141). Aulius Gellius (4.6, 7) mentions that there was also a pig sacrifice after the harvest.

The association of the pig with agricultural ritual is at the heart of the Greek Thesmophoria, the principal form of the Demeter cult (Burkert 1985: 242–46). In Athens and Sparta, this festival was held in October or November before planting took place. For three days, married women would live in temporary shelters in the precincts of the sanctuary; men were strictly excluded. Each woman would bring certain offerings with her including a young pig, which would be thrown into a special ritual pit known as the *megara* (< W Semitic *mʿrh*, "cave"). On the first day of the festival, the decayed remains of earlier pig offerings would be brought up to the surface to be spread with the seed at planting time in order to bring a good harvest. On the second day, the women would fast in commemoration of the abduction of Kore. The third day of the festival, introduced with a banquet, celebrated the goddess Kalligeneia ("of the beautiful birth"), who is perhaps Demeter herself in one of her aspects. The association of the pig with the vegetation goddess is both old and widespread. Ceramic pig figurines marked with impressions of grain have been found at Luka Vrublevets-Kaya, a Chalcolithic site in the Ukraine, and a pig-faced vegetation goddess was found at Rastu, a site of the same date in W Romania (Gimbutas 1982: 211–14).

Pigs also figured in elimination rites of the sort found among the Hittites. Indeed they are the usual victims in all rites of purification in Greece. Agamemnon dedicated a pig to Zeus, Helios, and the Furies as part of his reconciliation with Achilles. He took an oath of innocence, then had the pig thrown into the sea, whereupon he told Zeus who had been the cause of the conflict, to take his dinner and leave them alone (*Iliad* 19.250–75). (For the sea as repository of impurity, see *Iliad* 1.313–14.) Agamemnon's pig was a purificatory oath sacrifice. As in all purificatory sacrifices (cf. the Israelite *ḥaṭṭāʾt*), the offerer never partook of the victim's flesh, since his purpose was to rid himself of the impurity absorbed by the victim.

A pig sacrifice was part of the Greek ritual for the purification of the homicide. In this case, a piglet was slaughtered over the head of the person to be purified, and the blood was then rinsed off. The idea of this rite, according to Burkert (1985: 81), was that the person defiled by blood should once again be covered with blood. His defilement by bloodshed was thus reenacted and given a form that could be seen and felt. When it was washed away, guilt went with it. This scenario is strongly reminiscent of the Israelite ritual prescribed in the case of a homicide victim whose killer is unknown (Deut 21:1–9; for discussion cf. Wright 1987b).

Another purification ritual involving pig sacrifice took place at the beginning of the popular assembly in Athens (Nilsson 1955: 105; Burkert 1985: 81–82). Officials called *peristiarchoi* would carry a piglet around the square, slaughter it, and spray its blood over the seats, and then discard the carcass. Several details of this ritual are worth pointing out. First, as both Nilsson and Burkert have observed, the name of the officials indicates that the ritual originated in the purification of the (public) hearth of altar *(hestia)* prior to the resumption of sacrifices. Second, the purifying agent, blood, is applied all around the area to be cleansed. As in the purification of the homicide, blood is used as the ritual detergent. Third, the animal victim is disposed of and is not eaten by the offerer(s). In each of these respects, the ritual reminds one of the Israelite *ḥaṭṭāʾt*, whose purpose was the purification of sancta, and especially the altars of the tabernacle (cf. Leviticus 4; 5:1–13; 6:17–23; 16:11–19; Num 15:24–31). A pig sacrifice was also one of the preliminaries of initiation in the cult of Eleusis. Opinions differ on whether this pig sacrifice was purificatory in nature (so Burkert 1983: 256–64) or an offering to Demeter, with whom the cult of Eleusis is associated (Nilsson 1955: 105 n. 1).

In summary, pigs (and dogs) were customary only in sacrifices in which the offerer had no share in the sacrificial meat. These were most commonly of a purificatory nature. The choice of these two animals was probably dictated in part by the fact that they were cheap and easily available. However, the contempt in which both dogs and pigs were almost universally held also must have been determinative, for neither animal was used in other kinds of sacrifice. One would not have offered a pig or a dog, however inexpensive, to an Olympian deity. This was not because pigs and dogs were more "chthonic" than other animals, as is sometimes said, but simply because they were contemptible. In fact, what made them contemptible also made them cheap: they needed little care and could be fed on refuse or allowed to scavenge in the streets.

There is nothing in rituals associated with the pig in the ANE or in Greece to justify the conclusion that its involvement in these motivated its prohibition as food in Israel. Indeed, the pig's traditional role in purificatory sacrifice was in Israel performed by "clean" animals, as in the ritual for the unsolved murder. Another such case is the ceremony for the Day of Atonement (Leviticus 16), which is a classic rite of elimination involving the transfer of impurity to a "scapegoat." Like its pagan analogues, the goat bear-

ing the impurity was banished beyond the borders of society into a world inhabited by demons. Obviously this was not considered grounds for prohibiting the consumption of goat meat. If Israel could adapt pagan rituals of this kind to fit its world-view, there is no reason why the pig should not have retained its traditional role in the cult. It would seem, then, that the absence of the pig from Israelite ritual results from other concerns.

d. Prohibition of Pork in Israel. Despite the abundance of wild boar in many parts of the ANE, and despite the efficiency with which domestic pigs convert refuse into high-quality animal protein, pork has been prohibited in at least two major Near Eastern cultures: Israel and Islam. The biblical prohibition of pork has elicited several major types of explanation: the religious, the hygienic, and the ecological.

Those who explain the prohibition on religious grounds generally argue that it was the pig's association with pagan worship that rendered it impure (Price 1925; de Vaux 1958: 262; Noth, *Leviticus* OTL; Elliger, *Leviticus* HAT, 150). This view, as just indicated, has little to recommend it. Others hold that in antiquity the pig was a totem of the Semitic tribes and therefore was prohibited as food except on special occasions (Smith 1927: 290; Chelhod 1964: 202–3). While fashionable in some anthropological circles at the turn of the century, the concept of totemism in general has lately been severely criticized (cf. Lévi-Strauss 1963), and its relevance to the Near East in particular has always been doubtful.

Proponents of the hygienic approach, for their part, suggest that it was either the pig's filthy habits, such as its willingness to eat excrement (Maimonides, *Guide* 3.48), or its association with trichinosis (Albright, *YGC*, 177–78) that rendered it unclean. This explanation too, though attractive in the case of the pig, must ultimately be abandoned (for discussion, see Harris 1977: 200; 1985: 160; Simoons 1961: 37ff.).

The ecological approach is chiefly associated with the work of the American anthropologist Marvin Harris, who argues that the pig was prohibited because in the end it proved too costly to raise (1977: 195–98; cf. also 1974; 1985). He argues that there were several reasons for this. First, unlike other domestic animals, the pig cannot be used for transport, riding, or milk production: it is therefore useful only as a source of meat. Second, once deprived of their natural forest habitat, pigs would have to be raised on precious grain reserves. Finally, the pig is not well adapted to the hot, arid climate of the Near East. Other anthropologists, however, counter that the pig is a rather good economic investment even in the Middle East and that pigs could have been maintained with a minimum of expense (Diener and Robkin 1978). In fact, they argue, the pig was so cheap to raise that the early Muslim empire builders outlawed it in order to insure that conquered non-Muslim communities did not have too much economic autonomy. The prohibition of pork in ancient Egypt is similarly supposed to have been intended to assert government control over the masses. According to this model, a domestic pig industry flourished among the peasants whenever and wherever strong, central control was absent.

Neither of these theories in the end bears critical examination. Harris exaggerates the problems involved in raising pigs. As Diener and Robkin point out, the Near East is by no means uniformly hot and arid. Furthermore, pigs can survive even in desert conditions, where forest cover is lacking and where water and food are scarce. For example, wild boar are found S of the Atlas Mountains in N Africa, where annual rainfall is less than 100 mm (*EncBrit* [15th ed.] 24: 924). Also, domestic pigs are sometimes raised in very inhospitable conditions, as among the Moshaweng Tlokwa of the E Kalahari Desert (Grivetti 1978). The wide geographical distribution of the wild boar and the domestic pig in fact suggests that the pig's adaptability to environment is much greater than Harris described.

The idea that raising pigs would have been a drain on food supplies is also doubtful. As Harris is well aware, the pig is among the most efficient scavengers. With the many potential sources of food discussed above, it seems likely that a small-scale pig industry could have been supported largely from waste products. Such an industry would not necessarily have produced prime specimens; but pigs can survive, albeit in stunted form, on amazingly sparse rations. When the diet is inadequate, it is possible to bring pigs up to an acceptable weight simply by delaying the time of slaughter (cf. Parsons 1962: 229).

Pigs were doubtless also fed on good quality grain, but this does not necessarily mean that people were put at a disadvantage. The cost-benefit ratio would have depended on the amount of surplus grain available. Harris seems to have assumed that there simply was none. Nevertheless, it is beyond doubt that certain geographical areas and economic groups enjoyed considerable surpluses. Parts of the Transjordan, for example, were able to export a surplus of wheat to Tyre (Ezek 27:17). The same area provided a tribute of 10,000 kor each of wheat and barley to the Judean king Jotham (2 Chr 27:5). Even small rural communities may have enjoyed substantial surpluses. Finkelstein has suggested that the annual surplus at ʿIzbet Ṣarṭah (Level II—11th cent.) was on the order of 100% (*AIS*, 268–69). This figure is over and above probable crop losses and seed needed for planting. By way of comparison, Arab villages in the ʿIzbet Ṣarṭah area according to the 1945 Village Statistics on average also produced twice as much grain as they consumed. In general, the specialized horticulture that we find in Iron Age Israel characterizes a society that has developed beyond a meager subsistence economy (Stager 1985: 181). Harris further assumed that Israel's forests had all but disappeared, yet this was probably not the case (as indicated above).

Archaeological excavations show that during certain periods in areas where pork is now prohibited because of Jewish or Islamic law, pigs were once raised in substantial numbers, a fact which suggests that the prohibition of pork is more a matter of culture than of environment. At Carthage (N Africa), for example, pig remains are almost as numerous as those of sheep and goats in the Roman, Vandal, and Byzantine periods (Reese 1977). In Egypt during the same periods, they were raised on a large scale in the Fayyum (cf. Preaux 1939: 221–23) and elsewhere (Johnson and West 1967: 206–7, 213), as they had been in pharaonic times (see Hecker 1982). The situation at sites in Israel, while indicating that Israelites in fact did not eat pork, gives us no reason to suppose that environmental conditions were decisive. While no pig remains were found

in Iron Age contexts at ʿIzbet Ṣarṭah (Hellwing and Adjeman 1986) and Shiloh (Hellwing and Sadeh 1985), and only traces have been reported from the Iron Age levels at Dan (Wapnish et al. 1977), in other parts of the country pig bones have been found in Iron Age contexts. At Miqne/Ekron (Hesse and Wapnish 1985), 315 fragments of the genus *Sus* are reported, as against 1496 for cattle and 2300 for caprovines—a significant percentage. Much smaller but still significant percentages occur at Qasile (Davis 1985) and Tell Qiri (Davis 1987b). In the bone sample from the Iron II strata at Tell es-Saʿidiyeh, juvenile (hence probably domestic) pigs constituted 13% of the sample (Martin 1988). Horses, bear, and lion were also eaten. The presence of pig bones at these sites likely reflects ethnic and cultural differences rather than environment. The pig skeleton found at Hazor in an Iron II (Israelite) context is enigmatic, not only by virtue of its occurrence, but also because it is complete (Angress 1960). The reason for playing down the importance of environment is that in periods preceding the Iron Age, pigs are found in significant numbers in areas where (according to Harris' theory) there would be little reason to expect them. In the bone sample from MB Tell Jemmeh, for instance, pigs constituted between 10 and 15% of the total—at least as much and probably more than cattle (7–13%; Wapnish and Hesse 1988). Pigs were raised in the same area during the Chalcolithic, as attested by the faunal remains at Wadi Gaza D and Gilat, where pigs respectively made up 36.0 and 17.9% of the sample (Grigson 1987: 235). It is true that these sites enjoy slightly more rainfall than others in the Nahal Besor, and it may therefore be said that even this small amount determined whether pigs could be raised or not. But if pigs could be raised under these still harsh conditions, then there can scarcely have been any environmental impediment to their being raised under the much more favorable conditions obtaining to the N.

In light of the foregoing discussion, it seems fair to conclude that had the Israelites wanted to raise pigs they could have done so. Furthermore, there is no reason why the Israelites could not in any event have hunted wild boar. Harris would perhaps argue that hunting was a waste of time for farmers and pastoralists, and indeed in the faunal remains from most Israelite sites wild animals make up only a tiny percentage of the total. But the fact remains that the biblical dietary law allows Israelites to hunt other kinds of game.

To criticize Harris' exaggerated version of materialistic determinism is not to deny that culture broadly conforms to ecological constraints; rather it is to assert that "it does so according to a definite symbolic scheme which is never the only one possible" (Sahlins 1976: viii). Harris' theory, even if it showed why pork is not eaten, would fail to explain why the dietary law justifies itself in terms of the symbolic categories of cleanness and impurity. It was as a part of this symbolic system, and not simply as a list of tabus, that the dietary law was transmitted to the people. It was within this system that the formulators of the law themselves evidently sought the ultimate justification for the prohibitions.

For all its vehemence, Diener and Robkin's attack on Harris' theory scarcely fares better. Their explanation of the pork prohibition in early Islam founders on its presupposition that pork was a significant element in the economy of pre-Islamic Arabia, a view for which absolutely no textual or archaeological support is forthcoming. It is more reasonable to suppose, as scholars have long done, that the Islamic pig prohibition was adopted from Judaism as part of Muhammad's effort to establish himself as a prophet in the tradition of the Bible (Wensinck 1914; Cook 1986). Jewish influence also probably explains the avoidance of pork reportedly practiced among the Saracens (Sozomenos, *h.e.* 6.38). (On their explanation of the pork prohibition in ancient Egypt, see below.)

To date, the most satisfying explanation of the pig prohibition is still perhaps that of Simoons (1961), who held that the prejudice against pigs and eating pork first developed among sheep and goat pastoralists. Characteristic of agricultural peoples, the pig was alien to the pastoralist's way of life and was treated with disgust. Modern Americans, for example, tend to react in this way to insectivory or to the consumption of horsemeat. This is not to say that the proto-Israelites regarded the pig as "unclean" in the sense in which that word is used in the book of Leviticus. It may be that the author(s) of the biblical dietary law took a pre-existing avoidance of pork and incorporated in into a systematic ideological superstructure.

e. Prohibition of Pork in Egypt. The idea that pork was prohibited in ancient Egypt stems principally from classical writers (Herodotus 2.47; Plutarch, *de Is. et Os.* 352.5; Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists* 7.300a; Sextus Empiricus, *Pyr.* 3.223). The prohibition they describe seems to have been restricted to priests (so explicitly Plutarch and Sextus Empiricus). The ambiguous term "Egyptians" used by Herodotus and Athenaeus likely refers only to a certain segment of the population. Given that Herodotus knew Egypt only second- or third-hand, he might easily have made generalizations that had no basis in fact. Athenaeus, a native of Naucratis, no doubt provides reliable information, but one must keep in mind that he was not writing a treatise about Egyptian food habits. For the purpose of casual reference, it may have been convenient for him to refer to an "Egyptian" prohibition of pork, although he was aware that in fact it did not apply to all Egyptians. Either way, the information provided by classical writers has limited applicability, for none of them could accurately describe the situation in earlier periods.

Without the statements of these classical writers, it is unlikely that the idea of a pork prohibition would ever have arisen. Egyptian sources themselves suggest that pigs were commonplace of the domestic economy. For example, pigs were part of the bequest made to the 3d Dynasty noble Metjen by his father (the term "cattle" used in the text is determined by ideograms for asses and pigs; *Urk.* 1.3.2; cf. Breasted, *ARE* 1: 171). Large herds of swine were maintained on the properties of the Ptah temple of Amenophis III at Memphis (1000 swine, 1000 piglets; *Urk.* 4.1797.2), and of the mortuary temple of Seti I at Abydos (Kitchen 1975: 1.51.12). Renni, governor of El-Kab, says he possessed 122 oxen, 100 sheep, 1200 goats, and 1500 pigs (*Urk.* 4.75.15). Pigs are included in the list of livestock of Thutnakht, a subordinate of the chief steward Rensi in the *Eloquent Peasant* (B.ii.138; *ANET*, 410). It is hardly credible that such herds were maintained solely for the once-a-year event in which (according to Herodotus) pigs

were sacrificed and eaten in honor of the "moon god"; the sacrifice of pigs in this cult would not explain the donations to the temples of Amenophis III and Seti I.

There is also important archaeological evidence for pig consumption. Pig bones have even been found among the domestic animal remains from 1st Dynasty cemeteries at Helwan, in the 5th Dynasty pyramid of Dedkare-Isesi at Saqqara, in the 6th Dynasty tomb of Hetep Heres at Giza, and at Tell ed-Ḍabʿa (Hecker 1982: 64). But by far the most important evidence has come from the workmen's village at Amarna, where pigpens were recently identified adjacent to the E side of the housing complex (Kemp 1987: 40). Pig bones were also found in significant numbers in the refuse heaps. A preliminary study of the ratios of pigs to cattle and goats yields the following results (Hecker 1982: 66):

Table 5
Relative Percentages of Animal Bones at Tell El-Amarna

	Houses 5 and 6	Area S of Village Wall
Pig	67.2%	39.8%
Goat	28.4%	38.4%
Cattle	3.4%	21.3%

Pig bones were also found in the workmen's village at Deir el-Medineh (Hecker 1982: 64). (In this connection, note that pigs *[ʔiw]* also occur as commodities in the ostraca from Deir el-Medineh [Janssen 1975: 177].) This evidence belies Herodotus' account about the segregation of swineherds, at least as far as earlier periods are concerned. And, of course, it shows that the pork prohibition affecting priests, if it existed at all in this period, did not apply to other levels of society.

First of all, the association of the pig with Seth cannot certainly be dated even as far back as the Old Kingdom (Griffiths 1960: 32–33). Second, during the period of Egypt's most powerful central government, the New Kingdom, Seth became the patron deity of the pharaoh himself. At Tukh, the center of Seth worship from the earliest period, there is a New Kingdom temple, with contributions by 18th Dynasty and Ramesside kings. Seth was also worshiped at Tell ed-Ḍabʿa during the Ramesside period. This last cult center, of course, does not tell us much about the worship of Seth in earlier periods, since the association of Seth with the site is no doubt the result of the local Hyksos cult of Baʿal, with whom Seth was identified (cf. the story of the 400th anniversary of Seth worship at Tanis; *ANET,* 252). Still, the fact that Seth could reestablish himself as the patron deity of the Ramesside kings goes a long way toward invalidating Diener and Robkin's suggested association with the peasantry.

In any event, what happens in the cult does not necessarily reflect what happens in the economy. Seth may "rise" and "fall" in significance, but Seth is not the embodiment of pig farming any more than Horus represents falconry. Furthermore, there is no evidence that the pig—even though it was one of the animals associated in mythology with Seth—was ever part of the *cult* of Seth, i.e., that it was a favored offering. Indeed, Seth's only actual (i.e., nonmythological) association with the pig is the "Seth-animal" which Newberry (1928) identified with a species of wild pig (many do not accept the identification). There is, therefore, no evident connection between the fortunes of Seth and the place of pigs in the domestic economy or in the cult. This is as true of Seth's rise as it is of his fall from grace.

The prominence of Seth during the Ramesside period is motivated by concerns which have nothing to do with the pig. When, for example, after his attack on Qadesh, Seti ("Seth's man") erected a stela to Seth, Amun, and Montu (*ANET,* 252), it was in celebration not of the god's cult animal but of the more abstract quality of martial prowess which the god embodied (cf. already Thutmoses III's Armant Stela; *ANET,* 236, lines 85ff.). As a warrior god, Seth became the patron of the king in battle (e.g., Amenhotep II: Memphis Stela, *ANET,* 245; Ramesses III: Medinat Habu, *ANET,* 250, 263). In the "Marriage Stela" (*ANET,* 257), Ramesses II invokes Seth as his father along with Re. Seth, in other words, is not a code word for popular resistance and pig-consumption, as Diener and Robkin would have us believe.

The Rassam Cylinder inscription of Sennacherib suggests that pigs were still a common feature of daily life in 7th century Mesopotamia. Unfortunately, studies of faunal remains from Mesopotamian sites of this period are virtually nonexistent, and it is thus impossible to establish how large a role pigs played in the economy. From earlier periods, however, evidence is more abundant. These data are collected in the following table.

Table 6
Relative Percentages of Animal Bones in EB Sites in Mesopotamia

Site and Period		Caprovines	Cattle	Pigs	Source
Tell Asmar	NO.	62	47	65	Hilzheimer (1941)
	MNI	6	4–5	14–16	
	%[a]	26.0	19.7	27.3	
Lagash	MNI	30	2	6	Mudar (1982)
	%[b]	65	5	19	
Nippur	NO.	167 (55%)	67 (22%)	70 (23%)	Boessneck (1978)
	MNI	11 (44%)	6 (24%)	8 (32%)	
	WT.(g)	1525 (34%)	1900 (43%)	015 (23%)	

[a]Based on total number.
[b]Based on MNI

The many different terms for pigs in Sumerian and Akkadian are discussed in Salonen (1974). For a detailed study of pig raising in Sumeria, see Rosengarten (1960).

B. Equids

1. ONAGERS. Two principal species are found, the Syrian *(Equus hemionus hemippus)* and the Persian *(Equus hemionus onager).* The onager is the only equid native to the Near East but is not the ancestor of the domestic donkey, as is sometimes thought. This is evident from the fact that the offspring of the Asian donkey and the onager is sterile, while that of the Asian donkey and the African wild ass is fertile (Clutton-Brock 1987: 98). The onager was never domesticated because, like the gazelle, it is temperamen-

tally unsuited to manipulation by man. Though its remains are frequently found in archaeological sites, there is no evidence in the bones or teeth that would point to domestication (Clutton-Brock 1987: 98 *contra* Zeuner 1963; Hilzheimer 1941). These remains are more likely evidence of the hunting of onagers, as depicted in the much later reliefs from the palace of Ashurbanipal.

2. HORSES. a. Prehistoric Distribution. During the Paleolithic era, herds of wild horses *(Equus ferus)* roamed the grasslands of both the Eurasian and the American continents. But due to the growth of forests following the last Ice Age and to overhunting by man, the horse was already extinct in North America by 8000 B.C.E. In the Old World, it was driven farther and farther E, until today the remnants of the primitive wild horse, the so called Przewalski horse, are found only in Mongolia. Had it not been for its domestication by man, the horse would probably have disappeared altogether from the Old World as it had from North America (Clutton-Brock 1987: 81).

The various modern breeds of horse are probably all the descendants of a single primitive stock, their different characteristics being the result of artificial selection by man, as well as of certain environmental influences which affect all mammals. Northern, "cold-blooded" breeds have heavy bodies and short extremities (legs, ears), while southern, "hot-blooded" breeds are sleeker and more finely featured (cf. Clutton-Brock 1987: 83). These differences, apparent already in the 2d millennium B.C.E., were however less marked than today. There was not the sharp distinction between heavy N workhorses and S thoroughbreds that there is today, since horses in the ancient world were all generally smaller (most less than 125 cm [49 in] at the withers).

b. The Horse in the Near East. As just noted, the homeland of the domestic horse was in the Eurasian steppes, where it was first domesticated in the late Neolithic. Its appearance S of the hilly flanks of the Near East is due to human activity. From these hills, the horse was first introduced into the Near East, as we learn from (among other things) the Sumerian term for horse, ANŠE.KUR.RA, "donkey of the mountains." On the basis of textual, iconographic, and archaeological evidence, it appears that this took place during the late 3d millennium B.C.E., perhaps somewhat earlier in S Iran (Moorey 1970; Zarins 1976). The arrival of the horse coincides with the development of the chariot, in association with which we first meet the horse in every other society in the ancient world. The still-popular idea of prehistoric Eurasian horse-nomads must be abandoned (Wiesner 1968).

Compared with cattle, sheep, and goats, the horse played only a minor role in the economy of the Near East. It was never extensively used in agriculture or transport, despite its efficiency. In agriculture it was the ox, and in transport the donkey, which were principally used. Failure to exploit the horse's work potential ultimately played a large role in the decline of the Near East vis-à-vis the West in the Middle Ages (see L. White 1962: 57ff.; Braudel 1981: 344–45). The principal use of the horse was for drawing chariots. Before the horse's rise to prominence in the 2d millennium B.C.E., donkeys, mules, and oxen were used for this purpose as well. Mounted cavalry make their first appearance in the 1st millennium B.C.E. This was true also among the Arabian nomads, later renowned for their horsemanship. In central Arabia, the horse appears in rock art for the first time in the "Literate Period" (ca. 1000 B.C.E.–650 C.E.). Its earliest possible use, then, would have been at about the same time that the camel is thought to have been fully domesticated (Tchernov 1974: 247). The widespread use of the horse among nomads, however, came rather later. Inscriptions apparently associated with these rock drawings indicate a date in the latter half of the Literate Period. Unlike the camel, which played a vital economic role in bedouin society, the horse was chiefly valued as an item of prestige.

Given the enormous expense of purchasing and maintaining warhorses, specialized handling and veterinary expertise were called for. A book of instructions on the handling of horses is extant in Hittite (Kammenhuber 1961). Another on the treatment of diseases in horses has survived from Ugarit (Cohen and Sivan 1983; Pardee 1985). Fragmentary Akkadian prescriptions for horse disorders are also extant (Pardee 1985).

c. Equipment. The history of the exploitation of the horse in warfare is very much a history of the technology associated with horsemanship. Of prime importance were bits, bridles, and harnesses (Potratz 1966; Bittel 1975; Littauer and Crouwel 1979). Much of the earliest technology for controlling equids had originally been designed for cattle. Prior to the invention of the bit and bridle, for example, horses and other equids were often controlled by means of a nose-ring attached to a single cord. While adequate for leading cattle, this arrangement was an unsatisfactory means of steering a horse from behind, especially if the horse was pulling a chariot. It was the need for more effective control of the horse in warfare that provided the impetus for the development of the bit and the bridle. The use of these probably remained confined to the military. A proper bit consists of a solid mouthpiece or cannon attached to cheekplates, which prevent the cannon from sliding out of the mouth and also exert pressure on the sensitive sides of the mouth. The first metal bits appear in the 16th century B.C.E. Bits dated to the 15th century were excavated at Tell el ʿAjjul (Stewart 1974).

Like the nose-ring, ancient yoke harnesses, being originally designed for oxen, were ill suited for the horse. In oxen, the yoke pulled not against the throat, but against the front of the animal's withers. The neck strap served only to keep the animal in line. In horses, however, the withers are much less well developed, so that it was no longer the yoke resting against the withers, but the neck strap around the throat which pulled the burden, choking the horse. The effect of this type of harnessing can be seen in representations of horses drawing chariots. Not only does the neck choke the horse, it also forces the horse to hold its head erect. This posture in turn limits the horse's speed, because a horse can extend its front legs only as far as the line running from the tip of its nose to the ground. The more erect the horse's head, the shorter the step and the choppier the pace.

Used on a horse, the yoke harness was also relatively inefficient, since the point of traction was up at the withers rather than at the shoulders and was thus too high for maximum mechanical effect. In practical terms, this

means that a team of horses, which today (thanks to the horse collar) could be expected to pull 2,500 kg (5,500 lb), could pull only 500 kg (1,100 lb) in ancient harnesses (White 1962: 156, n. 1 to p. 60).

The horseshoe proper (White 1962: 57ff.) is not certainly attested before the 9th century C.E., when it appears in rider-graves in the Yenisei region of Siberia. At about the same time, it is mentioned in the *Tactica* of the Byzantine Emperor Leo VI, who reigned 886–911. The Greco-Roman world knew only of hipposandals, which were attached with thongs or wires, either for ornamentation or to protect a broken hoof (cf. Catullus 17.26, which refers to a *solea* and not to a shoe). The silence of Greco-Roman writers on the subject of horseshoes is telling, given the size of the literature devoted to the use and care of horses (cf. Xenophon, *On Horsemanship;* Columella, *Rust.* 6.27–35; Oder and Hoppe 1924). There is also no evidence from the Near East to justify our supposing that the horseshoe was known there.

Since the principal use of the horse was for pulling chariots, horseback riding was relatively uncommon (cf. Moorey 1970). Saddles in the proper sense of the word were therefore unknown, though saddle blankets, and girths were occasionally used. From the Mesopotamian evidence, it is clear that when people first began riding horses they sat toward the back, as they were accustomed to sit on the donkey. The ass has low withers and straight shoulders, which make it advantageous for the rider to sit toward the rump if he wishes to avoid falling off. Bareback riding techniques obviously took some time to develop. The earliest depiction of horseback riding in Mesopotamia occurs on a seal impression from Kish dated to the Early Dynastic III period (Zarins 1976: 260–61). In Egypt, the first depiction of figures on horseback comes from the 18th Dynasty (Schulman 1957). In almost all of these representations, Egyptian and Mesopotamian alike, riders are depicted either nude or only lightly armed, indicating that they probably served as scouts or messengers.

The stirrup (White 1962: 14ff.) first appeared in the late 2d century B.C.E. in India, where, at its most advanced stage, it accommodated only a barefoot rider's big toe. From India the idea spread to Pakistan and Afghanistan sometime before 100 C.E. There, however, it consisted of a bar or hook capable of supporting a shod rider. Buddhist missionaries then spread the idea to China, sometime during the Chin Dynasty (265–420 C.E.). Hunan tomb figures of this period are shown equipped with stirrups. By the time it first occurs in Chinese literature (477 C.E.), it is already in common use. It reached Iran and the Arab world in the late 7th century and Europe in the early 8th. The stirrup was totally unknown in the classical world, and in the ANE. Xenophon (*On Horsemanship* 7.5) for example, describes the technique for proper riding as follows:

> When he has taken his seat, whether on the horse's bare back or on a cloth, we do not like that he should sit as if he were on a carriage seat, but as if he were standing upright with his legs somewhat apart; for thus he will cling more firmly to the horse with his thighs, and, keeping himself erect, he will be able to throw a javelin or to strike a blow on horseback, if it be necessary, with greater force.

The absence of the stirrup prevented the use of the horse in shock combat since a rider could easily be unmounted.

3. ASSES. The wild ass *(Equus africanus)* appears to have originated in N Africa. It is unknown exactly when the ass was first domesticated, though a date of 3500 B.C.E. is suggested. (On the early use of the donkey, see above under "Secondary Products Revolution.") From the beginning, its primary role was as a pack animal.

The donkey also played an obscure role in certain cultic situations. It was not permitted as a sacrifice or as food in ancient Israel and appears only infrequently in sacrificial texts from Ugarit (cf. *UT* 62:18ff.). Noteworthy, therefore, is its prominence as a symbolic victim in the ritual of covenant making among the W Semitic inhabitants of the Mari area (Noth 1957), as well as in S Arabia (see below). At Mari, the idiom to "kill an ass" (*ḫa-a-ri-im qa-ta-li-im,* ARM II 37.6, 11) meant to make a treaty (*ḫayārum* is the Akkadian realization of W Sem *ʿayr* [Heb *ʿayir,* Ug *ʿr*]). Compare also *ḫayaram ša šalīmim qutulma,* "kill an ass of peace-making" (Dossin 1938: 109). In S Arabia, too, the donkey seems to have played a role in the ritual of treaty making, as seen in the following passage: *kl gwm d²lm wšymm wḏhblm whmrm* "every community (owing allegiance to) a god or patron deity or (bound by) an alliance or *ḥmr* [ass] -treaty" (*RES* 3945.1; cf. 3624; 3948.4ff.).

The domesticated ass or donkey is physiologically well suited to its one-time role as the primary beast of burden in the ANE. While not altogether the camel's equal as water conserver, the donkey can likewise tolerate significant losses of body water (as high as 25–30% of body weight), though for shorter periods (Schmidt-Nielsen 1959). Like the camel, it can do so because its water losses come from the tissues and not from the blood, the volume of which remains fairly constant. And, like the camel, the donkey can replenish its entire water loss in a matter of minutes—an adaptation to the necessity of being in a constant state of readiness to flee while drinking at the water hole. However, the donkey requires water more frequently than the camel because it eliminates heat by evaporating sweat as much as four times faster than the camel. Apparently the donkey can store a certain amount of water against future losses. One of the donkey's important adaptations is a low concentration of chloride in the sweat (Schmidt-Nielsen and Schmidt-Nielsen 1952: 155). The fact that more of the chloride remains in the blood means that when the donkey rehydrates the concentration of chloride is not drastically reduced. In humans, rehydration must be accompanied by the ingestion of salt or else shock or even death may result. A wild animal, however, might find it difficult to replace its salt as quickly, and salt loss could cripple its ability to evade predators. Thus, the donkey's low-salt sweat clearly has survival value.

Different equid species do not usually interbreed in nature. Man-made hybrids are the *mule* (the offspring of a male donkey [jackass] and a mare) and the *hinny* (the offspring of a stallion and a female donkey [jenny]). The offspring in either case may be male or female, but will always be sterile. The two types are morphologically distinguishable. In each case, the front end resembles that of the sire and the hindquarters those of the dam. Mules

therefore have a large head and ears like those of the donkey and powerful hindquarters like those of the horse, the tail consisting of long hairs originating in or near the root. Hinnies, on the other hand, have lighter, more finely featured heads and smaller ears, while the tip of the tail is tufted.

4. CAMELS. Primitive camelids first appeared some 40 million years ago in N America. Toward the end of the Tertiary, they spread from there into South America, where their descendant, the llama, survives today. Another group migrated across the Bering Strait to Asia, and quickly spread to the Near East and Africa. Camel bones have been found in Plio-Pleistocene levels in the Omo beds in Ethiopia (Howell et al. 1969), in the Marsabit Road (Early Pleistocene) in N Kenya, and in Olduvai Bed II (Middle Pleistocene; Gentry and Gentry 1969). The earliest certainly datable camel remains in the Near East are those from the Acheulian (Middle Pleistocene) site at Latamne, Syria (Hooijer 1961). Camel bones have been found at several Levallois-Mousterian (Middle Paleolithic, Upper Pleistocene) sites, including Bir-Sahara (Wendorf et al. 1976) in SW Egypt; Mugharet el-Emireh (Bate 1929), Sabha (Vaufrey 1951), Qafzeh (Bouchud 1974), Tabun C (Payne and Garrard 1983), Far'ah (Grigson 1983) in Israel; and Azraq in Jordan (Clutton-Brock 1970). Assemblages from still later periods have been recovered from the Neolithic site at Sha'ar Ha-Golan (Stekelis 1951) and in Strata IV and III (EB I–II) at Arad (Lernau 1978: 87). A few bone fragments were found in the EB IV level at Be'er Reşişim (Hakker-Orion 1984). By the beginning of the historical period, however, the wild camel was probably extinct in most parts of N Africa, the Levant, and Egypt. See also CAMEL.

In historical times, there have been two species of camel, the Bactrian *(Camelus bactrianus)*, a stocky, two-humped camel native to the cold deserts of central Asia, and the Arabian *(Camelus dromedarius)*, a swift, longer-legged animal with a single hump, today found throughout N Africa and the Near East. Camels are even-toed ungulates. But, unlike other ungulates, they do not have proper hooves. Their toes are instead protected by a pad of skin. Although they ruminate, they also differ from true ruminants in some respects. Ruminants, for example, typically have a complex stomach consisting of four chambers (see under cattle above); the camel, however, has three. Also unlike other ruminants, camels have vestigal incisors in the premaxilla (upper jaw) and large canine teeth. In other ruminants, the lower incisors bite against a hard upper gum.

a. Adaptation to Desert Life (Schmidt-Nielsen 1959; Gauthier-Pilters and Dagg 1981). Anatomical study has shown that the camel has no hidden water reserve. This is also indicated by the fact that a camel deprived of water for a long period will drink only as much water as it has lost. The camel's trademark, its hump, is a mass of fibrous connecting tissue and fat, and not, as is popularly believed, the animal's water supply. When the animal is starved, this hump disappears: it is, in fact, the camel's principal energy reserve.

In other mammals, especially domestic animals, fat is distributed throughout the body under the skin, though there may also be areas where it accumulates in larger quantities (e.g., the rump or tail of sheep). The concentration of fat in a single location is one of the camel's adaptations to life in an arid environment. It allows the body to dissipate heat readily, without sweating. Where fat is deposited evenly under the skin, as in humans, it acts as an insulator to keep heat inside, and more sweating is required to draw the heat off. Camels do sweat, but they can tolerate a rise of temperature to as high as 105°F before they sweat freely (6°C above normal). In order to mitigate water loss through sweating, the camel's body temperature may be allowed to drop as low as 93°F at night. This 12° tolerance compares with about 2° in humans. For a 500 kg (1100 lb) camel to dispose by perspiration the heat represented in that 6° rise in temperature (i.e., 500 kg × 0.8 cal/kg [the specific heat of animal tissue] × 6 = 2400 cal) would require about 5 liters (1.3 gal) of water.

Another means by which sweating is minimized is the camel's coat of hair (part of which is retained year-round), which insulates the body from heat absorption from the outside and which shields the camel from the radiant energy of the sun. Shorn camels will sweat 60% more than those that are unshorn. This adaptive strategy reminds one of the fact that the bedouin themselves dress in several layers of woolen clothing.

The camel limits its water losses in one other, though less significant way. It has developed the ability to reprocess urea, one of the principal waste products expelled in urine. Sheep and cows also have this ability to some extent (Rogers 1958). The urea that is not reprocessed and other waste products are expelled in highly concentrated form—in summer in as little as one liter (34 oz) of urine per day.

The key to the camel's tolerance of heat and aridity, however, is not its methods of water conservation but its ability to maintain a constant amount of water in the blood plasma. A camel that has lost one-quarter of its body weight in water loses less than one-tenth of its plasma. Under the same conditions, a man would lose up to 33% of his plasma (a loss of 12% is usually fatal in human; the blood becomes too thick to carry off heat, and this leads to rapid overheating and death). Camels, on the other hand, can still function with plasma losses as high as 25% and within minutes of drinking will regain their former condition. This tolerance for water loss is possible because losses come not from the blood but from the tissues.

The camel's other adaptations to life in the desert include the ability to close its nostrils (e.g., during sandstorms), long eye lashes to shade the eyes from the sun, and a split upper lip enabling it to grasp and eat the thorny plants and shrubs that are commonly found in the desert.

There are, however, factors which limit the productivity of the camel. Unlike almost all other domestic animals, male camels rut only at certain times of the year (during or after the rainy season; Kohler 1984: 202). Females reach sexual maturity rather late (at 5 years) and produce a calf only every other year, until about age 21 (Gauthier-Pilters and Dagg 1981). The breeding season is short and the gestation period long (12 months, as compared with 5 for sheep and goats). Nor will females go into heat while they are lactating (Kohler 1984: 202). The mortality rate among calves is perhaps as high as 30%. The net result of all these

factors is that the annual growth rate of camel herds is around 1.5% as against 18% for sheep and 33% for goats (Dahl and Hjort 1976). This means that only in very large herds could camels be a significant source of meat. The camel is therefore principally valuable as a source of milk and as a beast of burden.

b. Domestication of the Camel. (1) Early Evidence. Since the primary use of the camel has always been outside urban centers and since domestic camels are too valuable a resource to be used except rarely as food, the camel is seldom well represented in faunal deposits. It is therefore difficult to trace the early history of the camel's relationship with man. The earliest evidence for some sort of domestication of the camel comes from Shar-i Sokhta in central Iran (Compagnoni and Tosi 1978) and from Umm an-Nar (Hoch 1977) off the coast of Abu Dhabi. At the former site, four camel bones were found in fills dated to between 2600 and 2500 B.C.E. Another was found in a stratified road deposit dated between 2700 and 2600 B.C.E. The excavations also uncovered a jar of camel dung buried in the floor of a house dated between 2700 and 2600 B.C.E. and a wad of yarn composed of camel's hair woven together with fiber from sheep and goats. These finds suggest that the camel was being exploited as a supplier at least of fiber and fuel. This relationship may perhaps be interpreted as the beginning of the process of domestication. But one must keep in mind that domestication will mean different things from one animal to another. In the case of the camel, it has not involved significant intervention in the animal's morphology and behavior, as it has with sheep and goats. The reason is simply that artificial selection could scarcely improve the one feature which makes the camel so useful: its ability to be used as a beast of burden under hostile desert conditions. The domestication of the camel has instead been the process of man's learning to exploit the camel's natural adaptation to the desert and to adapt *himself* to the camel's way of life. The camel may be said to have been fully domesticated when it was used as a beast of burden in the settlement of and movement through the desert (Compagnoni and Tosi 1978: 100). This was certainly not the state of affairs at Shar-i Sokhta. Indeed, even as a producer of renewable products the camel played a very minor role, to judge by its small attestation in the sample (5 bones in 20,000).

New data from the Arabian peninsula conform to the same pattern. In rock art from central Arabia, the camel appears already in the earliest of the Neolithic period and sporadically thereafter until ca. 1000 B.C., when the number of depictions rises enormously. Except for one questionable example, all of these drawings depict the dromedary. This chronological distribution corresponds very well with what we find elsewhere in the Near East.

(2) The Camel in Egypt and Mesopotamia. Although the camel was apparently found in N Africa as late as the Paleolithic, it does not seem to have survived there into historical times. Its disappearance may be due in part to changing climatic conditions. From about 9000–6000 B.C.E. and again from 3500–2500 B.C.E., the Sahara experienced wet phases, during which its climate was like that of the modern savanna. Preferring a more arid environment, the camel may thus have been driven S. In any event, reliable archaeological evidence for the presence of the camel in Egypt is not found until the Middle Kingdom (Midant-Reynes and Braunstein-Silvestre 1977 *pace* Ripinsky 1975; 1983). Of particular importance is the find at Sayala, Nubia (Bietak 1966: 33–34, 38). If, as is generally thought, the wild camel had long been extinct in N Africa, then the Sayala find must be regarded as evidence for the domestication of the camel in the early 2d millennium B.C.E.

The only other reliable find is a small ceramic figurine of a camel bearing two jars on its back found in a 19th Dynasty tomb from the Rifeh area, near Giza (Petrie 1907, pl. 27). This is among the earliest pieces of evidence for the dating of the first use of the camel as a beast of burden. Though early, it falls just close enough to the time of the camel's apparent domestication in W Asia to be credible.

The earliest representations of the domestic camel (i.e., of camel with rider) are (1) a N Syrian seal dated to between 1800 and 1400 B.C.E. depicting two Bactrian camels with riders (Gordon 1939: 21 no. 55, pl. VII no. 55), (2) another Syrian seal dated to the 17th century B.C.E. showing a dromedary with rider (Ward 1910: 319, no. 1011), and (3) a fragmentary ceramic relief probably of camel with rider from the Ur III period at Tell Asmar (Frankfort et al. 1940: 212 figs. 126–27). The second of these is perhaps disputable: the animal lacks a hump, its feet look like those of an equid, and its tufted tail suggests that if it is an equid it is probably a donkey. Its neck, however, is much too long for an equid, and the head is more like that of a camel than that of a horse. The rider is sitting sidesaddle, a common way of riding the camel but unusual for the horse. If these pieces of evidence are valid, they would suggest that the domestication of the camel took place at the latest in the early 2d millennium B.C.E. rather than in the 12th century, as argued by Albright.

c. The Domestic Camel in Palestine. While camel remains sporadically occur at MB and LB sites, it is not until the Iron Age that they are found in significant numbers. Isolated and often stratigraphically dubious, camel remains from the MB Age are reported at Gezer, Megiddo, Taanach, and el-Jisr (Isserlin 1950). At LB sites, camel bones have turned up only at Timna (Rothenberg 1972: 105), and these may belong to wild species from Arabia. In Palestine at least, there is therefore no reason to suppose that the domestic camel was in use until after 1200 B.C.E. Donkey bones, on the other hand, are found at most sites in both these periods, suggesting that it was indeed the donkey rather than the camel that was the primary pack animal.

In the Iron Age, however, the situation was radically different. Camel bones have been found in abundance in all three levels at Kadesh-barnea (Hakker-Orion 1984), in Stratum II (Iron I) at ʿIzbet Ṣarṭah (Hellwing and Adjeman 1986), and also in the Iron II level at Tell Jemmeh (see below). Not surprisingly, camel bones are found at numerous Nabatean sites in the Negeb, such as Moa and Avdat. A Greek inscription written on a camel scapula found at Avdat mentions the sale of camels to caravans and lists their prices (Negev 1977). To date, the distribution of camel remains in Israel suggests a strong association with the trade routes of the Negeb (Hakker-Orion 1984).

Given the paucity of camel remains in ANE faunal deposits, the size of the Tell Jemmeh collection makes it

especially important for the study of the utilization of the camel in this area (Wapnish 1984). There 472 camel bones, 357 in a stratified context, have been uncovered. They come from all parts of the site, but only from the LB levels onward. In the levels of the 7th century, a period of massive Assyrian involvement in the area, there is an eightfold increase in the number of camel bone fragments relative to the LB Age. This number in turn more than quadruples in the Neo-Babylonian and Persian levels. All parts of the camel are represented in these samples. Eighteen percent of the bones show cut marks, and 20% are burned, indicating that the inhabitants used the camel as a source of meat. The number of unfused bone elements is small, and in the major periods the proportion of bones from juvenile animals is less than 18%. At the same time, there are no indications of great age or disease in the bones. The mortality pattern is thus dominated by healthy, mature animals (5–20 years). Since young animals are not prominent in the sample, it is unlikely either that camels were raised on the site or that there was in the area an intensive meat industry. Some portion of the animals may have come from nearby pastoralist groups, but this would not explain the sharp increases in later periods. Hence, it is suggested that the bulk of the animals came from caravans passing through the area.

d. The Camel and the Development of Nomadism. Without the camel, human exploitation of the deserts would have been impossible. Since the domestication of the camel took place only toward the end of the 1st millennium B.C.E., this date is also the terminus post quem for camel nomadism. However, even after this date, the full potential of the camel remained long undeveloped, due to inadequate riding technology. Like the horse, for example, the camel could play an effective role in mounted combat only once a proper saddle had been developed. In the case of the horse, the key element was the stirrup; but in the case of the camel, it was a saddle frame straddling the hump with a (saddle) horn on either side to give the rider maximal support in shock combat. Adapted from the horse saddle, which first appears in the Asian steppes at about the beginning of the Common Era, the camel saddle appears not to have been used on the camel until ca. 250 C.E. (Dostal 1958). It is first attested in reliefs from Syria (e.g., Palmyra and Dura-Europos), where Arabian camel riders came into contact with saddle technology from the N. This date coincides with the "bedouinization of Arabia," which until then had been settled by farmers. See also BEDOUIN AND BEDOUIN STATES.

e. Patterns of Camel Use. The camel could be used for transport, which is of critical importance for all bedouin. Pack animals were usually either geldings or non-lactating females, and were mature animals over 5 years of age.

Camels also produce large quantities of milk whose fat content (7.11%) may be as much as twice that of cow's milk (3.5–5%). Camel lactation lasts for 12 months, so that camel pastoralists have a source of milk year-round, even during the dry season. Some bedouin are able to maintain themselves solely on a diet of 5 to 10 liters (1.5–2.5 gal) of camel milk a day. Surprisingly this protein- and fat-rich diet has no adverse pathological effects (Lapicirella et al. 1962). Among bedouin whose principal product is milk, most male calves are slaughtered in order to conserve their mother's milk (Sweet 1965a; Dahl and Hjort 1976). Females are slaughtered only if they are too weak to survive. Healthy adults are seldom slaughtered, except for ritual purposes (Sweet 1965b; S. Smith 1978; Nelson 1974).

Camel pastoralists will occasionally sell old or sick animals in urban markets. Many bedouin consider it a sacrilege to sell their camels (Torry 1974) or will do so only in great need (S. Smith 1978). Merchant caravans will also sell intractable or vicious animals in order to prevent possible losses en route. A number of factors facilitate the management of camels en route. First, camels have strong attachments to areas associated with certain experiences. A female for example, will return to give birth where her first calf was born. When lactating, she will suckle her calf in the same place each day (Kohler 1984: 203). If separated from the herd, a camel will wait at the place where it was left. Second, camels are now largely dependent on humans for their water, which must be drawn up from wells.

5. ELEPHANTS. Two species of elephant survived the end of the last Ice Age: the African *(Loxodonta africana)* and the Indian *(Elephas maximus)*. Several characteristics distinguish the two types. First, the elephant of the African savanna is bigger and has much larger ears than its Indian counterpart. An African bull may reach a height of 6–7.5 m (20–24 ft) and weigh over 6000 kg (13,200 lb). African females are somewhat shorter and weigh about 3000 kg (6600 lb). Indian bulls are typically 2–3.5 m (6.5–11.5 ft) high, and weigh 5000 kg (11,000 lb). Classical writers believed that the Indian was the larger and were followed by Linnaeus, hence the misnomer *Elephas maximus* for the Indian species. It may be that the classical writers were describing the smaller "forest" variety of the African elephant *(Loxodonta africana cyclotis)*, which now inhabits only isolated parts of west and west-central Africa, but which in ancient times may have ranged through N Africa as well, until its extinction at the hands of the Romans (Scullard 1974). Second, the African type is straight- or sway-backed, while the Indian is convex. Third, both males and females of the African elephant have tusks; females of the Indian type may occasionally carry tusks, but they are very small. Fourth, the teeth of the Indian elephant are more numerous and more closely packed than those of the African. Finally, the trunk of the African elephant terminates in two finger-like projections, whereas that of the Indian elephant has only one.

All elephants prefer jungle and forest habitats, but can adapt to any environment with sufficient vegetation. Their gestation period is 22 months, and offspring mature slowly, much like human offspring. Lifespan in the wild is about 60 years. Though gregarious, intelligent, and highly responsive to control by humans, elephants have not been bred in captivity over generations, like domestic animals. Tame individuals have, however, been kept since at least ca. 2000 B.C.E., when they appear in seals from the Indus Valley. In some of these seals, they carry a blanket on their backs, indicating their use by man.

A sub-species of the Asian elephant appears to have survived well into historical times in the marshes of the middle Euphrates and Habur rivers. Egyptian texts of the New Kingdom describe elephant hunts in this region (known as the land of Niy). Amunemhep, the general of

Thutmose III, describes one such hunt which took place about 1464 B.C.E., in which 120 elephants were slaughtered. Assyrian kings from Tiglath-pileser I to Ashurnasirpal II also mounted elephant hunting expeditions around Harran. As a result of overhunting, elephants were exterminated from W Asia by the 9th century B.C.E.

Despite their strength, elephants were not exploited for labor either in the Near East or in the classical world. They played a minor role in the armies of the Persian and Roman empires and were used by Hannibal against Rome, but they often proved to be more of a liability than an asset. In the Roman Empire, elephants also fought in the games and performed tricks in the circuses.

The elephant's great "contribution" to ANE culture was of course ivory (Barnett 1982). Among the earliest of luxury items, ivory was being traded already in the Chalcolithic period. At Bir es-Safadi, a Chalcolithic site in the Negeb, remains of an ivory workshop, an unworked elephant tusk, and statuettes carved from ivory were found (Mellaart 1966; Perrot 1959; 1964). Objects carved from hippopotamus ivory were also found here and in the "Cave of the Treasure" in the Nahal Mishmar (Bar Adon 1980), another Chalcolithic site. Hippopotamus tusks were found in the EB II level at Arad (Davis 1976). In view of the geographical location of these sites, it is likely that the ivory in question was imported from Egypt.

Further details about the ivory trade and the production of ornamentation in ivory can be found in Barnett (1982).

6. GAZELLE. Two species of gazelle are found in Israel, the dorcas *(Gazella dorcas)* and the mountain or Arabian gazelle *(G. gazella)*. In Transjordan, one also commonly finds the goitered gazelle *(Gazella subgutturosa)*. The two Israeli species are distinguishable on the basis of size, color, and habitat (Shalmon 1987). At 140 cm (4.5 ft) *G. gazella* is over twice as tall as *G. dorcas*, whose average height is 60 cm (2 ft). *G. gazella* is gray-brown in color and *G. dorcas* light brown. *G. dorcas* inhabits the desert plains while *G. gazella* is a mountain type. The goitered gazelle is the largest and most heavily built of the three. It is also distinguished from the other two species by the hornlessness in the female.

Although gazelle constituted one of the hunter-gatherer's primary sources of food, and despite the hunter's intimate knowledge of their behavior (which was exploited in the construction of traps, see below), humans were unable to domesticate gazelle because they lacked the requisite traits of domesticability. Gazelle are adapted to quick flight, and they panic when confined; consequently, they will not breed freely in captivity. Gazelle are territorial. Further, they do not live in a social system based on a hierarchy of dominance and submission. As a result, they have never been domesticated or managed on a large scale (*pace* Legge 1972). Egyptian pictures of people feeding gazelles (e.g., Tomb 3 at Beni Hasan) are not necessarily evidence to the contrary since these animals may simply be captives. Captive gazelle (MAS.DA) were kept in Mesopotamia as well (Gadd 1940: 52, no. A965). The gazelle's principal use to man has therefore been as a source of meat acquired by hunting. The prominence of gazelle bones in the faunal assemblage from Jericho indicates their importance in the local economy before the advent of animal domestication. It has been estimated that gazelle supplied almost 37% of the meat consumed in PPN A Jericho (Clutton-Brock 1971). In the PPN B, however, gazelle contributed slightly less than half that amount, and by the MB Age only 3.4%. The gazelle made up 15.6% of the total number of bones (22.2% based on MNI) at Chalcolithic Beer-sheba (Angress 1959). At Tell Aphek and Tell Dalit in Israel's coastal plain, gazelle bones constituted 5.3% of the EB I–II, and 5.6% of the MB II sample (Hellwing and Gophna 1984). At most sites from later periods, gazelle bones constitute 1% or less of the total sample. Generally, it may be said that the proportion of gazelle, deer, or antelope in an archaeological sample is a measure of the role which hunting played in the economy of that area, and varies inversely with the proportion of sheep and goat bones. In Europe before the Neolithic, the economy was based on deer, in the Near East on gazelle. Thus, in the sample from PPN A Jericho, gazelle bones outnumbered those of sheep/goats 10 to 1, whereas in PPN B (ca. 7000 B.C.E.)—the cultural period associated with the introduction of domestication—sheep and goats outnumbered gazelle about 3.5 to 1.

The principal method of hunting gazelle involved the use of large corrals ("kites") in the shape of triangles open at one end into which gazelle would be driven. The walls of these corrals, constructed out of local stone so as to blend with natural surroundings, converge to an opening built on the verge of a natural slope or artificially constructed pit, also surrounded by walls, into which the gazelle would leap unawares, as they fled. Trapped here, and often injured, they would be slaughtered en masse. The arms of these kites are occasionally only a single course of stones high—far too low to serve as a real barrier; however, it seems that gazelle will follow these short walls rather than jump them. This simple technology evidences an intimate knowledge of gazelle behavior. (The Israeli Nature Authority has imitated this kite technique, using [instead of stone walls] strips of white plastic tape laid out on the ground, with the same extraordinary results.)

In Palestine, half a dozen kites, first built perhaps as early as the Chalcolithic period, have been located in the Arabah and the Negeb (Meshel 1980: 271–72, 284–85; Rothenberg 1972: 53). Others have been found in Sinai, Syria, and Transjordan (Meshel 1974; 1980, both with earlier literature; Pravolotsky 1980; Betts 1983–85). The kites of the Black Desert (Jordan) may date from as early as the 7th millennium B.C.E. The use of these kites by bedouin continued into our century and has been witnessed by western travelers (cf. literature quoted in Meshel 1974: 134–35). The use of kites for hunting gazelle is also depicted in a Safaitic rock drawing from E Jordan accompanied by an inscription indicating the name of the builder of the kite. In Palestine and the Sinai, one usually finds single kites; in Syria and the Transjordan, however, they often occur in groups or chains that may comprise dozens of kites stretching over many kilometers. This difference reflects the fact that the common gazelle species of Syria and the Transjordan, *Gazella subgutturosa*, lived in herds numbering thousands of individuals, while in Palestine and Sinai the common species, *G. dorcas* and *G. gazella*, are found in groups of less than 20 head. A cluster of over fifteen kites has, however, been found in the vicinity of

Jebel Junna some 40 km NE of St. Catherine's Monastery. Associated with the group of kites are a number of rock drawings depicting the hunting of ostrich, wild asses, oryx, and ibex, which apparently thrived on the abundant local vegetation (acacia trees and broom plant). Together, these two plants can provide various forms of food almost year-round, and today support a large population of camels and goats raised by bedouin. The location of the kites in the Arabah was similarly determined by the forest of acacia trees found in the vicinity of the spring at Jotbata.

The use of "kite" technology is not restricted to ancient W Asia. Similar corralling techniques are found among the Indian tribes of the Great Basin in the western United States (Steward 1938: 34–36, 231–33) who hunt antelope and deer in this fashion. The rationale for the use of corrals is the same in both cases: antelope and gazelle are very difficult for lone hunters to chase on foot. Collective effort greatly increases the efficiency of the hunt.

While the Hebrew term or terms for the kite have not certainly been identified, one promising candidate is *maḏ-ḥēpâ* (Ps 140:12), a noun of instrument or place, which could indicate either some sort of device used in the chase or else a trap into which game would be driven. In the context of Psalm 140, the latter meaning is clearly preferable (cf. Mishnaic Hebrew *ṣād le-* "hunt into an enclosure," e.g., *m. Šabb.* 13:5). For discussion see Greenberg (1977).

7. DEER. Though sometimes found in treeless environments, deer are woodland fauna (see in general Chaplin 1977 and Whitehead 1972). The elimination of the Palestinian forests and competition with domestic ruminants for grassland contributed to the eventual disappearance of Palestine's deer species. During the biblical period, however, sizable populations probably still existed. Iranian fallow deer *(Dama dama mesopotamica)*, for example, were found in the Galilee as late as the 1880s (Tristram *SWP* 7: 4) but were extinct by the end of the last century. In 1979, fallow deer were brought from Khuzistan and reintroduced into the Hai Bar Carmel Reserve.

Somewhat larger than its European relative, the Iranian fallow deer reaches heights in excess of 90 cm (3 ft) at the shoulder in the male, 78 cm (2.5 ft) in the female. Males weigh from 63–103 kg (140–227 lb), females 29–55 kg (64–121 lb). As is the case with all deer except the reindeer, only the male fallow deer has antlers, the proportions and complexity of which are indicative the animal's age. The antlers of the fallow deer are said to be palmate, meaning that the space between the bases of some of the branches is filled in. The antlers are typically about 70 cm (27 in) in length. Unlike horns, antlers are shed every winter and regrown in the course of the following year. Although the fallow deer is often seen in large herds, its social organization is actually based on individual or mother-fawn units. Much of the time, males and females roam in separate herds. When rutting begins in early fall, male and female herds congregate and remain together through early winter. Females do not go into heat simultaneously, but one after the other. Gestation takes about 8.5 months, and new births arrive at the beginning of summer. On fallow deer in general, see further Chapman and Chapman (1975).

The other deer species of Palestine, the roe *(Capreolus capreolus)*, is distinguished from the fallow by its smaller size (63–88 cm [2–3 ft] shoulder height in the male) and weight (17–23 kg [37–50 lb] in the male). Unlike the fallow deer, it congregates only in small herds, parents and their offspring constituting the basic unit. During winter months, however, several family groups will join together. Rutting takes place from mid-June until the end of July. Gestation lasts about 11 months, and twinning is usual. A full-grown male stands about 70 cm (2.3 ft) at the shoulder. The last roe deer was shot on Mt. Carmel in 1910 (Tchernov 1974: 239).

Like the gazelle, deer constituted only a small percentage of the meat supply at most Bronze and Iron Age sites. In the Iron Age level at Tell Dan, however, deer (probably fallow deer) made up 13% of the total number of bones, amounting to about 4% of the meat supply, as against 7% for sheep and goats and 89% for cattle (Wapnish et al. 1977). Although never domesticated, deer are known to have been kept in captivity in some places. Texts from 15th century Alalakh include a ration list for animals among which is the stag (DÀRA.MAŠ *[ayalu]*; cf. Lambert 1960).

8. Rodents and Other Small Mammals. Wild rodents appear never to have been a noteworthy food resource (Redding 1978: 65). They may be introduced into a site from nearby areas by birds of prey or by domestic or wild carnivores, or they may colonize an area as a consequence of human settlement there (cf. the note on "commensalism" above). In some periods, however, domesticated rodents have been exploited as food sources. The Romans, for example, raised dormice as a delicacy, until the practice was prohibited by the sumptuary laws (cf. Varro, *Rust.* 3.15).

The most important meat-supplying rodent was the rabbit. Though once regarded as rodents, rabbits and hares differ anatomically from rodents in certain respects (cf. Clutton-Brock 1987: 145). Their way of digesting fibrous vegetation is also peculiar. After having once digested a meal, they excrete this and then ingest the feces. After food has thus been doubly digested, the remainder is eliminated as scat. There is therefore a certain resemblance between rabbits and hares and ruminants in that food is redigested in each case, and, like the ruminants, rabbits and hares always seem to be chewing. It is possible that it was this superficial observation which led the creator(s) of the biblical dietary law (mistakenly) to classify the hare with the ruminants (cf. Lev 11:6).

The hare (Akk *arnabu;* Heb *ʾarnebet*), the larger relative of the rabbit, is native to the Near East. The rabbit, on the other hand, though ubiquitous today, was unknown in the ANE. Its present, world-wide distribution, like that of the horse, is due to human intervention (cf. note on *šapan* in the Table of Animal Names at the end of this article). It was originally found only in Spain, S France and perhaps N Africa. The Romans discovered the rabbit in Spain and quickly took to raising it in captivity. With the Romans, the rabbit spread to Europe and from there to the rest of the world. Even the "wild" rabbit of Europe is the feral descendant of this Roman import. We also owe to the classical world the symbolism of the hare and the rabbit (Goodenough 1958; Maringer 1978). Closely associated with Dionysus, the god of fertility and life, but also of death

and immortality, the hare was commonly depicted on Greco-Roman and, later, Christian funerary monuments (the "Easter Bunny" is the latest manifestation of the tradition).

Apart from the hare, the other prominent "rodent" of the Bible is the coney or hyrax *(Procavia capensis)*. (In fact, hyraxes are not rodents, but primitive ungulates; they show close affinities with the elephant and the aardvark.) Indigenous to Sub-Saharan and E Africa, the hyrax is found as far N as Syria. Its habitat is rocky terrain, in both desert and forested regions. It varies in size from about 44–54 cm (17–21 in) and weighs 1.8–5.4 kg (4.0–11.9 lb). Hyraxes feed mainly on grass and do not ruminate, although they have a three-part digestive tract like that of ruminants. Like the ruminants, they digest fiber by means of microbes in the gut. Although like desert animals they use water efficiently, excreting highly concentrated urine, they have difficulty regulating body temperature and therefore seek shelter in the rocks. Social organization consists of family groups of about half a dozen related adult females and an adult male. Family units may join to form larger groups of up to about 25. Mating takes place once a year, typically resulting in one to four offspring. Gestation last about 240 days. Upon reaching sexual maturity at 16 months, females join the family group. Males leave the group at about 2.5 years. Lifespan is 9–12 years.

9. Carnivores. The wild carnivores of Palestine included the wolf, the lion, the leopard (both spotted and black varieties), the cheetah, the jackal, and the bear. Recent archaeological excavations have uncovered remains of both the lion and the bear in Iron Age levels (Martin 1988). While the lion appears to have disappeared before modern times, the bear survived until early in this century. Tristram (*SWP* 7), for example, wrote of having seen a Syrian bear *(Ursos arctos syriacus)* in the Wadi Hammam. Wolves, leopards, and cheetahs were also still seen as late as the beginning of this century in Carmel and Galilee. Leopards survive today in parts of the Judean Desert and the Negeb.

While the lion captured the imagination of biblical poets (as in Homer, most of the references to the lion occur in poetic similes), the leopard seems to have had a greater real impact on human society. Leopard traps from as early as the Chalcolithic period are found in the ʿUvda Valley in the SE Negeb. To date, about five of these have been discovered in the area. These traps typically consist of a rectangular chamber built of local stones. The chamber is just large enough to accommodate a leopard and at the same time prevent it from turning around once inside. The floor is made of large flat stones to prevent the animal from digging its way out. Bait was tied to a peg at the far end of the trap opposite the door. This peg was in turn attached by rope to another peg supporting the door of the trap. When the leopard pulled at the bait, the second peg was dislodged, causing the door to fall. Located on paths leading to dwelling sites, these traps were apparently designed to protect the inhabitants from night attacks by the leopard.

Among the Chalcolithic inhabitants of the Negeb and the Sinai, the leopard was apparently also divinized. Schematic leopard figures in profile composed of small stones laid in the sand have been found in both regions in association with open-air sanctuaries (Avner 1984; Yogev 1983). A number of the leopards are shown with cubs on their backs. The leopards' spots and one of their eyes, greatly exaggerated in size, are also depicted by stones. All of the animals are oriented to the E, perhaps indicating their divine status. This interesting exception aside, however, wild carnivores had very little impact on human society.

10. DOGS. Our earliest evidence for the domestication of the dog comes from the Palegawra Cave in Iraq, ca. 10,000 B.C.E. (Turnbull and Reed 1974: 100). The domestic dog is distinguished from the wolf by several features resulting from domestication. These include the lengthening of the ears and the development of the curly tail. Another domestic feature is the propensity to bark, which is undeveloped in wild canids but which has obvious value as a form of communication (e.g., warning) between dog and master.

Dogs, like pigs, lived as scavengers. Feral pariah dogs roamed in packs on the outskirts of towns (Ps 59:6, 14; cf. Rev 22:15), where refuse was plentiful. Inside the towns, dogs also lived by scavenging (cf. *ANET*, 209, 228; cf. 1 Kgs 14:11). Even today one sees feral or nearly feral dogs scavenging in the streets of Cairo. Today we commonly speak of the dog as "man's best friend." In the Bible, however, the dog is always spoken of in contempt.

Noteworthy, though still unexplained, is the dog cemetery recently uncovered at Ashkelon (Rabinovich 1988). The cemetery, dating from the Persian period (500–450 B.C.E.), has so far yielded 700 shallow burial pits, each containing the carefully articulated body of a dog. Sixty to seventy percent of the animals are puppies. There is no sign of associated cultic activity: there are no offerings, and the bones show no cut marks, nor are the neck bones broken. Likewise, no temple or cultic architecture has, as yet, been found. Nevertheless, it seems unlikely that sentiment alone can explain the burials. There are as yet no known parallels to dog burials of this sort either among the Philistines, who continued to live in the city at this time, or among the Phoenicians, who ruled the city in behalf of the Persian Empire, although 7 dog burials from the same period were uncovered at neighboring Ashdod. Dogs were revered among the Zoroastrians but were not buried in cemeteries. Tentatively, Stager (1991, esp. pp. 39–42) has proposed that the Phoenicians were responsible for the dog burials at Ashkelon and regarded the dogs as sacred, possibly associated with a healing cult.

Dogs, and particularly puppies, played a role in rites for the elimination of impurity and disease in both Anatolia and Mesopotamia. In these rites, they are frequently associated with young pigs (see discussion above). Thus, in the Tunnawi ritual, a pig and a dog are waved over a patient in order to absorb his illness before they are burned (cf. Wright 1987a: 59). The pig and the puppy appear again together in the "Ritual Against Family Discord" (Rost 1953), where in order to eliminate this form of curse, the two parties involved spit into the dog's mouth. The dog is then killed and buried, thus disposing of the discord (iii.14–18). Puppies and piglets appear again together in the ritual for the purification of an army after defeat (Masson 1950; also discussed in Gurney 1954: 151). In this

case, a pig, a dog, a goat, and a man are cut in half and placed some distance apart. A gateway is then built and placed in front of the pieces. Fires are built before the gate on either side. The army passes through the gate and between pieces, and on reaching the other side is sprinkled with water. Dogs were used in similar ceremonies in Macedonia and Boeotia (Nilsson 1955: 106; Burkert 1985: 82).

Another common ritual use of the dog and the pig is in Lamaštu- (in older studies, "Labartu-") exorcisms (cf. Myhrman 1902; Thureau-Dangin 1921). Lamaštu was the female demon of sickness and fever responsible for the death of children, on whose flesh and blood she was thought to feed. In one exorcism type, an image of Lamaštu is made, then the offerer places the heart of a young pig in its mouth. She is given a black dog as her servant and is told to go off to the mountains to hunt young animals instead of children. Young pigs would have been especially well suited as substitutes because of the human qualities. The equivalance of the child victim and the pig substitute is strongly suggested by the fact that Lamaštu is said to suckle *(ušēnaq)* the child victim (IV R 58 iii 35 in Myhrman's collection; cf. also Falkenstein *LKU* 33:22 *bilanni mārēkina lušeniq*, "Bring me your children that I may suckle [them]"; additional references in *CAD* E, 165 [2]); in amulets, Lamaštu is depicted suckling a young pig at one breast and a puppy at the other (e.g., *ANEP*, 657, 658, 857). If the pig was the substitute for the human victim, the dog seems to have been her companion and helper. Thus, in one text (IV R 58 ii 49–52), Lamaštu is told to grab (i.e., shut) the mouths of her dogs so that they will not disturb the sleeping child.

In addition to the dog and pig offerings, Lamaštu is given bread and roasted grain and a leather bag in which to carry them, a jug of water, grain for making beer, oil to anoint herself, clothing and sandals that never wear out, an ass to carry her across the desert, and a ship to take her across the sea. Thus provisioned, she is banished to the underworld, located in the W across the sea (Thureau-Dangin 1921: 183ff.). The underworld is the ultimate source and repository of impurity and disease. For additional examples of the dog's association with the underworld, see Pope, *Song of Songs* AB, 210–14.

Images of dogs were used in Hittite rituals designed to exorcise evil spirits from the royal palace (Friedrich 1925: 14–15, I.22–26, II.15–23). They would be set up at the threshold to keep spirits away during the night and to prevent spirits that had been banished from returning. Dog models were similarly used in Assyria (Meissner 1919; 1922), though in this case they were buried under the threshold. In the Mari area, dogs were on occasion ritually slaughtered as part of the ritual of covenant-making (cf. Noth 1957; see also Asses above).

The word "dog" was also a technical term for certain cultic functionaries in Israel (cf. Deut 23:19), Phoenicia (*KAI* 37A 16; B 10), and among the Hittites. Hittite texts indicate that these "dog men" (LU.MEŠ.UR.GER$_X$) "sing" and "bark." They may have been male prostitutes of some sort. Cf. further Jakob-Rost (1966). See also PROSTITUTION.

C. BIRDS

Israel's bird population is among the most varied in the world. Tristram's (*SWP* 7) survey lists over 350 species. Some of these are year-round residents, others visit only briefly during their autumn and spring migrations. Every year, for example, hundreds of thousands of raptors from E Europe fly S over Israel on their way to winter homes in Africa (Leshem 1984–85). Large birds prefer this route because, with their long wings and heavy bodies, they are best adapted for soaring and gliding and cannot endure the long periods of sustained flight necessary to cross the E Mediterranean. By taking the overland route, they can exploit currents of warm air rising from the land during the day, riding these currents upward until the air cools and ceases to rise, and then gliding down to the next thermal. In this way, raptors travel long distances (90–150 mi) without expending large amounts of energy. Among these migrants are the white stork *(Ciconia ciconia)* and the buzzard (*Buteo* species). Israel's local raptor population, though now much diminished by pesticides and poisons, included the bearded, black, and griffon vultures *(Gypaetus barbatus, Aegypius monachus, Gyps fulvus)*, the golden, imperial, spotted, and tawny eagles *(Aquila chrysaetos, A. heliaca, A. clanga, A. rapax)*, and lanner and peregrine falcons *(Falco biarmicus, F. peregrinus)*. The identification of specific Heb words with particular species of birds is problematic (see Appendix below, esp. notes 34–64).

Israel offers other attractions to bird populations, both temporary and permanent. Chief among these is the Sea of Galilee. Prior to its reclamation in the 1950s, the Huleh Swamp was also home to a variety of birds. The bird populations of these areas are described in Lulav (1978). As of 1948, permanent residents, numbering at least 14 species, included the collared dove *(Streptopelia decaocta)*, the rock partridge *(Alectoris graeca)*, the quail *(Coturnix coturnix)*, the pied kingfisher *(Ceryle rudis)*, the smyrna kingfisher *(Halcyon smyrnensis)*, and the fish owl *(Ketupa Ceylonensis)*.

The wild birds of Palestine also included the ostrich, which not only inhabited desert areas (where it was frequently depicted in rock art) but also could be found in the coastal plain, as demonstrated by the recent discovery of ostrich eggs (dated to the Chalcolithic period) near Tel Michal. The ostrich survived in the country until the present century. Ostrich-egg containers are known from an early date.

1. DOVES AND PIGEONS. Although the Bible does not explicitly mention the raising of doves or pigeons, nor is this practice yet attested in excavations, this activity must have been a fairly common feature of daily life in ancient Israel since doves and pigeons were regularly sacrificed. They were required offerings for the purification of the parturient (Lev 12:6), of persons with certain venereal diseases (Lev 15:14, 30), and of a Nazirite polluted by corpse contamination (Num 6:10). Birds could also be substituted for expensive livestock in both the burnt offering (Lev 5:7; 12:8; 14:21–22) and the purification offering (Lev 5:7; 14:21–22). For the poorest of the poor, even bird offerings might prove too expensive, and they were permitted to bring a little grain instead of a live offering (Lev 5:11). These rules presuppose that doves or pigeons are readily obtainable and relatively cheap. This sort of modest demand could probably have been met by raising doves in one's own house.

During the Hellenistic period, however, doves and pigeons began to be raised in large, industrial installations (see Tefer 1986). The earliest such installation, or *columbarium*, is found near Mareshah and dates from the end of the 3d century B.C.E. It is thought that the particular type of dovecote represented there, and the large-scale industry which it implies, were introduced from Ptolemaic Egypt, with which Mareshah had important commercial ties. Dove raising on a similar scale is well known from the classical world (cf. Saglio 1887).

The type of *columbarium* found at Mareshah, like many of the area's agricultural installations (stables, barns, and sheep pens), was located underground, apparently because the limestone which makes up the hills of this region was easily quarried and because such installations were more stable and longer-lasting than surface structures. The underground *columbaria* of the Mareshah type were of various shapes and sizes. A small installation could contain as few as 20 or 30 niches, a large one as many as 2000. Each niche was typically 15 to 25 cm in each direction. Entrance to the *columbarium* was usually from above. In larger *columbaria*, steps are carved into the walls of the chamber, in smaller installations ladders must have been used. (The Mishnaic term for such a ladder, *lul*, came to denote the *columbarium* as a whole; this same term refers to a chicken coop.) To date, approximately 1000 *columbaria* have been found in the country, 900 of which are located in the Shephelah, and most of these are of the Mareshah type. Such *columbaria* are found in most settlements in this region. Their combined capacity is estimated at around 170,000 pigeon holes. This particular kind of installation came to an end as a consequence of the Bar Kokhba Revolt, in preparation for which many of the *columbaria* were converted into hiding places for the Jewish rebels. After the revolt had been put down, the Jewish population in the Shephelah was severely reduced, and the center of Jewish activity shifted to Galilee. In the wake of these changes, the cultural tradition of the raising of doves on such a large scale came to an end.

No single reason can explain why people began raising doves as a major industry during the Hellenistic period. An impetus from Egypt, where doves had probably long been raised, may have stimulated their development. But the perpetuation of the industry must have been fueled by local demand. In Egypt, one of the principal demands was for dove dung, since domestic livestock were uncommon and their dung consequently unavailable. Since a single bird produces about 10 kg (22 lb) of dung per year, a large number of birds would be required to make a dung-based industry work. However, in Israel the demand for dove dung would have been rather less, since the dung of livestock was readily available.

Another reason for raising pigeons was of course for their meat (which comes, as it were, packaged in convenient meal-sized units produced with modest expense). As meat producers, doves and pigeons are a highly cost-effective investment. Under optimal conditions, a pair of doves produces 3 or 4 batches a year, each batch comprising 2 chicks; the young begin to reproduce already before the end of their first year. Hence, a large coop of, say, 1500 birds, comprising 500 reproducing pairs, might generate 3000–4000 marketable young per year. Expenses for food at least can be reduced by allowing the birds to leave the coop at certain times. The only other expenses involved in raising pigeons would be those connected with the construction of the coop itself and its maintenance. In the case of the underground installations of the Shephelah, construction costs would be restricted to labor, since the entire installation was hewn from rock.

A further incentive for the establishment of the pigeon industry was the standing need for sacrificial offerings. Initially at least, doves would have been marketed only to local pagan cults, since Mareshah's population was non-Jewish. Prior to its conquest by John Hyrcanus ca. 110 B.C.E. and the forced conversion of its inhabitants, the city had been an Edomite (Idumean) enclave. In the mid-3d century B.C.E. a Sidonian colony was also established in the area. In view especially of the latter population, Oren (1968) has argued that the Mareshah type dovecote originally provided doves for the cult of Aphrodite-Atargatis, to whom the dove was sacred. He suggests that the tradition of raising doves continued after Mareshah's inhabitants converted to Judaism, because the birds still had a certain usefulness in magical rites. This last idea seems a bit far-fetched. It seems more likely that the doves supplied the needs of the temple in Jerusalem.

John Hyrcanus' conquest and conversion of Mareshah had far-reaching results for the raising of doves. First, it opened up a market for locally produced doves among the Jews. Rabbinic sources inform us that doves and pigeons were supplied to the temple in Jerusalem from sources outside the city (Tefer 1986: 186), and Mareshah may have been among the first of these. More importantly, though, the conquest spread knowledge of the basic technology to Jewish settlements. During this period the number of *columbaria* expanded greatly. The production cycle was probably designed so as to provide birds for the thousands of pilgrims arriving in Jerusalem for the three major annual festivals.

Homing pigeons are not attested thus far in Mesopotamia, or in Egypt until the Byzantine or Islamic period, but apparently they were known in Greece as early as 444 B.C.E. (PW [2d ser.] 8: 2479–2500). The story goes that a certain Taurosthenes of Aegina informed his father of his victory in the Olympic games by tying a small token to the leg of a pigeon. For further literature, see Keel (1977).

2. CHICKENS. The wild ancestor of the domestic chicken *(Gallus domesticus)* is the red jungle fowl *(Gallus gallus)*, a native of India. The earliest attestation of the domestic chicken in Palestine comes from the LB Age at Tell Michal (Hellwing and Feig 1989). The chicken makes its first appearance in Israelite art in seals from the late 8th century B.C.E. (Hestrin and Dayagi-Mendels 1979: 20–21, nos. 5, 6).

According to Talmudic sources, chickens produced on average 10 eggs per month (as compared with 20 today) (Ben-David 1974: 130).

3. Falconry in the ANE. It is widely believed that falconry was practiced in the ANE (Reiter 1988). This view is based on the following evidence. First, in Mesopotamian omen texts, mention is made of a certain *šurdu*-bird, often identified with the hunting falcon because it is said to

attack other birds. Second, Middle Babylonian *kudurrus* depict what is thought to be a falcon on top of a pole. Third, a Neo-Assyrian relief from Khorsabad appears to depict a figure with a falcon perched on his right wrist. In his left, he holds arrows, though he carries no bow. A second, larger figure is shown shooting down a bird with bow and arrow. Fourth, late Hittite reliefs and seals depict deities or demons in association with falcons. On one relief type, for example, a deity standing on the back of a stag carries a falcon in one hand and in the other holds a shepherd's staff.

This evidence is far from compelling. The *šurdu*-bird in the omen texts, though perhaps a falcon, is not necessarily a hunting falcon. The "bird on the pole" in the *kudurrus*, the symbol of the divine pair Sugamuna and Sumaliya, is also not necessarily to be connected with hunting, any more than is the Horus-falcon in Egypt. In addition, a number of uncertainties plague the interpretation of the Khorsabad relief (presently found in the Louvre). The precise identification of the species of bird in question here (and of birds in Assyrian reliefs in general) is not straightforward. Further, it is possible that the bird is not perched on the man's wrist, but is held in his hand. As servant of the second figure (and his smaller size suggests that he is such), he would be responsible for retrieving the fallen bird and for extracting the arrow with which it was felled. This would explain the arrow in his hand and his lack of a bow. If this is indeed an illustration of falconry, then the use of bow and arrow is puzzling, for there is no need for either. Equally puzzling in their absence would be the horse and the dog, which have been associated with falconry from early in its history (e.g., in Han Dynasty China). Finally, in the Hittite reliefs and seals the association of the falcon, the hare, and the stag with a divinity probably indicates the latter's role as protector of wildlife, of predator and prey alike. There is no necessary connection with the human use of falcons for hunting.

On the basis of this material, then, there is little reason to suppose that falconry was known in the ANE. More convincing, however, is the literary evidence. In the story of Aqhat from Ugarit, Anat tells Yatp, "I will put you like an eagle *(nšr)* on my *ḫbš*, like a hawk *(dʾiy)* on/in my *tʿrt*" (3 Aqhat 17–18; cf. 28–29). *Ḫbš*, etymologically, is presumably something which one binds on or about oneself. Gibson (1978: 112) renders it "wristlet" (but cf. also EA 147:12, where *ḫabši* glosses ZAG, "right hand"). *Tʿrt* in Ugaritic (cf. 1 Aqhat 27) and *tʿr* in biblical Hebrew have the meaning "sheath." Gibson here translates "glove." It is conceivable, therefore, that falconry was known, at least in Syria, as early as the LB Age.

4. Birds in Navigation. The use of birds as aids in navigation is attested in a number of seafaring societies (Hornell 1946). According to Indian sources of the 5th century B.C.E., Hindu merchants going overseas would take "shore-sighting birds" with them in order to locate land when their ship became lost. Pliny (*HN* 6.24 [81]) mentions the same practice among sailors from Ceylon in his day. Polynesian sailors not only use trained birds for this purpose but also followed the paths of migratory birds.

The use of birds in navigation in the Near East has left its traces in the biblical story of the Flood (Gen 8:7–12) and its Mesopotamian analogue, Gilgamesh (*ANET*, 94–95). In the Gilgamesh version, Utnapishtim sends out in succession a dove *(summatu)*, a swallow *(sinuntu)*, and finally a raven *(aribu)*, the last of which finds land and does not return. In the biblical account, Noah first sends out a raven *(ʿorēb)*, which flies around until the water covering the earth has dried up. Then, he releases a pigeon, which having failed to find a place to light, comes back. A week later, he sends the pigeon again, and it returns with an olive twig in its beak. After another week has passed, he releases the pigeon, but it does not return. According to the text, the pigeons are launched in order to see how far the water had subsided. Each successive trial reveals some new information about the habitability of the land. The raven, on the other hand, is sent just once. Unlike the pigeon, it will not return to the ship. It is therefore useless as a measure of how high the water is. But it will indicate by its flight the direction in which land is located. The raven is thus the logical choice to be released first. Since the biblical version of the story is the more sensible, it is possible that the motif of releasing birds originates in the W and is a later addition in the epic of Gilgamesh. (Compare Freedman 1973, but note that the classical sources he cites have nothing to do with the calculated use of birds in seafaring, nor do his arguments about the Gilgamesh poet's ignorance of boatbuilding seem convincing.)

D. FISH

Israel's freshwater fish fall into two geographical groups: the first comprises species inhabiting rivers flowing into the Mediterranean, the second those found in the Sea of Galilee and the Jordan River. Apart from marine immigrants such as the eel, all but one of the fishes of the first group belong to the Mediterranean type. The composition of the second group, however, shows the same variety with respect to zoogeographical zones that characterizes Israel's land animals. Of the 19 fish species native to Galilee, for example, about half belong to the Ethiopian zone. The rest are divided among the Palearctic, the Oriental, and the Tethys (perimediterranean) zones (Ben-Tuvia 1978). On Israel's freshwater fish, see in general Goren (1983).

Of Israel's native fish species, the most economically important is the Galilee sprat or sardine *(Mirogrex terraesanctae terraesanctae)*, which today accounts for about 60% of the total annual catch from the lake. Spawning starts in late November, when water temperatures drop below 20°C (68°F), and continues until mid-March. Eggs are laid on rocky bottoms of the E shores. Minimum size is 10 cm (3.9 in) for males, 11.5 cm (4.5 in) for females (small by comparison with other species in the lake). Other economically important species include two types of Tilapia, the St. Peter's fish *(Sarotherodon galilaeus)* and the Jordan St. Peter's fish *(Sarotherodon aureus)*, both of which spawn from April until August. Average minimum size for both species is 20 to 25 cm (7.8–9.8 in).

Our knowledge of fishing in ancient Israel is limited not only by a paucity of written material, but also by a lack of relevant bone studies. While the study of large animal bones from archaeological excavations is now well advanced, fish bones have received less attention, in part because of a certain bias among bone specialists toward large animal studies, and in part because the retrieval of such small bones involves a greater expenditure of time

and money than many archaeologists can afford. What we do know about ancient fishing comes from Israel's neighboring cultures (cf. Nun 1964). But, despite this dearth of information, it is probably safe to say that the Israelite diet in most places was fish-poor. During the biblical period, the Israelites had but limited access to the sea, since the S coast was controlled by the Philistines and the N coast by the Phoenicians. Along the remaining stretch of coast, there are no harbors, so maritime activity on a large scale was out of the question. Fish from the coasts therefore had to be purchased from foreign agents (Job 40:30; Neh 13:16). The amounts involved can scarcely have been very large. For Israelites living inland, the primary sources of fish were the Jordan River and the Sea of Galilee. But the quantity of fish derived from these too was small and probably only satisfied local markets. For an approximate idea of how much fish the Galilee supplied, one may compare data from the Mandate period, during which time the annual catch varied between a mere 200 and 500 tons (Ben-Tuvia 1978: 427). The Israelites' lack of first-hand familiarity with fish is reflected in the fact that in the entire Bible not a single species name is preserved.

In view of our present lack of archaeological data, it is difficult to say which fish the Israelites ate. Leviticus 11 prohibits all fish lacking fins and scales, but we do not know how old this rule is or whether it was ever observed. This rule is significant, however, for what it tells us about how the Israelites classified fish. As noted above in the discussion of the dietary law, what made some fish unclean was their resemblance to snakes. Odd as it may seem to us, this comparison was fairly widespread. The Babylonians apparently avoided catfish (Akk *girītu*, Sum MURRA) on the same grounds (Salonen 1970: 185–87). The identification of the *girītu* as a form of snake survived the end of Mesopotamian culture. Its Arabic derivative, *jirrīt*, is compared in classical Arabic lexica to Persian *marmāhi*, "snake fish" (*Lane*, 404). Another example of the comparison of scale-less fish and snakes is Akk *kuppu*, "goby (?)," which is determined not only by MUS, the sign for snake, but also by KU_6, that for fish. Pre-eminent among snake-like fish is the eel, which was widely identified as a form of snake. In the Greco-Roman world, for example, it was believed that the *muraena* eel mated with a viper (PW [2d ser.] 31: 652–57). Indeed, the Latin term for eel, *anguila*, derives from that for snake, *anguis*. The equation of eels and snakes is also found in Muslim legal and zoological texts (Cook 1986: 242; al-Jāḥiẓ 1982: 2.56). For further examples of the identification of fin-less and scale-less fish as snakes, see Scheftelowitz (1911). One should also note that in much of contemporary Africa, there is as a result of this identification widespread aversion to eating any fish (Lagercrantz 1953).

E. Mollusks

The mollusks constitute a phylum of the kingdom *Animalia*, comprising perhaps as many as 100,000 living and 35,000 extinct species, most of which inhabit the oceans. Among the classes belonging to this phylum are *Gastropoda*, which comprises univalves (or one-shelled mollusks) such as snails, as well as shell-less species, such as slugs; *Pelecypoda* (also called *Bivalvia*), i.e., those with two-part shells, including clams, mussels, oysters, and scallops; and *Cephalopoda*, which comprises squids, cuttlefish, and octopuses.

1. Basic Anatomy and Physiology. As their name (< Lat *mollis*) indicates, mollusks are soft-bodied, boneless creatures. Their unsegmented bodies typically consist of a "foot," used for creeping and burrowing, and a head attached directly to the foot. But there are many variations on this pattern. In squids and octopuses, for example, the "foot" is divided into a number of sucker-bearing tentacles. In snails and cephalopods the head is well developed. Bivalves on the other hand have no head.

On the dorsal surface of the foot is the visceral hump, which contains the internal organs. Covering the hump is the mantle, a thin tissue whose inner surface is elaborated into either gills (in the case of marine species) or a lung, and whose outer surface excretes the shell typical of most mollusks.

All mollusks except the bivalves feed by means of a device known as the radula (Lat "scraper"), which consists of a chitinous ribbon set with recurved, chitinous teeth. Somewhat like the blade of a chain saw, the radula is pulled back and forth over a piece of cartilage (the odontophore) which protrudes into the mouth. This sawing action enables the mollusk to break up its food.

Molluscan diets exhibit considerable variety. Simple gastropods, such as the abalone, use the radula to collect and to break up algae and other tiny particles of food. Most snails, on the other hand, are scavengers and may eat fresh or decaying vegetable and animal matter. A few gastropods are predatory, among them marine snails such as the whelks *(Buccinidae)*, the rock shells *(Muricidae)*, and the volutes *(Volutidae)*. Among the animals on which these carnivores prey are other mollusks, whose shells offer surprisingly little protection. The predatory mollusk projects the odontophore and radula from the mouth and employs them like a drill to pierce its victim's shell. Having drilled a hole in the shell, the predatory snail then extends its proboscis and inserts it into the hole to extract its food. Like the gastropods, the cephalopods use the radula to feed. In addition, they have chitinous jaws (resembling a beak) with which they tear their food, and claw-bearing tentacles with which to grab it. Formidable predators, large cephalopods such as the giant squid can tear a good-sized animal apart in minutes. The peaceable bivalves lack a head and therefore have neither jaws nor radula. Most are therefore filter feeders. Particles of food are trapped in the gills and carried along ciliated grooves into the mouth.

The reproductive anatomy and life cycle of mollusks vary considerably. Most marine snails, bivalves, and cephalopods are unisexual (i.e., having distinct male and female individuals). Land snails and slugs, on the other hand, are bisexual (hermaphroditic). Other mollusks, such as the slipper limpet *(Crepidula fornicata)* and perhaps the murex species *Trunculariopsis trunculus* (see below), change sex—a phenomenon also found among fish (Ross and Losey 1983; Shapiro 1987). Most mollusks are oviparous or ovoviviparous. Lifespan is usually one year for snails, one to four years for cephalopods. Land snails in moist environments usually breed in the spring; those preferring a dry climate mate in autumn. Gestation in both cases lasts a few weeks.

Nearly 70 snail species are found in Israel, in all regions.

Particularly noteworthy are desert species, such as the desert snail *(Eremina desertorum)* and the white desert snail *(Sphincterochyla boissierii)*, which between rainstorms survive in a dormant state, sometimes for periods of a year or more. Commonly seen in the Negeb, they may on occasion cover dwarf bushes in considerable numbers.

2. Mollusks in Archaeology. Like the bones of vertebrates, mollusk shells found in excavations are the object of increasingly sophisticated scientific study. One relatively recent example of such work is the use of mollusk shells as a sort of biological calendar by which seasonal activity at a site can be identified. Shell building, it turns out, takes place only at discrete, daily intervals (Pannella and MacClintock 1968; House and Farrow 1968). This regularity is most clearly seen in the bivalves. When examined under a microscope, light-colored increments of daily growth are punctuated by thin bands of dark color indicating a hiatus in shell deposition. In addition to this daily rhythm, there is a 14-day periodicity linked to the tides. The increments of daily growth laid down during neap tides are thinner than those of the spring tides. This tidal periodicity is in turn modulated by a seasonal pattern. During the cold winter months, shell deposition is at a minimum. Maximum growth takes place just before and after the summer months. The periods of minimal and maximal growth are respectively marked by dark and light macro-bands.

If we compare the pattern of these alternating bands of growth and recession in shells obtained in archaeological excavation with that of live shells from the environment in which the excavated shells originated, it is possible to determine among other things at what season the mollusk was culled. Such information can be of great value to the archaeologist in determining whether a site was only seasonally occupied or not (Coutts 1970).

It is also possible to determine the season in which a marine mollusk was culled by examining the ratio of O^{16} and O^{18} in the calcium carbonate from the growing edge of the shell (Killingley 1981; Deith 1983). This ratio depends on the temperature of the water in which the mollusk was living and can therefore be correlated with seasonal changes.

Land snails, for their part, provide the archaeologist with valuable information on paleoclimates (J. Evans 1972). In a diachronic study, a decline in the abundance of previously common species, or the increase in that of uncommon species, may indicate long-term changes in temperature or rainfall. The effect of human activity is also detectable from changes in the mollusk species of an area. The clearing of woodland, for example, will manifest itself in a decline of woodland species and an increase in grassland and xerophilous species.

3. Murex (Purple Dye). The most culturally significant of the mollusks were the murex snail, of which there are three important varieties, *Trunculariopsis trunculus*, *Bolinus brandaris*, and *Thais haemastoma*. The dyes from these mollusks were highly prized in both the ancient Mediterranean world and the Near East. On Crete, the murex snail was being exploited at least as early as the Middle Minoan III (Hutchinson 1962: 239). Their production was one of the cultural trademarks of Levantine, and especially Phoenician culture (see Ziderman 1990; Rendsburg 1991). The association of Phoenicia in particular with the dye industry is reflected even in the toponomy of the area. Modern Haifa, for example, which is situated on the S edge of Phoenicia's purple dye producing region, was known during the Hellenistic period as *Porphyrion*, literally "Purple Town" (*EncMiqr* 1: 529–30; on the etymology of *porphyry*/ purple, cf. Astour 1965). According to Pliny, it was the search for murex beds which led the Phoenicians to set up colonies all around the Mediterranean.

Large heaps of discarded shells produced by the dye industry are found in association with Phoenician settlements along the Lebanese, Italian, and N African coasts (cf. Jensen 1963: 106–7). Those at Tyre and Sidon are particularly noteworthy (Jidejian 1969: 150 n. 29; 1971: 11–12). Smaller deposits have been excavated at Sarepta (Pritchard 1978: 126–27) and Ugarit (Schaeffer 1951). In the accumulation of shells from Shiqmona, near modern Haifa, shells from all three dye-producing snail species but no animal bones or other mollusk shells were found—evidence that the shells were indeed refuse from dye production (Karmon and Spanier 1988).

Otherwise, physical remnants of the purple dye industry are surprisingly few, considering its importance. Sherds of LB pottery stained by traces of the dye have been found at Minet el-Beida, the harbor quarter of Ugarit (Schaeffer 1951), and at Sarepta (McGovern and Michel 1984; 1985). Iron age sherds with purple stains have been found at Tell Keisan (Briend et al. 1980: 226–27) and Tell Shiqmona (Karmon and Spanier 1988). Excavations at APOLLONIA, on the shore of the S Sharon Plain, revealed large numbers of murex shells from Persian and Hellenistic period contexts. At Tell Mor, excavations uncovered a dyeing installation of the Hellenistic period consisting of several plastered pools connected by pipes, which were found near a cistern containing thousands of shells (*EAEHL* 3: 889–90).

Despite the significance of these dyes, archaeologists and scientists are still ignorant about many aspects of their production, in part because of the paucity of archaeological remains associated with the dye industry, in part because of the complicated chemistry of the dyes. Production began with collection of the snails. *Truncullariopsis trunculus* was gathered by hand in shallow water along the coasts of Lebanon and N Israel. The other two species were collected from deeper water by means of nets and traps baited with cockles (the use of which is attested not only by Pliny but also by their presence in the accumulations of murex shells at Tyre and Sidon; Jidejian 1969: 143, 150 n. 30). The harvested snails were then apparently kept in captivity until a sufficient quantity had accumulated. The evidence for this claim is that holes drilled in some of the shells from Akko and Caesarea, once thought to be the work of the dye makers, in fact turn out to be the result of conspecific cannibalism (Spanier and Karmon 1980). The extent of such cannibalism would increase in captivity, when the snails only had each other to feed on. As noted already by Pliny (*HN* 9.128), the murex feeds on other mollusks by using its radula to drill through the shell.

A large number of snails was necessary to produce dye in any quantity. According to Pliny (*HN* 9.135), 125 kg (275 lb) of snail glands were needed to dye 20 kg (44 lb) of wool. (The exact amount of wool is actually missing in the mss, but 50 Roman pounds is suggested on textual grounds [Bailey 1929: 156]. This figure is also about what

one would extrapolate from the following data on the amount of wool one snail gland is capable of dyeing.) A single snail yields 0.1–0.12 mg of pure dye, the chemical name for which is 6,6′-dibromoindigotin (hereafter abbreviated as DBI) (Friedländer 1909; Bruin 1967). In other words, as many as 10,000 snails might be needed to produce one gram of dye. While generally indicative of the large number of shells required, this figure is perhaps somewhat misleading. Friedländer and Bruin wanted to produce *pure* dye for chemical analysis, whereas the ancient dye makers may have been satisfied with a product which was less than entirely pure. Cruder dye could be extracted in much greater quantity. Fouquet and Beilig (1971) obtained 1.2 mg of crude precursor from a single *Trunculariopsis trunculus* and 0.6 mg from *Bolinus brandaris*. Furthermore, it must be kept in mind that very little dye is actually needed to color cloth. According to Elsner and Spanier (1985) and Elsner (1988; *apud* Ziderman 1987), a single dye-producing gland will dye 1 gram of wool to a standard shade of 1:1–2:1.

According to Pliny (*HN* 9.125–42), once a sufficient number of snails had been gathered, the larger shells were cracked open and the hypobranchial gland, the source of the dye, was removed. Smaller shells were simply crushed. This mass of glands and other matter was steeped in salt for three days, water was then added to this mass, and the whole was inspissated at a moderate temperature in a leaden *(plumbum)* container for 9 days. (*Plumbum* sometimes also refers to tin, and experiments using tin have been conducted [McGovern and Michel 1987]. Cf. however Bailey 1929: 155.) This liquid was strained to remove unwanted organic waste from the snails and was then suitable for dyeing.

The liquid extracted from the gland is initially white. When oxidized, however, it soon turns yellow, which is apparently also the color of the fluid (the so-called leuco-base) into which the wool was dipped. When exposed to sunlight and air, purple color would develop *in the wool*. This is the usual process for indigoid dyes. The use of a leuco-base is actually detectable on the sherds from Tell Keisan and Tell Shiqmona (see Karmon and Spanier 1988). These sherds come from large storage vessels in which the leuco-base was kept. The reducing dye in the belly of the vessel left no color on the walls. But the surface of the liquid, which was oxidized by contact with the air, left a band of purple color around the rim of the vessel—a deposition of organic fractions from the snail remains which had absorbed the oxidized dye. Tyrian purple was therefore what is now known as a vat-dye. A vat-dye is applied in a reduced, water-soluble form, then oxidized in the fiber back to its insoluble form. Color thus introduced into cloth will not wash out or fade in water.

It is generally said that the dye derived from *B. brandaris* is red-purple, while that from *T. trunculus* is blue-purple. The former is therefore equated by some with the Hebrew color term *ʾargaman* and the latter with *tĕkēlet* (cf. Ziderman 1987). But the determination of the color of the dye from these shells depends on a number of variables, and it is thus perhaps an oversimplification to say that a given color is specifically associated with a given shell (cf. the ongoing debate between Ziderman [1987; 1988] and McGovern and Michel [1988]).

The first of the factors influencing hue is the sex of the snail. In *T. trunculus*, for example, the male usually yields a blue dye (indigotin), the female blue-red (DBI) (Elsner and Spanier 1985). In a large sample, where males and females had been collected together, one might therefore expect a bluer dye than one where females alone were used, other factors being equal. Furthermore, the sex bias, and therefore the color of the dye, may thus have varied seasonally, for it turns out that the prevalence of the sexes varies according to season (Elsner 1988 *apud* Ziderman 1988: 85). Males, it seems, predominate in early spring, females in summer. One explanation for this variability is that the snail changes its sex—a well-documented phenomenon in some mollusks (e.g., *Crepidula fornicata*) and in fish (see above under Fish).

Second, DBI itself may convert to indigotin when the leuco-base is exposed to light (Driessen 1944). This means that in a given sample of DBI, some indigotin (blue) is likely to be present. The extent to which such conversion takes place would depend among other things on how much light is present during processing. Further, while the primary chromogen in both species of murex is DBI, their respective dyes are said to respond with differing sensitivities to light. The dye from *B. brandaris* develops in strong sunlight, whereas that from *T. trunculus* may form even in the dark (Jensen 1963: 109). Third, color can be altered by changing the pH of the dyeing bath (Elsner 1988: 87; Jensen 1963: 109).

Finally, according to Pliny (*HN* 9.135) at least, the best color (resembling congealed blood) was in any event to be obtained by first dipping the material in dye from the snail he called the purple or *pelagia* (i.e., *B. brandaris* or *T. trunculus*), then in that of *buccinum* (i.e., *Thais haemastoma*), which contained a greater amount of blue. The fact that the heaps of shells around Sidon had been segregated according to species is perhaps evidence of such discrete processes (cf. Born 1937: 111).

In antiquity, two basic varieties of purple were recognized, which respectively contained more red or more blue. The former, known in Hebrew as *ʾargaman* (LXX *porphyra*), is mentioned in the Bible but is actually described only in rabbinic sources (see Dalman 1939: 78–84). The same term is used of reddish purple wool (*argamannu* = SIG.ZA.GÍN.SA$_5$) in Middle and Neo-Assyrian sources (on this and the following terms, cf. Landsberger 1967). The blue variety of purple was known in Hebrew as *tĕkēlet* (Gk *hyakinthos;* Akk *takiltu* = SIG.ZA.GÍN.MI [Middle and Neo-Assyrian], applies only to wool). In Ugaritic, the terms for blue-purple and red-purple are *ʾiqniʾ* and *phm* respectively (see discussion in Landsberger 1967: 158, which gives earlier literature; see also Hoffner 1967). The latter term is thought to mean "glowing coal," hence its association with red. The former has an interesting and very ancient genealogy. First attested in the Sumerian word GÍN, as in ZA.GÍN, "lapis lazuli" (literally "precious GÍN-stone"), it appears to be a *Kulturwort*. Other manifestations of this word are Akk *uqnu*, Hurr (Nuzi) *kinaḫḫu*, Hit *ku(wa)nnas*, Syr *qunᶜa*, and Gk *kyanos*, from which we derive "cyan." The choice of lapis lazuli as a cover term to describe purple-dyed wool (SIG.ZA.GÍN) is not a little odd, since its constituent colors are in fact blue and green, rather than blue and red. However, the Semitic languages

and Sumerian in common with Greek had no generic terms for purple or blue, and lapis was evidently the closest approximation they could come up with.

In view of the cost of purple dye, it is not surprising that it characterized the dress of the wealthy. In ancient Israel, as in the classical world (cf. Wilson 1924), purple in both its varieties was associated with aristocracy and especially with royalty (e.g., *ʾargaman:* Judg 8:36; *tĕkēlet:* Ezek 23:6). Both varieties were used in the garments of the high priest, who is decked out in royal splendor (Exod 28:6, 15, 31; cf. 1 Macc 10:20), and in the inner drapery *(miškan)* of the tabernacle, which is the residence of YHWH, the divine king (Exod 26:1; cf. also *Ant* 7.7; *JW* 7.6). In pagan cults, the divine image was similarly outfitted (Jer 10:9). A single cord of *tĕkēlet* was attached to the tassels of the common person's dress, in token of his status as a member of YHWH's holy people (Num 15:37–41; cf. Milgrom 1983).

F. Arthropods and Insects

The animals of this phylum, which includes crustaceans, insects, and spiders, are characterized by a chitinous skeleton composed of jointed segments. According to the dietary law of Leviticus 11, all insects except locusts were prohibited as food. Here, as in the case of the pig, it is often said that the prohibition arose from considerations of hygiene. Of course, insects often do carry disease, but (as we observed in the case of the pig) so do animals that are not prohibited. Most insect-borne parasites, viruses, and bacteria would in any event be destroyed in cooking. Alternatively, it is suggested that insects are "bad-to-think," that insectivory evokes a certain natural squeamishness. This reaction, however, would seem to be a peculiarity of modern Western culture, since the use of insects as human food is widespread (cf. Bodenheimer 1951; Bates 1959–60; Harris 1985: 154–74). Certain insects, such as the locust are in fact excellent sources of protein, when they can be had. In the larval stage, insects in general provide a high percentage of protein to body weight (Redford and Dorea 1984).

1. LOCUSTS. The locust is a migratory phase of the grasshopper *(Schistocerca gregaria),* which is regularly found throughout the Near East as a solitary insect incapable of flight. In remote areas, away from population centers, developed land, and forests, the number of individuals may grow without restraint. When conditions become sufficiently crowded, the grasshopper undergoes certain morphological and behavioral changes, the result of which is the formation of migratory swarms capable of devastating regions on an international scale.

An eyewitness of the plague of locusts which descended on Palestine in the spring of 1915 describes its progress as follows (L. Bauer 1926). Swarms of locusts flew overhead for five days, darkening the sky and leaving droppings everywhere. During this time, males and females mated. The females each then deposited clumps of 50–80 eggs in uncultivated ground, at a depth of 5–8 cm (2.0–3.1 in). After 30 to 40 days, the young locusts, each about 1 cm in length, began to hatch. Within another 5 to 6 weeks, they had grown to a length of 5 to 7 cm, their appetite increasing proportionately. Four distinct stages were recognizable. The first generation was pale yellow in color, their offspring at first black. Having shed this first skin, the young emerge green-yellow, with black and white dots and stripes. They change skin again, becoming red with black marbling in the wingtips. In this final stage, they are winged.

Once an infestation has begun, there is little that can be done to stop it; even modern pesticides are only partially effective. Given the mobility of these insects, virtually no community in the Near East is immune from their attack. Because locusts originate in regions where ground cover is sparse (such as the desert), certain areas are more vulnerable than others. The presence of natural forest or agricultural land appears to impede the population explosion which sets off the swarming process. In the case of forest, predators keep the population under control. In the case of agricultural land, it seems that harrowing and plowing destroy the eggs.

2. BEES. Although bees had been raised in Egypt from as early as the Old Kingdom (Kuény 1950), there is no evidence for this practice in ancient Palestine until the Hellenistic period (Neufeld 1978, which discusses earlier literature). Despite this lack of evidence, they may well have been raised. The one thing we know for sure is that the honey of wild bees was collected (cf. 1 Sam 14:25–28). The richest source of wild honey was the forest, but it could also be gathered from hives in the cliffs (Deut 32:13; Ps 81:17). The yield from honey hunting is surprisingly large. A single hive may produce as much as 50 kg (110 lb) of honey. Honey eaten in the comb may offer certain side benefits. It is not uncommon for the larvae to be eaten with the comb (cf. R. Bailey 1989: 685), and larvae are an excellent source of protein.

Since bees were raised in Egypt, there was little need there to raid wild hives. The typical Egyptian beekeeping installation consisted of cylindrical ceramic tubes a meter or so in length laid horizontally one upon the other. These tubes were modeled after the hollow tree trunks or limbs in which one might encounter bees in the wild. When the honeycombs had been filled, honey could easily have been extracted from the end of the tube with a hook. This entire technology is precisely paralleled among modern Palestinian peasants (see discussion in Neufeld 1978).

In Mesopotamia, the first evidence for beekeeping comes from the stele of Šamaš-reš-usur (early 8th century B.C.E.), who boasts that he had "brought down from the mountain of Habha people, the flies which collect honey, which none of my predecessors had ever known or brought down . . . and located them in the gardens of the town GN. (There) they might now collect honey and wax. I (even) knew how to separate honey (from) wax by boiling (the comb) and (my) gardeners know it too" (Weissbach 1903: 11 col. iv.13–16; v.1–6). In view of the absence of any mention of honey hunting or beekeeping in texts prior to this time, Šamaš-reš-usur's claim is credible.

3. Aphids and Scale Insects. Aphids (or plant lice) and scale insects (or mealybugs) are among the most successful herbivores. Their reproductive capacity, genetic adaptability, and feeding habits also make them among the most destructive agricultural pests (Brown 1975). The life cycle of aphids and scale insects, like that of the locust, depends

substantially on weather and food supply. When conditions become sufficiently crowded, they, like the locust, undergo certain morphological and behavioral changes resulting in the formation of migratory swarms. The numbers involved are staggering. A single fundatrix could produce as many as 10^{16} individuals per summer (Brown 1975: 267). While natural controls, such as predation by other insects (ladybugs, wasps, etc.) and by birds, keep aphid and scale populations in check, they are nevertheless capable of destroying vegetation on a large scale. Unlike locusts, aphids and scales do not actually consume the leafy matter of a plant, but instead suck out its juices through tube-like beaks. Deprived of nutrients, the plant victim is stunted, and becomes more susceptible to attack by viruses and fungi, which may be transmitted by the aphid or scale itself.

Despite their destructive potential, a few aphids and scale insects have proved useful to humans, chiefly in the production of varnishes, waxes, and dyes (Brown 1975). Some of these are still without synthetic substitutes. The Indian scale insect *Laccifer lacca* Kerr, for example, secretes the resinous material from which shellac is made. As regards the Near East, there have been two principal uses of scale insects and aphids. The first of these is the famous cochineal dye (known in biblical Hebrew as *tôlāʿat šani*) produced by the Mediterranean scale, or Kermes insect *(Kermes ilicis)*, which infests the Kermes oak *(Quercus coccifera)*. Cochineal was extracted from the waxy protective shell (scale) secreted by the insect (for details, see Forbes 1956: 102–6). As in the case of purple dye, it seems to have been the inhabitants of Phoenicia and N Israel who were most closely associated with the production of the cochineal. According to biblical genealogies (Gen 46:13; Num 26:23), there was a Galilean clan whose eponymous ancestor was Tola, i.e., "Kermes," first of the sons of Issachar. Tola's brother was Puvah, whose name means "madder" (Ar *fuwwa*), the plant from which another red dye was manufactured. The gentilic form of Puvah is Puni (Num 26:23), which is no doubt also what the term "Phoenician" means (Astour 1965).

The second and most famous benefit conferred by scale insects, though it was not recognized as such, was MANNA. Bodenheimer (1951) suggested that the biblical manna was the product of two species of scale insects, *Trabutina mannipara* and *Naiacoccus serpentinus*, which live on the tamarisk tree in the Sinai peninsula. Like other insects which feed on plant sap, these scale insects excrete large quantities of excess sugars, or honeydew, which accumulate in granular masses. The connection between manna and insect secretions is strongly suggested by the fact that the Arabic cognate *mann* denotes both the aphid and the "honeydew" which it excretes. *Man as-simmā*, "honeydew *(manna)* from heaven," is found in Arabic pharmacopoeias.

G. Earthworms

Although of no direct economic or cultural significance in Near Eastern history, earthworms play a vital role in the formation of surface soil and thus indirectly influence agricultural productivity. Their activity in the soil also has consequences for archaeology. On both points see already Darwin (1881) and more recently Atkinson (1957).

Most worms are active only in the top 15–18 cm of soil, though some species may burrow as deep as 2 m, especially in cold or dry weather. Worms live in burrows formed in part by the expansion of the worm's body in interstices in the soil, and in part by the ingestion of soil. In all species, soil ingested underground is itself the primary constituent of the diet, though some species, such as *Allolobophora nocturna* and *Allolobophora longa*, also feed on vegetable matter on the surface. These two species play the greatest role in the formation of new surface soil, which they create by depositing on the surface remains of the earth they digested underground. The net effect of such deposits, multiplied millions of times (earthworm densities per acre may range from 500,000 to several million, depending on the habitat), is a layer of extremely fine soil. It is estimated that this soil is laid down at the rate of 0.5–6.4 mm (i.e., up to 0.25 in) per year. This deposition takes place in autumn and spring, when the worms are active. Worms are dormant during summer and part of the winter.

As a result of earthworm activity, material left on the surface of the ground gradually disappears, as it is worked further and further into the soil. This sinking is caused by the ongoing deposition of new surface soil, and by the collapse of worm burrows further underground. The absolute level of the surface remains more or less constant because these two processes cancel each other out. But small objects will sink relative to the surface. The rate of this sinking is about 5 cm (2 in) in 10 years and may continue until the bottom of the soil layer is reached in 40 years' time. The effect of this process may be seen in the field. Where earthworms are active and the land has long been undisturbed by agriculture, one finds a stone-free zone of fine surface soil. Plowing destroys this stone-free zone by bringing up rocks from deeper down. This creates the stony soil which characterizes agricultural land. The sinking process has consequences for stratigraphy, since small finds such as sherds and coins may be displaced downward from the stratum in which they were originally deposited.

APPENDIX 1: ANIMAL NAMES IN BIBLICAL HEBREW

The following is a comprehensive list of biblical animal names and their Semitic cognates. The list shows that cognate names signify the same animal in the vast majority of domestic and common wild mammal species. In the case of birds and fish, on the other hand, far fewer species are identified by shared generic names. The same is true of reptiles and insects. The date of the earliest attestation in Akkadian is given in parenthesis; but if no such parenthetical period is indicated, that means that the name is already attested in Old Babylonian or earlier (cf. lamb and ewe). Parentheses in the English column indicate that the animal was certainly known, though the term appearing in the Hebrew column is not attested in biblical Hebrew (e.g., elephant; "MH" means Mishnaic Hebrew).

The identification of the animals represented by these names is not always certain. As the list demonstrates, this is especially true of birds, fish, reptiles, and insects. Domestic and common wild mammals are more readily identified thanks to their attestation in literary sources.

UNGULATES

	Akkadian	Hebrew	Ugaritic	Aram/Syr	ESA/Ethiopic	Arabic
DOMESTIC ANIMALS GENERAL TERM		*bĕhēmâ*[1]				*bahīmatun*
EQUIDS						
ass (masc.)	*imērum*[2]	*ḥămôr*	*ḥmr*	*ḥămārā*ʾ	*ḥmr*	*ḥimārun*
ass (young male)		*ʿayir*[3]	*ʿr*		*ʿr*	*ʿayrun* (wild ass)
ass (fem.)	*atānum*	*ʾātôn*	*ʾtnt*	*ʾatānā*ʾ		*ʾatānun*
mule?		*pered*[4] (f. *pirdâ*)				
horse	*sisûm*[5]	*sûs*	*ssw*	*sûsyā*ʾ		
horse		*rekeš*[6]				
onager?		*ʿarôd*[7]				
onager?	*parûm* (also "mule")	*pereʾ*				*paraʾun*
CATTLE						
wild ox	*rīmum*	*rēʾēm*	*rʾum*	*rēmā*ʾ	*reʾim*	*riʾmun* (white antelope)
cattle (domestic)		*bāqār* (coll.)		*baqrā*ʾ		*baqarun*
cattle	*alpum*	*ʾeleph*[8]	*ʾlp*			
head of cattle[9]	*šūrum*	*šôr*	*tr*	*taurā*ʾ	*sor*	*ṯaurun*
small bovine or caprovine	*parru* (lamb; NB)	*par* (young steer, fem. *parâ*)	*pr*	*partâ* (ewe)		*furārun* (young caprovine or bovine)
calf	*agalum*	*ʿegel*	*ʿgl*	*ʿiglā*ʾ	*ʾēgʷlt*[10]	*ʿijlun*
CAPROVINES						
goat	*enzu*[11] (fem. occ. masc.)	*ʿēz(z)*(fem.)	*ʿz*	*ʿenzā*ʾ		*ʿanzun*
he-goat		*śāʿîr*[12]				
he-goat		*tayiš*		*tĕšā*ʾ		*taysun*
he-goat	*atūdu*[13] (wild boar)	*ʿāttûd* (att. only in pl.)				*ʿatûdun* (yearling goat, masc. fem.)
he-goat		*ṣāpîr*		*ṣĕpîrā*ʾ		
wild goat?		*ʿaqqô*[14]				
young he-goat	*gadû* (late < Aram)	*gĕdî*	*gdy*	*gadyā*ʾ	(*Gadĕy*, Capricorn)	*jadyun*
ram		*ʾayil*[15]		*ʾaylā*ʾ		
ewe	*laḫrum*	*rāḥēl*		*raḥlā*ʾ		*raḥil, riḥl*
lamb	*kabsu* (NB, NA)	*kebeś*[16] (fem. *kibśa*)		*kebšā*ʾ		*kabšatun* (ram)

	Akkadian	Hebrew	Ugaritic	Aram/Syr	ESA/Ethiopic	Arabic
lamb		*ṭālê*		*ṭalyā'* (kid)	*ṭali*	*ṭalan* (young ruminant; young animal)
he-lamb		*kar*				
sheep/ goats	*ṣēnum* (coll., fem.)	*ṣô'n* (usu. coll., fem.)	*ṣ̌n*	*'anā'*		*ḍa'nun* (coll., sheep only)
sheep	*šû* (MA; OB *šu'ātum*)	*śê* (one head)	*š*			*šā'un*
MISCELLANEOUS						
camel	*gammalu* (NA; WSem. loan)	*gāmāl*[17]		*gamlā'*	*gamal*	*jamalun*
(elephant)	*pīrum*[18]	(MH *pîl*)		*pîlā'*	(Cf.? *falfal*)	*filun*
gazelle	*ṣabītum*	*ṣĕbî*	*ẓby*	*ṭabyā'*		*ẓabyun*
ibex		*yā'ēl*	*y'l*	*ya'lā'*	*wē'ĕla*	*wa'lun*[19]
stag (fallow deer)	*ayyalum*	*'ayyāl*[20]	*'yl* (fem. *'ylt*)	*'ayyālā'*	*hayyal* (ibex)	*'ayyalun* (mtn. goat = *wa'lun*)
stag		*'oper*				
roebuck		*yaḥmûr*				*yahmūr*[21]
addax?		*dîšōn*[22]				
swine	*ḫuzīrum* (= *saḫû*)	*ḥăzîr*	*ḫnzr*	*ḥăzîrā'*	*ḥanzîr*	*ḫinzîrun*

CARNIVORES

	Akkadian	Hebrew	Ugaritic	Aram/Syr	ESA/Ethiopic	Arabic
bear	*dabû* (= *asum*)	*dob*		*dubbā'*	*dĕbb*	*dubbun*
dog	*kalbum*	*keleb*	*klb*	*kalbā'*	*kalb*	*kalbun*
fox	*šēlebum*	(*ša'albîm*, GN) *šu'al*		*ta'ālā'*		*ṯa'labun* *ṯu'ālatun*
wolf	*zībum* (jackal; NB vulture)	*ze'eb*		*dêbā'*	*ze'b*	*di'bun*
hyena		*'oaḥ*				
jackal		*'î*				
jackal/ wolf		*tan*				
panther	*nimrum*	*nāmēr*		*nemrā'*	*namr*	*namirun*
lion	*armu*[23]	*'aryeh*		*'aryā'*	*'arwē* (any wild animal; def. by foll. gen.)	*'uruwīyatun* (mountain goat)
lion	*nēšu*	*layiš*		*lêtā'*		*layṯ*

	Akkadian	Hebrew	Ugaritic	Aram/Syr	ESA/Ethiopic	Arabic
lion[24]	*lābum*	*lābî'* (m.)	*lbỉ*			*labwatun*
lion		*šaḥal*[25]				
young lion		*kĕpîr*				

PRIMATES

	Akkadian	Hebrew	Ugaritic	Aram/Syr	ESA/Ethiopic	Arabic
monkey[26]	*uqūpu*	*qôp*		*qôpā'*		

RODENTS AND OTHER SMALL MAMMALS

	Akkadian	Hebrew	Ugaritic	Aram/Syr	ESA/Ethiopic	Arabic
rodent		*ḥăparpărâ*[27]				
rodent		*ḥoled*[28]				*huldun* (mole; blind rat)
mouse	*akbarum*[29]	*ʿakbār*		*ʿakbĕrā'*		
hare	*arnabu*[30]	*'arnébet*		*'amēbā'*		*'arnabun*
hyrax		*šāpān*[31]				
bat		*ʿāṭalēp*[32]				
porcupine?		*qippod*[33]		*quppoḏā'*	*qʷĕnfĕz*	*qunfuḏ*

BIRDS

	Akkadian	Hebrew	Ugaritic	Aram/Syr	ESA/Ethiopic	Arabic
GENERIC TERMS						
All Birds (and Insects)		*ʿôp* (coll.)[34]		*ʿâpā'*	*ʿof*	*ʿawfun* (cock)[35]
Young Birds (any sort)		*gôzāl*		*guzalā'*		*jawzalun* (young pigeon)
DOMESTIC AND COMMENSAL[36] BIRDS						
General Term	*ṣibāru* (sparrow)	*ṣippôr*[37]		*ṣippar*		*ʿuṣfūr*
(Chicken)[38]	*tarlugallum*			*tarnā/ūglā'*		
dove/pigeon		*yonâ*	*ynt*	*yonā'/yawnā'*	*wanos* (?)	
turtle dove		*tor*[39]				
goose?		*barbur*[40]				
partridge		*qore'*[41]				
quail		*śĕlāw*		*salway*		*salwā*
swallow		*dĕrôr*				
swift		*sîs*				
BIRDS OF PREY, CARRION BIRDS						
General Term		*ʿayiṭ*[42]	*ʿṭ*			
hawk?		*'ayyâ*[43]				Cf. *yu'yu'un* (a kind of hawk)

	Akkadian	Hebrew	Ugaritic	Aram/Syr	ESA/Ethiopic	Arabic
griffon vulture, eagle	*našru* (eagle; NB)	*nešer*[44]	*nšr*	*nešrā'*	*nesr* (eagle)	*nasrun* (eagle)
raven/crow	*ā/ēribum*	*'orēb*[45]		*'urbā'*		*ġurābun*
ostrich?		*yā'ēn*[46] *bat-ya'ănâ*		*yi'en*		
bearded vulture?		*peres*[47]				
bearded vulture? osprey?		*'oznîyâ*[48]				
hawk?		*dā'â*[49]	*dǵy*			
owl?		*taḥmās*[50]				
gull? owl?		*šaḥap*[51]				
hawk?		*nēṣ*[52]	*nṣ*	*neṣā'*		
owl?		*kôs*[53]				
fisher owl?		*šālāk*[54]				
owl	*enšub/pu*	*yanšûp*[55]				
owl		*tinšemet*[56]				
owl?		*qā'at*[57]				
osprey?		*rāḥām*[58]				*raḥamun*
stork/heron?		*ḥăsîdâ*[59]				
cormorant?	*anpatu*	*'anapâ*[60]		*'anpā'*		
hoopoe		*dûkîpat*[61]				
bustard?		*qippod*[62]				
bird		*qippoz*[63]				
bat		*'ăṭalēp*[32]				
bustard?		*ḥoreb*[64]				

ARTHROPODS AND WORMS

	Akkadian	Hebrew	Ugaritic	Aram/Syr	ESA/Ethiopic	Arabic
ant	*namālum*[65]	*nĕmālâ*		*nĕmālā'*		*namlun* (coll.)
moth/ mothworm	*sāsum*	*sās*[66]		*sāsā'*		*sūs(at)un*
bee		*dĕbôrâ*		*dabbartā'*		*dibrun* (swarm of bees or hornets)
						dabburun (hornet)
fly	*zubbum*	*zĕbûb*	*ḏbb*	*dîbābā'*	*zĕnb*	*ḏubābun*
flea?	*perš/sa'um*	*par'ōš*	*prġt*	*purṭ/ṭa'nā'*		*burġūṭ*
locust	*erbūm*	*'arbêh*[67]	*ǵrby*			
locust		*ḥargol*		*hargôlâ*		*harjalun*

	Akkadian	Hebrew	Ugaritic	Aram/Syr	ESA/Ethiopic	Arabic
locust		*ḥāgāb*				
locust		*gāzām* (coll.)				
locust		*gôbay* (coll.)				
locust		*ḥāsîl* (coll.)				
locust	*(ṣāṣirum)*[68]	*ṣelāṣal*[69]		*(ṣarṣurā)*		*ṣurṣurun* (cricket, cockroach)
Kermes insect	*tultum*	*tôlēʿâ/tôlāʿ*		*taulʿâ*		
maggot		*rimmâ*[70]				
gnat? or lice?		**kēn* (only pl. *kinnîm*)				
spider		*ʿākkabîš*[71]		*ʿakkabîtā*		*ʿankabūtun*
scorpion	*aqrabu* (NB)	*ʿaqrab*		*ʿeqarbā*	*ʿaqrab*	*ʿaqrabun*

REPTILES

	Akkadian	Hebrew	Ugaritic	Aram/Syr	ESA/Ethiopic	Arabic
lizard?		*tinšémet*[72]				
poisonous snake		*peten*	*btn*	*pitnā*		*baṭanun* (< Aram)
poisonous snake		*šārāp*[73]				
viper		*ʾepʿeh*				*ʾafʿan*
lizard?		*ʾănāqâ*[74]		Syr *ʾāmaqtā?*		
lizard?		*ḥomeṭ*[75]				
venomous snake		*nāḥāš*	*nḥšm*[76]			*ḥanašun*[77] (snake)

AMPHIBIANS

	Akkadian	Hebrew	Ugaritic	Aram/Syr	ESA/Ethiopic	Arabic
frog		*ṣĕpardēaʿ* (coll.)				*ḍafdaʿ*

FISH

	Akkadian	Hebrew	Ugaritic	Aram/Syr	ESA/Ethiopic	Arabic
fish		*dag* (fem. *dagâ* coll.)	*dg*			

MOLLUSKS

	Akkadian	Hebrew	Ugaritic	Aram/Syr	ESA/Ethiopic	Arabic
snail		*šablûl*[78]				

[1]Probable etymology "dumb" (beast). Cf. Eth *bĕhma*. In general, it is opposed to *ḥayyâ*, "wild animal" (e.g., Gen 7:14). According to Jeffrey, Arabic *bahīmatun* < Heb.

[2]Note that the Akk term also came to denote an "ass-load" (Heb *ḥomer*) at Mari and Nuzi.

[3]Cf. Eg ʿr, a collective term for both goats and asses.

[4]While clearly distinct from horses (cf. 1 Kgs 10:25), the texts give us little with which to distinguish the *pered* from the *ḥămôr*.

[5]The generic term for horse, *sûs* is an old *Wanderwört* attested as *sí-sí* in Sumerian texts of the Ur III period and as *sisâ'um* in Old Assyrian. According to Goetze (1962: 34–35), the spelling of the Ug form *šsw* (*š* being used for foreign words) and the prominence of the horse in Hurrian culture suggest that the immediate source of the Ugaritic term at least may be Hurrian *(sisuwo-)*. Goetze has suggested that a *"centum"* form of the word, **sikwo-*, underlies Linear B *(h)iqo*, Gk *hippos*, and Lat *equus*, while the Sanskrit equivalent *aśva-* seems to underlie Hurrian *iššiya-* (< ?**ekuwiyo-*) and *aššuššanni-*, the name which Kikkuli, the horse specialist of the Hittite hippiatric texts, gives to his profession.

[6]In the two passages where this word is used (1 Kgs 5:8—Eng 4:28; Mic 1:13), it is likely that chariot horses are intended.

[7]Only Job 39:5.

[8]The word only occurs in the plural. Note also the name of letter *'alep*, thought to represent a bull's head.

[9]Usually denotes a head of cattle, without differentiating sex. The Semitic term passes into Indo-European as *taur-*, Gk *tauros*, Lat *taurus*. Like other animal names (e.g., *'ayil*), the term also denotes prominent persons. In Keret iv.7–8, 17–18, for example, *ṯr* is applied to nobility.

[10]The Ethiopic *'ĕgʷal* denotes the young of any animal; *'ĕgʷlt* is more specifically "calf." One also finds *'ĕgwal*, with initial *ʿayin*.

[11]A W Semitic variant *ḥazzum* (i.e., *ʿazzum*) occurs at Mari.

[12]Etymologically, "the hairy one." Usually occurs in the phrase *śēʿîr ʿizzîm*.

[13]*Atūdu* is equated with *s/šappārum* (SEG$_9$.BAR), identified in most lexical citations as a wild ram (e.g., CAD A.1 225b, A.2 521a, D118a, but correctly as "wild boar" in B4a). In the *Malku* = *šarru* series both *atūdu* and *šappāru* are equated with *šaḫû*, "swine" (V:46f.). Despite its identification with the boar, *šappāru* is thought to be the source of Heb *šopār*, "ram's horn." For a similar semantic shift in cognates, cf. Lat *caper*, "goat," Gk *kapros*, "boar."

[14]Only Deut 14:5.

[15]Note fig. meaning "leader" (of people) and similar usage of *'ayyāl* and *ʿāttûd*. *'ayil* (< **'ayl*) appears to be based on the same root as *'ayyāl*, "stag." Underlying both perhaps is the notion of leading the flock/herd (cf. Ar *'awwal* "first").

[16]Metathesized variant *keśeb/kiśbâ*.

[17]In addition to this common term for camel, cf. also Obil, David's camel driver (*'ôbîl*, 1 Chr 27:30), which recalls Akk *ibilu*, "camel," "dromedary," and Ar *ibilun*, "camel" (coll.).

[18]Perhaps derived from Prakrit *piḍu* (Barnett 1982: 9). The Greek *elephas* is probably ultimately derived from Semitic *'lp* via Anatolia (Laroche 1965; Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 346). This derivation is reinforced by the Sumerian term for elephant AM.SÍ, "ox with a hand."

[19]In the Golan this term refers to the roebuck (Post 1890).

[20]Cf. note 15 on *'ayil*, "ram."

[21]Among the Palestinians of the Carmel, this term denotes the roebuck (Conder 1890; Post 1890). Its name presumably refers to its reddish, *fallow* color.

[22]Only Deut 14:5. Cf. Dishon, the tribe located in Edom (Gen 36:21), the natural habitat of the Addax. The LXX *pygarg* means "white-rumped."

[23]There is an old form *arm/wûm, arwium* attested in Old Akkadian and Old Babylonian PNs and in later lexical lists meaning "gazelle buck" *(ar-mu-u = ṣa-bi-tu)*, along with a variant form *armu* found in Middle Babylonian and Assyrian and later texts meaning "mountain goat buck."

[24]The Indo-European (cf. Linear B *lewōn-*, Cl. Gk *leōn*, Germ *Löwe*, Eng lion) probably derives from this Semitic root. The *-nt-* stem seen in Linear B and Greek may indicate Anatolian mediation in the transition (Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 346).

[25]Only in poetry.

[26]Only 1 Kgs 10:22 = 2 Chr 9:21. Imported by Solomon's Israelite-Phoenician fleet from an undetermined location (not Tarshish!) somewhere in either E Africa, S Arabia, or India (cf. Barnett 1982: 9 and literature cited there). For baboons in Arabia see Harrison 1964–65: 1.183–90. Underlying all of the Semitic forms in Sanskrit *kapi*, from which is also derived Gk *kēbos* and Eg *gʾf* (also *gwf, gf*—all determined by the monkey rather than baboon sign).

[27]The name is based on an emendation of Isa 2:20 (MT): "people will throw their idols *laḥpor pērôt ûlāʿătallēpîm*." The emended phrase would yield a meaning "diggers," referring to rodents of some kind. On *ʿătalēp*, "bat," see n. 32 below.

[28]Only Lev 11:29. For possible etymology, cf. Aram *ḥĕlad*, "creep"; MH *ḥālad*, "undermine."

[29]In Old Babylonian only in PN's.

[30]As PN already in Old Akkadian.

[31]Lev 11:5 and Deut 14:7 describe the *šāpān* as being like the hare in that it always seems to be chewing (the biblical definition of a ruminant). Elsewhere, it is said to be a small animal inhabiting rocky areas (Ps 104:18; Prov 30:26). This information, while insufficient for a positive identification, suggests the hyrax. The word *šāpān* has an interesting story connected with it. When the Phoenicians reached Spain, they encountered the rabbit for the first time and so named the place *I-šapan*, "the island of hyraxes," apparently confusing the rabbit with a kind of hyrax. This is the origin of the Latin Hispania.

[32]The bat is technically a mammal and not a bird, according to modern zoological classification (its young are born alive and are nursed by the mother). The biblical classification operates according to simpler anatomical criteria: the presence or absence of wings.

[33]The translation "porcupine" suggested by the cognates is perhaps possible in Isa 14:23, but unlikely in the other two occurrences of the word, where it seems to denote some kind of bird (see under Birds of Prey).

[34]*ʿôp* serves primarily to distinguish flying creatures of all sorts from creatures of the land and the sea. Thus, its most frequent use is in the phrase *ʿôp haššāmayîm* (36X).

[35]This is only one of the many meanings of this word, others being "state, condition, fortune, guest, lion, a kind of idol, and locust." Less multivalent is the verb *ʾayafa,* "to loath," "to take an augury."

[36]For the term, cf. Tchernov (1984), and see above under Domestication.

[37]"Chirpers." Cf. Akk *ṣapārum,* "chatter, twitter," Ar *ṣafara,* "whistle, chirp." In origin, this name is also probably onomatopoeic, like Eng sparrow, Lat *passer,* both with initial *sp-, ps-* combinations that imitate "chirping" (itself an onomatopoeic word). Another Hebrew root of this form is *ṣāpap* (used of birds in Isa 10:14), whose Ar cognate *ṣufṣufun* denotes the sparrow in some dialects. The Akk cognate is equivalent to Sum, "street bird" (SILA.MUŠEN), also suggesting the sparrow.

Ṣippôr denotes all birds like the sparrow which were caught for food (Deut 22:6–7; Amos 3:5; Lam 3:52) and which lived around human settlements (Pss 84:4; 102:8). It includes the important domestic categories of dove and pigeon (Gen 15:9–10; Lev 14; *passim;* cf. also Hos 11:11). Used in conjunction with *kānāp* (e.g., in the phrase *kol ṣippôr kol-kānāp*), it becomes a term for birds in general (Gen 7:14; Ezek 17:27; 39:4; Ps 148:10). In Lev 14:4, the addition of *ṭĕhorôt* has nothing to do with the distinction between clean (i.e., edible) and "unclean" (inedible) birds, and thus does not indicate that *ṣippôr* by itself might also refer to raptors. In other words, while *ʿop kānāp* (Gen 1:21) may be redundant, the same cannot be said of *ṣippôr kānāp.*

[38]The chicken is pictured on Hebrew seals and must therefore have been known to the Israelites, though its Biblical Hebrew name is unknown. Mishnaic Hebrew has *tarnĕgôl,* derived from Akkadian *tarlugallum* (< Sum DAR.LUGAL.MUŠEN).

[39]Perhaps onomatopoeic. Cf. Gk *trugos,* Lat *turtur.* In addition to *yonâ* and *tôr,* note also the name Jemimah, *yĕmîmâ* (Job 42:14), which also probably refers to the dove (Driver 1955–58: 1.130).

[40]1 Kgs 5:3—insufficient in itself for identification. On the nominal pattern, cf. Nöldeke (1904: 117). The fact that the birds were fattened, however, reminds one of the forced feeding of cranes, ducks, and geese in ancient Egypt (cf. Darby, Ghalioungui, and Grivetti 1977: 1, 273) and suggests the identification of *barbur* with one of these species.

[41]1 Sam 26:20; Jer 17:11. These passages are insufficient for identifying the species of bird in question.

[42]Apparently meaning "screamers" (cf. Ar *ʿāṭa*). Cf. also Gk *aetos,* "eagle." The Ar root may derive not from birds per se, but from some primitive sound thought to typify screaming. The Ug *ʿṭ* occurs in a list of goods which includes livestock and geese *(ʾuz),* but the species is unidentifiable.

[43]Both the Ar and the Heb names are onomatopoeic. For the Ar pattern, see Nöldeke (1904); for the Heb, note the similarly onomatopoeic names based on the same root: *ʾî,* "jackal," Ar *ʾibn āwā.* The identification of the bird is very uncertain. Apart from Leviticus 11 and Deuteronomy 14, it is attested in Job 28:7, which describes it as keen-sighted.

[44]According to Driver (1955–58: 1.8) the name is onomatopoeic, composed of sonant *n* + base *šr* representing a whirring sound (cf. Lat *susurrus,* Germ *schwirren,* also *ṣrṣr,* etc., under "locust" below). The identification with the griffon vulture is based on its long wing span (Ezek 17:3) and its "bald spot" (Mic 1:16). The griffon vulture first consumes the soft parts of the body such as the eye, before turning to the rest (cf. Prov 30:17). The gathering of the nations to devour the spoil (Deut 28:49) also suggests the vulture rather than the more solitary eagle. LXX has *aetos,* "eagle." There are, however, a number of passages where the bird could just as well be the eagle, including some which Driver initially ascribed to the vulture (corrected in Driver 1955–58: 3). The precise identification of the species indicated by Ug *nšr* is not possible on the basis of our texts.

[45]The etymology ("black one") strongly suggests the crow/raven or "blackbird" (cf. Song of Songs 5:11). Its habit of plucking out the eyes of its victims (Prov 30:17) is also characteristic of the raven (cf. Aristophanes, *Birds* 582 and *Acharnians* 92). The name is descriptive rather than onomatopoeic (*pace* Driver 1955–58: 1.12 n. 44).

[46]Etymology uncertain. *Yaʿĕn* is attested only in Lam 4:3 *(qrē).* The alternative form *bat-yaʿănâ* is attested in Lev 11:16; Deut 14:15; Isa 13:21; 34:13; 43:20; etc., which depict the bird as a desert-dweller. The identification of the bird with the ostrich (LXX *strouthos*) is consistent with this habitat and with the description in Job 39:13–18: it lays its eggs on the ground and leaves them unprotected, as ostriches do during the day, and is noted for its speed on land (v 18). The ostrich can go for long periods without water and is thus suited to life in the desert. On the other hand, the wailing of the *bat-yaʿănâ* (Mic 1:8) and its fondness for old ruins suggest the owl (Driver). Perhaps the term denoted different birds at various times or from one region to another.

[47]Only Lev 11:13; Deut 14:12. The word means "smasher" (cf. Heb *pāras;* Akk *parāsu*). The bearded vulture or "bone breaker," as it is popularly known, drops its victims from a great height until the bones are shattered. Cf. Ar *kāsir aṭ-ṭair,* "predatory bird."

[48]Driver (1955–58: 1.10) derives the name by metathesis from the root *ʿnz* from which is derived Akk *enzu,* Heb *ʿēz,* "goat," hence "goat vulture" (cf. Gk *aigupios* < *aix* "goat" + *gups* "vulture"). It was identified as such because of its goat-like "beard." Attested only in Lev 11:13; Deut 14:12. LXX has *aliaetos,* "osprey," which also means "bone-breaker."

[49]Only Lev 11:14; Deut 14:13. The variant *dayyâ* occurs in Isa 34:15. The verb *dāʾâ* is probably denominative (Driver). The general sense of the verb, "to swoop," would suggest perhaps a hawk of some kind. The Ugaritic cognate *dîy* is paralleled by *nšr* (*UT,* 383 #634).

[50]Lev 11:16; Deut 14:15. According to Driver (1955–58: 1.13), the name means "robber" (cf. Targumim *ḥaṭiṭilâ*). Driver suggests an owl of some sort (so LXX *glaux*). But cf. Ar *ẓalîm,* "male ostrich," from a root meaning "to do wrong."

[51]The Versions translate "sea gull" *(laros).* Driver, however, suggests the long-eared owl, which is said to be very thin when at rest (cf. Ar *saḥufa,* "be emaciated").

[52]Outside Lev 11:16 and Deut 14:15 only Job 39:26. LXX has *ierax,* "hawk, falcon." Ug *nṣ* occurs in a list of foodstuffs, along with another bird, the *ʿṣr* (cf. Akk *iṣṣur*), but its exact meaning is unknown.

[53]Lev 11:17; Deut 14:16; Ps 102:7. In the latter passage it is said to inhabit the ruins, probably indicating an owl (so LXX, Vg). Driver, following Knobel, compares Germ *Kauz,* "tawny owl," the similarity of which suggests that the word may be onomatopoeic.

[54]Lev 11:17; Deut 14:17. Perhaps a diving bird (cf. Heb *hišlîk;* Gk *kataraktēs* points in the same direction).

[55]Lev 11:17; Deut 14:16; Isa 34:11 (in a list of birds which will inhabit the ruins of Edom). LXX has *eibis,* "ibis," but this bird is unknown in Palestine. This equation may reflect Egyptianizing on the part of the translator. The possible Akk equivalent *enšub/pu* (SB) may denote an owl of some sort. It is a bird of ill omen which frequents human habitations. The Heb etymology (< *NŠP* "blow") also

suggests an owl. The nominal pattern of this word, *yaqtûl*, is found in other Semitic animal names, such as Syr *yarbûʿā'*, "jerboa"; *yaḥmûrā'*, "a kind of deer"; *yaqrûrā'*, "a toad"; Ar *yaʿsûb* "male bee, drone."

[56]Lev 11:18, 30; Deut 14:16. LXX *porphyrion*, "water hen." More probably some sort of owl, as indicated by its name (< *NŠM*, "pant"). Cf. the derivation of the *yanšûp*.

[57]Lev 11:18; Deut 14:17; Isa 34:11; Zeph 2:14; Ps 102:7. LXX has *pelekan*, but this is improbable in Isa 34:11 (cf. above on *yanšûp*), as well as in the passages from Zephaniah and Psalms *(qēʾat midbar!)*. Driver suggests the name may be onomatopoeic for the cry of the scops-owl, "kiu-kiu."

[58]Lev 11:18; Deut 14:17. LXX *kuknos* "swan." Driver's objections to the translation "vulture" are not very compelling, but, as he points out, the Arabic cognate also refers to the pelican (Dozy), and the closely related *ruḫam* to the osprey. If the approximate equivalents in our list are correct, then a vulture is out of place at this point in the list. Hence our tentative "osprey."

[59]Lev 11:19; Deut 14:18; Jer 8:7; Zech 5:9; Ps 104:17. LXX *arōdios*. Jer 8:7 suggests a migratory bird. The Hebrew term has traditionally been taken to refer to the tender care which the stork bestows on its young, though of course this criterion is not decisive. Neither is the fact that the bird nests in trees (Ps 104:17). Another bird fitting this profile is the heron, which Driver suggests may have been included with the stork under this name.

[60]Lev 11:19; Deut 14:8. LXX has *charadios*, meaning uncertain. The name may refer to the bird's prominent beak ("nose"). Driver suggests the cormorant.

[61]Lev 11:19; Deut 14:18. LXX has *epops*, "hoopoe." Onomatopoeic. Cf. e.g., *qwqwpt*, Copt *koukoufat;* Syr *qâqûpā'*.

[62]Apparently a bird in Isa 34:11; Zeph 2:14. The cognates, however, refer to the porcupine (see above under Rodents).

[63]Only Isa 34:15. Certain identification impossible, but context suggests a bird.

[64]Possible cognates include Akk *ḫarbu* (an unidentified bird) and Ar *ḫarbun*, "male bustard" (Driver 1955–58: 2.137).

[65]Cf. NB *kulbābu*.

[66]Isa 51:8. Cf. also Eth *daḍe;* Gk *sēs*.

[67]Of the terms for "locust" only *ʾarbeh* is commonly used. Most others appear only once or infrequently: *ṣĕlāṣal* (Deut 28:42), *ḥargol* (Lev 11:22), *ḥāgāb* (Lev 11:22; Num 13:33; Isa 40:22; 2 Chr 7:13), *gāzām* (Amos 4:9, Joel 1:4; 2:25), *gôbay* (Amos 7:1; Nah 3:17), *ḥāsîl* (1 Kgs 8:37; Isa 33:4; Joel 1:4; 2:25), *yeleq* (Jer 51:14; Nah 3:15, 16; Joel 1:4; 2:25; Ps 105:34). Neither the contexts nor the etymologies are sufficient to enable us to identify whether or not we are dealing in each case with separate species or stages of development in one or two species.

[68]Variant form *ṣarṣaru*, meaning "cricket."

[69]Cf. Nöldeke (1904) on this type of nominal formation in bird and insect names. The roots *ṣlṣl* and *ṣrṣr* are onomatopoeic. Cf. Ar *ṣarṣara*, "scream," *ṣarra*, "chirp" (of cricket), etc.

[70]Both the etymology (< *RMM* "decay"; cf. Ar *ramma*) and the contexts suggest this meaning. Cf. Exod 16:24; Isa 14:11; Job 25:6 both parallel *tôlēʿâ*.

[71]Certain identification on the basis of Isa 59:3, which refers to the *qûrê ʿākkabîš*, "spider threads."

[72]Lev 11:30. Note that this same term refers to a kind of owl in Deut 14:16.

[73]? < *śārap*, "burn."

[74]Only Lev 11:30.

[75]Only Lev 11:30.

[76]Ug *nḫšm* parallels *bṯnm* in *RS* 24.244.

[77]Most probably like *nāḥāš*. Onomatopoeic.

[78]Only Ps 58:9. From the *Šapʿel* of *BLL* (Heb *bālal*, "mix with oil," Ar *balla*, "moisten," Akk *balālum*, "sprinkle, mix") apparently referring to the trail which the snail leaves behind.

APPENDIX 2: KEY TO ANALYSES OF FAUNAL REMAINS FROM ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS

APHEK. Hellwing and Gophna (1984).
ARAD. Davis (1976); Hopf and Zachariae (1971: 63–64); Lernau (1978).
BEER-SHEBA. Angress (1959); Hellwing (1984).
BIR ABU MATAR. Josien (1955).
BIR ES-SAFADI. Josien (1955).
DAN. Wapnish, Hesse, and Ogilvy (1977).
EN-SHADUD. Horwitz (1985).
GEZER. Feldman (1988); Legge (1988); Legge and Zeder (1988).
HAZOR. Angress (1960).
HESHBON (Jordan). Alomia (1978); Boessneck (1977); Boessneck and von den Driesch (1977; 1978; 1981); LaBianca (1973; 1976; 1978); Little (1969); LaBianca and LaBianca (1975; 1976).
ʿIZBET ṢARṬAH. Hellwing and Adjeman (1986); Rosen (1986).
JEBEL QAʿAQIR. Horwitz (1987).
JERICHO. Biggs (1963); Clutton-Brock (1969; 1971; 1979); Clutton-Brock and Uerpmann (1974); Zeuner (1955; 1958).
LACHISH. Bate (1953; 1958); Lernau (1975); Drori (1976).
MEGIDDO. Bate (1938).
MIQNE-EKRON. Wapnish and Hesse (1985); Hesse (1966).
NAHAL MISHMAR ("CAVE OF THE TREASURE"). Haas (1980).
QASILEH. Davis (1985); Haas (1953).
QUMRAN. Zeuner (1960: 27–30).
SASA. Horwitz (1987).
SHAʿAR HA-GOLAN. Stekelis (1951).
SHILOH. Hellwing and Sadeh (1985).
SHIQMIM. Grigson (1987).
TELL DALIT. Hellwing and Gophna (1984).
TELL EL-HAYYAT (Jordan). Metzger (1983).
TELL JEMMEH. Wapnish (1984); Wapnish and Hesse (1988).
TELL MASOS. Tchernov and Drori (1983).

TELL MICHAL. Hellwing and Feig (1989).
TELL QIRI. Davis (1987b).
TELL ES-SAʿDIYEH (Jordan). Martin (1988).

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EDWIN FIRMAGE

ZOPHAH (PERSON) [Heb *ṣôpaḥ*]. A descendant of Asher, named in the genealogical list in 1 Chr 7:35. His father, Helem, is perhaps to be identified with Hotham, placing Zophah within the dominant line of the Asherite genealogy. Although eleven sons are attributed to him, nothing else is known about this figure: his name does not appear in the parallel lists of Asher's line in Numbers 26 and Genesis 46 or elsewhere, and its etymology ("wide, broad") reveals little. As Gray notes, many of the names in this list appear to be geographical or tribal rather than personal. In keeping with such an interpretation, Edelman suggests that Zophah may be equated with the land of Zuph (Edelman 1985: 86).

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JULIA M. O'BRIEN

ZOPHAI (PERSON) [Heb *ṣôpay*]. See ZUPH (PERSON).

ZOPHAR (PERSON) [Heb *ṣôpar*]. The third friend of Job, identified as "the Naamathite" (Job 2:11; 11:1; 20:1; 42:9). His name is perhaps related to "bird" (e.g., Num 22:2, 10, etc.), but the meaning is problematic. With the near consensus that Job is not to be seen as reflecting any recognizable historical background, the characters of the book have come to be viewed as dramatic figures possessing individual pecularities which surface in their dialogue with the miserable Job. The three friends come first, we are told, "to comfort and condole" the sufferer (2:11). Zophar is the third speaker among Job's friends. One certainly finds his speeches in chaps. 11 and 20; however, Zophar has no speech in the (apparently disrupted) third cycle. This has led to all kinds of guesses about the original order of the cycle in an attempt to reconstruct a third Zophar speech. However, several scholars have offered serious attempts to read the existing text as essentially original and undisrupted (cf. Habel *Job* OTL; Janzen *Job* Interpretation).

In his first address (11:2–6), Zophar rejects Job's claim to innocence and the implication that God is somehow irrationally guilty for Job's trouble. He goes on to warn Job that if God would only speak, Job would realize that his claims of innocence and great wisdom are in fact pretentious and blasphemous (vv 7–12). By implication, of course, Zophar himself claims this same great wisdom. Surely part of the author's intent is to satirize Zophar as a very poor friend indeed who is more interested in preserving his theological certainty than in listening with openness to the sufferer (Habel *Job* OTL, 205).

The second speech in chap. 20 is more brutal in its attempts to prove Job to be evil, fully deserving his misery. That speech demonstrates the author's brilliant poetic skill which consists in the use of preceding speeches by succeeding speakers to reject the ideas of the earlier speakers by holding them up to sustained ridicule. One might call this device "hoisting one on one's own petard" (cf. Holbert 1981 and Habel *Job* OTL). For example, Zophar classes Job with the sinners by using Job's own words against him. Job, in reference to the *gōʾēl*, "redeemer," had earlier said, "as the last one he will rise on the dust" (19:25). Zophar, referring to Job's youthful strength, now retorts, "it will lie with him in the dust" (20:11). While Job looks for a "rising" of his redeemer, Zophar speaks of Job's own "lying down" in death. Job pictures his redeemer standing firmly "on the dust"; Zophar pictures the "dust" as Job's grave.

Such analysis makes it very clear that the Joban dialogue is clearly a real dialogue and not a series of monologues bearing little or no connection to one another. As one reads this dialogue, one must keep vigilant for the repeated, and redefined, word or phrase, now used ironically or satirically in the new speech. Thus will the poem's masterful subtlety be laid bare to the reader. Zophar's second speech of chap. 20 is one of the best examples of the technique.

In terms of his basic theological stance, Zophar's differences from his two friends are very slight. However, he is different from Eliphaz and Bildad in terms of the origin of his knowledge. While Eliphaz has a direct revelation from God (4:12–21) and Bildad is a reader of the sacred tradition (8:9–12), Zophar seems to rely on hallowed sayings of the wisdom school, which inform his attempts to

refute Job (11:7–12). But, like his friends, Zophar's second address to Job does not bother to "footnote" the source of information; it merely goes on the attack, holding Job up to ridicule by means of invective and, unlike the first speech, offering the sufferer no possible place of repentance or acceptance (compare 11:13ff. with the unrelieved "end of the wicked" material of 20:6–29). One might say that the friends' initial attempt to prove Job wrong by the relative niceties of theological debate soon gives way to the raw language of the infuriated inquisitor. Such a pattern can also be seen by comparing chaps. 4 and 5 with chap. 15 (Eliphaz) and chap. 8 with chap. 18 (Bildad).

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JOHN C. HOLBERT

ZOPHIM (PLACE) [Heb *ṣōpîm*]. A high point near or on the top of Pisgah and close to the NE end of the Dead Sea (Num 23:14). Zophim was the second place to which Balak took Balaam hoping that he would curse the Israelites. Insofar as *ṣōpîm* literally means "watchers," Num 23:14 may include the descriptive label "field of the watchers" rather than a proper name "Zophim." Since prophets were at times called "watcher" (Isa 52:8), such a label would be especially appropriate here. Some have suggested, however, that modern Tala^{c}at es-Safa possibly preserves the actual name.

TERRY L. BRENSINGER

ZOR (PLACE). See JORDAN, JUNGLE OF.

ZORAH (PLACE) [Heb *ṣor^{c}â*]. ZORITE; ZORATHITE. A town located in the Sorek valley, identified with Sar^{c}a (Tel Zor^{c}a; (M.R. 148131), about 3 km N of Beth-shemesh. Zorah is mentioned in the Amarna Letters as one of the towns in the kingdom of Gezer attacked by ^{c}Apiru (EA 273). At the time of the Israelite conquest, Zorah was allotted to the tribe of Dan. It was, together with Eshtaol, the core area of Danite settlement in the Judean foothills: Manoah, father of Samson, hailed from Zorah (Judg 13:2), Samson was first inspired between Zorah and Eshtaol (Judg 13:25), and both Manoah and Samson were buried between the two sites (Judg 16:31). Finally, it was from Zorah and Eshtaol that the Danites sallied forth to conquer Laish (Judges 18).

Later, Zorah was annexed to Judah (Josh 15:33) and was inhabited by Judahites of the clan of Kiriath-jearim (1 Chr 2:54–55). Zorah was one of the Judean cities purportedly fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chr 11:10) and was also one of the cities settled at the time of the return of the Judean exiles from Babylon (Neh 11:29). Aharoni (*LBHG*, 410) has suggested, however, that the town could have been among those whose inhabitants were not exiled but were permitted to stay on under Babylonian rule.

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RAPHAEL GREENBERG

ZOROASTER, ZOROASTRIANISM. "Zoroastrianism" is the name of the religion founded by Zoroaster, probably sometime late in the 2d millennium B.C. It enjoyed great popularity during the time of the Persian Empire, and is still adhered to by minorities in Iran and the Indian subcontinent and by scattered migrant groups, mostly in Europe, North America, and Australia.

A. The Prophet
B. Sources
C. Background
D. Teachings of Zoroaster
E. Worship and Observances
F. Brief History of the Faith
G. The Religion in Modern Times

A. The Prophet

Zoroaster was the great Iranian prophet and founder of the religion named after him. The Iranian form of his name was Zarathustra. A tradition preserved in a few late sources (none older than the 3d century A.D.) sets him at "228 years before Alexander," i.e., in the 6th century B.C.; but this dating is now generally rejected as spurious, it being agreed that he belonged to what were for his people prehistoric times. Present debate centers on whether he lived during the Iranian pastoral period on the central Asian steppes (between ca. 1400 and 1200 B.C.) or after the Iranian tribes had moved S into the land now known as Iran (ca. 1000 B.C.). The evidence comes solely from the *Gāthās*, 17 short poetic works composed by him and preserved in a liturgy of the daily Zoroastrian act of worship, the *yasna*. They are accordingly identified as *Y(asna)* 28–34, 43–51, 53.

The *Gāthās* are in an E Iranian language very close to the Hindu *Rigveda* (whose many hymns are assigned to ca. 1400–900 B.C.); but in Iran they are almost isolated in their antiquity, with many hapaxes and baffling syntactical problems. This is part of the reason they are very difficult to understand; they belong, moreover, to a school of mantic poetry—already old in the prophet's day—which is subtle, condensed, and richly allusive. The *Gāthās* are seldom expository, being addressed, for the most part, in lofty, impassioned terms, to God himself (known to Zoroaster as Ahura Mazda). The underlying doctrine can accordingly be fully understood only with the help of the later Zoroastrian scriptures.

All that can be certainly known of Zoroaster himself is to be deduced from these hymns. They show him to have been a priest of the Old Iranian religion, trained in beliefs and rituals, but also a prophet and seer, one who saw God in visions and believed that, by preaching what he thus apprehended, he could lead men to salvation and help to redeem the world from evil. He appears as a man of powerful intellect, who evolved a remarkably logical and coherent theology. He failed, nevertheless, to win a hearing from his own people, and eventually left them, impov-

erished and rejected (Y 46.1–2). He made his way to another Iranian tribe, ruled by Kavi Vishtaspa. This prince accepted his teachings (Y 51.16); and Zoroaster, settling at his court, saw his religion established. Some *Gāthās* were composed during his early life, others were composed or extended during this period. Iranian tradition required priests to marry, and in one of the later *Gāthās* (Y 53) he speaks of his youngest daughter, Pouruchista.

The legend of the prophet's life, although almost entirely hagiographical, probably contains some factual matter, such as his father's name and that he lived long (dying, it is said, at age 77). According to the legend, Zoroaster had three wives, three sons, and three daughters—a suspect symmetry, since three is the holy number of Zoroastrianism. Different sources recount miracles of his birth (among them, that he was born laughing) and childhood, tell of his wanderings as a seeker of truth, and describe his moment of illumination when, fetching pure water from a river at dawn, he was visited by the divine (cf. Y 43.5). Although Zoroaster is regarded by his followers as wholly human, his spirit receives profound veneration, and his name is constantly invoked.

B. Sources

Controversy over what appear to have been Zoroastrianism's remarkable contributions to religious thought is largely due to deficiencies in its written sources. When Zoroaster lived, the Iranians had no knowledge of writing; and when, perhaps in the 8th century B.C., the religion reached the W Iranians (i.e., the Medes and Persians), the systems of writing which it encountered (cuneiform and alphabetic Aramaic) were unsuitable for recording an Indoeuropean language accurately. The Zoroastrian priests believed in the power of the word as a union of sound and sense; and, accordingly, they rejected the use of writing for religious works. The Avesta—their collection of holy texts in the otherwise unknown E Iranian language called "Avestan" (after the collection)—therefore remained in oral transmission for more than a thousand years more, until, probably in the 5th century A.D., the 44-character "Avestan" alphabet evolved to record the texts. The *Gāthās*, having been strictly memorized, were well preserved, but much else, handed down in a more fluid transmission, suffered textual corruption to varying extents.

The written "Great Avesta" was divided into three parts: religious, legal, and miscellaneous works. The first contained the liturgical texts, including all those in Old Avestan. Chief among these are the *Gāthās* and two great *manthras* or holy sayings. One, the *Yathā ahū vairyō* (Middle Persian *Ahunvar*), attributed to Zoroaster himself, is constantly recited. It and the *Airyəmā išyō* are both brief utterances, which in the *yasna* liturgy enclose the *Gāthās*. These in turn enclose the *Yasna Haptanhāiti*, a short liturgy which accompanied the offerings. Over centuries the *yasna* was extended to 72 sections, mostly in Younger Avestan, some of the added materials being taken from the "great" *yashts*, in part very ancient hymns to individual divinities, the *yazatas*. The liturgical texts include the *Vendidād*, a mixed compilation concerned mainly with purity laws. Apart from two short, difficult works on ritual and some fragments, only these parts of the "Great Avesta" survive, the rest being lost under Islam and known only through summaries and the *zand* or "interpretation."

Zands had existed in various Iranian languages, but only one survives extensively, in Middle Persian, also called Pahlavi. Unfortunately this is a poor language for exegesis; its grammar is simple to the point of ambiguity, and it is written in a difficult script. Almost all extant Avestan texts have their *zand*, which has been compared with Jewish midrash. It consists regularly of a literal translation of the Avestan, often a more idiomatic Middle Persian rendering, and a commentary, sometimes extensive and added to by named authorities over centuries. Several important Pahlavi books (notably the *Bundahishn* and *Wizīdagīhā ī Zādsparam*) consist largely of selections from the *zand* of lost Avestan works, and these contain substantial amounts of dogmatic theology. They received additions down to the 9th century A.D. (the last period of considerable scholastic activity in the face of growing repression by Islam) and have accordingly been classified as "9th-century books"—a misleading title, since most of their contents go back over many centuries. Absolute dating is, however, impossible for any of the materials in such slow-growing compilations; and there is still a lack of satisfactory editions of most Pahlavi works.

Close dating is possible for religious elements in inscriptions, notably those of the Achaemenids (chiefly 6th century B.C.), and Sassanians (mostly 3d century A.D.). There is datable evidence also in the writings of Greek, Latin, Syriac, and other foreign authors.

Alongside the written texts the magisterium of the living religion lasted down to the mid-19th century. Thereafter, social change (with a weakening of the priesthood), the impact of Western academic theories, and religious reform have produced a diversity of beliefs, though orthopraxy is still largely maintained. These developments are recorded in a considerably modern literature in English and Gujarati.

C. Background

The beliefs and rituals of the ancient Iranians can be reconstructed partly from comparison with the closely related religion of Vedic India, partly from fragmentary evidence about other Iranian religions (e.g., Old Persian and Scythian), and partly from archaic elements surviving in the Avesta and in Zoroastrian observance. They were polytheists who conceived their gods as cosmic beings, essentially benign, and apprehended a universal principle, *arta* or *asha*, "that which ought to be"; this should govern everything in the natural and human spheres. They acknowledged three Ahuras (Lords) who guarded *asha*, the chief being Ahura Mazda, Lord of Wisdom (Pahlavi *Ohrmazd*). Animatism dominated their way of perceiving the world, and they endued feelings, qualities, and states, no less than natural phenomena, with personality. The gods, they believed, had created the world in seven stages: sky, water, earth, plants, animals, man, and fire (the vital force which gives warmth and life to the rest and, through the sun, is to regulate nature). Then, by sacrifice, they set it in motion, with new life following death and the cycle of the seasons beginning. This state of new life was thought to be unending as long as men did their part through sacrifice and worship, notably by the daily performance of a priestly

rite, the *yasna*, by which the creations were purified and blessed. The essential rituals were offerings to fire and water. Worship was performed mostly in the open, without temples, altars, or images.

At death most souls were thought to pass as shadows to an underworld, needing food-offerings from their descendants to sustain them; but some fortunate souls, it was hoped, would ascend to join the gods in heaven. With this hope was belief in resurrection of the body within a year or so after death, so that the soul, reincarnated, could thereafter fully enjoy again the pleasures it had known on earth.

D. Teachings of Zoroaster

The *Gāthās* show that Zoroaster lived at a time of social turmoil, with bloodshed and lawlessness. This apparently reflects changes brought about by the coming of the Bronze Age to the Central Asian steppes, with the war chariot (first attested there ca. 1500 B.C.) giving new mobility to predatory, well-armed warrior bands. Zoroaster was driven accordingly to meditate profoundly on good and evil and the goal of life, and finally achieved a majestic vision of cosmic unity and purpose (see esp. Y 30.2; Y 45.2). He apprehended Ahura Mazda as God, the one eternal uncreated Being, wholly good, wise, and beneficient; but coexisting with him he saw another Being, the Evil Spirit, Angra Mainyu (Pahlavi *Ahriman*), who was wholly evil, ignorant, and malign, likewise uncreated, but doomed in the end to perish. Ahura Mazda, Zoroaster held, has created this sevenfold world as a battleground where evil can be encountered and overcome. To help in this great struggle he sends forth lesser divinities, notably the six "Holy Immortals" (Amәsha Spәntas; Pahlavi *Ameshaspands*), who are at once hypostases of the powers of God and independent divinities, yet also forces which can enter into the just man. Further, each, together with the holy spirit of Ahura Mazda, guards one of the seven physical creations and can dwell within it, if it is in a state of purity, being thus both immanent and transcendent divinities.

These complex concepts, arising from ancient animatism, seem both mystically and logically apprehended. The names of this great Heptad (whose translations can be only approximate) are as follows: Desirable Dominion (*Khshathra Vairya*, Pahlavi *Shahrevar*), who guards the sky; Wholeness or Health (*Haurvatāt/Hordād*), water; Holy Devotion (*Spәnta Ārmaiti/Spendārmad*), earth; Immortality (*Amәrәtāt/Amurdād*), plants; Good Purpose (*Vohu Manah/Vahman*), animals; the Holy Spirit (*Spәnta Mainyu/Spenāg Mēnōg*), man; and Best Truth or Righteousness (*Asha Vahishta/Ardvahisht*), fire. The Heptad is represented at the *yasna* through the seven creations, and its members enter into just and pure worshippers.

Zoroaster thus gave new dimensions to the daily act of worship and linked the moral, spiritual, and physical worlds in a remarkable way. The great Amәsha Spәntas emanated other lesser divinities, the main ones being the beneficent gods of the old religion, among whom was the lesser Ahura, Mithra. These beings, like the Heptad, are called *yazatas*, i.e., "those to be worshipped." The *yazatas* are all of one essence and of one will with Ahura Mazda; and all strive together, with different functions, to fulfill a single aim: the defeat of evil. Zoroaster thus recognized a unity of divine purpose but a multiplicity of agents, under God, to fulfill it. The names of the Heptad recur throughout the *Gāthās* (notably as a group in Y 47.1), the doctrine concerning them being, with radical dualism, at the heart of Zoroaster's teachings. Angra Mainyu produced his own counterforces of evil, notably the Daēvas (ancient war gods), who, like him, are to be repudiated and defied.

Through his Holy Spirit (Y 44.7), Ahura Mazda created the world perfectly good; but in his omniscience he foresaw Angra Mainyu's attack upon it, which brought corruption on all things and the blow of death. All seven creations should strive, instinctively or, in the case of man consciously, to combat him and his forces and so bring about Frasho-kәrәti (Pahlavi *Frašegird*), "Making wonderful," i.e., the restoration of the world to its original state of goodness, which will be enduring.

Zoroaster believed profoundly in the justice of God (*asha*), which has been called the decisive confessional concept of his religion; but the injustices of his own time drove him to project its strict, final administration to the hereafter. Fusing the two existing beliefs about life after death, he taught that everyone, man and woman alike, could attain heaven by accepting his revelation and acting justly in accord with it (Y 46.10). But all must first be judged when, on the third day after death (as in traditional Iranian belief), the soul ascends at sunrise to the peak of Mt. Hara, the mythical mountain at the center of the earth. There its good thoughts, words, and acts are weighed in a balance against the bad; and if the good are preponderant, the soul crosses the broad Chinvat Bridge and passes on up to heaven. If the bad outweigh the good, the bridge contracts, and the soul plunges down through a chasm into the underworld, seen by Zoroaster as the "place of worst existence," i.e., hell, where the Evil Spirit presides over retributive punishment. The blessed and damned will remain in heaven or hell as spirits only until Frasho-kәrәti. At that time there will be a general resurrection of bodies, and the departed spirits will be reincarnated to undergo the Last Judgment.

Among the ancient Iranians the ultimate judicial test was an ordeal by fire, and Zoroaster also saw the Last Judgment to be enacted through such an ordeal, but on a cosmic scale. Molten metal would flow out from the mountains to form a burning river; and the reincarnated souls, together with those still living, would pass through it in the flesh. Similar to the belief with the ordinary judicial ordeal, the good will be saved by divine intervention, but the wicked will perish in soul and body on this last day (Y 51.9). The fiery river will then flow down into hell, cleansing it; and Angra Mainyu and his legions will perish. God's great goal will thus be achieved, making evil extinct. There will be an end of history since there will be no more need for striving, no more begetting or dying. The blessed will share a communion meal at a last *yasna*, which will make their bodies immortal; and they will forever live joyfully in the kingdom of Ahura Mazda on this once-more-perfected earth, made level and as beautiful as a garden (Persian "paradise") in spring.

Zoroaster called on all men to be *saoshyants*, i.e., those who will help to redeem the world; and after his death—but still well within the prehistoric period of Zoroastrian-

ism—a belief evolved that in a last great battle before Frasho-kərəti, the forces of good will be led by *the* Saoshyant, the world savior, who will be born miraculously of a virgin mother by Zoroaster's own seed, preserved in the depths of a lake.

E. Worship and Observances

Zoroaster retained the traditional priestly act of worship, the *yasna,* with the new significance that the laity could participate by sharing in the consecrated offerings. The ancient Iranians had three traditional times for private prayer: sunrise, noon, and sunset (Y 44.5). For Zoroastrians, these were increased to five, with midnight and dawn prayers added, the same prayers being said each time. These were obligatory for men and women, whether priests or laity, after they had been invested with the sacred cord (Avestan *aiwyənhana,* later called *kusti/kushti*) at the age of fifteen. This cord is passed three times around the waist and tied in front and back with a reef knot; it is untied and retied while praying standing in the presence of fire (sun, moon, or hearth fire), which is the "creation" of Asha Vahishta and, accordingly, the icon of truth and justice (cf. Y 43.9). The essence of the appointed prayers consists of two Gathic verses (Y 46.7 and 46.16), of which the first (in one translation) runs: "Whom, Mazda, hast thou appointed protector for one like me, if the Wicked One shall dare to harm me? Whom but thy Fire [= *Asha*] and thy (Good) Purpose, by whose acts, Lord, Truth is nourished. Proclaim this teaching to my inner self." They also include a short affirmation of faith, as follows: "I profess myself a Mazda-worshipper and follower of Zarathushtra, having pledged myself to and avowed the faith. I pledge myself to the well-thought thought, I pledge myself to the well-spoken word, I pledge myself to the well-acted act. I pledge myself to the Mazda-worshipping religion, which throws off attacks, which causes weapons to be laid down, which is just, which of all faiths which are and shall be is the greatest, the best, the fairest, which is Ahuric, Zarathushtrian." The *Ahunvar* is also always recited.

For communal observance there were appointed seven holy days of obligation, devoted to the Heptad and their creations. These days were spent in corporate worship, followed by feasting and merrymaking—Zoroastrian doctrine holds that grief belongs to Angra Mainyu and that fasting is a sin, since it weakens the good body created by Ahura Mazda and saps the strength needed to fight evil; so all holy days are observed joyfully. The sixth feast, dedicated to Ahura Mazda and man, was followed that night, the last of the old year, by an evidently traditional festival of All Souls (Avestan *Hamaspathmaēdaya*); and the next day was celebrated in honor of Asha and fire. This festival, known as "New Day" (Pahlavi *Nō Rōz*), is the holiest and most joyous in the Zoroastrian year, prefiguring the "New Day" of Frasho-kərəti to come.

Close parallels with Indian usages show that the cult of the dead was of great importance in the Old Iranian religion. Its significance was presumably much reduced by Zoroaster, whose stress was on individual responsibility for one's own fate after death; nevertheless, old observances persisted or were reabsorbed as his religion spread among the Iranians. Rites were performed for the soul during the three days after death, at the fourth-day dawn, monthly during the first year, and thereafter annually for thirty years, after which the departed soul was remembered at All Souls with the family dead, who were expected to help their descendants in return for consecrated offerings of food and clothing (*Yasht* 13, 49–52). These rituals, still maintained in traditionalist families today, are clearly associated in origin with belief in a hereafter in a shadowy underworld.

Evidently there also had been ancient purity laws, which received a firm doctrinal basis through Zoroaster's dualism, by which pollution of all kinds was attributed to Angra Mainyu. These laws accordingly appear to have been greatly extended by successive generations of Zoroastrian priests. The worst contamination was that which came from a dead body; and because the creations are to be kept as pure as possible, corpses were disposed of, not by burial or cremation (polluting to earth and fire), but by exposure in barren places, to be swiftly devoured by birds or wild beasts. Later funerary "Towers of Silence" *(dakhmas)* were built for this purpose. Another serious contamination derived from a flow of blood from the body, and harsh laws developed isolating menstruating women. There was a series of purificatory rites, notably, for severe contamination, the "ablution of nine nights" (Persian *barashnom-i nō-shabe*) in which ritual washing was administered by priests (or, for women, by priests' wives) with recital of holy texts and was followed by a nine-night retreat, with further ritual ablutions.

F. Brief History of the Faith

Zorastrianism entered history under the Achaemenids, who ruled the Persian Empire (ca. 550–331 B.C.). The Persians gradually introduced certain alien practices into the E Iranian religion, notably by founding temples, some with images of *yazatas,* others, more orthopractic, with fire as the sacred icon. The religious calendar was created under their rule, with each month and day being dedicated to a *yazata.* When month and day name coincided, this was celebrated as that *yazata*'s feast day, the number of holy days being thus markedly increased. Zervanism also appears to have evolved in W Iran at this time. See also ZERVANISM.

The magi, priests of the old religion under the Medes and Persians, now became known as the primary Zoroastrian priests, accompanying Persian rulers, soldiers, and colonists throughout the imperial lands. This was still an age of ethnic religions; Zoroaster had been ahead of his time in preaching a creedal, universal faith; but his followers had mainly come to regard his teachings as an Iranian possession. They therefore made little effort, it seems, to seek converts among the subject peoples. Still, leading Zoroastrian beliefs must have become widely known, the impact of some of which has been seen in the works of early Ionian philosophers, and of Plato and his school, and has been traced in some exilic and postexilic parts of the OT, notably Second Isaiah and possibly Genesis 11. It has also been suggested that the wide extension of Jewish purity laws at this time, to cover most aspects of daily life, may owe something to Zoroastrian example, with Nehemiah (who served as cupbearer to one of the Persian great kings) perhaps playing some part in this.

It is, however, in the Hellenistic period, after Alexander

had conquered the Persian Empire, that doctrines appear in the Jewish intertestamental writings which, in Pharisaic Judaism and Christianity, form an eschatological system markedly similar to the Zoroastrian one. This similarity used to be perplexing because of two misconceptions. One was that after Alexander, Zoroastrianism survived only within Iran itself. The other was that even in Iran it yielded largely to Hellenistic religion, surviving in orthodoxy only secretly in Persia proper (i.e., the modern province of Fars, in SW Iran). It is now known that under the polytheistic and tolerant Hellenes, descendants of Iranian colonists maintained their ancestral religion and its places of worship in W Asia Minor down to at least the 3d century A.D. and in E Asia Minor to at least the 5th, living in some places (such as Sardis) on friendly terms and as fellow citizens with Diaspora Jews. Both Iranians and Jews spoke and wrote Greek; and probably already in late Achaemenid times, Persian Sibyllists were composing Greek verses. In these, after Alexander, they seem to have incorporated a good deal of Zoroastrian eschatology, looking for the Macedonians to be defeated by the Saoshyant, i.e., to be the last earthly power. Their works were evidently among those studied by the Jewish Sibyllists, and they appear to have been an important channel for the transmission of Zoroastrian beliefs and expectations to the Hellenistic world generally.

It is also now known (thanks largely to archaeological discoveries) that in Iran itself Zoroastrianism flourished uninterruptedly under the Seleucids; and that the Arsacids from NE Iran, who ruled the Parthian Empire (essentially Iran and Babylonia) from 141 B.C. to A.D. 224 and had many and on the whole friendly contacts with Jews of the E Diaspora, were good Zoroastrians. They maintained the innovations of temple worship and a common religious calendar; and toward the end of their epoch, one of their kings ordered the collection and preservation of all known Avestan texts in oral transmission. Under their rule there were regional Zoroastrian churches, rather than a single church; and they continued the Achaemenid tolerance toward the religions of other peoples. During Seleucid and Arsacid times, Zoroastrianism, like other religions in the same period, absorbed a quantity of Hellenistic-Babylonian astrological lore.

The Arsacids were overthrown by the Persian Sassanians, the last Zoroastrian dynasty of Iran. They were more authoritarian, establishing a unified church under a Persian high priest; and with ever-increasing pressure from more proselytizing religions, notably Buddhism, Christianity, and Manichaeism, Zoroastrianism was put on the defensive; and intermittent persecutions took place. The Syriac "lives" of Christian martyrs yield interesting, if biased, information about Sassanian Zoroastrianism, which, as far as the kings and higher clergy were concerned, was evidently Zervanite. With the writing down of Pahlavi and Avestan texts and increasing notice by foreign observers, the late Sassanian period is the best known in the ancient history of Zoroastrianism. Fire temples were founded in almost every village in Persia, and a vigorous iconoclastic campaign (pursued throughout the epoch) resulted by the 7th century in the suppression of the use of cult images throughout the community. The power and wealth of the priesthood appear to have increased steadily, with an increase also in rites and observances necessary for salvation. Scattered information on this appears in the "Book of a Thousand Judgments" *(Mādiyān ī Hazā Dādestān)*, a casebook of Sassanian law, ecclesiastically administered.

The Arab conquest of Iran in the 7th century and the establishment of Islam as the state religion led to the slow erosion of Zoroastrianism. Scholastic activity continued, however, until the 9th century; and several books, including a massive compilation, the "Acts of the Religion" *(Dēnkard)*, and an original work of the time, the "Doubt-dispelling Exposition" *(Shkand-gumānīg Vizār)*, contain serious debates with Muslims, Jews, and Christians. Late in that century, with persecution increasing, a small group of believers sought religious freedom overseas, settling in Gujarat in W India, where they were known as Parsis (Persians). After years of obscure poverty they began, from the 17th century, to prosper as brokers and merchants, gaining fame for their individual wealth and philanthropy—charity is strongly inculcated in Zoroastrianism, since it is each man's duty to care for his fellow man, as the special creatures of Ohrmazd.

Meanwhile, in Iran the Zoroastrians suffered cruelly through invasions by Turks and Mongols and ever-harsher punitive laws until they were reduced to an impoverished remnant living chiefly around the desert cities of Yazd and Kerman in central Iran. Their mss were repeatedly destroyed, and those Pahlavi books which survive were saved by being sent to their coreligionists in India. Only essential doctrine and observances could be maintained, but Zoroastrians upheld these with tenacity. Their circumstances improved slowly from the late 19th century, and they in turn produced wealthy philanthropists. Changing political conditions in the second half of the 20th century have brought about considerable emigration from both communities.

G. The Religion in Modern Times

At no point in the ancient history of the faith is there any trace that its dualism was being questioned (except by Zurvanite monism), either by its own adherents or by foreign observers. In early encounters with Christianity and Islam this dualism was firmly upheld as a satisfying answer to the problem of evil. In modern times, however, Europeans began to speculate about Zoroastrianism before the Avestan or Pahlavi books were known in the West. From the Greeks they had learned to respect Zoroaster, while Christian history taught them to abhor dualism. From the 17th century they argued accordingly that Zoroaster had been misrepresented in this respect, being in fact a monotheist. After the *Gāthās* became known, a German philologist proposed a textual basis for this idea on Zervanite lines: "Truly there are two primal Spirits, twins renowned to be in conflict" (Y 30.3). The term "twins" is well attested in Vedic usage for two beings or things that for some reason form a pair, here plainly in that they were alike uncreated; but instead of following Zoroastrian tradition in seeing these "twins" as Ahura Mazda and Angra Mainyu, he supposed Ahura Mazda to be the putative "father" of the "twins," understood to be his own Holy Spirit and the Evil Spirit. The problem of theodicy was thus introduced into the academic study of Zoroastrian-

ism, and it was confidently assumed that Zoroaster had taught his followers so inadequately that from the very beginning they had misunderstood him concerning this essential belief. It took Western scholars, some 3000 years later, to set the error right. The difficult and archaic doctrine of the Heptad, which still underlies the Zoroastrian world outlook, was at the same time reduced to one of philosophical abstractions; and the highly abstract nature of Zoroaster's teachings has since been much discussed.

These interpretations were introduced to the English-speaking, i.e., Western-educated Parsis of Bombay in a series of lectures in the 1860s. They had been suffering from sharp attacks by a Christian missionary on their dualism and so-called polytheism; some influential lay reformists gladly embraced the escape thus offered them and forthwith proclaimed Gathic doctrine to be a simple monotheism. There was no single recognized priestly authority to rebut this position; and gradually, linked with other aspects of reform, monotheism became the prevailing belief in the community, shielding it from attacks by both Christians and Muslims. It also gave reciprocal support to Western academic theorizing (which, the anchor line of Zoroastrian tradition having been cut, has developed in diverse and often highly speculative ways).

Doctrinally, the religion is now in disarray and open to inroads by theosophists, ritualists, and popular "gurus," the priesthood also being affected. A number of its adherents respond to this confusion by concentrating on practice, especially on the threefold ethic of good thoughts, words, and acts. Practical problems (i.e., the dwindling numbers of priests, outside marriages, new funerary rites, and the acceptance or rejection of converts) also occupy much attention. Yet, however great the controversies, the differing groups remain united by a determination to uphold their ancient and noble religion despite all difficulties.

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MARY BOYCE

ZOSTRIANOS (NHC VIII,*1*). The figure Zostrianos is the visionary in the gnostic apocalypse *Zostrianos* in the Nag Hammadi library. Though the manuscript is poorly preserved, enough of the Sahidic Coptic text remains to indicate that this tractate depicts a heavenly journey. Following a divine call, Zostrianos leaves his body by means of a mystical trance and travels through the heavenly world. During his ascent he learns from a series of interpreting angels a mythological gnosis and its philosophical interpretation. Finally he is commissioned as a messenger of this gnosis and returns to earth to preach it and to leave it in book form for the elect, who are called the children of Seth. A concluding homily urges the reader to flee from the bondage of this world (from femaleness) and to choose the salvation of maleness.

Zostrianos provides an important witness for a non-Christian, philosophical brand of Gnosticism known previously only through polemical references in the writings of Plotinus and Porphyry. Its gnosis is most clearly related to that of *The Three Steles of Seth* (NHC VII,*5*) and *Allogenes* (NHC XI,*3*). Of particular interest is its identification of the three mythological aeons of the Barbelo Aeon with the Existence-Life-Mind triad known from later Neoplatonists such as Marius Victorinus. *Zostrianos* posits a high-god, the thrice-powerful Invisible Spirit, as the ultimate source of everything. The Barbelo Aeon and her three constituent aeons (the Hidden, the First-appearing, the Self-begotten) represent successively imperfect emanations from the Invisible Spirit. Each of these aeons contains within itself a multitude of entities (aeons, angels, glories, waters, etc.) which serve as patterns or models for similar but less perfect entities in the next lower level. Thus, the lower levels of the Self-begotten Aeon contain a heavenly Adam, a Seth, models for the various types of souls found on earth, and the like. Using these patterns, the fallen Sophia constructs the physical universe in which souls are trapped.

Although its basic orientation is philosophical, *Zostrianos* contains some materials that ultimately derive from Judaism and Christianity. Names such as Adam, Seth, and Daveithe are obviously Jewish in origin, as is the idea that creation was accomplished by a word (9,1–4). There are also both formal and material connections to some Jewish apocalyptic works, especially *1* and *2 Enoch.* Zostrianos is portrayed as standing before heavenly entities after each stage of his initiation in the manner of angels who stand before the Lord. This "standing" is then interpreted philosophically as a sign that he has transcended material existence. Baptisms with water also play a significant role in the tractate; at each stage of his ascent Zostrianos is baptized in the name of the entities in whose region he now stands. These baptisms as well as a warning against the baptism of others (the Christians?) in the concluding homily (131,2–5) suggest a cultic use of baptism similar to that known in Hellenistic Judaism and in Christianity. Yet specific references to the NT are few, and those that do occur seem to reflect a general cultural knowledge of passages rather than a particular interest in Christianity. There are, for example, references to seeking and finding (3,18–19; 131,17–19). One passage (28,20–22) in a list of the types of souls alludes to the Pauline triad of faith, hope, and love known best from 1 Corinthians 13, saying that there are some who love, some who hope, and some who believe. To these three it evidently added a fourth, in lines now lost.

Thus, the tractate *Zostrianos* is more valuable as a witness to our knowledge of philosophical Gnosticism than to the Christian varieties. Because of the proposed relationship to Plotinus and his school, *Zostrianos* probably dates from the late 2d or early 3d centuries C.E. For more specifically Christian versions of a similar gnosis, consult *The Apocry-*

phon of John (NHC II,*1*; III,*1*; IV,*1*) and *The Gospel of the Egyptians* (III,*2*; IV,*2*).

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JOHN H. SIEBER

ZUAR (PERSON) [Heb *ṣûʿar*]. The father of the chief (*nāśîʾ*, Num 2:5) Nethanel of the tribe of Issachar. Each of the five times that Zuar is mentioned in the OT occurs in a tribal list where his mark of distinction is his status as the father of Nathanel. Under the leadership of Zuar's son Nethanel, the tribe of Issachar participated in the census of Israelite fighting men carried out by Moses (Num 1:8, 28–29), presented its offerings on the second day of the twelve-day celebration of the dedication of the altar (Num 7:18, 23), took its proper place on the E side of the tabernacle in the Israelite camp (Num 2:5), and assumed its position in the order of march at the Israelites' departure from Mt. Sinai (Num 10:15). The name Zuar means the "small one" and probably refers to the small physical build of the person (*IPN*, 225).

DALE F. LAUNDERVILLE

ZUGOTH. The Hebrew word *zûgôṯ* means "pairs," and it is used in rabbinic Judaism to designate five pairs of individuals who constitute the primary chain of tradents of the oral torah (lit. "memorized torah") from the Great Assembly to the rabbis of the beginning of the Tannaitic age (1st century C.E.). In the Mishnah, tractate *ʾAbot* 1:4–15 lists these five pairs as: (1) Yose b. Yoezer and Yose b. Yoḥanan, (2) Joshua b. Peraḥyah and Nittai the Arbelite, (3) Judah b. Tabbai and Simeon b. Shetaḥ, (4) Shemaiah and Abtalion, and (5) Hillel and Shammai. The Mishnah's framers (*m. Ḥag* 2:2) hold that one of these individuals was always the *nāśîʾ* (lit. "prince") of the Sanhedrin while the other was the *ʾab bēt din* (lit. "father of the court"). The precise significance of these titles remains unclear. Furthermore, scholars have attempted to identify some of these names with figures known from other sources, such as Josephus. But these identifications constitute little more than speculation. Indeed, since the pairs are first mentioned in texts dating some 130–200 years after the death of the last of them (Hillel and Shammai) and several centuries after the earliest, it is probable that the pairs, like the Great Assembly, are creations of the rabbis of the post-70 period.

PAUL V. M. FLESHER

ZUPH (PERSON) [Heb *sûp*]. Var. ZIPH; ZOPHAI. An ancestor of Samuel (1 Sam 1:1). He was an Ephraimite and the father of at least one son, Tohu. The variants of his name are uncertain in the text: his name is given as "Ziph" in 1 Chr 6:20—Eng 6:35, Ketib, for which the Qere is "Zuph" and which the LXX renders as "Souph." 1 Chr 6:11—Eng 6:26 has "Zophai" (RSV Zophai); but the LXX renders this as "Souphi," reading the vowel *šûreq* rather than *ḥōlem*. Thus both variants may be considered doubtful; perhaps "Zufi" was a variant. The district of ZUPH was almost certainly named in his memory.

GERALD J. PETTER

ZUPH (PLACE) [Heb *ṣûp*]. A district where Saul sought his father's asses (1 Sam 9:5). Though its exact location is uncertain, it was almost certainly in the tribe of Ephraim and derived its name from the person Zuph. The MT of 1 Sam 1:1a creates the impression that after the district derived its name from the person, it gave its name in turn to a village. Therefore the name, "Ramathaim-Zophim" would suggest "Ramathaim, inhabited by the residents of Zuph." But the construction of the town name is grammatically improbable, if not impossible (cf. Wellhausen 1871: 34–35). The final *m* of "Zophim" (Heb *ṣōpîm*) should be deleted (dittography) yielding "a man of Ramathaim, a Zuphite of the hill country of Ephraim, whose name was Elkanah." If this is correct (most scholars agree with this resolution of the textual difficulty), Zuph was the home district of Elkanah, Samuel's father, and thus also of Samuel. Ramathaim was then most probably identical with the Ramah with which Samuel was closely associated (1 Sam 7:17; 8:4), and Zuph may be further identified as the district in which Ramah was located. McCarter (*1 Samuel* AB, 51) reviews the treatment of the textual question since Wellhausen. See Edelman (1988: 56, 58) for possible identification of the region.

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GERALD J. PETTER

ZUR (PERSON) [Heb *ṣûr*]. The name of two persons in the OT.

1. A Midianite "king" (Num 25:15; 31:8; Josh 13:21). The list of Midianite "kings" in Num 31:8, together with the account into which it is embedded, poses several historical problems. See EVI; HUR; REBA; REKEM (PERSON). According to Knauf (1988: 166–67) these names form an itinerary through S Transjordan and N Arabia in the Persian period. Zur can be identified with Khirbet Dôr, where pottery from the 7th through 5th centuries B.C. is

attested (Knauf 1988: 166 n. 706). His daughter Cozbi (for her name, see Knauf 1988: 164) serves in Num 25:15 as one of several redactional links between Numbers 22–24, the Balaam episode, and Numbers 31, the Midianite War (Knauf 1988: 161–65).

2. A Benjaminite, contemporary with Saul's father, Kish, who lived at Gibeon (1 Chr 8:30; 9:36). As a personal name, Zur is also attested in Phoenician. In both languages the name is probably derived from *ṣûr* "rock," whereas it is difficult to connect Safaitic *ṣr* (from *ṢRR*), Safaitic or Lihyanite *ḍr* (from *ḌWR* or *ḌRR*), or Safaitic *ẓr* with the Benjaminite's name (Knauf 1988: 89). Any of these Arabian parallels would apply to Zur #1, if the "Midianite king" should indeed have been a person rather than a place.

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

ZURIEL (PERSON) [Heb *ṣûrî'ēl*]. A Levite of the clan of Merari, son of Abihail (Num 3:35) according to the first census taken by Moses in the wilderness. He was head of the Merari family, who were to be encamped on the N side of the tabernacle and were responsible for its frame.

CHRISTINA DE GROOT VAN HOUTEN

ZURISHADDAI (PERSON) [Heb *ṣûrîšaddāy*]. Var. SARASADAI. The father of the chief (*nāśî'*, Num 2:12) Shelumiel of the tribe of Simeon. Each of the five times that Zurishaddai is mentioned in the OT occurs in a tribal list where his mark of distinction is his status as the father of Shelumiel. Under the leadership of Zurishaddai's son Shelumiel, the tribe of Simeon participated in the census of Israelite fighting men carried out by Moses (Num 1:6, 22–23), presented its offerings on the fifth day of the twelve-day celebration of the dedication of the altar (Num 7:36, 41), took its proper place on the south side of the tabernacle in the Israelite camp (Num 2:12), and assumed its position in the order of march at the Israelites' departure from Mt. Sinai (Num 10:19).

The name "Zurishaddai" means "Shaddai is my rock." The rock metaphor is not uncommon in personal names either as the theophoric element (e.g., Pedahzur) or as a description of the qualities or actions of the deity (e.g., Elizur). Noth (*IPN*, 156) categorizes more specific uses of the rock metaphor in characterizing Yahweh as follows: sending help (Pss 89:27—Eng v 26; 95:1), providing powerful protection (Isa 17:10; Pss 31:3—Eng v 2; 62:8—Eng v 7) and safety (Deut 32:37; Pss 18:3—Eng v 2; 94:22), and standing firm as a reliable source of help (Isa 26:4). The genealogy of Judith, listing Salamiel, son of Sarasadai (8:1), may refer to Zurishaddai and his son Shelumiel.

DALE F. LAUNDERVILLE

ZURRAʿA, KHIRBET EL-. See GATH-HEPHER.

ZUZIM [Heb *zûzîm*]. In Gen 14:5, a people defeated by Chedorlaomer and his allies at Ham, listed between the Rephaim and the Emim. Its position corresponds to that of the Zamzummîm in the enumeration of prehistoric peoples in the "first introduction" to Deuteronomy (Deut 2:20), from which the author of Genesis 14 borrowed the names of the other early peoples of the Transjordan. Questions arise whether *zûzîm* in Gen 14:5 is the original writing or a distortion of *zamzummîm* (as may be suggested by 1 QapGen) and why LXX rendered it "mighty nation," *Tg. Onq.* and *Tg. Ps.-J.* "powerful ones," Syr "mighty ones," and the Palestinian Targum "distinguished, noble ones." The old derivation of *zûzîm* from Ziza in the Roman province of Arabia (Ptol. *Geog.* 5.17.6), medieval Zîzâ (on which see le Strange 1890: 554–55, cf. 493; Dillmann 1897: 2, 41) is not probable because that site (now el-Jîzah, 15 km east of Medebah), lies too close to Kiriathaim, which belonged to the Emim (see SHAVEH-KIRIATHAIM). The assumption that "mighty nation" in LXX rendered an original **ʿazûzîm* (see commentaries) is possible but inconsistent with Deuteronomy 2. The explanation may lie in an alternative etymology of *zamzummîm*. The name is usually derived from Ar *zamzama* "to produce a murmur that can be heard from afar; to mutter indistinctly," as it was understood by *Tg. Ps.-J.* in Deut 2:20, which translated it *zimtānê*, cf. Syriac *zam* "to sound, resound, buzz." But Ar *zumzûm-* means "the best, the select (of men or camels)," and a word with a similar meaning apparently existed in Hebrew as well, for *Tg. Onq.* in Deut 2:20 translated *zamzummîm* by *ḥaśbānê* "prominent, respected, high-standing people," which is semantically very close to the renderings of *zûzîm* in LXX, Syr, and the Targums. It is also a better epithet for a race of giants than "murmurers" or "mutterers." It is therefore probable that not only 1QapGen but the LXX, Syr, and the Targums as well, proceeded from *zamzummîm* (or rather **zūmzummîm*, as in 1QapGen) instead of *zûzîm*.

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